Nascent Desires: Gendered Sexualities in Life Orientation Sexuality Education Programmes and Popular Music

Dale Dhersen Moodley

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Declaration

I hereby declare that the research documented herein is an original piece of writing that belongs to me, and that all published work used to supplement the findings has been appropriately referenced. It has been submitted for the degree of a Doctorate in Philosophy in the Department of Psychology at Rhodes University. It has not been submitted previously for any other degree or examination at any other university. Furthermore, permission was sought to reproduce the material in the Life Orientation manuals from the publishers.

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Dale Moodley

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Abstract

Formal school-based sexuality education is one medium, amongst others, that recognises young people's sexuality, but usually as at-risk and/or risk taking subjects, or as innocent subjects. I analyse the gendered sexualities of young people as represented in: Grade 10 Life Orientation sexuality education programmes and popular music, as two mediums of sexual socialisation in Grade 10 learners' lives, and as engaged with by Grade 10 learners and educators. I collected data from two schools in the Eastern Cape that included: (i) sections on sexuality from two Life Orientation manuals used by educators in classrooms: 'Oxford Successful Life Orientation' (2011), and 'Shuters Top Class Life Orientation' (2011); (ii) videos and lyrics of three songs voted most popular by learners which were 'Climax' by Usher, 'Beez in the Trap' by Nicki Minaj, and 'Where Have You Been' by Rihanna; (iii) observations of seven sexuality education classes; and, (iv) in-depth semi-structured interviews conducted with eight learners and two educators. I draw on an integrated theoretical and methodological approach – Foucauldian, feminist poststructural and psychosocial psychoanalytic perspectives – to conceptualise and analyse gendered sexualities in terms of: (i) the dominant gendered discourses found in sexuality education manuals, and music videos and lyrics; (ii) the reflexive and interactive gendered subject positions taken up and/or resisted by learners and educators during classroom lessons and one-on-one interviews; and, (iii) learners' and educators' conscious and unconscious investments in particular gendered subject positions during one-on-one interviews. These three sets of analysis produced four major themes. The first theme centres on responsible sexuality; young women are expected to assume more sexual responsility than young men, thus curbing their sexual agency. The second theme outlines three types of pleasure – sexual, romantic and dating and/or relationship pleasure – that accord young men and women active and passive ways of exercising pleasure. The third theme highlights the heteronormative transitioning adolescent subject that constructs young women as reproductive subjects and young men as sexual subjects. The last theme focuses on gendered power relations and raunch culture, and maintains that young men are powerful and likely to commit acts of sexual violence against young women because they are powerless. The central argument developed when viewing all the themes is that dominant gendered discourse, gendered subject positions, and conscious and unconscious investments in these positions challenge the extent to which the gendered meanings that underpin adolescent learners' sexuality are stable and fixed. The gendered discourses in the Life Orientation sexuality education programmes showed that gender is expressed rigidly, thus privileging masculine over feminine sexuality. However, the gendered discourses in the popular music contested rigid gender binaries and produced fluid and equitable masculine and feminine sexualities. The classroom practices depicted multiple and more equatable gendered sexualities, highlighting just how contested gender is. Finally, educator and learners' personal biographies illustrated how conflicting masculine and feminine sexualities present a signficant source of emotional conflict for them. It may benefit policymakers and stakeholders to consider informal mediums of sexual socialisation for learners, such as music, when drafting the Life Orientation sexuality education curriculum, whilst also taking into account learners and educators personal lives.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

To speak of nascent desires is to acknowledge and give serious thought to the sexuality of young people. Sexuality is commonly recognised through formal school-based sexuality education programmes that tend to depict the sexuality of young people as being at-risk and/or as risk-taking behaviour. It is also often the case that young people are constructed through public health models, the media, and the views of parents as innocent, which does little to consider youth sexual livelihoods. I consider the nascent desires or the sexuality of young people, particularly Grade 10 adolescent learners, by investigating representations thereof within formal school-based sexuality education programmes and popular music as an informal cultural practice. These two mediums are practices where the sexuality of adolescents is addressed in direct or indirect ways through verbal, non-verbal, visual and auditory messages. Sexuality is represented in both mediums either covertly or overtly in ways that demonstrate an awareness of adolescent sexuality on some level. I am interested in this very process: interpreting the content of sexuality education programmes and popular music and how this is taken up by Grade 10 adolescent learners.

I read the nascent desires or sexuality of adolescents in this thesis for the gendered meanings that underpin how sexuality is taken up in the aforementioned sexuality education programmes and popular music. In other words, I am interested in recognising how adolecents' sexual lives are depicted in ways that are attentive to constructions of gender. I firstly focus on the dominant gendered discourses and gendered power relations found in Life Orientation sexuality education programmes and popular music. I focus secondly on the gendered subject positions learners and educators reflexively and interactively take up and/or resist when talking about sexuality education and music. I focus thirdly on learners' and educators' conscious and unconscious investments in the gendered subject positions they invoke in their talk. In this way, discourses, subject positions and conscious and unconscious investments are theoretical and methodological areas for investigating gender. Accordingly, these areas talk to an investigation of (i) the dominant gendered discourses, gendered power relations, and the gendered subject positions in Life Orientation sexuality education manuals available to learners and educators, the popular music to which learners prefer listening, and Life Orientation as a classroom practice; and (ii) learners' and educators' conscious and unconscious investments in the gendered subject positions based on personalised experiences of sexuality education and popular music. In this chapter, I introduce the rationale for the research followed by some context for the research that includes sexual socialisation and gender, sexuality education, popular music, the rationale for adopting an integrated approach and an outline of the chapters to follow.

1) Rationale for Research

More than ever, there is a preoccupation with managing young people or adolescents' sexuality (the UN defines young people as 10 to 24 years of age and adolescents as 10 to 19) (UNAIDS, 2011). According to the World Health Organisation (2014), young people account for 27 percent of the world's population, equalling 1.7 billion people. Furthermore, 16 million young women aged 15 to 19 give birth each year, which contributes to 11 percent of worldwide births. Complications also arise for pregnant young women as they may not be able to care for their unborn child, leading to the decision to undergo an (unsafe) abortion for a variety of reasons. Unsafe abortions are the leading cause of maternal death; 14 percent of all unsafe abortions in developing countries were among women under the age of 20, whilst unsafe abortions among young women aged 15 to 19 in Africa is higher than any other region, with Asia, South America and the Caribbean following this. With regard to HIV, young people aged 14 to 24 constitute 40 percent of all new HIV infections. As from 2009, it is estimated that there are around 5 million young people living with HIV, which is closely correlated with the age of sexual debut. In terms of STDs, each year it is estimated that 333 million new cases of curable STDs occur worldwide with the highest numbers among 20- to 24-year-olds, followed by 15- to 19-year-olds (WHO, 2014).

Within South Africa, Pettifor et al's (2005) highly-acclaimed study showed that sexual debut for young men and women falls in the range of 16 to 18 years of age, which appears to be slightly lower when compared to the age range worldwide of 17 to 20 years. Their study also found that the sexual debut for 18 and 8 percent of young men and women respectively in South Africa was younger than 14 years of age. Furthermore, young women reported that their first sexual partners were generally 1 to 4 years older than them, whilst 7 percent of 15- to 19-year-olds reported that their first sexual experience was coercive.

In terms of the related subject of teenage pregnancy, which has decreased over the last decade, approximately 30 percent of 15-to 19-year-olds living in South Africa report having an unplanned pregnancy (Flanagan et al., 2013; Jewkes, Morrell, & Christofides, 2009; Lince, 2011). Upon closer inspection of data collected by Statistics South Africa (2012), the number of teenage pregnancies from 2009 to 2011 has decreased for younger teenagers (those between 13 to 15 years of age) whilst older teenagers (17 to 19 years of age) have shown an increase. Whilst the number of pregnant teenagers has decreased, rates are still higher in provinces such as Mpumalanga, Northern Cape, Limpopo and the Eastern Cape, which reflect historically poorer black communities and apartheid-based divisions

(HSRC, 2009). Furthermore, teenage pregnancy is still more common among black African and coloured teenaged girls than white and Indian girls (Panday et al, 2009).

With regard to choices for pregnant teenage girls in South Africa, many young women who access abortions continue to do so through illegal and unsafe routes, which have been difficult to capture as data (Willan, 2013). Willan (2013) reviewed the latest report on maternal mortality amongst teenage girls made available by the Department of Health (2012), and found that it did not present the data transparently and did not actually report on abortion figures. Despite barriers to capturing these data, the figures on abortion from 2004 show that legal abortions have increased from 29 375 in 1997 to 53 510 in 2001, with maternal mortality from unsafe abortions also being said to have decreased (Cooper et al., 2004). Correspondingly, the 'National Contraception Policy Guidelines' (2012) found that the number of unsafe abortions decreased from 77 207 in 2009 to 68 736 in 2010. However, these numbers do not focus solely on teenage abortions as it is difficult to access and interpret the data, especially due to the high level of stigma associated with abortions which has led to under-reporting amongst teenage girls (Willan, 2013).

The incidence of teenage pregnancy and abortion is an indication of the level of, and result of, unprotected sex which has implications for the risk of contracting HIV/AIDS and STDs. According to 'The South African National HIV Survey' (2008), the incidence of HIV amongst youth aged 15 to 24 years of age was 9.3 percent in 2002, 10.3 percent in 2005 and 8.7 percent in 2008. In examining how the disease was distributed according to sex in the age group 15 to 19, there was a prevalence of 2.5 percent amongst young men and more than double that figure amongst young women, with 6.7 percent. With regard to STDs there are no official statistics on the incidence and prevalence amongst young people in South Africa. However, Maseko (2011) found that among 1057 Grade 8 learners at 18 schools in the Eastern Cape, 154 learners (15.8 percent) presented with curable STDs, with female learners showing a higher prevalence. These findings estimate that there is a high prevalence of STDs amongst South African youth. Furthermore, the most recent available data on condom use amongst South Africans aged 15 to 24 years of age showed that only 57 to 59 percent of young men and 48 percent of young women reported using a condom during the most recent time they had sexual intercourse (Pettifor et al., 2005; Simbayi, Chauveau, & Shisana, 2004).

Several studies have also investigated the role that gender plays in the sexual and reproductive health arena among South African youth (Harrison, 2008; Jewkes et al., 2001; MacPhail & Campell, 2001; Varga, 2003; Wood et al., 1998). These studies note that the sexual dynamics and relations between

adolescents unfold within contexts regulated by heteronormative constructions of gender, a determinant of risky adolescent sexual behaviour. For instance, within South Africa, virginity and female fertility are important markers of femininity (Varga & Makubalo, 1996; Wood et al, 1996). For South African young men, sexual prowess and early fatherhood are important markers of masculinity on the other hand (Preston-Whyte, 1994). These cultural constructions of gender have been used to explain the reluctance amongst South African youth to use contraceptives and the high frequency of unprotected sex, which has led to persistently high rates of teenage pregnancy. It is also not surprising, then, that these rigid gendered roles and expectations lead to adolescent relationship dynamics characterised by unequal decision-making between partners, poor dyadic communication regarding sexual matters, lack of preparation for, or anticipation of, intercourse, fear of rejection if gender ideals are not satisfied and gendered motivations to becoming sexually active (Varga, 2003).

The constructions of gender that characterise adolescent intimate relationship dynamics becomes an important site of investigation, especially when studies show that young women experience more sexual and reproductive challenges than young men. For instance, studies (Dowsett & Aggleton, 1999; Eaton et al., 2003; Reddy et al., 2003) reason that if young women in South Africa are more vulnerable to contracting HIV, why and how does this happen? South Africa is riddled with highly unequal gendered power relations that diminish young women's decision-making power on negotiating with whom, when and how to have sex (Gibson and Hardon, 2005; Shefer & Ruiters, 1998). This ultimately constrains the extent to which young women are able to negotiate condom use, which makes them vulnerable towards HIV, STDs and pregnancy (MacPhail & Campbell, 2002). Sexual coercion is also another common reality young women in South Africa face due to limited decision-making power that is linked to unequal gendered power relations and rigid constructions of gender (Dunkle et al., 2004). Accordingly, Varga (2003) argues that entrenched social norms and beliefs about gender strongly influence how young people are socialised into norms around sexuality as well as how to relate to one another sexually. For instance, Reddy and Dunne (2007) caution that constructions of femininity regarding passivity and being virginal and a 'good' girl can create unsafe sexual identities for young women in South Africa. Harisson (2008) argues that gender creates an overarching framework for the way young people come to organise their sexuality.

2) Sexual socialisation and gender

With regard to mediums of sexual socialisation available to young people, Kelly (2002) argues that schools in South Africa are best positioned to facilitate health-affirming and safe environments conducive to educating the youth about sexuality. This is in light of the home environment in the South

African context not being a suitable site for sexuality education as many parents feel uncomfortable teaching their children about sex (Francis & Zisser, 2006). Furthermore, Posel (2004) has observed that public health campaigns on sex education such as *LoveLife* have been met with resistance through outbursts, stern objections, silences and miscommunication. For example, HIV prevention campaigns such as *LoveLife* appeal to parents to love their children enough to talk about sex, but parents are unfamiliar with having such conversations with their children (Posel, 2004). Another factor is the difficulty of monitoring the extent to which young people receive accurate and objective information in contexts such as the home. Accordingly, schools appear to be the next best option as formal classroom lessons are conducive to teaching and learning, which would lend themselves more easily to implementing sexual education programmes (Kelly, 2002). However, Rooth (2005) and Helleve et al. (2009) note that the main barrier to teaching sexual health programmes in South African schools is the lack of training for educators who are not equipped with the skills and knowledge in order to teach sex and sexuality. Another common barrier, linked to the first, is Christian and moralistic views on sex and sexuality that educators maintain, for example, encouraging learners to remain abstinent, which is in direct conflict with the content of sex and sexuality in the Life Orientation curriculum (Helleve et al., 2009).

Further challenges arise when one investigates the content of school-based sexuality education and its implementation. For instance, Baxen and Breidlid (2004) observe that the policies informing sexuality education curriculum privilege the youth's knowledge about HIV/AIDS over an understanding of how the youth themselves are deeply embedded within discursive contexts that talk to constructions of gender and sexuality. It is not surprising then that youth still experience difficulty, especially young women, with regard to negotiating safe sex practices amidst available information on HIV/AIDS. With regard to classroom practices, studies show that there is a silence on gendered meanings and identities within the sexuality education curriculum and during classroom lessons (Morrell, 2003; Morrell et al., 2001; Reddy, 2004; 2005). For example, Pattman and Chege (2003) show that in South African classrooms girls shy away from talking during sexuality education lessons, with educators making no attempt to encourage them to participate. This reflects a silence around gender identities during sexuality education lessons to which educators are not sensitised and which results in unintentionally reinforcing gender-based inequalities. In other words, when educators fail to take into account the voices of girls during sexuality lessons, or encourage them to speak up, it contributes to a culture where boys are expected to be initiators and leaders whilst girls occupy subordinate roles and positions; not restricted to sexual activity but other areas of life, too. Pattman and Chege (2003) argue further that this forecloses the possibility of boys and girls relating to one another in ways that show

empathy and respect for each one's differences. Accordingly, whilst schools may be the best option within South Africa for implementing sexuality education programmes, they are not without challenges. As a result, school-based sexuality education deserves closer inspection.

Based on the challenges of sexuality education content in South Africa, I am interested in constructions of gender found in formal and informal sexual socialisation content and the role this plays in the lives of Grade 10 adolescent learners. Life Orientation sexuality education programmes are state-sanctioned, as authorised by the Department of Basic Education (2011), that are implemented at primary and secondary school level. This form of sexual socialisation offers a formal and official version of the constructions of gender. Conversely, the popular music learners choose to listen to represents a commercialised and an informal medium through which gender is represented. Frith and McRobbie (2007) argue that the extent to which music achieves commercial success relies on how closely it articulates the psychological and social tensions experienced by young people. Therefore, I have selected Life Orientation sexuality education programmes as formal and popular music as informal sexual socialisation content, two mediums amongst numerous others, for the role they play in depicting gendered sexualities in the lives of Grade 10 adolescent learners. Furthermore, I am interested in the extent to which the gendered sexualities found in the formal and informal content dovetail or diverge.

3) Sexuality education

According to Moran (2000), the subject of sexuality education, particularly as a classroom practice in schools, has been a contentious issue ever since it has come into existence. This is partly due to competing conceptualisations of how sexuality education should be formulated and implemented in classrooms; various approaches have been advocated from conservative to liberal to critical-based ones. From the early twentieth century until the present, the preservation and management of young people's sexual health from social ills such as HIV, STDs, and pregnancy has been the central agenda of school-based sexuality education.

According to Kett (2003), during the early twentieth century, preserving and managing young people's sexual health coincided with the construction of adolescence as a distinct developmental period; specifically a time of transition from childhood to adulthood. Stanley Hall – an American psychologist and educator – was instrumental in the 'invention' of adolescence; he detailed the physical, emotional and social changes children undergo between the ages of 14 to 20. These three changes became a powerful rationale for a moratorium on assuming adult responsibility, in light of the 'storm and stress'

accompanying adolescence. The ‘invention of adolescence’ also coincided with prolonging education for children, particularly with the introduction of secondary schooling, as well as their removal from the labour market. Collectively, these historical processes created the conditions for a need to educate young people about their sexual health, especially as it was seen as under threat (Kett, 2003)

Correspondingly, Fields (2008) argues that there has been a confluence of social movements, public campaigns and social policy responding to the sexual health of young people. There are two standpoints on this matter which have been particularly influential in terms of formal approaches to school-based sexuality education: abstinence-only and comprehensive-based programmes (Jones, 2011). The former conceptualises sexual health as an adult matter that should be of no concern to children until they are married. The latter underscores that young people should be equipped with scientifically-sound information about sex in order to protect themselves from the dangers and diseases associated with it. In many ways, this is what the landscape of formal sexuality education as a classroom practice looks like, particularly within the North American context; responding to the recognition, or not, of young people’s sexuality and sexual health (Fields, 2008). It can be argued that school-based sexuality education is fraught with tensions because of the public’s awareness of young people’s sexuality and the concomitant incitement to manage it.

Francis (2010; 2011a; 2011b; 2012) argues that South African school-based sexuality education has been reduced to a need for scientific and appropriate information about HIV/AIDS. In many ways, sexuality education has become the national response to the current HIV pandemic. This is reflected in policies such as the National Policy on HIV and AIDS for Learners and Educators in Public Schools (Department of Education, 1999), and The HIV and AIDS Emergency: Guidelines for Educators (Department of Education, 2000b). These policies are steeped within a public health framework where disease prevention is emphasised. As a result, teaching HIV and AIDS alongside sexuality is a key area in Life Orientation, a mandatory teaching area formally introduced in South African schools during the late 1990s (Department of Education, 2002a; 2002b). The Life Orientation curriculum is organised into various teaching components that focus on health promotion, social development, personal development, physical development and movement, orientation to the world of work, religious and spiritual development, environmental education, and citizenship and human rights education. Sexuality education is taught within the personal development component, and therefore does not exist as a separate subject.

The Life Orientation curriculum is broad and differs across Grades R (entry level) to 12 (final year). For this research, I focus on Grade 10, which falls under the senior phase of the curriculum (i.e. Grade 10 to 12, as designated by the Department of Education) (2002b; 2008b). The curriculum is organised according to four focus areas: (1) personal well-being, (2) citizenship education, (3) physical education and lastly (4) careers and career choices (Department of Education, 2002b; 2008b). Sexuality education is taught primarily under the first focus area which emphasises learners' 'self-concept' in relation to others in the context of peer pressure, leadership positions, employment and interpersonal dynamics. This area discusses issues such as the prevention of substance abuse, sexuality, teenage pregnancy, sexually-transmitted diseases including HIV/AIDS, and promoting personal, community and environmental health (Department of Education, 2002b). The second focus area teaches learners about tolerance and acceptance of diversity with respect to religion, culture, ethnicity, age, ability, and language and sensitises learners to forms of discrimination such as xenophobia (Department of Education, 2002b). The third focus is concerned with educating learners about ways and means of protecting their physical health such as nutrition, playing sport and leisure activities (Department of Education, 2002b). The last focus area, Careers and Career Choices, helps learners make critical decisions regarding fields of study, orientating them to the job market, as well as covering more practical skills such as applying for jobs and preparing for interviews (Department of Education, 2002b).

The sections on sexuality teaches learners about 'responsible sexualities' in light of their increasing sexual awareness in relation to their peers, amidst constructions of sexuality depicted in popular culture such as TV, film, music, magazines and fashion (Department of Education, 2008a). Learners are encouraged to be responsible for their sexuality, which entails being aware of what their sexuality means for them and the impact this has on their relationships. For the most part, the curriculum advocates a 'responsible sexuality' framework that is attributed to resultant adolescent sexual and reproductive health difficulties such as unwanted teenage pregnancy, unsafe abortion, sexual abuse, rape, STDs and HIV/AIDS (Klepp, Flisher, & Kaaya, 2008; Shisana et al., 2009). The curriculum also discusses gender within the context of power and power relations (Department of Education, 2008a). Gender is discussed in terms of stereotypical roles associated with boys/men/masculinity and girls/women/femininity and how these roles are played out within relationships where power attributed to one's gender may affect the relationship (Department of Education, 2008a). This relates to decision-making and how an unequal gendered distribution of power may result in verbal, emotional, sexual or physical abuse. The curriculum goes to great lengths to explain that gender roles underlie and construct

sexual differences and sexuality, and that unequal gendered power relations are ultimately responsible for the high incidence of sexual violence in South Africa.

4) Popular music

With regard to informal mediums of sexual socialisation for adolescent learners in South Africa, I have selected popular music as one medium, amongst others. Christenson and Roberts (2001) argue that popular music is a key social and cultural marker of adolescence, especially with regard to promoting gendered and sexual identities. Popular music is seen as an integral part of what is considered youth culture. Negus (1997; 1999) shows that the phenomenon of youth culture emerged during the early twentieth century. In the UK and USA, for example, youth culture came to represent ways in which young people coped with socio-economic hardship by resisting the dominant culture, fashioning aesthetically unique subcultures. However, it was not long before these subcultures were absorbed into the mainstream, particularly in the capitalist production of commodities that young people consumed. This included popular music through the advent and mass production of record players and vinyls. For instance, rock n roll music emerged during the 1950s and it piggybacked on the aesthetics and values of working class youth in the UK and USA. At the same time, rock n roll enjoyed immense popularity because it embodied a particular aesthetic coupled with its oppositional and defiant style that resonated with young people more than ever before.

Within the South African context, several studies have documented that popular music emerged as a form of political commentary and protest against British colonial rule and the apartheid government, from the early to mid-twentieth century (Allen, 2004; Ballantine, 1989; Coplan, 1979; Dolby, 2006; Mhlambi, 2004; Schumann, 2008). Ballantine (1989) argues that black African youth, in particular, appropriated styles of music during this time referred to as '*marabi*', '*mbaqanga*' and '*kwela*' that were similar to blues and jazz music in the US performed by African American musicians. These genres of music were steeped in liberation and social equality rhetoric, and represented a form of resistance for black people against white supremacy. The end of the apartheid regime and the appointment of South Africa's first black democratically-elected government in 1994 signalled a new era in popular music for black youth. As a result, during the 1980s and 1990s, popular music became less about resistance and social revolt and more about commercialisation and entertainment. Genres of music that were popularised during this time were Afro-dance pop similar to bubblegum pop and the emergence of '*kwaito*', a dance and house style of music that has been compared to R n' B and hip-hop music in the US (Steingo, 2006).

From the 1950s until the present day, music has become an important cultural and social practice for young people. Christenson and Roberts (2001) have coined the term, 'music media', referring to cultural forms through which music is communicated which have shaped the worldviews and lives of young people. More specifically, music media refers to mediums young people use to attend to and incorporate music into their lives. This is often done through personally-controlled recordings in the form of songs that have been digitally recorded and accessed through devices such as iPods, MP3 players, mobile phones and CDs. Other secondary mediums include the internet, TV, radio, concerts, nightclubs, through peers and music magazines. Christenson and Roberts (2001) note that the most powerful medium has become the music video, especially with the launch of MTV in 1981, a 24-hour music channel and later ones such as MTV2, MTV Base, VH1 and Trace.

However, YouTube and Vevo, internet-based music mediums, are quickly replacing TV channels and rendering them obsolete, simply because they can be accessed for free through an internet connection, thus reaching a wider audience anywhere in the world. The added advantage of YouTube and Vevo is that it gives young people the control to watch any music video at any time they desire. Currently, top-selling musical groups and artists rely primarily on YouTube and Vevo in order to promote their music by uploading their videos onto the site for ease of public viewing and marketing. For example, according to Gruger (2013), American pop singer Rihanna is the most viewed artist on YouTube; collectively, her music videos have amassed a staggering 3.784 billion views. She is closely followed by Eminem (2.4 billion), Lady Gaga (2.2 billion) and Justin Bieber (2 billion). It is also important to bear in mind that these artists' core demographic audience is adolescents (Gruger, 2013).

Christenson and Roberts (2001, p. 4) argue that "of all the social markers of adolescence, perhaps none is more diagnostic than a passion for popular music". This points to a social climate or rather a cultural practice in which adolescents are immersed; a climate where representations of gender and sexuality run rife. Bayton (1998) and Whiteley (1998) argue that adolescent boys and girls acquire a sense of masculinity and femininity by listening to music whilst observing styles and ways of wearing clothing, bodily gestures and the overall performance of musicians who simultaneously perform gender, sexuality and music. Frith and McRobbie (2007, p. 41) also observe that contemporary music "articulates the psychological and physical tensions of adolescence, it accompanies the moment when girls and boys learn the repertoire of public sexual behaviour". Furthermore, Christenson and Roberts (2001) argue that adolescents are not passive recipients of sexual messages within contemporary music; they actively resist and rework such messages. Genres such as pop, rock and hip-hop music are

a playground for reinforcing, reworking and subverting heteronormative gendered and sexual identities (Adams & Fuller, 2006; Coates, 1997; Frith & McRobbie, 2007; Shuker, 2005).

According to Frith and McRobbie (2007), pop music relies on heterosexual romantic conventions that specify particular gendered and sexual identities and relationships, which resonates with the type of audience who consume 'teenybop' music. Teenybop refers to music that is mostly consumed by teenage girls or young women, in general. The kind of male and female sexuality, modelled through teenybop music, reflects vulnerability, innocence and a sense of needing as a way of invoking self-pity from listeners (Frith, 2001). Male and female musicians producing teenybop music are often depicted as good-looking, clean, wholesome and stylish and demographically are usually white, middle class and heterosexual, whilst the sound is soft, bright, sensitive, catchy and simple (Shuker, 2005). However, teenybop musicians' modellings of gender and sexuality are not always as straightforward as described above as some have deliberately disrupted traditional notions of gender and sexuality through their music (Hawkins, 2006). Madonna is one such performer, amongst others; she has invoked stereotypical representations of femininity and masculinity in her music with a sense of irony and parody (Paglia, 2005; 2007), whilst still pandering to the basic overall structures of teenybop music such as employing catchy sounds.

Within the context of rock music, Frith and McRobbie (2007) coin the term 'cock rock' that describes a masculine style of performing amongst male musicians who are assertive, aggressive, loud, dominating and boastful. Cock rock musicians depict male sexuality as self-entitled, dangerous and threatening, whilst women are constructed as sexual objects whose sole purpose is to satisfy the sexual appetites of men. This kind of music is also mostly consumed by adolescent boys or young men, in general. However, Coates (1997) and Brackett (2005) observe that cock rock has been challenged by the 'riot grrl' movement, referring to all-female rock bands performing an abrupt sexuality that have forged a brand of rock music steeped in sexual politics. The 'riot grrl' movement talks to misogynistic portrayals of women in music, and is concerned with using the same medium of music men are using to oppress women in order to reclaim their power.

Similar to rock music, Adams and Fuller (2006) note that during the early 1990s, hip-hop music started embodying a gendered character where the overall performance and lyrics became extremely pompous, boastful and misogynistic. The music began depicting women, homosexuality and gender relations in a stereotypical and offensive manner. Male sexuality is depicted through the consciousness of the 'gangsta': men have to be violent and aggressive in order to survive the harsh realities of the

world. Women are depicted as playing a peripheral role to men where they are viewed as sexual objects or treated with suspicion and scorn because they are constructed as bitches and 'gold-diggers'. Like pop and rock music, these representations have been challenged by female rappers who have reclaimed the word 'bitch' and used it in a positive and empowering light that signifies a woman who is strong, independent and in control.

Within the South African context, studies on popular music and youth have tended to focus on race more than gender. A broad study conducted by Dolby (1999; 2000) at a multiracial school revealed that learners' racial identities are constructed through a discourse of taste that reflects a racialisation of popular music that stems from the US and Europe. Such racial-based music preferences thrive due to the residual effects of racial divisions that were cemented during apartheid. However, Dolby (1999; 2000) argues that this has not stopped learners from resisting racial-based music codes. For instance, her study indicated that rave or techno music, which carries markers for white identity, were enjoyed by black learners who usually listen to R 'n B and hip-hop, which are markers for black identity. With regard to gender identity, Mhlambi (2004) looked at *kwaito* music, an aforementioned unique South African-based musical genre that has become an important marker for black youth identity. He observes that *kwaito* music is dominated by male musicians who usually perform spoken verses, similar to rapping, which forms the bulk of the song. The music is interspersed with a female musician who features on the track; she mostly repeats what the man says or sings a small part such as the chorus. This gender dynamic in *kwaito* music is said to reflect the subservient role that women play to men, which reflects broader social and cultural unequal gendered power relations. It appears, then, that gender and sexuality feature prominently in a variety of music genres. With young people seen as the biggest consumers of music, it is important to look at the socialising role this plays in their sexual lives.

5) An integrated approach

Investigating the role that Life Orientation sexuality education and popular music plays in socialising young people according to constructions of gender and sexuality has implications for the theory and method one espouses. Abel and Fitzgerald (2006) emphasise the complex ways formal sexuality education programmes appropriate messages, especially gendered ones. They argue further that this complexity means that rich and sophisticated theoretical and methodological approaches must be conceptualised and applied in order to understand and evaluate the way gendered messages are circulated through these programmes. This research echoes these sentiments as I draw on an integrated theoretical and methodological approach that allows for an understanding of the complex gendered

messages found in the Life Orientation sexuality education programmes and popular music. The framework I draw on also allows for an examination of how these messages dovetail or diverge, as well as how they are taken up by learners and educators. Accordingly, I adopt a Foucauldian and feminist-based poststructural approach along with a psychosocial psychoanalytic approach, to compare and contrast complex gendered messages found in sexuality education and popular music, and how learners and educators invest in the discourses evident in these two forms of sexual socialisation.

There are three main components that form part of the investigation, each drawing from inter-related theoretical resources. The first component draws on Foucauldian conceptualisations of discourse as coherent sets of meaning which construct subjects and objects of knowledge and which reflect an inter-play of power relations. In this component, I analyse the dominant gendered discourses and gendered power relations found in the Life Orientation sexuality education programmes and the popular music learners prefer to listen to. The texts that formed the analysis were the manuals and materials used for teaching sexuality education and the lyrics and music videos were chosen based on those voted most popular by Grade 10 learners. In this instance, I drew on Parker's (1989) definition of the text as anything that can be given an interpretive gloss. For the second component, discourse was conceptualised further in terms of the subject positions that are made available within discourses, and that speakers take up and/or resist in positioning themselves individually (reflexive positioning) or others (interactive positioning). I performed this by analysing the gendered subject positions learners and educators reflexively and interactively take up and/or resist through their talk. The texts for analysing subject positions took the form of classroom observations and individual focused learner- and educator-based interviews. For the third area, I sought to investigate the personal and emotional motivations for speakers taking up and/or resist particular subject positions. For this, I analysed learners' and educators' conscious and unconscious investments in the gendered subject positions made available through their talk. Accordingly, the texts for analysing conscious and unconscious investments were the individual learner- and educator-based interviews that were treated as specific intersubjective encounters between the interviewer (me) and interviewee. I go on to discuss these three components of investigation in more detailed in the paragraphs below.

The first theoretical lens of the thesis concerned the analysis of discourses which I conceptualised according to a Foucauldian framework. Within this framework, dominant gendered discourses and gendered power relations are understood as a group of highly regulated statements, some of which are privileged and circulated more than others (Foucault, 1972; 1981). Foucauldian theory enables an analysis of discourse that is attentive to constructions of gender that dominate more than others within

the Life Orientation sexuality education programmes and the popular music. Furthermore, Foucault (1980b) also emphasises that discourses activate a myriad of power relations that produce and constrain versions of events regarded as valid and true. Dominant gendered discourses also construct particular speaking positions that are privileged over others within the Life Orientation manuals and music.

Foucauldian applications of discourse have been taken up by feminist writers who sympathise with his view of power in order to recognise patriarchal structures of domination involved in the production of gender asymmetries, with the possibility of resisting dominant gendered discourses. It is for this reason, as well as its analytical focus, that I have relied on a Foucauldian discourse analytic method to investigate the dominant gendered discourses and gendered power relations found in the Life Orientation sexuality education manuals and the popular music. More specifically, I rely on Parker's (1992; 2002) version of discourse analysis because it is consistent with Foucault's view of discourse and power, whilst underscoring the ideological effects and institutional supports attached to the production of discourse, which feminism would emphasise in the production of unequal gendered meanings.

In the second theoretical thrust, I take up the Foucauldian feminist framework further to conceptualise how gendered messages mediate subjective experiences through subject positioning. Positioning is a discursive process that underscores how subjective experience and/or identities come to be produced by culturally and socially available discourses (Davies & Harré, 1990). Discourses construct subject positions which signal how speakers are positioned by discourse. In this way, discourses provide people with conceptual repertoires of representing themselves and others through subject positions that they reflexively and interactively draw upon in their talk. Positioning, then, attends to the gendered subject positions made available within the discourses that are deployed in Life Orientation sexuality education programmes and popular music, which speakers reflexively and interactive take up and/or resist. This is operationalised through Davies and Harré's (1990) positioning analysis. Their approach is consistent with a Foucauldian and feminist lens as I use it to show how a range of discourses, not limited to gender, provide gendered subject positions that learners and educators take up and/or resist.

The third theoretical thrust concerns conscious and unconscious investments in particular gendered subject positions. These investments refer to the conscious and unconscious motivations or reasons for speakers taking up and/or resisting subject positions, made available by social and cultural discourses (Hollway & Jefferson, 2012). Investments focus on the emotional experiences of speakers based on

their personal biography, amongst other things. Personal histories shape how people reflexively take up particular gendered subject positions over others. In this way, I draw on Hollway and Jefferson's (2012) psychosocial psychoanalytic approach to investigate learners' and educators' conscious and unconscious investments in the gendered subject positions they invoke when narrating their responses to Life Orientation sexuality education programmes and their favourite types of popular music. Their approach makes sense of how speakers position themselves in particular discourses as a defensive strategy that they may employ because they feel anxious within a particular intersubjective encounter that invokes past experiences. In this way, I draw on a psychosocial psychoanalytic analysis to understand how dominant gendered discourses, and gendered subject positions found in Life Orientation sexuality education programmes and popular music are mediated at the level of speakers' emotional and biographical lives and as defensive strategies.

6) Chapter outline

In light of introducing the rationale for, and contextualising, this research, I briefly provide an outline of the subsequent chapters and what each one contains. In the following chapter, Chapter Two, I outline the international context of sexuality education, specifically within the USA. Sexuality education has been researched extensively in the USA and has been instrumental in influencing sexuality education initiatives globally. I also attend to the African context and South Africa, in particular, in relation to discussing the developments of sexuality education USA. In the first half of the chapter I discuss three historical antecedents that created the conditions for formal school-based sexuality education. The first is the conceptualisation of adolescence that emerged in the West and in Africa during the early twentieth century. As briefly touched upon, adolescence was constructed as a time of transition and a distinct developmental period from childhood to adulthood that required expert and adult management and supervision. The second is the emergence of the social hygiene movement in the 1920s that sought to educate young people about preserving their sexual health given the high incidence of venereal diseases, prostitution and sexual degeneracy. The third is the sexual revolution of the 1960s that polarised debates on the need for sexuality education i.e. the sexual conservatives who promoted abstinence-only programs versus the sexual liberals who argued for sexual choice and autonomy. The second half of the chapter is devoted to outlining three common approaches to teaching school-based sexuality education that are currently used; namely, abstinence-only sexuality education, comprehensive sexuality education and critical sexuality education. The literature covered in this chapter is intended to talk through the socio-historical conditions that gave rise to and fuelled debates, even at present, within sexuality education.

Whilst in chapter Two I foreground the international context, in chapter Three I locate the status of sexuality education firmly within the South African context. The chapter is divided into four overarching sections. In the first section I outline four historical shifts that were instrumental in shaping the educational landscape in South Africa, in terms of formal schooling: the first shift – the arrival of the Dutch and the birth of formal education; the second shift – British rule, the 'natives' and the consolidation of formal sex education; the third shift – Afrikaner Nationalism and Bantu Education; and the fourth shift – post-1994 Outcomes Based Education (OBE) and Curriculum 2005. In the second section I focus on how sex and sexuality education emerged in South Africa through the need to regulate the sexuality of black African youth, which was seen by the white Afrikaner government as threatening to society. In the third section I look at the HIV/AIDS epidemic during the 1990s that became a rationale for the introduction of school-based sexuality education, when South African youth were presenting with a host of sexual and reproductive health difficulties. In the final section I focus on the latest formal sexuality education initiative by the Department of Education through the introduction of Life Orientation – a compulsory and examinable learning area taught at primary and high school level. In this section, I outline the aims and objectives of the Life Orientation curriculum, the emphasis it places on sexuality education as well as some of its challenges. The literature covered in this chapter looks at the important socio-historical processes that led to the introduction of Life Orientation as a school subject, which is currently the learning area through which sexuality education is taught in South African schools.

In Chapter Four, I shift the focus from sexuality education to emphasise the relationship between youth and popular music and in so doing there are three broad sections that emerge in this chapter. In the first section, I chronicle the history of the reciprocal relationship between youth culture and popular music. Popular music piggybacked on the emergence of youth cultures as a form of cultural revolt against the status quo in the US and UK during the 1920s, but was a way of appealing to the musical preferences of young people for commercial gain. In turn, popular music became a vehicle for the expression of particular youth subcultures that the youth increasingly incorporated into their lives. I also discuss the role popular music has played in the South African context. In the second section, I explore three broad cultural theories that have been used to conceptualise the relationship between youth/audiences and popular music. The first is Theodore Adorno's work on the aesthetics of music in which he claims that music contains powerful intrinsic properties such as the sound that produces and fosters critical thinking within audiences, which have implications for the production of social identities. The second focuses on the work of Walter Benjamin who emphasises the socio-cultural context within which music is always situated and as such contains cultural resources with which audiences identify. The

third emphasises that the relationship between audiences and popular music is dynamic and mutually constituted in that both exert an equal influence on each other. In the final section, I focus on the circulation of gendered and sexual meanings within music. As such, I look at how gender and sexuality in pop, rock and hip hop music have been taken up, reworked and resisted. The coverage of literature in this chapter is intended to highlight the role that socio-historical processes have played in influencing the content of popular music and how this has impacted on the lives of young people, to the extent that music acts as an informal medium of sexual and gendered socialisation.

In the next two chapters, I outline the theory and methodology employed for this research. In Chapter Five, I talk to an integrated theoretical approach that explores the dominant gendered discourses and gendered power relations. I also explore the gendered subject positions and conscious and unconscious investments in these positions, as found in the Life Orientation sexuality education programmes and popular music and the talk of learners and educators. The chapter is divided into five broad sections over which I argue for an integrated theoretical approach. In the first section, I ground the research problematic within an overarching social constructionist framework. Furthermore, I underscore discourse as a conceptual frame for understanding gender as being socially constructed and rooted in both social and linguistic practices. In the second section, I argue for a Foucauldian take on discourse that emphasises the conditions of possibility involved in the production of statements on gender that allow them to become normalised. Moreover, these statements are normalised through disciplinary practices and power relations that enable and constrain constructions of gender found in sexuality education programmes and popular music, as well as the possibilities for resisting dominant constructions. In the third section, I outline the contribution of feminism in foregrounding patriarchal structures of domination that produce dominant gendered discourses and gendered power relations. In the fourth section, I talk to how the institutional and ideological effects of dominant discourses on gender and gendered power relations mediate the subjective experiences of learners and educators. These discourses make available gendered subject positions that learners and educators reflexively take up and/or resist whilst interactively positioning others. In the final section I show how a psychosocial psychoanalytic approach illuminates learners' and educators' emotional experiences based on their biographical history, amidst social discourses on gender. I also consider the notion of conscious and unconscious investments in gendered subject positions based on defence strategies people use to avoid anxious feelings when discussing sexuality education and popular music.

In Chapter Six I extend the argument put forth in Chapter Five for an integrated approach combining Foucauldian-feminist, poststructural and psychosocial psychoanalytic theory to discuss the

methodological implications of doing so, over three broad sections. In the first section, I briefly look at the methodological tensions of combining research methods consistent with the integrated theoretical approach i.e. a discourse, positioning and psychosocial psychoanalytic analysis. The subtle contradictions between these methods are discussed as well as how they speak to each other in ways that extend and enrich, rather than foreclose, the analysis of the data. In the second section, I describe exactly how the theoretical constructs – discourse, positioning and conscious and unconscious investments – were applied during the data collection and analysis. This is followed by an outline of the main and sub-research questions, as well as a description of the schools and participants involved in the study. In the last section, I pay attention to the role of reflexivity and its implications for collecting and analysing the data. Thereafter, I discuss the vailidity and reliability of using discourse analysis and psychosocial psychoanalytic research methods. Lastly, I talk to the ethical challenges of the research.

The next four chapters consist of an analysis of the data. In these chapters, I talk to broad themes that emerged in the data, which I analysed according to the dominant gendered discourses, the interactive and reflexive gendered subject positions and the conscious and unconscious investments in these positions. In Chapter Seven, I analyse responsible sexuality that found expression alongside other themes related to sexual risk, choice and rights. Responsible sexuality was a major theme that constantly emerged across the data set. Firstly, I outline four intersecting discourses that contribute to the notion of responsible sexuality. These include (i) that the responsible sexuality discourse constructs a set of meanings on the enormity of sexual decision-making and sexual readiness; (ii) the sexual risk discourse emphasises risky behaviours and outcomes, and the incitement to risk management; (iii) the choice discourse elaborates on the knowledge needed to make correct choices, and the notion of the best choice – the incitement to abstain; (iv) the rights discourse talks to the incitement to know one's sexual rights. Secondly, I identifiy three sets of subject positions, including (i) the maternal and saviour subject position; (ii) the moral authority subject position and (iii) the sexually active versus the sexually abstinent subject position. Lastly, I demonstrate how and why an educator consciously and unconsciously invests in the saviour subject position she drew on through her talk.

In Chapter Eight, I analyse the theme of pleasure. I identified three descriptions of pleasure; namely, (i) sexual pleasure, (ii) romantic pleasure, and (iii) dating and/or relationship pleasure. Accordingly, I outline three discourses on pleasure: the sexual pleasure discourse constructs a set of meanings concerning the sexually-desiring and sexually desirable subject; the romantic love discourse articulates the meanings related to the loss of romantic love; and, the dating and/or relationship pleasure discourse

elaborates on a set of meanings regarding initiators and receivers of dating and/or relationship pleasure. Thereafter, I identify a set of subject positions related to initiators or receivers of sexual pleasure. Finally, I analyse how a male learner consciously and unconsciously invests in a serial dater subject position that he evoked in his narrative.

In Chapter Nine, I analyse the transitioning heteronormative adolescent and in it I identify two discourses: (i) the adolescent-as-transition discourse, and (ii) a heteronormative discourse. The first discourse coheres around three broad sets of meaning concerning the (i) physical (ii) emotional and (iii) social changes related to adolescence. The second discourse partners with the first one to produce a set of meanings concerning the heteronormative social roles for adolescents. I then shift the discussion to show how both discourses make available the typical emotionally unstable adolescent subject position and a related set of heteronormative subject positions. Lastly, I discuss how and why a male learner consciously and unconsciously invests in a 'playa' subject position that he drew on through his narrative.

In Chapter Ten, I analyse interrelated themes regarding gendered power relations, gender roles and raunch culture. I identify and discuss three discourses, including (i) a gendered power relations discourse that constructs a set of meanings concerning relationships characterised by gender and power, and the influence of gender inequality on relationships; (ii) a traditional versus progressive gender roles discourse that constructs a set of meanings related to traditional and progressive gender roles, and the powerful and threatening woman; and (iii) a raunch culture discourse that talks to a set of meanings concerning the sexually explicit woman. Therefater, I discuss two sets of dichotomised subject positions that the first two discourses make available: (i) the discriminating-man and the discriminated-against woman subject position, and (ii) the rapist and sexual victim subject position. Finally, I look at a female learner's conscious and unconscious investment in a mean girl subject position that she invoked through her talk.

This is then followed by Chapter Eleven, the final chapter, where I conclude the research. I discuss the findings in relation to the overarching and central argument concerning the dominant gendered discourses, gendered subject positions, and the investments in these positions found in the Life Orientation sexuality education programmes, the popular music and the talk of learners and educators. Firstly, I argue that, collectively, the dominant gendered discourses and power relations found across the data set construct a coherent set of meanings concerning *the fixed* versus *the contested nature of gender*. These meanings pertain to the Life Orientation sexuality education programmes which

produce rigid and binary constructions of gender that privilege the sexualities of young men over women. On the other hand, the popular music produces contested and fluid constructions of gender that potentially reflect equitable masculine and feminine sexualities and allow space for contestation and resistance. Secondly, I argue that the range of discourses produced during classroom lessons and one-to-one interviews construct a confluence of gendered subject positions that reflect multiple, complementary and opposing constructions of masculine and feminine sexuality. These constructions position male and female learners in simultaneously socially desirable and undesirable ways that represent points of ongoing tension. Thirdly, I illuminate the points of tension regarding the confluence of gendered subject positions during one-to-one interviews by showing three learners' and an educator's conscious and unconscious investment in unique gendered positions. These tensions could be seen in the personal biographies of the four participants, which highlight the emotional conflicts that they defended against in order to invest in unique subject positions. Such positions reflect emotional tensions of socially desirable and undesirable gendered subject positions, which point to the set of meanings concerning *the contested nature of gender*. Thereafter, I discuss the limitations of the study in relation to recommendations for future research, followed by a discussion of the implications of the research findings.

Chapter 2

The International Context of Sexuality Education – A Socio-Historical History and Formal Approaches

1) Introduction

Jones (2011) argues that sexuality education is a debatable concept as it may refer to school-based lessons, public campaigns or a series of lectures, although one usually imagines the classroom as its designated place. Before sexuality education was formally introduced in Anglophone schools in the US and UK, it took the form of informal and formal lectures as well as through public campaigns such as posters, radio and television, amidst other formats. In this chapter, I look at how the school came to be a place for sexuality education, but also how it is fraught with tensions, particularly regarding the content of what should be taught. I focus predominantly on the international context, specifically the US, where the inception of, and debates regarding, sexuality education have been extensively researched and have influenced global initiatives. The African context, specifically South Africa, is highlighted in terms of the influence the international context has had on sexuality education as a classroom practice.

The chapter is divided into two overarching sections. In the first section, I focus on the antecedents of sexuality education by firstly examining what has been termed the 'invention' or conceptualisation of adolescence. Adolescence is discussed in relation to the way in which it was constructed in the West and in Africa as a distinct developmental period of transition from childhood to adulthood, but also as an event that led to the need for sexuality education. Secondly, I discuss the need for sexuality education by highlighting two socio-historical events that provided a rationale for its introduction; that of the social hygiene movement of the 1920s and the sexual revolution of the 1960s and 1970s. The second section spells out the formal approaches to sexuality education that have been adopted in classroom practices. There are three distinct approaches that have been identified in the literature that are discussed here in terms of their features and scope, the strategies used and related outcomes and finally the criticisms levelled at their practice. The approaches include (i) abstinence-only sexuality education; (ii) comprehensive sexuality education and (iii) critical sexuality education.

2) Antecedents of sexuality education

In this section, I focus on socio-historical events that were antecedents to the implementation of sexuality education as a classroom practice in schools. In the first component, I discuss the invention of adolescence as a key factor in prolonging the formal schooling of children until the ages of 18 to 20. The invention of adolescence dovetailed with the latter two components as a formal rationale for the implementation of sexuality education in schools; those being the aforementioned social hygiene movement and the sexual revolution.

2.1) The invention of adolescence

2.1.1) The construction of adolescence in the West

Historical studies indicate that 'adolescence', as a phase of human development demarcating a time of transition from childhood to adulthood, emerged in the West at the start of the twentieth century (Dubas, Miller, & Peterson, 2003; Kett, 2003; Koops & Zuckerman, 2003). Stanley Hall has been singled out as the key figure who rigorously pursued adolescence as a scientific area of investigation. His voluminous text, *Adolescence: Its psychology and its relation to physiology, anthropology, sociology, sex, crime, religion and education* (1904), instrumentally set the scene for developing a psychology devoted to adolescence as a separate developmental stage. It was not until the time of Hall's groundbreaking seminal text that adolescence was perceived as a distinct period of transition. Hall infamously claimed, in relation to this work, that transitioning from childhood to adulthood mimics the way human beings transitioned from primitive states to civilised ones.

In his theory, Hall meticulously mapped the time of transition according to the physical, emotional and social changes children undergo between the ages of 14 to 20. Kett (2003) argues that there were three specific types of change that Hall's theory inscribed on adolescence. Firstly, emphasis was placed on the physical changes of puberty accompanying adolescence that gained notoriety as a marker of 'teenagehood'. This gave adolescence a specific identity that distinguished it from the previous umbrella category of 'youth'. Secondly, there were changes to be expected in the way in which children functioned emotionally and socially, which converged with the physical changes related to puberty. Thirdly, there was the 'storm and stress' or conflict accompanying adolescence: the inward normative emotional turmoil, tumultuousness and stress characterised by 'oscillations' and 'oppositions'. This was attributed to the primitive urges, characteristic of childhood, adjusting to the social order and civility characteristic of adulthood.

The three changes, described above, became a rationale for a moratorium on adult responsibility, according to Hall, which scholars refer to as 'the invention of adolescence' (Kett, 2003). However, Hall's thesis on adolescence did not transpire without a set of socio-historical conditions that made it possible for his theorising to gain immense popularity. Moran (2000) argues that it was the Victorian sexual ideology of the nineteenth century which made the invention of adolescence possible at the start of the twentieth century. Hall and his supporters grew up during the Victorian period when sex was only for married couples and for procreative purposes, and all sexual instincts and sexual urges had to be regulated, mastered and kept discrete. Accordingly, Moran (2000) argues that Hall successfully linked the invention of adolescence to the silence on sexuality that the Victorian era issued. Controlling sex and sexuality therefore became more important than ever as adolescence was a time of sexual awakening.

Dubas et al. (2003) argue that Hall's invention of adolescence was also informed by the introduction of mass schooling in the USA and Europe, particularly secondary schooling that began at the end of the nineteenth century. Schooling introduced further age grading where the education of children was identified and prolonged from the age of 12 to 14 to 18 to 20 years. The age range between 12 and 20 years was precisely the period Hall started writing about as adolescence – a time of transition. Hall's moratorium on adult responsibility during adolescence coincided with delaying children's independence and autonomy by prolonging the amount of time spent at school. Amidst other reasons, the need for high school education was about addressing the issue of teenagers simply 'hanging around' on the streets, which was seen as an outlet for satisfying sexual proclivities that arose during this age (Dubas et al, 2003).

Another event coinciding with a moratorium on adult responsibility during adolescence was the removal of children from the labour force, which pushed them into formal schooling during the early twentieth century (Dubas et al., 2003; Koops and Zuckerman, 2003). During the late nineteenth century there was a need for children to join the labour force rather than attend school, a trend heightened by the rapid and advanced stages of industrialisation that took place during this time (Dubas et al. 2003). However, in the early twentieth century, juvenile labour gradually decreased as the number of secondary school enrolments increased. The drop in juvenile labour was attributed to conditions in particular sectors such as agriculture where the demand for juvenile labour was previously the highest: the availability of adult immigrant workers, who proved more reliable than children, and technological advances, meant that adults and machines could easily replace the roles of

children (Koops & Zuckerman, 2003). Collectively, maintaining the sexual innocence and purity of children (sustained by the Victorian sexual ideology), prolonging their education due to introducing high schooling and their removal from the labour market set the scene for Hall's invention of adolescence.

2.1.2) The construction of adolescence in Africa

The invention of adolescence eventually found its way to the African context, primarily through colonialism. According to Caldwell et al. (1998), in pre-colonial Africa adolescence did not exist: the young who were unmarried transitioned into adulthood by getting married. Marriage, then, perceived as the time of transition from childhood into adulthood became the space that adolescence was able to insert itself. The invention of adolescence replaced marriage through the arrival of Christian missionaries from Britain who imposed schooling for black African youth. This was seen as a way of delaying marriage until children reached adulthood by keeping them in school for longer. It is also important to note that African societies did not simply accept the invention of adolescence as a way of replacing indigenous forms of knowledge about what the transition from childhood to adulthood meant for them. Rather, the ideas of the colonial settlers and African societies dovetailed in ways that produced new types of knowledge that reflected new and unique cultural systems.

Continuing with the phenomenon of bringing the concept of adolescence to African societies, a central mechanism for how this was imparted was through the introduction of formal schooling. The arrival of missionaries played a key role in establishing Christian-based schooling which was later taken over by the colonial-based governments. This, of course, does not mean that education did not feature in pre-colonial African societies. Instead, White (1996) argues that teaching and learning took place within communal settings and involved the use of games, storytelling and initiation practices, whilst many members in the community took on the role as teacher. However, what colonialism did introduce was that learning should take place in classrooms that separated and grouped children according to chronological age, and teaching should occur daily, with specific teachers assessing particular skills through a series of tests. This type of schooling resembled that of the West.

The introduction of formal schooling in African societies represented an installation of adolescence as period that young people could anticipate, especially as they were still dependent and unmarried (Caldwell et al., 1998). Moreover, schooling literally removed young people from the practices of the community whilst uniting them with peers similar to their age group. In the process and significantly, formal schooling created a shift in authority figures to whom young people were accountable from the

system of the family or clan to the appointment of missionaries or government (Caldwell et al., 1998). In this way, the cultural appropriation of the colonial powers could not be underestimated; education, and the invention of adolescence as a covert agenda, was thought to civilise and bring African societies to a higher level of consciousness (White, 1996).

According to Macleod (2011), the introduction of formal schooling in African societies not only constructed young people as adolescent subjects, but also represented a site for evolving an entire society from a 'primitive' state to a 'civilised' one. Western theorists referred to the transition from childhood to adulthood, as the time of adolescence, mimicking the transition of humankind from primitiveness to civilisation, as noted by Hall. Young people, then, carried the burdensome task of not only transitioning from childhood to adulthood but also shifting Africans from a state of primitiveness to a civilised state. In fact, Macleod (2009) found sexuality education manuals at present in South Africa riddled with metaphors of danger and disease, rooted in colonialist assumptions of adolescence as recourse to civility, away from the degeneration associated with sex that is attached to primitiveness. In this way, school-based sexuality education initiatives play a key role in the construction of adolescence as a time of transition from childhood to adulthood, which is ultimately aimed at regulating the sexualities of young people.

The introduction of schooling and Christianity discouraged polygamy, initiation practices and early marriage that contributed to the construction of adolescence in African societies. The removal of these practices delayed children's dependency on their parents as they attended school and would eventually marry and practice monogamy at an age deemed appropriate (Caldwell et al., 1998). Furthermore, the introduction of economies based on free markets to African societies also meant that schools would equip young people with the necessary skills for them to compete in and secure jobs in different industries (Caldwell et al., 1998). This ultimately led to rapid industrialisation and urbanisation which increased the number of young people living in urban settings and removed them from the traditional structures of the family that characterised rural life. As a result, there were several factors such as schooling, Christian teachings, industrialisation and urbanisation that gradually exposed black African youth to Western youth culture through introducing them to different ways of life, which had a role to play in orienting them to adolescence as a time of transition (Caldwell et al., 1984).

2.2) The rationale for sex education

The construction of adolescence in the West, Africa and elsewhere was instrumental in lending support and legitimacy to sexuality education campaigns and initiatives for young people. As Moran (2000)

argues, once the adolescent had been created it needed to be managed; particularly the sexual needs of the adolescent that needed to be controlled and mastered as this was a time, according to Hall (1904), of sexual awakening. This was in accordance with the project of civilising and fostering a higher form of consciousness and a set of competencies in young people in order to respond to the demands of capitalist society and focus their attention on productivity rather than satisfying sexual urges. The invention of adolescence was not alone in prompting the need for sexuality education as many scholars have observed that the social hygiene movement was also instrumental. In the following section, I detail how the social hygiene movement informed the campaign for sexuality education.

2.2.1) The social hygiene movement

Imber (1984) traces the origins of the social hygiene movement to the first few years of the twentieth century. A New York physician, Prince Morrow, started to organise a campaign that aimed to curb the high incidence of venereal diseases, prostitution and sexual degeneracy. These factors were understood as a serious threat to upholding the values of family life which represented the bedrock of social order, without which urban decay would ensue (Luker, 1998; 2007; Moran, 2000). More strategically, the social hygiene movement aimed to achieve their goal through public sex education programmes; as it expanded and became more organised, it developed a programme to persuade young people to abstain from sex until marriage (Strong, 1972). This, however, conflicted with general views of Western society at the time; that children should not be exposed to any matters pertaining to sex. Imber (1984) notes that the movement did not completely succeed in the implementation of sex education as a permanent part of the school curriculum at the time but its goals had a lasting effect on education and society.

Imber (1984) argues that the social hygiene movement's goal is echoed in current sexuality education programmes and curriculum because of its alignment with public health campaigns against malaria and yellow fever emerging near the end of the nineteenth century. These campaigns set the scene in the early twentieth century for Morrow and his colleagues to take on the roles of 'sanitarians' and 'guardians' of public health as leading the fight against venereal disease. Morrow and his followers were able to perform this function because of facts that were discovered about venereal disease. This included, amongst others, a high incidence of venereal disease amongst young people, and that venereal disease not only afflicted the poor but had become a problem amongst the middle class. Scientists published statistics on the high prevalence of venereal disease; in Paris, London and New York it was estimated that 15 to 19 percent of patients admitted to hospital were carriers of venereal diseases (Imber, 1984).

According to Imber (1984), the knowledge established concerning venereal disease fuelled a rationale for the social hygiene movement in four ways. Firstly, the fact that venereal diseases affected the wives of men who frequented brothels dispelled the belief that it was a punishment from God and that action should be taken to implement higher levels of sexual health consciousness. Secondly, the rapid increase in the rate of infection amongst the middle class created a sense of urgency for a necessary course of action. Thirdly, the high incidence of venereal disease amongst young people warranted the movement, aiming their preventive work at this social group. Finally, the emergence of scientific information as key to the sexual health of young people reflected the lack of parents' ability to provide sex education. The question then emerged: which agency would perform the role of sex educator outside of the family? For social hygiene reformers, the school represented the most appropriate agency. The movement hoped to exploit schools' focus on developing the social character of American youth by including sexuality education in the curriculum.

Within the South African context during the early twentieth century, there was no social hygiene movement. The arrival of the British during the early twentieth century and the introduction of schooling through Christian missionaries ensured a complete silence on the subject of sex in public health and school spaces (Reid & Walker, 2005). It was not until the 1940s that movements resembling the social hygiene reformers began advocating action regarding sexuality. This was spurred by the apartheid government's need to regulate the sexuality of African youth (Erlank, 2001; 2008). Chapter Three takes up the history of education in South Africa, particularly sex education, in more detail. For now, suffice it to say that, like the West, efforts to sanitise the sexuality, of black youth in particular, did not immediately lead to sex education at schools but left an insidious mark on formal sexuality education initiatives during the late 1990s.

Carter (2001) writes that, in the US from 1910 to 1940, the social hygiene movement's sex education initiative struggled to reconcile educating young people from the dangers of sex with the possibility of inadvertently promoting licentiousness. Put in another way, the movement faced the challenge of how to educate young people about sex whilst simultaneously securing premarital chastity and premarital monogamy. Carter (2001) argues that as a result, this created an ambivalence regarding sexual knowledge that was imparted to the youth at the time. On the one hand, accurate scientific knowledge aimed to protect the family and nation from venereal diseases by combating sexual ignorance, but received backlash from moralists for inciting too much sexual curiosity amongst the youth. On the other hand, Moran (2000) argues that scientific facts on sex were scorned by people who felt it

intruded upon a private moral space such as the home. This spoke to fundamental tensions amongst scientists and moralists on the dangers of ignorance versus the dangers of education. In other words, the rationale for sex education during this time became about a battle between scientific truths and moral ideals concerning sex for young people.

2.2.2) The sexual revolution

Luker (2007) argues that the social hygiene movement paved the way for another important shift in thinking about sexuality education that was to shape the future of debates, discussions and initiatives: the sexual revolution of the 1960s in the USA. Whatever aforementioned divisions existed during the 1910s and 1940s on sex education, the 1960s and 1970s did little to silence the ideological battle that was about to ensue on the subject of sexuality education initiatives in schools. This period constructed the largest schism regarding the debates on sexuality education, which produced identifiable political positions for the first time on the subject: the sexual liberals versus the sexual conservatives. Naturally, the sexual revolution of the 1960s would come to produce a contingent of sexual liberals; they viewed sex positively and propagated notions of sexual autonomy and choice, especially for women and other disenfranchised groups. However, the sexual conservatives criticised the sexual liberals for undermining the values of marriage and family by giving women and children a false sense of sexual independence that only made them vulnerable to being exploited sexually.

Irvine (2002) traces the driving force behind the sexually liberal view on sex education to the formal establishment of the Sex Information Education Council of the United States (SIECUS) in 1964, led by Dr. Mary Steichen Calderone and comprising physicians, academics and religious leaders. They channelled the sexual revolution America was experiencing into a campaign for sex education that was free from the moralistic condemnation of sexuality. During this time, SIECUS coined their approach ‘comprehensive sex education’ which represented a value-free approach aimed at teaching learners about the ‘straight facts’ with regard to contraception, pregnancy, parenthood, virginity and other factors related to the sexual livelihoods of young people. Learners were encouraged to make up their own minds and take decisions regarding their sexuality that reflected individual choice. This event importantly popularised the ‘comprehensive sexuality education’ approach currently used in schools (Irvine, 2002).

During this time, Irvine (2002) reports that SIECUS received strong opposition from a group of conservative sex education campaigners who accused SIECUS of eroding the moral fabric of America’s youth. So emphatic was this resistance that they resorted to accusing SIECUS leaders of

being affiliated with a communist agenda. Sex education was said to be part of a deeper conspiracy to demoralise the youth of America in anticipation of a communist takeover. More hyperbolically, the resistance against the sexual revolution conjured up and rehashed what Irvine (2002) refers to as 'depravity narratives'; it was said that sex educators would take off all their clothes in view of learners, whilst encouraging learners to engage in mutual sexual exploration. These claims were designed to strike fear into parents' views of SIECUS as a movement that promoted promiscuity and undermined traditional gender roles. Irvine (2002) argues that this resistance gained sufficient momentum and snowballed into the New Right. They led the fight against sex education and coined the 'abstinence-only' approach, which had far-reaching consequences for decades to come, up until today, especially in terms of influencing formal sexuality education programmes.

Within the South African context, the 1960s did not reflect the sexual revolution of the USA. Rather it was a time in which the sexuality of black African youth was seen as running rampant by the South African apartheid government (Erlank, 2008). This was due to rapid industrialisation and the increasing number of young black people migrating from the rural countryside to the cities in search of paid work. Young black people were experiencing a sexual freedom in the cities because they were away from their elders in the countryside who would normally regulate their behaviour, as sexual intercourse was considered to be reserved for marriage. In this way, rapid industrialisation and urbanisation created a set of conditions in the mid-twentieth century that stripped away traditional sexual values and norms of African youth, giving way to supposed licentious behaviour. Like the USA, this was met with strong opposition from the apartheid government, who advocated for what resembled abstinence-only programs in an attempt to regulate the sexuality of black African youth. Whilst there was no formal sexual liberal movement for sexuality education in South Africa like there was for the USA, there was a sense that the sexuality of young black people had to be controlled. However, the debates around comprehensive versus abstinence-only sexuality education did inform the formal introduction of sexuality education in South African post-1994, with the state opting for the ABCD approach (abstain, be faithful, condomise and delay sexual activity). Although this is, in essence, a comprehensive approach, there is a strong emphasis on abstinence.

In essence, the 1960s sexual revolution was instrumental in inciting conflict between opposing sexuality education ideologies that would come to shape the curriculum used in schools in the 1970's and 1980's in the USA (Luker, 2007). For instance, the 1970s witnessed the Christian Right movement/campaign developing sexual institutions of their own such as Christian marriage counselling centres and 'ex-gay' ministries, in order to fashion a Christian sexuality (Irvine, 2002). By

the 1980s, the Christian Right broadened its sexuality network to include teenage sexuality; earlier efforts that promoted a silence in sexuality education were eclipsed by a formal 'abstinence-only' approach they championed (Irvine, 2002). Therefore, the 1960s sexual revolution prompted the New Right to tighten their hold on an approach to sexuality education that delimited sexual autonomy and freedom in favour of abstinence. Luker (2007) argues that present-day debates on sexuality education in schools are rooted in the sexual revolution of the 1960s, which in turn was fuelled by the aforementioned 1920s social hygiene movement, seen as a progressive era on sexuality education.

3) Sexuality education approaches

I now go on to discuss three formal approaches to sexuality education offered in schools as identified in the literature which I touched upon earlier that include: (i) abstinence-only sexuality education; (ii) comprehensive sexuality education and (iii) critical sexuality education. I talk about all three approaches, firstly in terms of how each one conceptualises sexuality education which speaks to the key features and scope, and also how one can distinguish one approach from other. Secondly, I outine the strategies of each approach in terms of specific methods used for teaching sexuality education and the effectiveness of these is discussed. Finally, I describe the shortcomings of each approach in terms of their usefulness for learners.

3.1) 'Abstinence-only' sexuality education

3.1.1) Definition and scope

The 'progressive' stance on sex during the 1920s and 1960s in Anglophone countries were historical antecedents that paved the way for the first formal initiatives for an abstinence-only approach to sexuality education. During the 1980s, the US federal government passed the Adolescent Family Life Act. This laid the groundwork for the broader expansion of the abstinence-only education approach that was passed in 1996 under the Welfare Reform Act during Bill Clinton's presidency (Kantor, Santelli, Teitler, & Balmer, 2008). The latter led to a more formal development of an abstinence-only curriculum based on an eight point definition, also known as the '(a) to (h)' definition of abstinence-only sex education (Young & Goldfarb, 2000). Furthermore, Kantor and Bacon (2002) note that from the 1980s to 2008, the US government has increasingly supported policies favouring abstinence-only education, as evidenced by the funding for these programs increasing from $73 million in 2001 to $176 million in 2008.

In defining abstinence-only sexuality education, the '(a) to (h)' definition, as stipulated by the Welfare Reform Act, is used, as it represents one of the first formal attempts to influence the school curriculum

(Young & Goldfarb, 2000). Firstly, the exclusive purpose of this approach should be teaching the social, psychological, and health gains to be realised by abstaining from sexual activity. Secondly, abstinence from sexual activity outside marriage is the expected standard for all school-going children. Thirdly, abstinence from sexual activity is the only watertight way of avoiding out-of-wedlock pregnancy, STDs, and other associated health problems. Fourthly, a mutually faithful monogamous relationship in the context of marriage is the expected standard of human sexual activity. Fifthly, sexual activity outside marriage is likely to have negative psychological and physical effects. Sixthly, bearing children out-of-wedlock is likely to have harmful consequences for the child, the child's parents and society, such as a lack of finances, on the part of the child's parents, growing up with a single parent, etc. Seventhly, young people should reject sexual advances and should be aware of how alcohol and drug use can increase vulnerability to sexual advances. Finally, it is important to attain self-sufficiency before engaging in sexual activity.

On defining abstinence-only education, Goodson et al. (2003) have observed alternative and competing labels such as 'abstinence-based', 'abstinence-plus, 'abstinence-only-until-marriage' and 'Christian abstinence only'. However, Goodson et al. (2003) argue that all these labels share three concerns related to teaching abstinence-only education which includes the ideas that (i) marriage is the only morally acceptable context for all sexual activity; (ii) abstinence from any sexual behaviour until marriage must be exercised; and (iii) contraceptive use and disease-prevention methods should be omitted from curricula. In comparison to the US, Francis and DePalma (2014) argue that South Africa introduced abstinent-only approaches in the late 1990s, controversially so, in the wake of the HIV/AIDS epidemic. However, in South Africa, abstinence-only education has been defined along the ABCD campaign (abstinence, be faithful, condomise, delayed sexual activity) which situates abstinence not as an option for young people but as a central one (Campbell & MacPhail, 2002; Morrell et al., 2002; Reddy, 2005; Selikow et al., 2009). Barnett and Parkhurst (2005) observe that the ABCD ranking suggests that abstinence is the best and preferred choice, monogamy is second and condom use and delaying sexual activity are the weaker choices. In this way, abstinence is used divisively to define itself as the best amongst other choices. Pattman and Chege (2003) argue that when abstinence is used in a context riddled with HIV, such as South Africa, sexuality education is taught as a moral injunction against premarital sex.

Jones (2011) describes abstinence-only education as a conservative approach to teaching sex; it is informed by competing and complementary discourses that are not always scientifically factual. The first is a storks-and-fairies discourse that stems from general European folklore since the early 1990s

that formed part of children's fiction. This discourse upholds that children are innocent and must be protected from sexual information, which is substituted for fictional and mythical creatures as metaphors for sexual reproduction (Swain, Warne, & Hillel, 2004). The second is the non-approach discourse. Moran (2000) traces it to the 1980s in the USA where it was propagated by parent groups who felt decisions on sexuality content should be left to an external authority such as parents or the church. This discourse silences sexual discussions of any kind, especially discussions carried out within schools. The third is the physical hygiene discourse. Martin (2004) argues that it emerged in the early 1900s and focused on physical hygiene related to aspects of sexual functioning. This discourse asserts that a child's body must be managed through products and practices that caution against sexual impurity and other sexually unhygienic deviations such as masturbation, promiscuity, homosexuality, premarital sex and prostitution. The fourth is a discourse on sexual morality. Carlson (1992) traces it to the early twentieth century and it carried the ideology of Victorian Puritanism regarding sexuality. This discourse promotes an asceticism related to sexual pleasure which should only be expressed within the context of marriage and for procreative purposes. The fifth is a discourse on the birds-and-bees which emerged in Anglophone countries in the late 1800s and early 1900s from a variety of naturalists who considered sexual interaction as natural (Swain et al, 2004). This discourse uses metaphors related to natural reproduction to describe sexual activity, in order to protect childhood purity whilst satisfying sexual curiosity (Swain et al, 2004). The sixth is a discourse on biological essentialism that Moran (2000) argues has roots in the work of Stanley Hall, Thomas Galloway and Darwinism who elaborated on the sexual instinct and a need for it to be managed. This discourse reduces sex and sexuality to scientific understandings of human reproduction with an emphasis on sexual anatomy (Burt & Brower Meeks, 1987). The final discourse is a Christian discourse which emerged in the early 1970s in America and argues that sexual activity should only occur within the context of a monogamous marriage (Irvine, 2002).

3.1.2) Strategies and outcomes

In the US, a popular strategy of abstinence-only programmes has been the promotion of public virginity pledges; young people take an oath to remain virgins until they are married (Kantor et al, 2008). Public pledging campaigns have mostly been initiated outside the school context at churches and youth rallies, for instance. According to Bearman and Bruckner (2001) in the US, only three years after the inception of the pledging movement, 2.2 million adolescents had taken the pledge (12 percent of all US adolescents). Furthermore, Bearman and Bruckner's study (2001) revealed that the pledges are only effective amongst younger adolescents (12 to 14 years), but among older adolescents the

value of pledging diminishes. However, even younger adolescents have eventually succumbed to the pressures of premarital sex (Bearman and Bruckner, 2001).

In a follow-up study, Bruckner and Bearman (2005) spoke to the relationship between adolescents who take the pledge, especially in contexts where pledges last longer, versus adolescents who do not pledge. Firstly, those who pledged did not show a decrease in the risk of STDs. Second, whilst pledgers initiated sex at older ages than non-pledgers and tended to marry early, 88 percent of pledgers did not honour the pledge but rather engaged in intercourse before marriage. Third, pledgers were less likely to use condoms the first time they had sex and were most likely to report having only oral and anal sex than non-pledgers. Collectively, these insights meant that while pledgers were likely to have fewer partners than non-pledgers, based on the lower rate of condom use and engaging in oral and anal sex as a substitution for vaginal sex, the rates of STDs were not any different to the non-pledgers. Moreover, pledgers were less likely to have tested and been diagnosed for STDs, suggesting ignorance or a lack of awareness of the risks of their behaviour. In this way, pledging as an abstinence-only strategy can have adverse health outcomes for young people.

With regard to abstinence-only based strategies in the classroom aimed at delaying sexual activity, reducing teenage pregnancy, and the contracting of STDs and HIV/AIDS, numerous studies have indicated that such education programmes have no significant impact in reducing long-term sexual activity before marriage (Denny & Young, 2006; Kantor et al, 2008; Kirby, 2001; Kohler, Manhart, & Lafferty, 2008; Underhill, Montgomery, & Operario, 2007). In fact, studies have shown that adolescents who receive abstinence-only sex education were at greater risk for teenage pregnancy, STDs and HIV/AIDS, because the programmes consider contraceptive use as inciting sexual activity, which leaves learners with no sexual knowledge regarding the use of contraception (Trenholm, Devaney, Fortson, Quay, Wheeler, & Clark, 2007; Kirby, 2008).

In the South African context, the practice of virginity testing emerged in the province of KwaZulu-Natal after the country's first democratic election during the HIV/AIDS pandemic (Vincent, 2006). Whilst there was no formal policy in South Africa for abstinence-only education, virginity testing represented one such strategy, like virginity pledgers in the US, carried out at 'virginity testing events' that take place during certain months of the year (Leclerc-Madlala, 2001; Scorgie, 2002). Leclerc (2001) describes virginity testing as the practice and process of examining girls to ascertain if they are sexually chaste. The rationale for the practice was in response to the rise of HIV/AIDS, STDs and teenage pregnancy amongst Zulu-speaking people. Many rural women, grandmothers and mothers felt

that virginity testing was the only way of preserving the lost cultural values of chastity before marriage, which was destroying the moral fabric of their community (Leclerc, 2001; Scorgie 2002). In many ways, virginity testing resembled formal abstinence-only education initiatives, but was carried out in communities, rather than in the classrooms. A study conducted by Taylor, Dlamini, Sathiparsad, Jinabhai, and de Vries (2007) at a rural secondary school in KwaZulu-Natal showed that the prevalence of virginity testing was high, with learners perceiving more advantages than disadvantages regarding this practice. However, the study found that virginity testing did not prohibit girls from sexual activity, nor did participating in virginity testing encourage safe sex practices such as contraception, but rather made girls more susceptible to HIV/AIDS, STDs and pregnancy.

Concerning abstinence-based approaches used in classrooms within South Africa, McCauley (2003) found that 81 percent of learners abstained from sexual activity (87 percent in females and 75 percent in males) after experiencing this form of sex education. The reasons that learners cited for abstaining from sex was that it protected them from STDs and pregnancy. However, a study by Liebowitz (2004) on assessing transitions into adulthood concluded that abstinence taught through the ABCD model during Life Skills education had no impact on sexual behaviours as it did not discourage the practice of having multiple partners, delay sexual debut and or encourage secondary abstinence. The research seems to indicate that whilst learners may favour abstinence-based approaches on how to avoid HIV/AIDS, STDs and pregnancy, in actuality they do not abstain from sex.

3.1.3) Criticisms

Ott and Santelli (2007) argue that the biggest criticism of abstinence-only education is that it raises ethical and human rights concerns with respect to adolescent learners' access and right to information concerning their sexual health, especially when abstinence is punted as the sole choice. This criticism is in light of sexual and reproductive health difficulties adolescents face such as HIV/AIDS, STDs, unwanted teenage pregnancy and unsafe abortions, and the withholding of information on other aspects of sexuality such as contraception. Kantor et al. (2008) raise two ethical issues regarding informed consent and beneficence that abstinence-only programs are charged with not observing. Informed consent needs to satisfy three conditions; (i) that learners receive accurate and complete information; (ii) that information is provided in an understandable way; and (iii) learners should be allowed to freely choose and should not be coerced to choose a particular option. Beneficence means that information provided must benefit learners rather than cause them harm. These ethical concerns have huge implications, especially for the South African context where HIV/AIDS, STDs and unwanted teenage pregnancy are rife amongst young people because they require information in order

to protect their sexual health and engage in safe sex practices, rather than simply abstain from sex. Using an abstinence-only approach raises concerns about the sexual health of learners being jeopardised (as indicated above).

Another criticism has been what Kantor et al. (2008) refer to as the medical accuracy of abstinence-only programs. An ongoing concern is that important information concerning sexual health in such programs is scientifically inaccurate, specifically information on the efficacy of condoms and contraception, gender, sexual orientation and the risks of sexual activity. For instance, Santelli (2008) reviewed countless abstinence-only programmes and found that they distorted information about condoms in ways that were inconsistent with major reviews on the efficacy of condom use in terms of preventing HIV/AIDS, STDs and teenage pregnancy. Moreover, Kantor et al. (2008) have noted that abstinence-only programs also contained inaccurate information on the risks of abortion, conflate religious and scientific knowledge, perpetuate stereotypes about girls and boys/women and men as scientific facts and promote other scientific inaccuracies such as false statements that HIV can be transmitted through sweat and tears.

Other criticisms of abstinence-only programmes include its ignorance of the consequences of sexual acts in ways that leave certain social groups vulnerable – in particular, critics argue that girls are left unprepared for, and unprotected from, the likelihood of sexual abuse, rape or pregnancy (Swain et al., 2004). Carlson (1992) goes on to argue that such a curriculum places restrictions on female sexuality whilst it implicitly reinforces the status quo of the privileges of male sexuality. Furthermore, Swain et al. (2004) argue that the central agenda of the approach - abstinence until marriage - presupposes heterosexual relationships, whilst neglecting and excluding same sex, and other relationship possibilities. This also inhibits understandings of gender diversity and rather promotes exclusionary culturally-valued ideals of masculinity and femininity. In this way, identities and relationship practices that are not heteronormative are considered abnormal and abhorrent.

3.2) Comprehensive sexuality education

3.2.1) Definition and scope

Kirby (2008) defines comprehensive sexuality education as an approach aimed at risk reduction related to the sexual and reproductive health of young people. These risks include the threat of HIV/AIDS, STDs, unwanted teenage pregnancy and unsafe abortion. Nicoletti and Tonelli (2009) argue that risk reduction acknowledges the social realities with which adolescents have to contend within the social

arena. Starkman and Rajani (2002) also argue that what differentiates comprehensive programmes from abstinence-only ones is that the former is an attempt to engage with the fact that adolescents are sexually active and that provision is made for their protection from the risks, whilst the latter ignores these realities and does not create a platform where the issues can be raised (Starkman & Rajani, 2002). However, comprehensive programmes, like abstinence-only ones, also teach abstinence, but alongside encouraging risk reduction, which the latter approach forgoes (Kirby, 2008). The idea is to provide learners with knowledge and choices in order to make informed decisions concerning their sexual health. The aims and objectives of comprehensive sexuality education are essentially two-fold: (1) they underscore the benefits of abstinence which can protect adolescents from sexual and reproductive health difficulties until such a time when they are in a monogamous, safe and trusting relationship; and, (2) should adolescents decide to forgo abstinence, they teach them about the risks associated with sex in order to implement safe sex practices (Lindberg, Santelli, & Singh, 2006).

In relation to sex education approaches, Darroch, Landry, and Singh (2000) observed trends in formal sex education in the United States during the late 1980s that led to the implementation of comprehensive education strategies, even though abstinence approaches still dominated the curriculum. Sexuality education instruction was offered in public schools and focused on sexual decision-making, abstinence and birth control methods; it is estimated that around 60 to 80 percent of schools covered abortion, same sex attraction and safe sex practices Even though comprehensive sexuality education proved to reduce sexual risks, abstinence increasingly came to dominate sex education via formal policy and funding. It is interesting to note that this coincided with an increase in sexual and reproductive health difficulties such as HIV/AIDS, STDs, unwanted teenage pregnancies and unsafe abortions (Henshaw & Feivelson, 2000; Jones, Darroch, & Henshaw, 2002; Singh & Darroch, 1999). Comprehensive initiatives seemed to merely supplement abstinence programmes, which remained the dominant approach in the US.

Within the South African context, Pettifor et al. (2005) argue that sexuality education was the primary vehicle through which HIV/AIDS programmes were directed. This was in light of the country-wide epidemic during the late 1990s, with high prevalence rates amongst 14- to 24-year-olds. Khoza (2004) also reported that there were approximately 11 million cases of STDs in South Africa each year, with more than 50 percent of this number presenting in young people between the ages of 15 to 20. These numbers were an indication of the high number of young people who were sexually active. More than ever, then, in the history of South Africa, there was a need for sexuality education. This led to HIV/AIDS-based educational programmes that were introduced in schools in 1998 through a subject

called Life Skills. In many ways, HIV/AIDS-based education was South Africa's version of the comprehensive approach. The aims and goals of comprehensive sexuality education, particularly the emphasis on HIV/AIDS education, became a rationale for formal sexuality education instruction at schools in South Africa. Like the USA, even though comprehensive sexuality education was adopted as the formal approach, it was taught in conjunction with the abstinence approach, where the latter was in fact encouraged over safe sex practices.

Jones (2011) argues that the comprehensive-based curriculum represents a liberal approach to teaching sex and it is informed by competing and complementary discourses. These discourses reflect the scope of the comprehensive approach and how it is interwoven with a myriad of pedagogical practices. The first discourse is a sexual liberationist discourse, which emerged during the 1960s in the US, in which sexual knowledge is seen as being created and expanded through research in a way that upholds sexual diversity and an individual's sexual rights (Elia, 2005). The second is a discourse of sexual risk that can be traced to the 1930s and '40s in which there was an attempt to clamp down on venereal diseases in the West and which focused on elaborating the dangers related to sex (Carlson, 1992). The third is a discourse of sexual readiness which has its roots in the 1960s when developmental psychology emphasised stages and individualised ways in which children develop (Ashcraft, 2006). The discourse is founded on educators not telling learners when they should have sex but rather equipping them with the skills and knowledge to ascertain on their own when they are ready (Ashcraft, 2006). The fourth is a discourse of effective relationships, which has its roots in family- and couples-based therapy, in which the aim is to teach learners about the skills and principles involved in creating and sustaining satisfying, supportive and stable relationships (Markman & Halford, 2005). The fifth is a discourse of controversial issues that arose in the 1960s, in which the aim is to protect schools from lawsuits by foregrounding pertinent issues based on student choice (Dewhurst, 1992). Finally, the liberal feminist discourse emerged out of the liberalism movements during the eighteenth century in the West, in which the conscientisation of learners, concerning the overarching patriarchal structures of domination involved in the oppression of women, is foregrounded (Moran, 2000).

3.2.2) Strategies and outcomes

Comprehensive sexuality education relies chiefly on cognitive-behavioural approaches to influence learners' thoughts, feelings and behaviours in order to reduce the risk of incurring a host of sexual and reproductive health difficulties. Broadly, these strategies are designed to promote and encourage condom use, the use of other contraceptives and generally safe sex practices, especially within a context of HIV/AIDS education (Eisen, Zellman, & McAlister, 1990; Fields, 2008; Ku, Sonenstein, &

Pleck, 1992). Coates, Richter, and Caceres (2008) outline four key strategies of comprehensive sexuality education programmes. Firstly, strategies are steeped in HIV prevention goals that aim to effect behavioural change between individuals and across large groups of at-risk people. Secondly, the approach uses persuasive education, peer education and a range of innovative approaches to encourage behavioural change. Thirdly, the goals of behavioural change include increased knowledge, stigma reduction, increased access to services, delay of onset of first-time intercourse, a decrease in the number of sexual partners, an increase in condom use and sales and a decrease in the sharing of contaminated narcotic injection equipment. Fourth and finally, it teaches learners that access to HIV prevention information, messages, skills and technologies is an essential and fundamental human right. Therefore, these strategies are a means of equipping adolescent learners with the tools in order to avoid the risks associated with sex. Comprehensive sexuality education, then, acts as a preventive measure.

Within the South African context, particularly during the late 1990s, comprehensive sexuality education was heavily promoted through public campaigns and the Life Skills and HIV/AIDS education teaching programmes in schools. The strategies were aimed at increasing young people's knowledge to assist in developing skills that would protect them from HIV/AIDS, to promote positive and responsible attitudes, and, lastly, to create behavioural changes in order to reduce the risk of HIV infection (Magnani et al, 2005; Visser, 2005). These strategies are also premised on cognitive behavioural theories: specifically, the theory of reasoned action, the health belief model, Bandura's social learning theory and the AIDS risk reduction model. Collectively, these theories aim to intervene at a behavioural level in order to create behaviour change; they conceptualise the individual as a rational subject who is in the best position to change his/her behaviour if s/he is given accurate knowledge regarding their well-being and tools in order to adjust their behaviour for more positive outcomes. According to Harrison, Smit, and Meyer (2000), these theories also emphasise the importance of group norms and collective change. Therefore, these comprehensive-based strategies conceptualise an autonomous individual subject who is capable of altering her/his behaviour in relation to their context.

In the US, several studies have investigated the relationship between approaches to teaching sexuality education in light of the incidence of sexual and reproductive health difficulties. They concluded that comprehensive sexuality education approaches are successful in preventing adolescents from engaging in risky sexual behaviours, whilst not inciting them to engage in sexual activity (Constantine, Jerman & Huang, 2007; Dawson, 1986; Darroch-Forrest & Silverman, 1989; Donovan, 1998; Landry, Darroch, Singh, & Higgins, 2003; Lindberg, Ku, & Sonenstein, 2000; Marsiglio & Mott, 1986;

Sonenstein, Ku, Lindberg, Turner, & Pleck, 1998; Sonenstein, Pleck, & Ku, 1989; Wilson, 2000). Based on how effective comprehensive sexuality education has been, countries have been increasingly adopting this approach to combat sexual and reproductive health difficulties.

In developing contexts like sub-Saharan Africa, studies show there is little evidence that comprehensive sexuality education has a direct impact on the biological measure of risk reduction with regard to HIV/AIDS and STDs (Kirby, Laris, & Rolleri, 2007; Wegbreit, Bertozzi, DeMaria & Padian, 2006; Wellings, Collumbien, Slaymaker, Singh, Hodges, Patel, Bajos, 2006). However, within the South African context, research reveals that comprehensive approaches have shown some promise in reducing HIV-related risk behaviours related to biological outcomes (Jewkes, Nduna, Levin, Jama, Dunkle, Puren & Duvvury, 2008; Pronyk, Hargreaves, Kim, Morison, Phetla, Watts, Busza & Porter, 2006; Pronyk, Kim, Abramsky, Phetla, Hargreaves, Morison, Watts & Busza, 2008). These interventions have also addressed HIV-related structural factors or the social influences underpinning HIV-risk, such as gender-based violence and the impoverishment of women. More recently, Harrison, Newell, Imrie, and Hoddinott (2010) have shown that comprehensive sexuality education has been successful in the South African context, especially when it takes into consideration the structural context of HIV. This included focusing on behavioural change through protective factors, especially amongst young men, through introducing topics such as gender, sexual coercion, poverty and alcohol as social and structural factors underlying the transmission of HIV.

3.2.3) Criticisms

Despite the comprehensive sexuality education approach taking into account scientific knowledge on sexual health that abstinence-only approaches fail to do, Das (2014) argues that upon closer inspection there are several gaps and challenges that the curriculum faces. The most striking of these relates to the vague and abstract language used to talk about sex. For example, the term ‘life skills education’ is used as a euphemistic way of referring to ‘sexuality education’. This, firstly, this does little to remove the taboos associated with sex, and secondly, is likely to encourage educators to speak in vague terms, with learners figuring sex and sexuality out for themselves. In the South African context, Helleve et al. (2009) found that religious and conservative beliefs on sex, especially within the community, represent barriers that educators face when talking about sex to learners. In this way, the covert and euphemistic language of talking about sex in the curriculum may collude with taboos on the subject.

Rasmussen (2012) is even more critical of the language concerning sexuality that is found in comprehensive curricula. She argues that a comprehensive approach produces a series of bifurcations

which help to distinguish it, respectively, from abstinence-only approaches which includes those of morality versus health, religious rights versus human rights and faith versus reason. These positions powerfully fuel the formal implementation of comprehensive sexuality campaigns at schools. Rasmussen (2012) argues that seemingly progressive positions on sexuality within comprehensive approaches are modelled on notions of autonomy and liberation, which are attached to a politics of pleasure and desire. Whilst a politics of pleasure and desire claims to be emancipatory, it contains particular secularist values, which do little to open up the expression of continuously competing desires within the field of sexuality education. In fact, secularist values regarding sexuality in comprehensive programmes do little to take into account the social contexts of learners related to their cultural, religious and moralistic beliefs in the negotiation of their sexuality. Therefore, comprehensive sexuality-based curricula are linked to a broader political project attached to a politics of desire and pleasure, which is not as value-free as it promises (Rasmussen, 2012).

Gilbert (2010) has concerns about comprehensive-based curricula depicting sex and sexuality within a framework of scientific facts that constructs sex as risky and a threat to adolescents' sexual health. Gilbert (2010) argues that comprehensive sexuality education programmes emphasise healthy sexuality and a healthy body, which results in limiting discussions about sexuality to sex as a discrete experience that constructs what is sexually healthy versus unhealthy behaviour. This binary is against the backdrop of sex and sexuality constructed as disease-ridden and dangerous. Lesko (2010) argues further that such an approach fails to recognise adolescents' uncertainty and confusion, and the mistakes that they may make around sexual practices. Instead, it reveals exclusionary aims and objectives based on the scientific certainty it purports to represent as truth claims to knowledge. The implications are that comprehensive programmes struggle to cope with the fluidity, contradictions and ambiguity of adolescents' sexual subjectivities. Gilbert (2010) argues that comprehensive sexuality education approaches produce responsible sexual subjects rather than attending to, as aforementioned, the uncertainty and ambivalence of sexuality related to identity and practices. In this way, comprehensive programmes simply add to the prohibitions and prescriptions list rather than opening up the dialogue on sex and sexuality for learners in a comfortable and relaxed environment.

Other criticisms of the comprehensive approach to sexual education converge on how it privileges the individual, based on the emphasis it places on learners' right to choose what is best for their sexual health, neglecting much needed attention on broader social activism and that sexual activities should be a mutually-negotiated practice (Ashcraft, 2006; Carlson, 1992; Elia, 2005). An individual-centred approach results in a failure of sex education to address social issues related to gender, race and

sexuality. Often comprehensive approaches overlook gay and lesbian identity, as aforementioned and also fail to address the discrimination experienced by these groups. When gay identity is discussed, it is usually within the context of this group being mostly at risk, which does little to empower gay and lesbian youth. Lichenstein (2000) also draws attention to how comprehensive programmes do little to address how socio-cultural conditions limit girls' and women's sexual agency, as well as the sexual agency of other minority and disenfranchised groups.

3.3) Critical sexuality education

3.3.1) Definition and scope

Sears (1992) argues that a critically-based sexuality education curriculum is premised on integrating the voices of learners along with educators to inform the knowledge about sex and sexuality that is generated and transferred in the classroom. This approach makes serious provision for the active engagement of learners responding to, and challenging, conventional and taken-for-granted gendered and sexual identities. Learners are encouraged to pinpoint and interrogate norms, values, beliefs and practices related to sex, sexuality and gender that are exclusionary and discriminatory, and are invited to think about possible courses of action that would promote a more balanced society. Jones (2011) argues that a critical sexuality-based curriculum is learner-centered and action-based, whilst the role of educators is relegated to facilitators of such learner activism and conscientisation. In this way, traditional accounts of sexuality are not taught more than they are actively challenged and/or replaced with alternative accounts concerning subjugated groups.

Kumashiro (2002) argues that at the heart of critical programmes is the focus on the power dynamics at play in the production of class, race, ethnic, gender and sex-based inequalities. Sex and sexuality are conceptualised in terms of identity politics that intersect with other identities and are involved in the regulation of what is considered the social norm. Accordingly, sexuality education is about continuously sensitising learners to 'differences' in relation to the norm, which works to include diversity. Along these lines, the approach reconceptualises the body not as a site for procreation or simply intercourse but also as political; its desires, pleasures, practices and relations are always articulated within a series of power dynamics. This essentially means that talking about, or having, sex has, for multiple reasons, an impact on the social conditions and social groups, in ways that talk to relations of power.

The need for critical-based sexuality education programmes can be traced to the 1970s where a host of social movements such as feminism, gay liberation and postcolonialism emerged to orient students to

broader social issues and activism (Kemmis, Cole. & Suggett, 1983). However, it was Michelle Fine's (1988) seminal paper on the status of sex education in the USA that identified a missing discourse of desire from the curriculum that influenced critical-based programmes. Fine (1988) observed that sexuality education programmes depicted sexuality as violent, victimising and immoral; they excluded a discourse that encourages the articulation of sexual desire as both pleasurable and dangerous, in ways that empower and encourage adolescent girls, especially, and boys to explore their sexuality. Fine's work has been taken up in numerous calls for a critical approach to sex education. For instance, Gourlay (1996) argues that for an approach to depict sexuality in positive and empowering terms it should recognise the 'socio-political realities' of young people's lives. Furthermore, Mac an Ghaill (1996) argues that such an approach must also include in its conception of sexuality education a view of power relations surrounding issues such as class, gender, sexuality, race, ethnicity and age.

Like Fine, Macleod (2009) has written about the status of sexuality education programmes in the South African context and has observed that the curriculum is riddled with a discourse of danger and disease associated with sexuality. This dominant discourse is precisely why there is a missing discourse of desire, as identified by Fine. Macleod (2009) argues further that a discourse of danger and disease embedded within sexuality education programmes carries a colonial discourse around the notion of adolescence as developmental period, mentioned earlier on in this chapter. In this way, notions of adolescence, coupled with metaphors of danger and disease in the South African curriculum displaces learners' sexuality from their localised contexts and regulates them according to Western and Eurocentric notions. Macleod's (2009) observations talk to a need for a critical sexuality pedagogy that would help learners interrogate the colonialist assumptions and the power relations involved in the construction of their gendered and sexual identities, which would essentially empower and conscientise them. To date, there has been little to no implementation of such programmes in South Africa, particularly in schools.

A critical paradigm in relation to sexuality education draws from a range of other theoretical discourses that lend weight to its aims. The first is a discourse of sexual politics that encourages the freedom and emancipation of people's sexuality as a way of challenging the compulsory order of heteronormativity (Carlson, 1992). The second is a radical feminist discourse, in which it is argued that the bodies of women are controlled and socialised through institutions such as marriage, compulsory heterosexuality, the family and motherhood (Tuttle, 1986). The third is an anti-discrimination discourse where the notion of citizenship and human rights is emphasised against all types of discrimination (Lunt & Thornton, 1994). The fourth is a discourse of inclusive education, viz.,

education that is equitable and provides for learners in terms of their class, race, gender, sexuality and ethnicity (McWhirter et al., 1998). The fifth is a discourse of safe and supportive spaces, which promotes an ethics of care by creating caring communities that nurture and support relationships considered important for learners' development. The sixth is a discourse of gay liberation, in which the right to freedom of expression with regard to same-sex attraction and gender diversity is emphasised (Angelides, 2008). Finally, there is a postcolonial discourse, which underscores the colonisation of countries from the view of the original inhabitants and mobilises their voices in order to reclaim indigenous forms of knowledge (Duran & Walters, 2004).

3.3.2) Strategies and outcomes

Fields and Tolman (2006) argue that one of the strategies of critical sexuality pedagogy is that of rethinking sexual risk, especially when one considers the urgency of sexuality education in light of protecting adolescents' sexual health. Schaffner (2006) argues that instead of talking about sexual risk, risk should reflect the broad adult-made social conditions that young people face. In other words, sexual risk needs to be located within social contexts, which in turn constrain young people's need to talk about sexual pleasure in empowering ways. According to Goddard (2003), harm-reduction models consist of providing a continuum of options for young people to consider. In considering HIV prevention, for example, the continuum would range from the most risky behaviour (unprotected anal intercourse) to the least risky behaviour (abstinence from all sexual activity). The continuum serves two purposes. Firstly, it helps young people to evaluate their current sexual behaviours in comparison to both the risky/less healthy and safer/more healthy behaviours, which may help in deciding which changes may need to be made. Secondly, and related to the first purpose, the continuum provides a range of behaviours that are helpful in deciding which changes to make that are the most appropriate given one's personal circumstances. In general, the harm-reduction model intends to reconceptualise sexual risk in terms of the maximum amount of unrestricted pleasure to be gained, paired with restricted sexual safety (Naisteter & Sitron, 2010). In this way, a multitude of sexual choices are made available to learners, with safety being the priority whilst still emphasising sexual pleasure.

Supporters of harm-reduction models further argue that it promotes human rights and agentic decision-making amidst negotiating risk (Keane, 2003; Seiger, 2003). In the USA and Sweden, sexuality education programmes based on the harm-reduction models were conducted on vulnerable young people in order to strengthen their sexual health (Anderson, Nyamathi, McAvoy, Conde, & Casey, 2001; Becker & Barth, 2000; Lindroth, 2014). The studies found that even though most of the young people in the programme had troubled upbringings and experienced a series of painful events, traumas

and misfortunes, they were able to reflect on their sexuality in positive and empowering ways. The programme impacted on the way that they thought about their future sexual experiences, which demonstrated resilience. They spoke in sexually agentic ways and expressed a desire to develop caring and pleasurable sexual relationships, even though they came from backgrounds in which they were ill-treated.

In line with the principles of critical sexuality education, Schalet (2011) proposes the ABC and D model, which can be adapted for classroom practice. The 'A' stands for autonomy, or sexual autonomy and entails knowing about sexual desire and pleasure and acknowledging and exercising sexual wishes and boundaries, whilst learning to anticipate and prepare for sexual acts. The logic follows that when learners are equipped with sexual autonomy, they are able to recognise and take ownership of their sexual feelings as separate from the sexual desires, feelings and pressures of others. This in turn allows them to exercise control over their sexual decision-making practices. Research shows that sexual autonomy also assists youth in negotiating sexual interaction. For instance, Pearson (2006) found that young people who display a greater sense of control during sexual interaction are more likely to refrain from intercourse and to use condoms if they have sex. Furthermore, Horne and Zimmer-Gembeck (2006) found that the more girls are able to engage in positive sexual subjectivity such as a positive sense of body-image, entitlement to pleasure and sexual self-reflection, the more they can experience greater self-efficacy when it comes to condom use. Similarly, Impett, Schooler, and Tolman (2006) report that girls with higher sexual self-efficacy – the capacity to act on sexual needs – are more prone to use condoms on their sexual debut. Whilst not ignoring boys, Pleck, Sonenstein, and Ku (1993) argue that boys require sexual autonomy in order to resist rigid masculine norms that can undermine condom use and overall sexual health.

Schalet (2011) argues that the 'B' stands for building good romantic relationships; this means validating learners' need for intimacy and helping them build equitable and nourishing romantic relationships appropriate for their phase of life. Typically, unhealthy relationships are given more weight than talking about the positive qualities of romantic relationships. More focus should be placed on necessary skills of building positive and age-appropriate romantic relationships, such as getting to know one another, building trust over time, handling conflict, creating a balance of power and having fun. Research has found that the sexual activities of adolescents are likely to be safe, pursued and satisfying when the relationship is not characterised by wide age differences and when both partners experience intimacy and can freely discuss the use of contraception within their relationships (Houts,

2005; Manlove, Ryan, & Franzetta, 2007; Stone & Ingham, 2002; Widman, Welsh, McNulty, & Little, 2006).

According to Schalet (2011), the third component of the model – 'C' – is about adolescent sexual health premised on connectedness with parents and other caregivers. This is important as connectedness usually breaks down between learners and parents over issues related to sex, That is, it is often the case that parents restrict and police sexuality, with learners resultantly being secretive about their sexual practices. Educators are encouraged to help bridge the gap between parents and learners so that connectedness can be fostered. Studies indicate that parental communication about sex can have positive health effects when the relationship between the parent and adolescent is open, when communication is ongoing and adolescents also recognise their parent(s) as receptive and comfortable when discussing the topic of sex (Martino, Elliott, Corona, Kanouse, & Schuster, 2008; Whitaker, Miller, May, & Levin, 1999).

Schalet (2011) argues that the final component actually emphasises two 'D's'; recognising diversities and eliminating disparities when access to socio-economic resources is needed. Sexuality education and policy must take into account the diversity of adolescents i.e. in their sexual orientations. Gender identifications and cultural values that influence how they perceive and experience sex and sexuality. The model maintains that upholding sexual diversity is not the same as accepting disparity. Many adolescents have negative experiences with regard to their sexual health because of a paucity of services and opportunities for good education and employment. Poverty is one factor amongst others that can hinder learners' sexual health. It becomes important, then, that adolescents and their families have access to basic resources that have a direct or indirect bearing on their sexual health.

Within the South African context, critical sexual pedagogies have not been widely adopted within the classroom. However, a study conducted by Campbell and MacPhail (2002) illustrates how critical sexuality education can be implemented, as they examined a peer-based school education programme in South Africa that focused on gender asymmetries as a barrier to HIV prevention. The study specifically looked at the process of peer education as providing an opportunity for learners to share with each other their feelings, thoughts and experiences of gender roles within sexual relationships. The study indicated that a model like peer education was important because it opened up avenues for communication about sex in what appears to be a taboo subject in several communities in South Africa. The peer education process leant itself to fostering a critical consciousness amongst learners that empowered them to challenge constructions of masculinity and femininity within the context of

sexual relationships and negotiating condom use (Campbell & MacPhail, 2002) in a comfortable and supportive environment.

3.3.3) Criticisms

As much as critically-based sexual pedagogies appear to be more inclusive than comprehensive and abstinence-only initiatives, Rasmussen (2012) warns that they, too, may fall into the trap of being exclusive. She argues that advocates of critical sexuality education programmes must be aware of their own biases, including her own, for what has been described as a discourse of erotics/sexual desire/ pleasure/thick desire that should be inserted into the sex education curriculum. Rasmussen (2012) states that the aforementioned discourses are intended to encourage the sexual agency and empowerment of learners, but these are not without political interests of their own. This concerns uncritically advocating for talk about sexual desire and pleasure in sexuality education, which contains what Rasmussen refers to as 'sexularism' as cited by Scott (2009). 'Sexularism' refers to the assumption that secularism promotes the free expression of sexuality from societal norms and morals involved in the oppression or silencing of particular sexualities (Rasmussen, 2012). In this way, Rasmussen (2010) argues that the inclusion of a discourse on sexual desire and pleasure in sexuality education programmes can be problematic as it can privilege and prescribe particular sexual expressions that eventually become normative. This can ultimately lead to critical approaches neglecting the localised contexts of learners where particular religious values and cultural morals shape their thinking about, and experiences of, sex and sexuality in important ways. Put in another way, critical sexuality education programmes risk excluding particular versions of sexuality, shaped by religion and culture and based on the secular views of sexuality it maintains.

Other criticisms of a critical approach to sexuality education include what has been described as a tendency to neglect the role of young women, especially as Fine (1988) initially commented on the sexuality of young girls as neglected by traditional sexuality education programmes. The implication is that when a critical approach takes into consideration the diversity of learners this may obscure the role of young women (Macciocchi, 1979), especially as Fine conceived. For instance, the call for a discourse of pleasure and/or erotics to be included in sexuality education programmes that considers the sexual desires of all learners also supports permissive discourses. These discourses can work against female learners - they are inherently phallocentric and heteronormative in that they free up the sexual desires of women in order to satisfy the sexual interests of men. Therefore, a discourse of erotics, which critical sexuality pedagogy supports, may inadvertently contribute to female learners

being sexually objectified in ways that curb their sexual agency, but works in favour of male learners' sexual agency.

Another criticism that has arisen is whether the school is the correct environment for a sexuality education that lends itself to encouraging talk about sexual desire and pleasure in the first place (Carlson, 1992). This has led to questions concerning how practical this type of approach is, especially as it contains an anti-establishment tone, and it may be seen as an attack against the institutional power of the school and others. Further questions have been posed concerning the extent to which this approach is really inclusive as it places incredible pressure on educators (Forlin, 2001). Moreover, it is argued that learners' sexualities can be invisible, and so educators may not have sufficient awareness of this in order to include them in the first place (Jones, 2011). Finally, critical approaches may face accusations from conservative groups that they attempt to convert learners from heterosexuality to 'homosexuality', in their efforts to include diversity in sexual preferences and gendered identities (Angelides, 2008).

4) Conclusion

In this chapter, I argued that school-based sexuality education needs to be socio-historically located. The invention of adolescence as a distinct developmental period of transition from childhood to adulthood that emerged during the early twentieth century underpinned the development of sexuality education. This invention coincided with broader social events that aimed to control and regulate the sexuality of young people. One of the ways in which this was achieved was through the introduction, but also lengthening, of formal schooling for children until 18 to 20 years of age. The 'storm and stress' of being an adolescent, it was argued, supported the need to prolong the education of children before they enter the world of work and assumed adult responsibilities. Accordingly, schools became catchment areas for what was also, at the time, an opportunity to protect the sexual health of young people from venereal diseases. The social hygiene movement advocated for young people to be educated about sex in order to maintain good sexual health. However, they faced increasing resistance from the new religious right who were intent on preserving the innocence and purity of children by not exposing them to any information on sex. These two positions reached new heights during the 1960s when the sexual revolution fuelled the need for sexuality education whilst the opposition to sexuality education took a firmer and uncompromising stance. This period produced sexually conservative and liberal views of sexuality education that eventually led to arguments for and against the formal implementation of abstinence-only versus comprehensive approaches, which haunt debates on prescribing sexuality education curricula in schools at present.

These socio-historical conditions gave way to the first formal approach to sex education in schools as supported by federal policy in the US on abstinence-only education during the 1980s. Abstinence-only programs aimed to delay the sexual activity of young people until they were married and one of the ways in which it achieved this was through virginity pledges learners would take. In the South African context, virginity testing represents a similar but informal strategy for young girls, in particular, to abstain from sex. The major criticism of abstinence-only approaches is that it infringes upon learners' right to sexual knowledge that would protect their sexual health. Conversely, comprehensive sexuality programmes aim to equip learners with sexual knowledge in order to reduce their risk of pregnancy, HIV and STDs. Both in the US and South Africa, this approach gained momentum in light of the HIV/AIDS epidemic, whilst relying on cognitive-behavioural strategies in order to change risky sexual behavioural patterns such as encouraging contraception. However, a major criticism has been its depiction of sexuality in negative and dangerous ways whilst forgoing discussions on constructions of gender and sexuality. In response to the shortcomings of abstinence-only and comprehensive programs, critical sexuality education programmes frame sexuality for learners in a positive light by focusing on sexual desire and pleasure in order to empower learners to recognise their sexual agency in making healthy and safe decisions regarding their sexual health. It has also been criticised for excluding localised contexts where religious values and cultural morals play a key role in regulating the sexualities of learners. This is due to such contexts usually prohibiting young people from talking about and/or experiencing sexual desire and pleasure. In efforts to include the diversity of sexual preferences and gender identifications, critical sexuality education approaches can become exclusionary. Having addressed the literature surrounding the history of sexuality education internationally and its related approaches currently utilised in schools, I now discuss the history of sexuality education in South Africa in the following chapter.

Chapter 3 The History of Sexuality Education in South Africa

1) Introduction

In this chapter, I chronicle the history of education and formal schooling in South Africa, as well as the impetus to educate South African youth on matters pertaining to sex and sexuality. This historical backdrop provides a rationale for investigating, but also contextualises, Life Orientation sexuality education. I also discuss the status of education in South Africa, specifically sexuality education for young people of a school-going age, against the escalating prevalence of HIV/AIDS and other sexual and reproductive health difficulties which plague South African youth. Accordingly, I argue that it is important to look at initiatives taken to address such matters, what these initiatives are premised on and the influences these have had on the Life Orientation sexuality education programme.

The chapter is structured around four major sections. In the first section, I sketch the emergence of the educational system and formal schooling in South Africa, focusing on how early determinants of education and schooling were influenced by social, political and economic power relations. In the second section, I discuss the history of sexuality education in South Africa in relation to the social, political and economic contexts of education, which were racially based. I show how sexuality education acted as a means of policing the sexuality of youth, especially black African youth. In the third section, I look at the South African HIV/AIDS epidemic and the first democratically-elected government in 1994 as events that acted as an injunction to implement sexuality education. In the final section, I focus on the Life Orientation learning area: the processes that have led to the provision made within this programme for sexuality education, what this programme specifies and the challenges it faces.

2) A history of education and formal schooling in South Africa

In this section, I discuss the history of education in South Africa in light of a series of social, political and economic shifts, creating a set of circumstances which warranted the need for formal schooling. These shifts were as a result of colonial rule and apartheid that created a society of hierarchical and unequal relations that motivated the need for education and schooling. What follows is a history of education and formal schooling in South Africa, identified through four shifts in its socio-political history that gave rise to, and shaped, the educational landscape.

2.1) The first shift: the Dutch settlers and the birth of education

Schooling in South Africa first emerged in the mid-1600s with the arrival of the Dutch who established the 'Cape' in 1652 (McKerron, 1934). While the Dutch envisioned the Cape as a trading post between Holland and India, the rationale for schooling emerged out of a master-slave dyad (Abdi, 2003). Slaves were shipped to the Cape from West and East Africa, as well as the East Indies. The Dutch introduced schooling for the slaves out of an alleged concern for their intellectual and moral wellbeing. This concern obscured schooling as a means of controlling slaves as they represented a labour force that were trapped and coerced into working for the Dutch (McKerron, 1934).

Schooling was a means of controlling younger slaves as it taught them obedience and discipline, equipping them for their role of servility to white Europeans. The tone of education was strongly grounded in religious instruction, specifically teachings from the Dutch Reformed church, as inherited directly from Holland (Behr, 1988). It can be argued that schooling emerged in South Africa out of an aforementioned master-slave dyad, and superimposed onto this dyad was the religious teachings of the Dutch Reformed church (McKerron, 1934; Behr, 1988). In many ways, then, schooling as a form of education within South Africa originated out of a need to control slaves who served the interests of the Dutch. This reproduced unequal relations within society between those who had and did not have power.

It was also during the mid- to late 1600s that formal schooling was made available for children of the Dutch colonists. However, the master-slave dyad saw to it that children of the colonists were educated separately from children of the slaves. The decision to educate children of the colonists separately came from the Church, who instrumentally paved the way for the need to provide young people with an education (Behr, 1988). The actual foundations for education, especially in the sense of land designated for schooling, were laid down by the Dutch Reformed Church (McKerron, 1934). By 1665, a 'Consistory' was established which included church councils that regulated all decisions pertaining to schooling such as those whom the Dutch Reformed Church deemed most qualified to teach (Behr, 1988; Cross, 1986; McKerron, 1934).

A milestone in the propagation of education, steeped in the Dutch Reformed doctrine, was 'The School Ordinance of Governor de Chavonnes', established in 1714 (McKerron, 1934). This represented what could be termed the first appearance of 'educational legislation' in South Africa. Despite this initiative, schooling during the seventeenth and eighteenth century made little progress. However, what remained stable, crucially characterised education and revealed its function during this time, was the imparting

of Western civilisation, especially Christian instruction and the need for obedience and discipline (Cross, 1986).

2.2) The second shift: British rule, the natives[1] and the consolidation of education

The nineteenth century opened with an important event that changed South Africa's social and cultural landscape; that of the British gaining control of the Cape in 1806. This was attributed to the Dutch trading company (Dutch East India Company) verging on bankruptcy (Behr, 1988; Kallaway, 1984; Molteno, 1984). However, the British did little to change whatever policies were put in place regarding schooling which reflected the limited scope of British education. The early to mid-nineteenth century witnessed consolidation around schools existing under a local body that was accountable to the Education Commission also known as 'The Bible and School Commission' (McKerron, 1934). This time period also saw the establishment of an office of the Superintendent General of Education, which marked the first time an individual who had professional qualifications, other than religious credentials, was appointed (McKerron, 1934). This office gradually developed into what has come to resemble the current Department of Education, as it increasingly produced educational inspectors which solidified an 'educational system'.

At the start of the nineteenth century, a community of individuals, originally from Holland, who had settled into South African life, started 'trekking' into further regions outside of the Cape. This caused schooling to spread to other parts of South Africa outside of the Cape, including the Orange Free State, Transvaal and Natal in 1823, 1835 and 1842, respectively (Behr, 1988). The expansion of both English and Dutch colonists into areas outside the Cape also meant that they had to cope with South African native communities and integrating such communities into their 'colonial project' (Kallaway, 2002). This increasingly led to the absorption of the natives into a colonial way of life. The first school dedicated to 'natives' opened in 1799 in what is now known as King Williams Town in the Eastern Cape (McKerron, 1934; Molteno, 1984).

The nineteenth century witnessed the shift from educating the slaves to educating the 'natives' of South Africa. Specifically, schooling as a 'system' worked to encourage the natives – who were suspicious of the colonisers' values and beliefs – into accepting a system of living and being that reflected the interests of the colonists (Cross, 1986; Hunt Davis Jr, 1984; Kallaway, 2002; Molteno, 1984). Instrumentally, in 1854, the state subsidised missionary efforts to educate African indigenous

[1] I am using 'native' to convey the currency that this term carried during colonial rule, but I acknowledge the discriminatory nature of the term.

communities (which in turn cemented the African communities' subordinate position to white Europeans) as the state aimed to 'civilise' and convert the natives to Christianity. This was central in politically securing South Africa as a colony as well as ensuring 'social progress', such as economic productivity. Essentially, schooling served the purpose of disciplining the 'natives' as well as the slaves to a new social order which, as aforementioned, benefitted and reflected the interests of the colonists.

This process, however, was not without challenges as disagreements soon emerged between the missionaries who controlled schooling and the colonists. The latter felt the education that natives were receiving appeared to work against what colonists saw as the roles, tasks and jobs the 'natives' should be occupying (Molteno, 1984). The types of employment deemed appropriate for the natives were becoming redundant and they were becoming overqualified based on their education from the mission schools. It became clear at this point that schooling for the natives needed to coincide with the colonial economic interests of the country (Kallaway, 1984; 2002).

The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries saw the rise of industrial capitalism. Mining and agriculture were becoming massive industries demanding particular skill sets that natives were to acquire, but which were inferior to the ones acquired by white Europeans (Molteno, 1984). Accordingly, during this period, an increasing number of natives were educated with teachings, still infused with Christianity, which facilitated the development of manual labour skills such as needlework, dressmaking, cooking, laundering, carpentry, shoemaking, printing and gardening (Molteno, 1984). This educational context, and the increase in industrial capitalism based on the discovery of minerals and increased production in agriculture, created an increase in class relations, with the natives emerging as a working class (Molteno, 1984). These processes oriented the natives to their place within society - as inferior to the white European settlers.

From the twentieth century onwards, it became clear that if South Africa wanted to expand its economy it needed to educate the natives, who were also referred to during this time as 'Bantu'[2] (Maree, 1984; Morrell & Moletsane, 2002). The reason for the expansion of education was that the 'Bantu' could be absorbed into positions that were labour intensive in order to drive the cogs of a 'racist' capitalist production system (Christie & Collins, 1984). The early twentieth century was also a time when there was an intensification of the need to regulate and police the lives of native black Africans in general, especially their education. Therefore, a Committee on Native Education was

[2] I am using 'Bantu' to convey the currency this term carried during apartheid, but I acknowledge the discriminatory nature of the term.

established very early on in the twentieth century. This Committee meticulously mapped out the livelihood of 'the native': their vernacular, familial, social and mental faculties, their 'genetic' make-up, tribal and racial predispositions and, significantly, their position of work in the country (Molteno, 1984). The Committee decided that their learning experiences be confined to a minimal set of skills that mostly involved jobs related to manual labour (Christie & Collins, 1984).

The schooling experience of black African natives, apart from facilitating skills that demanded their manual labour, included religious instruction designed to orient 'the native' to the world of the European at the expense of devaluing their own culture, ancestry and history (Maree, 1984). Religious instruction taught obedience, humility, patience, fear and passivity, which insidiously indoctrinated the natives as adherents to the system of racial inequality. The beginnings of education in South Africa, from the seventeenth to the early twentieth century, were constructed around a fabric of life characterised by inequality; the education of the natives and slaves was strikingly inferior to that of white Europeans.

2.3) The third shift: Afrikaner nationalism and bantu education

A third political and social shift that changed the educational landscape in South Africa took place in 1948 when the National Party came into government, representing the interests of the white Afrikaner-speaking community (Kallaway, 2002). This saw the emergence of a coercive politics that benefitted the white population, especially the Afrikaans-speaking community at the expense of a 'non-white'[3] majority (Kallway, 2002). During this time, education was crucial for the promotion of Afrikaner Nationalism which meant that the political, economic and social rights of 'non-white' populations were severely regulated. Afrikaner Nationalism completely undermined the human rights of such populations. This culminated in what was termed 'apartheid' by the Afrikaner government at the time. Apartheid referred to the segregation of communities based on their race in order to preserve, according to Afrikaner Nationalism, the purity of their race, which they believed to be superior to races different to theirs (Christie & Collins, 1984; Ka Choeu, 1991) under the guise that it allowed communities to continue developing on their own, without mixing with other races.

One of the most significant documents that shaped the history of education under the apartheid regime was the 'Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Education' 1949-1951, termed the Eiselen Commission (Fleisch, 2002). The Eiselen Report argued for an alternative system of education for

[3] I am using the term 'non-white' to convey the currency the term carried during apartheid, but I acknowledge the discriminatory connotations attached to the term.

black African children because the education received in mission schools was redundant given the skills the workforce demanded (Fleisch, 2002). In many ways, the Eiselen Report exploited the views of dissatisfied black African scholars who argued that mission schools alienated them from their cultural roots (Fleisch, 2002). The Eiselen Report argued for a schooling system tailored specifically for black African children defined as 'Bantu' education that factored into its aims and objectives a 'general socio-economic development' plan (Fleisch, 2002). This plan was linked to the grand project of apartheid as it saw the construction of the fabric of 'Bantu life', which characterised the education that black African children received.

The Eiselen Report was founded on attempts to define and isolate the 'Bantu' as a unitary race. The man responsible for drafting the report was W.W.M. Eiselen who was the son of members of the Berlin Missionary Society. His academic training was in anthropology and African linguistics (Kros, 2002). Eiselen's religious and academic background had ironically prompted a passion he developed for indigenous cultures. This, coupled with the divisive aims of the apartheid project to single out black African education, (Kros, 2002) resulted in what was termed 'Bantu' education. This system would supposedly pay respect to the culture of black communities which education under British rule failed to take into consideration (Kros, 2002). It is this rationale for the education of black African children that provides insight into the subtle ways that it worked as an ideological and hegemonic apparatus in favour of the overarching aims of apartheid.

Since the inception of education inherited from the Dutch in South Africa in the mid-seventeenth century up until the British took over at the start of the nineteenth century, education had been steeped in religious instruction, referred to as Christian National Education (CNE) (Ka Choeu, 1991; Kallway, 1984; Kallaway, 2002). However, it was only after 1948 that the principles of CNE were formally outlined to support apartheid. This was the same year that the National Party came into power that primarily represented the rights of white Afrikaners. The Afrikaner government relied on theories and policies on how to deal with other races and cultures which became the 'native' problem for the apartheid government. The apartheid government looked at theories of race and culture derived from Germany in the 1930s as well as new educational polices in post-war Netherlands on how to cope with religious and cultural diversity within public education (Kallway, 2002).

What emerged from this was an approach to education that was steeped in the philosophy of Fundamental Pedagogics, which the apartheid government adopted along with CNE foundations (Enslin, 1981; Enslin, 1984; Parker, 1981). Fundamental Pedagogics was developed in Holland in

1944 and is part of a sub-discipline within education theory. While ‘pedagogy’ or ‘pedagogics’ refers to a particular style of theorising about education, Fundamental Pedagogics can be thought of as providing a philosophical foundation for pedagogy as a whole (Beard, Enslin, & Morrow, 1981). It was expedient for the apartheid government to adopt Fundamental Pedagogics as an approach to education. This is because it carries more credibility as a scientific approach to educational theory, as opposed to religious beliefs that informed educational instruction, formulated into what was referred to as CNE.

Fundamental Pedagogics appeared to complement strategies of the apartheid government because it adhered to a scientific method that purported to be the only authentic one of studying education (Beard, Enslin & Morrow, 1981; Enslin, 1984). Its aims are ultimately subsuming and overarching, whilst using a phenomenological method that establishes a ‘universally valid’ knowledge to/about education (Beard, Enslin, & Morrow, 1981; Enslin, 1981). This approach suited the apartheid government as it became woven into the very knowledge that the government sought to produce - a subsuming, and overarching logic that was in favour of furthering Afrikaner interests. In other words, Fundamental Pedagogics was adopted by the apartheid government as a specific brand of Dutch philosophy in order to further their capitalist interests at the expense of subjugating black people (Kallaway, 2002).

With a new approach to education, the apartheid government went ahead to put new structures in place for black schooling. They instituted further divisions within education along racial lines. Three departments were set up; namely, the Departments of Bantu Affairs, Coloured Affairs and Indian Affairs in 1953, 1963 and 1965 respectively (Molteno, 1984). These departments were responsible for providing education to children who fell under these racial categories. Under these departments, Educational Acts were passed; i.e. the Bantu Education Act, the Coloured Persons Education Act and the Indian Education Act, which regulated education for black African, coloured and Indian children, respectively (Molteno, 1984). These three departments, however, did little to ameliorate and transform the inferior and unequal education black African children were receiving from the previous English regime (Kallaway, 2002). Rather, these departments obscured the unequal and inferior education black children received as it created the impression that by passing educational acts dedicated to a single race, the state would look out for the educational welfare of such children (Kalllaway, 2002). This process only served to heighten the segregation between and amongst individuals who were not classified as white European.

Establishing these departments coincided with the rise of the manufacturing industry during the mid-twentieth century which created a demand for semi-skilled and skilled workers who could demonstrate some competence in literacy and numeracy (Molteno, 1984). Therefore, the apartheid government saw that it was important to grant education to black children that was sufficient enough to allow them be absorbed into the labour market, but in positions not superior to white citizens. By the apartheid government creating these three departments, it enabled them to gather significant numbers of black youth under direct surveillance. Therefore, the apartheid government's advocacy for the education of black youth was not about creating real educational opportunities. This was a "calculated attempt to subvert the political and economic aspirations of black South Africans [as part of] a broader political strategy developed by the political representatives of the superordinate classes to defend their threatened order" (Molteno, 1984, p. 94).

2.4) The fourth shift: post 1994, Outcomes-Based Education (OBE) and Curriculum 2005

The apartheid government did not go unchallenged, as the 1950s through to the 1980s witnessed an increasing amount of resistance to Bantu education (Edgar, 1984). This was especially from students who were dissatisfied with poor schooling conditions and having to be taught in Afrikaans for some of these years and teachers and parents expressed disdain towards the inferior, unequal and redundant education received by black children (Molteno, 1984). The late 1980s and early 1990s culminated in a series of events, including international sanctions against South Africa, increased rioting and resistance from freedom fighters, the release of Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of the ANC (African National Congress) and PAC (Pan African Congress) that eventually led to the abolishment of apartheid (Abdi, 2002).

The first democratic elections took place in 1994, with the first black president of South Africa being elected; this was a turning point in South African history as it signalled a new era of social change and democracy (Badat, 1998; Fiske & Ladd, 2004; Hartshorne, 1999; Motala & Singh, 2002). Much of the 1990s was spent establishing and implementing polices that aimed to reform the educational system that was inherited from the apartheid regime (Kallaway, 1998). The reality, however, was that government did not have sufficient finances in order to implement policies that had been put in place during the period 1994 to 1997. During this time, documents such as the 'White Paper', the 'Hunter Report' and the South African Schools Bill were passed by government. Collectively, these documents shaped educational policy and the framework the government has since employed regarding the direction education needs to take in South Africa (Abdi, 2002; Hartshorne, 1999; Kallaway; Kruss, Donn, & Fataar, 1998; Motala & Pampalis, 2002).

Amongst other suggestions, these documents proposed the transition from racial/ethnic departments to provincial education departments; the governance of the school system at all levels: national, provincial and local; two broad categories of schools; namely, public and independent; public schools being able to implement fees (schools could not refuse admission because of the failure to pay fees); schooling being compulsory from the ages of seven until fifteen, and the banning of corporal punishment (Chisholm, 1998; Fiske & Ladd, 2003; Hartshorne, 1999). For the most part, 1994 to 1997 was a period of restructuring education in an attempt to make it accessible to children from all racial, ethnic, cultural and socio-economic backgrounds. The quality and content of education only saw the phasing in of a new curriculum in 1998.

During the 1990s, the approach taken by the new curriculum was to link education and training in a manner that equipped learners with new skills and knowledge that was relevant to their employment opportunities and one that would be formally recognised. It was decided in 1997 that the approach the school curriculum would adopt was that of an 'Outcomes-Based Education' (OBE) (Fiske & Ladd, 2003; Rooth, 2005). OBE employed a "backwards" approach: teachers had to identify the general knowledge, skills and values learners should acquire and to design teaching strategies tailored to the needs of particular learners (Vambe, 2005). South African policymakers introduced broader values pertaining to social change such as access, equity and development in order to reflect the new democracy (Department of Education, 2000a & 2001). OBE thus reflects a learner-centred approach; it looks at what the child is capable of as opposed to a teacher-centred approach where goals are separate from the child's capacity (Department of Education. 2000a & 2001). The principles of OBE, along with the South African principles of social change and democracy, were eventually translated into a national curriculum known as 'Curriculum 2005' (C2005) that was to be implemented at both primary (compulsory) and secondary levels of schooling by the year 2005 (Rooth, 2005; Vambe, 2005).

This learner-centred approach, as aforementioned, is currently the approach adopted by schools in South Africa. However, since its implementation it has not been without criticism. The chief concern regarding OBE is that it is driven by polices that are in direct response to the inequalities of the previous educational system, rather than the current realities of the classroom (Horn, 2009; Jansen, 1995; Jansen, 1997). That is, when the implementation of OBE was evaluated in 2001 and revised in 2005, it emerged that the policies that drive OBE fail to take into account the realities of the social inequalities that currently characterise schools in South Africa, many of which do not have access to the kinds of resources needed to successfully implement OBE (Jansen, 1998).

Some criticisms regarding OBE include that the language that teachers are required to understand and use in the classroom is complex, verbose, confusing and contradictory (Horn, 2009; Vambe, 2005). This is pertinent against a background where a number of schools are under-resourced and teachers may lack the skills to understand the jargon of OBE. Another criticism is that OBE is advertised or rather promoted as generating the kinds of competencies and skills needed for growth of the economy (Jansen, 1998 & 1999). This detracts from classroom activities as schooling becomes a peripheral issue and thus its focus is on being a prerequisite for economic growth (Jansen, 1998 & 1999).

Thus far, I have detailed four historical shifts that have shaped the educational landscape and formal schooling in South Africa. These shifts have paid attention to significant historically-related socio-political and socio-economic processes. Firstly, the Dutch introduced schooling, steeped in Christianity, as a way of controlling the children of slaves. Secondly, the British took control of South Africa and formalised schooling along racial lines. Thirdly, the emergence of Afrikaner Nationalism and education was explicitly geared towards the discrimination of black African people and finally, OBE was introduced post-1994 as a means of addressing racial inequalities and injustices related to schooling.

Whilst there have been efforts to improve South Africa's inferior and unequal educational system inherited from the apartheid regime that was originally premised on a master-slave dyad, such inequalities still persist post-1994. It seems that racist capitalist systems, which dictated how education and schooling was tailored (especially for black learners during apartheid) have simply been rehashed post-apartheid. The impression that one gains is that education and schooling continue to take a backseat post-apartheid, where economic growth is rigorously pursued. The principles of education and schooling post-1994 thus encourage skills development and knowledge in order to meet the demands of the labour market, in light of enhancing South Africa's economic growth. In this way, education has become the solution to create a vibrant economy rather than taking into consideration the social inequalities that exist around schooling and their access to basic resources in the first place.

3) The emergence of sex and sexuality education for South African youth

There is currently very little literature that details the introduction of formal sexuality education within the South African school curriculum. This perhaps suggests that formal sexuality education was missing from the school curriculum during British rule and the apartheid regime. During these periods, education was steeped in Christian teachings, which encouraged a silence on matters pertaining to sex

as it was designated for the purpose of procreation within the confines of marriage (Reid & Walker, 2004; Reid & Walker, 2005). However, what is known and has been documented are issues pertaining to the sexual and reproductive health of South African youth that became a talking point for an education on sex and sexuality. In what follows, I outline key historical moments that gave rise to the need to address the subject of sex amongst South African youth.

3.1) The 'sexual socialisation' of Black African youth

Colonial constructions of the sexual practices in African communities can be understood as a catalyst for the incitement to talk about youth sexuality. The scrutiny of sexual practices of African youth dates back to early colonial South Africa (Manona, 1980; Mayer, 1961; Mayer & Mayer, 1970). These sexual practices became a point of investigation for academics, public health officials, missionaries, politicians and economists. This group of individuals, for the most part, represented the interests of a white, European and Western way of thought which worked for, but mostly against, the sexual practices of youth in African communities. Anthropological investigations uncovered the ways, and the reasons, as to why, sexual practices did exist amongst the youth in African communities and, importantly, the cultural value such practices signified (Mayer, 1961).

Delius and Glaser (2002) observe the cultural significance that was attached to the sexual practices amongst youth in African communities. These practices, which they term 'sexual socialisation', encompassed an education the youth received concerning sex and sexuality. 'Sexual socialisation' specifically entailed openness but also discipline regarding the discussion of sexual matters that African communities used for adolescents. It seems that African communities were acutely aware of the transition from childhood to adulthood, as they created spaces for young girls and boys to understand their emerging sexual desires. These emerging desires within the broader sphere of African life were markers of what it meant to be a man and a woman. Furthermore, these designated roles related to family life enabled the survival of African communities. It can be argued, therefore, that 'sexual socialisation', especially amongst the Zulu, Xhosa, Nguni, Sotho and Tswana-speaking African communities was a normal part of life. These communities importantly understood sex as pleasurable, amidst the need for it to be regulated and controlled as it coincided with physical and social maturation (Burns, 1996; Delius & Glaser, 2002; Erlank, 2001; 2004; 2008).

'Sexual socialisation' was facilitated mostly through initiation schools for young girls and boys which taught them about their sexual bodily functions and responsibilities, as well as menstruation and the taboos associated with it (Erlank, 2004). In addition, the initiation schools would talk about sexual

activity as something that was normal and from which pleasure was to be derived. As a result, the intermingling of adolescent boys and girls was allowed, which involved the use of peer or youth group leaders who would arrange for girls and boys to meet, and encouraged intimacy between such members. These intimacies, however, excluded penetrative sex that would lead to pre-marital and teenage pregnancy which was frowned upon and considered shameful (Delius & Glaser, 2002).

Whilst adolescent girls and boys were encouraged to sexually explore their own bodies and those of the opposite sex, they were also expected to exercise control and restraint. This was around penetrative sex, which was reserved for purposes related to procreation and only within the confines of marriage. It was frowned upon within African communities for a baby to be born to a mother and father who were not married and did not establish a household together. Delius and Glaser (2004) in "The myths of polygamy: A history of extramarital and multi-partnership sex in South Africa" show how marriage within African communities was about ownership of children, cattle and organisation of homestead labour rather than controlling sexuality. The reader is also encouraged to see Hunter (2005) and Mahoney and Parle (2004) for a discussion on the meaning of marriage as distinct from sexual relations amongst the Zulu community during the nineteenth century. Penetrative sexual acts amongst adolescent girls and boys was therefore punishable, and so 'thigh sex' (*ukumetsha*) became a common sexual activity amongst the youth (Delius & Glaser, 2002). What appeared to characterise the 'sexual socialisation' for African youth during pre-colonial times up until the late 1800s was that it prioritised fertility control along with sexual activity amongst youth (Burns, 1996). However, disallowing penetrative sex did not mean sexual control, as sex was seen as good and something from which pleasure was to be gained for both young girls and boys.

3.2) An incitement to talk about sex: the threat of young African sexuality

The late nineteenth to early twentieth century signalled a new era for sexual practices amongst African youth but also an urgency around the need to teach the youth about sex (Erlank, 2001 & 2008). The need to talk about sex arose primarily from individuals affiliated with the church such as church officials, missionaries as well as church-going folk who consisted of black and white parents (Reid & Walker, 2005). The church, whilst maintaining a silence on matters pertaining to sex, had ironically fuelled much discussion on sex as it started to become a public matter (Burns, 1996). And given the influence and role of the church and Christianity in government during the nineteenth century, church officials were able to generate enough of an uproar from politicians, public health officials, and anthropologists to take notice of this. As a result, this helped to create much talk about sex and sexuality as an area of concern for South African youth.

The impetus to teach youth about sex during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century arose from what appeared to be the perception by the public that the sexuality of black African youth was undergoing a crisis (Carton, 2006). Authors have pointed out that this period was marked by moral panic and anxiety that swept the country regarding the sexual behaviour of urban young black men and women, which was considered sinful and immoral (Jeeves, 2001; Klausen, 2001). This kind of 'licentious' behaviour amongst young black men and women appeared to be concentrated in newly-emerging cities such as Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town.

The emergence of urban and working class young black men and women came about from the rapid expansion of new cities like, as aforementioned, Johannesburg and Durban and older ones like Cape Town (Moodie, 1988). These cities importantly offered new forms of social and material life where paid labour changed the organisation of the lives of young black men and women in comparison with rural and village life, especially in terms of family and social relations (Moodie, 1988). Young black men became increasingly absorbed into rapidly expanding industries in the city as purely cheap forms of labour, with young African women also following them (Hunter, 2005). This created new urban black male and female youth who were displaced from their communities and families situated in the countryside. As a result of this displacement and sexual freedom and experimentation, pregnancies out of wedlock and the emergence of 'social diseases' or what is commonly known as venereal diseases began to emerge among the new black working class (Hunter, 2005).

Concern about the 'rampant' sexuality of black youth in the cities arose from both the black African and white communities. Within the black communities, the elders and parents of these youth (located in the countryside) were more concerned about the increment of young black women becoming pregnant. The circumstances in the city did not have the necessary structures such as 'the homestead' in which marriage arrangements could be carried out, which ultimately violated the premise within African communities for having children (Hunter, 2005; McAllister, 1980). The elders within African communities, situated far from the cities, were concerned at how irresponsible 'their youth' had become and as a result they felt the youth were abandoning their cultural values and beliefs (Hunter, 2005).

The white community, on the other hand, especially Christians, were appalled at both the sexual practices such as 'thigh sex' that were allowed amongst African youth as well as the 'rampant' sexuality of black African youth in the city (Reid & Walker, 2004; 2005). They saw the former as un-

modern and primitive, and the latter as sinful and obscene. Both contributed to white Christian perceptions of young black sexuality as "hypersexual", uncontained, dangerous and threatening to white youth and to the established social order that benefitted the white population (Reid & Walker, 2004; 2005). This resulted in an onslaught of Christian teachings which served as an injunction to intervene and police the sexuality of young black men and women.

During this time, the unsanctioned sexual activity of youth in African communities became constrained within a framework of moral panic. I argued that this framework was a start for thinking about youth sexuality in South Africa that became an increasing problem and currently dominates thought on the subject. It was the first time that the threat of young black sexuality, associated with pregnancy and venereal diseases, became an excuse to talk about matters pertaining to sex and sexuality for both white and black youth. This period also marked an ongoing trend in South Africa where youth sex was constructed as dangerous, bad, and threatening.

3.3) An injunction for Christian teachings and the social hygiene movement

It was during the early twentieth century that two threads of teaching sexuality to youth pervaded. These were (1) Christian teachings on sexuality for both black and white learners and (2) African teachings on sexuality. The latter was also an attempt to subvert white authority as eroding and Westernising black African values (Burns, 1996; Erlank, 2004). The Christian teachings represented the only dominant and public framework within which sex and sexuality for youth was taught and it emphasised abstinence, especially for women. Sexuality education was steeped in Christian dogma during this time and was not concerned, unlike African communities, about sexual pleasure. As aforementioned, sex within Christin teachings was seen as something only for procreative purposes within the context of marriage.

There were extensive efforts during this time to 'Christianise' sex and sexuality, especially within the black African rural areas where initiation schools were understood as the source for teaching black African youth about sex and sexuality (Burns, 1996; Hunter, 2005). The early to mid-twentieth century was therefore a time when African teachings on sex and sexuality was declining; the church began to intervene and supervise initiation schools, which were the principal medium for teaching youth about sex and sexuality (Hunter, 2005). Agents of the church who began supervising initiation schools and promoting Christianity were part of a growing number of black individuals who were converting to Christianity (Burns, 1996). During the 1930s and 1940s, the church increasingly advocated the

sanctioning of non-penetrative sexual practices amongst black youth and also focused on teaching morality.

The increase of black youth entering formal education during this time was also a catalyst for the spread of Christian teachings on sex and sexuality (Mayer, 1961). The school curriculum for black children focused on the 'scientific facts' regarding sex, where girls and boys received separate instruction on the subject. Children were given little overt instruction on how conception occurred, and lessons focused primarily on abstinence from sexual activity until one was married (Burns, 1996). Sexuality education during this time was aimed mostly at young women, especially black women, as they were taught about their menstrual cycles and the duties of married men and women with regard to sex (Gaitskell, 1983; Robinson, 1996). This education also emphasised the importance of not 'touching oneself' or masturbation.

Along with formal education regarding sex was the increase of public discussions on sex and sexuality that were in accordance with the church (Erlank, 2004; 2008). These spaces advocated that mothers educate their children before school-going age on matters pertaining to manners, morals, health and religion, and linking sexual matters to hygiene (Burns, 1996). Sex and sexuality education for youth during the 1940s became a matter of self-discipline that was linked to what was considered moral and healthy, particularly the notion of 'social hygiene'. The 'social hygiene' framework represented the first formal effort to provide sexuality education for both white and black learners. This is because it focused on the prevention of disease through the promotion of health which involved talking about and developing 'morally-healthy' habits (Burns, 1996). Therefore, sex and sexuality education during the early to mid-twentieth century was, for the most part, about social and moral hygiene.

The implication of teaching sex and sexuality to youth from a Christian and social hygiene perspective was the reinforcement of a heteronormative gendered way of thinking and being. This teaching conveyed different standards and expectations of how one should behave according to one's gender (Reid & Walker, 2004; 2005). Authors have argued that African teachings on sex and sexuality accorded adolescent girls more sexual autonomy as pressure was put on adolescent boys to regulate and limit their sexual behaviour to non-penetrative sex (Erlank, 2004). The Christian and social hygiene movement did the opposite - they removed all forms of sexual pleasure from adolescent girls and boys, which meant that the pitfalls of sexual activity, such as pregnancy, put increasing pressure on adolescent girls, rather than boys, to police their sexuality.

Authors have pointed out that the sexuality of urban working class young black men and women was perceived as rampant because these youth had originally come from a context where sexual practice amongst them was normal, but excluded penetrative sex (Manona, 1980; Mayer, 1960; Mayer & Mayer, 1970). Once this group of individuals came to the city there were no structures that policed and regulated their sexuality that resembled those in the villages. The lack of these structures, such as elders' supervision, the homestead and the transaction of cattle to consolidate a marriage union meant the social order under which young black men and women's sexuality flourished was removed (McAllister, 1970).

It can be argued, therefore, that the influence of Christian teachings, industrialisation and land dispossession disrupted a functional practice of youth sexual activity in African communities that was labelled a 'sexuality crisis of the 1930s' (Burns, 1996). This had nothing to do with immorality, sinful behaviour and obscenity but rather a Western mode of thinking that constructed black sexuality in a particular way. The seemingly dynamic approach to sexuality that African communities endorsed was replaced by the views of missionaries and an endorsement of 'complete sexual abstinence' before marriage. Missionary teachings offered an unrealistic alternative to teenage sexual socialisation which was no sexual activity at all (Delius & Glaser, 2002). At this point, it seems relevant to point out that studies caution against the romanticising of African sexuality, as it was not without its own faults, especially the prevalence of coerced sex (Hunter, 2005). The 'sexual socialisation' of adolescents as a function and practice within African communities was eroded by missionary teachings, which ended up constructing the sexual practices of black African youth as undergoing a crisis.

4) The HIV/AIDS epidemic

Christian and social hygiene teachings on sex and sexuality for youth in South Africa throughout the early to mid-twentieth century went largely unchallenged. This was perhaps a reflection of the apartheid government, who echoed the sentiments of the Dutch Reformed Church. It was only during late twentieth century, specifically the 1980s and 1990s when HIV/AIDS emerged as an epidemic and the first black government was democratically elected, that there was renewed interest in youth sex and sexuality. The HIV/AIDS epidemic was simultaneously fuelled by notions of youth sexuality as dangerous and created dialogue on improving sex and sexuality education for youth. In this section, I discuss the emergence of HIV/AIDS in South Africa, and the impact of the epidemic on the youth. I also discuss the approaches to sex and sexuality education that HIV/AIDS has afforded.

4.1) The emergence of HIV/AIDS

The HIV/AIDS virus first made an appearance in South Africa in the early 1980s, during a time of political and social unrest, increasing resistance towards apartheid and signs that the system of racial oppression was starting to unravel (Delius & Walker, 2002). The abstinence and reproductive anatomy approach to sexuality education, coupled with social and political unrest where challenging racial injustices was a priority, detracted from public and health officials anticipating the wave of sexual and reproductive health difficulties associated with the HIV/AIDS virus. The spread of HIV/AIDS seemed inevitable given a lack of support structures, the parochial views on sex and sexuality that were taught and a skewed public health system that benefitted mainly the white population (Marks, 2002). The silence around sex and sexuality afforded by Christianity, the social hygiene movement, apartheid and fighting racial inequality made it extremely difficult to address the sexual and reproductive health difficulties that HIV/AIDS would bring forth.

HIV/AIDS was first reported in South Africa in 1982 where two cases surfaced, both in white gay men (Sher, 1989). For the rest of the 1980s the number of reported cases of the virus progressively increased every year: four cases in 1983, 8 cases each in 1984 and 1985, 24 cases in 1986, 38 cases in 1987, 89 cases in 1988 and, lastly, 166 cases in 1989 (Zwi & Bachmayer, 1990). Of the 166 cases of HIV/AIDS reported in 1989, whites accounted for 136 incidences, black Africans for 22, coloureds for 6 and Indians for 2, with males across these racial categories accounting for 152 and females for 14 (Sher, 1989). Based on these numbers, the disease was categorised as occurring within two groups: the first, white gay and bisexual men, and the second, heterosexuals who manifested the same pattern of symptoms exhibited in Central and Southern Africa (Sher, Dos Santos, & Lyon, 1985; Sher, 1989; Zwi & Bachmayer, 1990).

Authors have, however, questioned these statistics for the black population, suggesting that they are not a true reflection of the incidence of the disease amongst this community during this time (Marks, 2002). This has been attributed to the lack of access to public health services amongst black communities, poor public health services where they did exist, which contributed to misdiagnosing the disease and finally the underreporting of black individuals with the disease (Delius & Walker, 2002; Marks 2002). Furthermore, this was a time when paranoia and suspicion ran rife amongst the black community towards family planning services, which were viewed as an attempt to reduce the black population.

During the early 1990s, scientists were able to ascertain that South Africa was in the early stages of an HIV epidemic. A sero-prevalence survey of women attending antenatal clinics in 1991 found an overall occurrence of the HIV virus of 1.49 percent, which translated into projections that sketched a picture of the virus, reaching an endemic level within the adult population by 2010 (Kuhn, Steinberg & Mathews, 1994). The legacy of apartheid seemed to have created a breeding ground for the HIV virus. This can be attributed to the migrant labour system, profoundly altering and exacerbating sexual relations, an unequal and inferior educational system, large deficiencies in public health services as well as poverty and violence (Marks, 2002). In addition to this, as the late 1980s and early 1990s were characterised as the toppling of the apartheid regime, this meant the marginalisation of other salient issues such as HIV/AIDS. This was reflected in the fact that there were no formal co-ordinated efforts for HIV prevention, as well as no mandatory HIV/AIDS education, during this time.

During the late 1980s and early 1990s studies were conducted with high school students which revealed they had a high level of awareness about AIDS and a strong desire to learn about it, but they had poor knowledge of HIV transmission, and incoherent and inaccurate information about how to protect themselves against it (Kuhn, Steinberg, & Mathews, 1994). This proved to be a true reflection of the limited knowledge that South African youth received on HIV/AIDS even though they were aware of it. As the 1990s went into the new millennium, the prevalence of the disease increased (Mathews, Kuhn, Metcalf, Joubert, & Cameron, 1990). This highlighted the importance of an education on HIV/AIDS for youth and how the lack of this in the 1990s was detrimental to the young people's right to sexual and reproductive health.

4.2) Current epidemiology

HIV/AIDS is currently a major concern in South Africa, and the high incidence and prevalence of the disease amongst certain sectors of the population reflect pervasive and long-standing social inequalities. This research in particular is concerned with the adolescent population affected by the disease, and how this speaks to constructions around sex and sexuality that are pivotal in enhancing or hindering their sexual and reproductive health.

South Africa is currently categorised as a developing country, along with the sub-Saharan African region, that are most affected by HIV/AIDS and has one of the highest numbers of people infected by the disease in the world. According to the World Health Organisation (WHO) (2011), South Africa is estimated as having a population of just over 50 million; an estimated 5.7 million of whom are currently infected with HIV/AIDS, which translates into 11.4 percent of the population living with the

disease. More than 3 million of the 5.7 million infected people are women, which means that more than half of people living with HIV/AIDS in South Africa are women. The provinces in South Africa with the highest prevalence of HIV/AIDS are Kwa-Zulu Natal and Mpumalanga, whilst the Northern and Western Cape have the lowest prevalence (UNAIDS/WHO, 2008). A sobering statistic is how the prevalence of HIV/AIDS is distributed amongst racial categories, with a prevalence of 13.6 percent in Africans, 1.7 percent in coloureds, and lastly 0.3 percent in both Indians and whites which is consistent with the demographics of the country (Harrison, 2009).

According to the South African Department of Health, (2010) and Shisana et al., (2014) the prevalence of HIV/AIDS amongst 15- to 19-year-olds has been 13.6 percent in 2006, 13.1 percent in 2007, 14.1 percent in 2008, 13.7 percent in 2009, and the most recent figures in 2012 falling to 6.3 percent. The UNAIDS Global Report (2011) has corroborated the findings above where they observed that the prevalence of HIV/AIDS has decreased globally amongst 18-year-olds from 1.8 percent in 2005, to 0.8 percent in 2008. Despite this decrease within the 15 to 19 age group in South Africa, the prevalence of HIV/AIDS from 2012 stood at 5.6 percent for young females and 0.7 percent of young males. When the range of this age group is increased to accommodate 20 to 24-year-old young adults, the figures jump to 13.9 percent of young women and 3.6 percent of young men affected. This increase can be attributed to a higher prevalence amongst young adults aged 20-to-24, with a huge discrepancy between females and males infected with HIV/AIDS; 21.1 percent for young women and 5.1 percent of young men in this age bracket.

According to the South African National HIV Survey conducted by Simbayi et al., (2014) the decrease for the prevalence amongst 15-to 19-year-olds can be attributed to increased condom use which has lowered the chances of being infected with HIV. The South African National HIV Communication Survey (2008) reported that within the 15 to 24 age group, condom use increased from 57.1 to 87.4 percent in males and 46.1 to 73.1 percent in females from 2002 to 2008. This increase in condom use amongst both males and females could be attributed to a multi-faceted approach that the government adopted that included a free condom distribution programme where 4.3 million condoms were distributed in 2008 (UNAIDS, 2011). This is an important strategy, especially when 58 percent of girls and 72 percent of boys between the ages of 15 and 24 were sexually active in 2008 (Shisana et al., 2009; UNAIDS/WHO, 2008).

Pettifor et al. (2005) conducted a national and comprehensive study that mapped out the sexual behaviour of South African youth aged 15 to 19 and how such behaviours were likely to be associated

with being infected with HIV. Amongst 15-to 19-year olds, 48 percent reported that they had engaged in penetrative sex (vaginal or anal). Amidst this group of sexually active young people, 25 percent of males and 45 percent of females reported having (had) only one sexual partner. Young men were more likely to have had many casual sex partners than young women. The average age of sexual debut for young men and women within the age group 15 to 19 was 16 and 17 years respectively. The occurrence of transactional sex, which is having sex with another in exchange for valuable items, was recorded at 2 percent for young women and 3 percent for young men. Within the age group 15 to 19, men tended to have sexual partners who were usually one year younger than they were, whilst for women their sexual partners averaged out to be four years older than they were. With regard to being coerced into having sex, amongst sexually active youth, 2 percent of young men and almost 10 percent of young women told of such instances. Lastly, 19 percent of females compared to 9 percent of males had experienced an uncharacteristic genital discharge, while 6 and 7 percent of males and females, respectively, experienced genital ulcers all within the last 12 months.

The study by Pettifor et al. (2005) concluded that one of the strongest predictors for HIV infection for young men was the occurrence of genital ulcers, and whilst prevalent in young women too it was not considered significant. Women, on the other hand, who reported having uncharacteristic vaginal discharges were 1.8 times more likely to be infected with HIV as opposed to young women who did not have a discharge. Young women in the age bracket of 15 to 19, whose sexual partner was 5 years or older, were significantly more at risk for contracting HIV when compared to women whose sexual partners were the same age or younger. The study generally concluded that black African youth, especially young women who lived in an urban area, were older and did not finish high school, were at a significantly higher risk of being infected with HIV compared to youth who did not fall into these categories (Pettifor et al., 2005).

From the data highlighted above, it is clear that HIV/AIDS is linked to class, race and gender. In the following sub-sections on HIV/AIDS, I detail the efforts of HIV/AIDS prevention programmes and education aimed at youth. I also look at the gendered and sexual inequalities that highlight notions of class, race and gender associated with HIV/AIDS and the extent to which this has been addressed in South Africa.

4.3) HIV/AIDS education

From 1994 onwards, the growing incidence and prevalence of HIV especially amongst youth was becoming a national concern and it necessitated an education aimed at the youth. 1994 was also an

important year as the first national democratic elections, which ended apartheid, meant that previous social inequalities and injustices, which were not addressed, would now be taken into account because a discourse on human rights and equality was at the heart of what the new government strived for. Therefore, efforts were made by the government, as well as other parties such as NGOs, to address the matter of HIV/AIDS which was compromising the sexual and reproductive livelihoods of South African youth. These efforts were, however, somewhat slow in getting off the ground.

The type of HIV/AIDS education aimed at youth post-1994 could be understood as falling within two categories, namely; public (informal) HIV/AIDS education and the more formal (school-based) HIV/AIDS education. The former was implemented much earlier than the latter, as schools were still undergoing curriculum change and reconstruction due to the aforementioned legacy of the apartheid regime's unequal and inferior education for the black community. Therefore, efforts to implement HIV/AIDS education into the formal school curriculum took some time as the entire school curriculum needed to be changed to reflect a fair and equal society. It is important, however, to discuss the public HIV/AIDS education aimed at youth as it represents a particular framework for thinking about public as well as sexual and reproductive health. This, in turn, has an impact on the youths' perceptions of HIV/AIDS, sex, sexuality and gender (Peltzer, 2006).

The four most prominent public and informal HIV/AIDS educational initiatives aimed at South African youth are *LoveLife*, *Soul City*, *Khomanani* and *Soul Buddies* (James, Reddy, Taylor, & Jinabhai, 2004; Peltzer & Promtussananon, 2003). A major component of these four programmes is that they are mass media campaigns that rely on billboards, newspaper and magazine advertisements, radio and television to communicate their messages to the youth. These four campaigns have broadly focused on addressing sexual and reproductive issues such as HIV/AIDS, and associated difficulties related to HIV such as teenage pregnancy, unsafe abortion, gender issues and sexual coercion. Authors have argued that most, if not all, of these campaigns have been guided by conceptions of HIV/AIDS that are premised upon a public health model. This type of model, in turn, has favoured a cognitive-behavioural understanding of maintaining a healthy sense of self in a psychological, physical and social sense.

Cognitive behavioural theories, such as the theory of reasoned action, the health belief model, Bandura's social learning theory and the AIDS risk reduction model aim to intervene at a behavioural level in order to create behaviour change. These theories conceptualise the individual as a rational subject who best knows how to alter her/his behaviour when given accurate knowledge regarding

her/his wellbeing. According to Harrison, Smit, and Meyer (2000), these theories have also included the importance of group norms and collective change. In essence, this perspective maintains an autonomous individual subject who can alter her/his behaviour in relation to the context. Critics have been quick to point out that such theories on promoting sexually healthy behaviour fail to adequately consider the broader social context and the power relations within such a context, which inherently work to undermine and shape individual behaviour.

Of all the public campaigns promoting HIV/AIDS education for youth, *LoveLife* has received the most scrutiny from critics, as this particular campaign has been the most featured of all the HIV/AIDS mass media campaigns. Thomas (2004) argues that the images promoted by *LoveLife* are a far cry from the poverty and social inequalities that characterise the lives of these youth. It generates images of youth that are idealised and free from any social ills. Thomas (2004) goes on to argue that their campaigns omit the risks and negative consequences of irresponsible behaviour associated with HIV/AIDS, sex and sexuality and fail to address the social factors involved in the lives of young people in South Africa, especially women that make them susceptible to the virus/syndrome. *LoveLife*, according to Thomas (2004), excludes people who are HIV-positive by focusing on those who are not HIV-positive because they 'love life' enough not to have the HIV/AIDS as opposed to those who have it. Thomas (2004) argues that if such campaigns are to succeed, they must include both infected and uninfected youth. It appears as though the *LoveLife* campaign echoes and promotes the interests of the middle class and heterosexual community, reflecting the values of the cognitive-behavioural framework underpinning this campaign's approach (Harrison, Smit, & Meyer, 2000; Thomas, 2004).

Mitchell, Walsh, and Larkin (2004) provide a compelling account of HIV prevention media campaigns aimed at youth, like the ones in *LoveLife*. They focus on the visual representations of youth in relation to sexuality, gender and HIV. They discuss how the social constructions of such images around age contribute to a 'politics of innocence' that works to undermine an understanding of the sexualities of the youth (Mitchell et al., 2004). More importantly, these constructions serve to reduce or exacerbate the realities, such as HIV/AIDS and other sexual and reproductive health difficulties, to which South African youth are susceptible. The authors argue further that there is a fundamental contradiction within HIV media campaigns which conflate innocence with the sexual knowledge and sexual desires of young people (Mitchell et al., 2004). This contradiction reflects tensions amongst the public regarding their capacity to tolerate or rather manage these constructions of innocence along with sexual feelings, thoughts and behaviours that young people embody.

The more formal type of school-based HIV/AIDS education for youth in South Africa emerged around 1997 and 1998 due to the Department of Education having to reconstruct the school curriculum. In 1997, the Departments of Health and Education introduced what they called the 'Life Skills and HIV/AIDS Education Programme' in response to HIV/AIDS becoming a pandemic amongst South African youth (Magnani, Macintyre, Karim, Brown, & Hutchinson, 2005; Morrell, Unterhalter, Moletsane, & Epstein, 2001). During this time, the Department of Education enlisted a group of life skill trainers throughout South Africa to help execute the Life Skills and HIV/AIDS Programme. They helped develop the curriculum which included teacher training and the content that would be taught in classrooms (Morrell et al., 2001). At the start of 1997, the Departments of Health and Education, in partnership with the Planned Parenthood Association of South Africa, (PPASA) trained around 10 000 teachers nationwide to teach Life Skills and HIV/AIDS education (Harrison et al., 2000).

The goal for the Life Skills and HIV/AIDS education programme was to increase learners' knowledge and assist in developing skills in order to protect the youth from HIV/AIDS, to promote positive and responsible attitudes, and, lastly, to create behaviour change in order to reduce the risk of incurring HIV/AIDS (Magnani et al., 2005; Visser, 2005). Thus, the Life Skills HIV/AIDS school-based initiative attempted to address issues pertaining to sex and sexuality through the public health discourse on HIV/AIDS. It also represented the first time that the South African educational system had made provision in the school curriculum for acknowledging the sexualities of school-going youth (Ngwena, 2003). The programme recognised that adolescent learners are sexually active and it encouraged them to use contraceptives in order to avoid the transmission of HIV should they choose to have sex (Magnani et al., 2005).

When the Life Skills and HIV/AIDS programme was reviewed during 2000 and 2002 (Coombe, 2002; James, Reddy, Ruiter, McCauley, & van den Borne, 2006; Khulisa, 2000; Morrell et al., 2001; Peltzer & Promtussananon, 2003; Visser, 2005), the efforts of the programme were deemed to be unsuccessful for the most part. It appeared that there were three overarching reasons for the programme's inability to make an impact. The first reason was specifically around the inconsistent implementation and intensity of the programme between schools - there was no formal subject that was established for sexuality education across schools and provinces where the Life Skills programme could be carried out. As a result, the programme was implemented through school subjects, depending on the school, such as Biology, Bible Education or in the form of once-off special events and presentations (Rooth, 2005). This meant that schools often neglected to give the Life Skills programme the proper teaching

time it deserved as Life Skills did not have its own designated time slot and some schools did not implement it at all (Magnani et al., 2005; Morrell et al., 2001).

The second mooted reason for the Life Skills programme being unsuccessful was the juxtaposition of the programme's view of adolescent learners' sexual activity with images and notions that maintained learners as 'innocent' and 'in need of protection' (Pattman & Chege, 2003; Reddy, 2005). It appeared that the latter notions resonated quite strongly within educators, parents and society at large, which worked to undermine an exploration into the sexual experiences of adolescent learners in classrooms. Reddy (2005) argues that the Life Skills HIV/AIDS Programme had a tendency to construct South African youth as children rather than envisioning them as young adults with emerging sexual desires. When educators omitted an exploration of the sexual desires of adolescent learners whilst focusing on HIV/AIDS prevention, knowledge and scientific facts within the classroom, it meant that adults were not taking the newly-emerging sexual desires of learners seriously (Reddy, 2005). Pattman and Chege (2003) argue this only reinforced the role of teachers as authoritative and knowing, whilst learners are cast as passive recipients of knowledge, which neglects to take into account their subjective experiences.

The third reason, which is related to the above, is what Morrell (2003) identifies as a culture of silence that works to mute certain voices, realities and knowledges whilst allowing others, which were entrenched through Calvinist morals and values during apartheid. Morrell (2003) argues that this culture of silence worked to undermine educators fully addressing issues related to sexuality and gender. This is especially due to inequalities related to sexuality and gender such as coerced sex, gender-based violence and transactional sex amongst South African youth that may be responsible for the spread of HIV/AIDS (Mitchell & Smith, 2001). The failure of the Life Skills HIV/AIDS Programme to address issues related to gender and sexuality meant that components of sexual relations amongst youth, which resulted in the spread of HIV/AIDS, were left out.

Thus, despite initiatives on the part of the new democratic government to address the HIV epidemic, it failed to take up salient issues such as gender and sexuality that underpin the virus. The reluctance amongst educators and parents to discuss such matters with learners/children paradoxically reflect beliefs and values entrenched during apartheid that was steeped in producing unequal ways of relating to one another. When one investigates the role of Life Skills and HIV/AIDS education, one begins to see that the rationale for the Life Skills programme as a school-based sexuality education initiative was in response to the HIV epidemic. However, the programme did little to talk about issues related to

sexuality and gender. In the next section, I briefly discuss the ramifications of sexuality education in South Africa that omitted particular kinds of discussions in relation to sexuality and gender.

4.4) Gender-based violence, gender inequality and HIV

When the Life Skills programme failed to address the role of gender and sexuality in the spread of HIV, it neglected to account for rigid gender norms as a framework that socialises young people into sexuality. These norms perpetuate unequal gendered power relations where young women continue to lack the necessary decision-making skills and power that young men benefit from in negotiating safe sex practices, as one example. In this section, I detail the incidence and prevalence of gender-based violence and gender inequality that characterise intimate adolescent relationships, specifically how this plays a decisive role in adolescent girls and boys engaging in risky sexual behaviours, ultimately increasing the likelihood of them developing HIV.

Numerous studies have been conducted in South Africa on the sexual behaviours and relationships of adolescent boys and girls, especially in the light of the growing HIV epidemic amongst this age group (see Harrison, 2002; Harrison, 2008; Jewkes, Vundule, Maforah, & Jordaan, 2001; O'Sullivan, Harrison, Morrell, & Monroe-Wise, 2006; Varga & Makubalo, 1996; Varga, 1997; Varga, 2003; Wood, Maforah, & Jewkes, 1996). These studies have observed and documented certain behavioural patterns and risk factors amidst adolescent girls and boys associated with the HIV virus. What appears to be the underlying factor in most, if not all, of these studies is an unequal relationship where the amount of power, influence and decision-making that occurs in the relationship is attributed to gender. This specifically pertains to the findings of research on adolescent sexual and intimate relationships which indicates that these are male dominated and driven (Harrison, 2008; Varga, 2003). The unequal balance of power that shifts to adolescent boys in these intimate and sexual relationships has severely undermined whatever negotiation and decision-making skills adolescent girls have, especially with regard to their bodies and sexual pleasure. This unequal gendered relationship has important implications for young girls' susceptibility to incurring HIV, which I elaborate upon below.

Studies have shown that what appears to underlie the unequal gendered power relations that characterises adolescent intimate and sexual relationships is gender-based violence related to sexually coercive practices (Abrahams, Jewkes, Hoffman, & Laubsher, 2004; Dunkle, Jewkes, Brown, Gray, McIntryre, & Harlow, 2004; Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002; Jewkes, Levin, & Penn-Kekana, 2003; Lau, 2009; Wood et al., 1996; Wood, Maforah, & Jewkes, 1998). Adolescent girls, particularly those from low socio-economic contexts and with little education, have very little to no decision-making power

when it comes to negotiating sexual activity with their male partners, and this is especially high in instances where there is gender-based violence. The physical and sexual violence that characterises adolescent sexual and intimate relationships invoke long-standing gendered inequalities. These gendered inequalities, the manifestations of which are sexual coercion and violence, strips away power, equity and autonomy of adolescent girls' right to sexual and reproductive health.

The gendered inequalities that characterise adolescent sexual relationships speak to traditional constructions around masculinity and femininity (Akosua Adomako, 2001; Morrell, 2003; Shefer & Foster, 2003; Shefer & Ruiters, 1998). This is particularly around hegemonic forms of masculinity that attribute being a 'real' and 'successful' man to one who displays power and commands respect and submission from all those around him. The controlling of women and their bodies by men, therefore, becomes central to securing masculine respectability, especially amongst male peers to whom status, respect and self-esteem is linked. In many studies, the gendered inequalities and gender-based violence were attributed to adolescent boys' sense of entitlement regarding girls' bodies. Research into the romantic relationships amongst adolescents has revealed that young men have an alarmingly high preoccupation with securing the sexual availability of women that borders on an all-or-nothing approach - where violence, manipulation or blackmail is used towards women who do not acquiesce (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002).

As a result of this 'all-or-nothing' approach to intimacy and sex, these girls are subjected to various forms of violence such as slapping, beatings with objects and stabbings in exchange for sex (Makubalo & Varga, 1996; Varga, 1997; Wood & Jewkes, 1998). Also compounding the issue are cases where adolescent girls are economically dependent on their boyfriends, where sex becomes transactional. Of concern with regard to gender-based violence, sexual coercion and gender inequality are the associated risk factors these injustices carry with them that increase the likelihood of contracting HIV for both adolescent girls and boys.

A study conducted on risk factors for young women contracting HIV between the ages of 15 to 24 found that HIV-positive young women have been exposed to intimate partner violence more than women without HIV (Jewkes, Dunkle, Nduna, Levin, Jama, Khuzwayo, Koss, Puren & Duvvury, 2006). In other words, intimate partner violence within adolescent relationships has been associated with risky behaviours underlying the contracting of HIV. This is specifically around condom use, where adolescent girls with less power in a sexual relationship characterised by violence and coercion are likely to have no say with regard to their male counterpart using a condom. It seems that gender

relations are emblematic of sexual, physical and especially intimate partner violence where there is an increased likelihood of adolescent girls contracting HIV.

In a parallel study, which focused on young men aged 15 to 25, it was found that young men who were the perpetrators of sexual, physical and intimate partner violence are more likely than men who did not enact such violence to contract HIV (Jewkes, Dunkle, Nduna, Levin, Jama, Khuzwayo, Koss & Duvvury, 2006). Some of these risky behaviours included inconsistent condom use, substance abuse, multiple sexual partners and risky sexual behaviours such as unprotected anal sex. A similar study also revealed young men reporting that they had been coerced into sex by another man; the median age at which this occurred was 16 years (Jewkes, Dunkle, Nduna, Levin, Jama, Khuzwayo, Koss, Puren, & Duvvury, 2006). This is important as it highlights the incidence of coercive same sex activity which is significant as there is an increased risk of HIV associated with men having sex with men.

What can be concluded thus far is that the intimate and sexual relationships of adolescents in the South African context demand closer inspection, especially as they are marked by pronounced constructions of gender that may be dangerous to both adolescent girls' and boys' sexual and reproductive health. The constructions of gender show an imbalance of power that benefits the sexual interests of young men whilst the decision-making, autonomy and sexual pleasure of young girls are marginalised. This imbalance of power renders the sexual and reproductive health of adolescent boys and girls vulnerable, as coercive sexual practices undermine responsible sexual behaviours. This ultimately speaks to constructions of gender which contribute to the gendered inequalities that characterise adolescent intimate and sexual relationships. Therefore, an education steeped in HIV/AIDS, sex or sexuality for South African youth needs to be sensitive to gender, as it plays a role in the maintenance of their sexual and reproductive health.

5) The promise of Life Orientation

The Life Skills HIV/AIDS programme that was implemented in schools during the late 1990s was considered an unsuccessful attempt to educate the youth of South Africa on matters pertaining to sex, sexuality and HIV/AIDS. This was in light of the start of the new millennium characterised by an increment in the incidence of HIV/AIDS amongst South African youth. Whilst the Life Skills programme was considered the first formal effort of HIV/AIDS, sex and sexuality education in schools, its inconsistent, haphazard and low prioritised implementation between schools and between provinces left many feeling that the programme was an afterthought. In the following section, I detail the introduction of the Life Orientation learning area as a formal subject implemented in schools after

the failure of the Life Skills programme. Life Orientation represents a more comprehensive and robust effort as it aims to provide learners with an education which focuses on their wellbeing and health, not only limited to sex, sexuality and HIV/AIDS.

5.1) Rationale for Life Orientation

Life Orientation emerged largely out of the foundations that were put in place for the Life Skills HIV/AIDS programme in the late 1990s, and from the ideals of the South African government post-1994 that would orient scholars to an equal, just and democratic society (Ngwena, 2003). Life Orientation is a learning area, as opposed to a subject, according to the OBE approach that the Department of Education adopted post-1994. Conceptualising Life Orientation as a learning area is in keeping with an educational system that is learner-/pupil-centred, whereby knowledge is not taught to learners in a subsuming manner but rather learners are expected to engage with the subject as well (Rhodes & Roux, 2004; Rooth, 2005). It is against the backdrop of social transformation and equal opportunity for all that Life Orientation as a new formal learning area orients today's youth to a new and democratic South Africa, free from any prejudice (Rhodes & Roux, 2004; Rooth, 2005).

Life Orientation is part of the project of the new South African government which aims to create and foster within the youth a new national identity (Ngwena, 2003). This identity is premised on values, beliefs and morals that are steeped in, and converge with, South Africa's constitution and discourse on human rights. However, Greenstein and Mabogoane (2003) argue that one should be cautious about a project concerned with creating and fostering an overarching identity despite the aim of eroding inequalities entrenched by the apartheid government. This pertains to the goal of creating a new national South African identity for the youth which paradoxically subsumes a multiplicity of identities, voices and experiences under a nationalist project that obscures differences and democracy. The result is a false sense of openness, flexibility and receptivity that works to uphold notions of nationalism and national identity. Bearing this in mind, Life Orientation as a new learning area does aim to create within classrooms an openness to talking about everyday life events that characterise South African society, and how these contribute to undermining and enhancing learners' wellbeing as they grow into adults (Rooth, 2005).

The last point alludes to what lies at the heart of Life Orientation – learners' wellbeing. This is based on healthy living; a prerequisite for educational efficiency amongst learners. Life Orientation is invested in providing learners with education that can be applied in order to enhance their wellbeing (Rooth, 2005). The need to promote the wellbeing of South African learners is important, especially as

their sexual and reproductive health has been fraught with challenges post-1994 related to HIV, STDs, teenage pregnancy, unsafe abortion and rape. When compared to the Life Skills programme implemented in 1998, Life Orientation represents a more organised and formal attempt at promoting the wellbeing and health of learners in schools.

5.2) Definition and scope of Life Orientation

The Department of Education (2002b; 2008a) and Basic Education (2011) defines Life Orientation as a learning area that engages with the personal, social, intellectual, emotional, occupational, spiritual and physical capacities of learners. Life Orientation seeks to orientate learners to the complexities of life so that they are able to cope with, and make responsible choices and informed decisions regarding, their wellbeing. Life Orientation appears to be preoccupied with promoting, equipping, and fostering the prerequisites to living a balanced, functional and successful life. This view is premised on maximising the potential within learners for successful living that would match and complement a society that strives towards equal opportunity for everyone that is free from discrimination. Life Orientation attempts to bridge the gap between the individual and his or her relationship with the environment in a way that pays respect to the homeostasis of a functional and healthy society.

The latter point; namely, the interdependence and interrelatedness of relationships, is a component that Life Orientation attempts to weave into its pedagogy. Life Orientation emphasises the self in relation to society, where the self is always understood as existing in relation to others through various relationships. According to the Department of Education (2002b; 2008a), the accountability and responsibility of learners' behaviour is emphasised, in order to respect the values, beliefs and attitudes of others. It is against the backdrop of mutually-constituent relationships that Life Orientation teaches learners about participating in a democratic society as well as encouraging learners to become productive members of society. Whilst individualism is encouraged, Life Orientation juxtaposes this with teaching learners about being sensitive to, and developing a sense of community with others. The aims of Life Orientation can, therefore, be summarised as assisting learners to acclimatise to the everyday difficulties that characterise society in a manner that is balanced, functional and successful (Department of Education, 2002b; 2008a).

The scope of the Life Orientation curriculum is broad and differs across Grades R to 12. For the purposes of this research, which focuses on Grade 10 learners, the scope of the curriculum is the category Grade 10 to 12, as designated by the Department of Education (2002b, 2008a). The curriculum for Life Orientation is organised across four focus areas, namely; (1) personal wellbeing,

(2) citizenship education, (3) physical education and (4) careers and career choices (Department of Education, 2002b, 2008a). These areas are considered 'life skills' which are not independent but are rather designed in such a way that each focus area builds on, and interacts with, the other. By the time learners have entered Grade 10, they would have gone through the five focus areas of Life Orientation from Grade R to 9 which are (1) health promotion, (2) social development, (3) personal development, (4) physical development and movement and (5) orientation to the world of work. These focus areas are important in that they form the foundations of what follows in Grades 10 to 12.

The first of the four focus areas for Grade 10 to 12 learners, namely Personal Wellbeing, focuses on learners' 'self-concept' in relation to others in the context of peer pressure, leadership positions, employment and interpersonal dynamics. The issues discussed are the prevention of substance abuse, sexuality, teenage pregnancy, STDs including HIV/AIDS, and promoting personal, community and environmental health (Department of Education, 2002b). The second focus area, Citizenship Education, teaches learners about tolerance and acceptance of diversity with respect to religion, culture, ethnicity, age, ability and language and sensitises learners to forms of discrimination such as xenophobia (Department of Education, 2002b, 2008a). The third focus, Physical Education, is concerned with educating learners about ways and means of protecting their physical health such as nutrition, playing sport and leisure activities. This also demonstrates how physical education is important for building social relations (Department of Education, 2002b, 2008a). The last focus area, Careers and Career Choices, helps learners make critical decisions regarding fields of study and orientating them to the job market, as well as more practical skills such as applying for jobs and preparing for interviews (Department of Education, 2002b, 2008a).

The Department of Education (2002b, 2008a) emphasises that the above four focus areas need to be articulated within the curriculum for learners as an integration of skills that can be combined for a variety of different contexts in real life. A common thread that runs through all four focus areas is that the skills which are taught must be expressed by learners in a manner that is consistent with equitable and democratic practices, as articulated by South Africa's constitution (Rooth, 2005). It becomes increasingly apparent, then, that what Life Orientation deems appropriate for living is in accordance with the ideals of a society that is free from injustice, intolerance and discrimination.

5.3) Life Orientation and sex, sexuality and HIV/AIDS education

The Personal Wellbeing area (focus area 1) focuses on sex, sexuality, HIV/AIDS and other STDs. While sexuality education is introduced into the Life Orientation curriculum as early as primary

school, I only focus on the curriculum for the Grade 10 to 12 category as stipulated by the Department of Education. The Life Orientation curriculum for Grades 10 to 12, specifically the Personal Wellbeing focus area, emphasises issues related to sexuality and gender. These topics are discussed as two separate but interrelated sections. The section on sexuality appears to be given the most coverage in Grade 10; the Grades 11 to 12 curricula introduces secondary issues not directly related to sexuality. The section on sexuality covered in Grade 10 aims to teach learners about 'responsible sexualities', in light of their increasing sexual awareness in relation to their peers and amidst constructions of sexuality within popular culture such as TV, film, music, magazines and fashion. (Department of Education, 2008a) The pervasive sexualised socio-cultural climate to which adolescents are exposed appears to influence the curriculum's emphasis on learners being responsible for their sexuality. Learners are encouraged to take ownership of their sexuality whilst being aware of what their sexuality means for them and the impact this has on their relationships.

The promotion of a 'responsible sexuality' framework can be attributed to sexual and reproductive health difficulties of adolescents such as unwanted teenage pregnancy, unsafe abortion, sexual abuse, rape, STDs and HIV/AIDS (Klepp, Flisher, & Kaaya, 2008; Shisana et al., 2009). These difficulties are picked up and elaborated upon in the Grade 11 and 12 curricula, where sexuality is discussed in terms of risky and healthy behaviours. The Grade 11 curriculum focuses on teaching learners about the promotion of a balanced lifestyle in order to avoid pregnancy, STDs and HIV/AIDS (Department of Education, 2008a). The Grade 12 curriculum focuses on illnesses that are related to unsafe sexual behaviour such as HIV/AIDS and STDs (Department of Education, 2008a). Sexuality is discussed in all three grades from a health promotion and disease prevention framework where learners are urged to be responsible for their sexuality.

The curriculum discusses gender within the context of 'power' and 'power relations' for Grades 10 through to 12 (Department of Education, 2008a). In the Grade 10 curriculum, gender is discussed in terms of stereotypical roles associated with boys/men/masculinity and girls/women/femininity, and how these roles are played out within relationships where power attributed to one's gender may affect the relationship (Department of Education, 2008a). This relates to decision-making and how an unequal gendered distribution of power may result in verbal, emotional, sexual or physical abuse. For Grade 11, gender is covered in relation to how the gendered self and gender roles are defined and unfold in relation to one's family, culture and society (Department of Education, 2008a). Attention is also paid to how gender roles are changing, how such roles differ from traditional ones and the types of conflict this may cause. The Grade 12 curriculum takes gender a step further by assisting learners to

see links between sexual differences, sexuality and gender (Department of Education, 2008a). Gender roles are seen as underlying and constructing sexual differences and sexuality. Attention is also paid to unequal gendered power relations that are responsible for sexual violence such as abuse and rape.

Life Orientation aims to create a foundation for learners where skills are built on one another and are interrelated as learners move from one grade to another. Therefore, the skills related to sexuality, gender and HIV/AIDS taught in Grades 10 to 12 do not appear for the first time in the curriculum at this stage. Rather sex, sexuality, gender and HIV/AIDS are introduced to learners as early as primary school, with subsequent grades aiming to build and deepen learners' understanding of such matters. For example, the curriculum for Grades 7 to 9 introduces learners to areas such as puberty, peer pressure, sexuality, relationships and friendships, sexual behaviour and sexual health, HIV/AIDS and decision-making regarding health and safety (Department of Education, 2008a).

To conclude, Life Orientation is cognisant of adolescent learners' sexual and reproductive health and how this plays an important role in their personal wellbeing. The content of the sexuality education curriculum specifies gender and sexuality as mutually constituent and how these two matters cannot be ignored when teaching learners about sex. The curriculum also makes provision for social difficulties that arise associated with gender and sexuality and a host of sexual and reproductive health difficulties.

5.4) The challenges of Life Orientation sexuality education

The sex, sexuality and HIV/AIDS learning area for Grades 10 to 12 of the Life Orientation programme have been not been without criticism. In the following section, I present literature that talks to several shortcomings within this component, despite Life Orientation being implemented relatively recently in schools. These shortcomings are principally based on how sex, sexuality and HIV/AIDS education for learners have been conceptualised, and how there appears to be discrepancies between what appears in the curriculum and how it is actually implemented in schools.

Francis (2010) provides three questions that should be considered when implementing sexuality education within South Africa. These three questions engage with understanding the extent to which sexuality education addresses learners' sexual and reproductive health and are as follows: (1) How can sexuality education be taught in a way that is relevant to the youth of today? (2) Is the classroom an appropriate context for sexuality education? (3) If so, what does this say about the content of sexuality education? These three questions provide a useful framework in which one can think about Life Orientation in relation to youth sexuality.

With regard to the first question, attempts have certainly been made by the Life Orientation curriculum developers to contextualise sexuality education for learners, in the light of the HIV/AIDS epidemic and the associated sexual and reproductive health difficulties that affect South African youth. However, the public health discourse has dominated HIV/AIDS prevention programmes and has influenced the way in which sexuality has been taught. Thus, HIV/AIDS has become an avenue to talk about matters pertaining to sexuality (Coombe, 2000; Schaalma, Abraham, Gillmore, & Kok, 2004). This appears to the case for the Life Orientation curriculum, where a public heath discourse still dominates how sexuality education is taught (Ngwena, 2003).

Whilst Life Orientation has recognised the needs of adolescents related to sexuality, gender and relationships, there are substantial barriers to addressing these needs in classrooms. This includes educators' attitudes which are often steeped in particular views that undermine the needs of learners such as moralistic, Christian and authoritarian views, as well as endorsing a public health framework (Bhana, 2009; Bhana & Epstein, 2007; Reygan & Francis, 2015). The attitudes of teachers and parents, as well as the Life Orientation curriculum in some instances, undermines the provision made to discuss matters such as sexuality and gender, by ignoring how both are involved in power relations that benefit young men more than young women. Therefore, teachers' and parents' attitudes, and the curriculum, inadvertently, end up producing an essentialist view of gender and sexuality, rather than one that is sensitive to social and cultural factors. Even though the Life Orientation sexuality component makes provision for discussing salient issues such as sexuality and gendered power relations, teachers may revert to models of abstinence and sexual risk due to Christian or moralistic beliefs (Francis, 2010). These models limit the scope of exploring gender and sexuality as powerful issues that may serve to transform unequal adolescent gendered and sexual relationships (Francis, 2010).

The implications of a public health discourse are that sex and sexuality education is reduced to a matter of adolescents in need of accurate information from the perils of HIV/AIDS (Baxen & Breidlid, 2004; Bhana, 2009; Bhana & Epstein, 2007). This is because adolescents are conceptualised as innocent and needing protection, as opposed to being agents who fashion their sexual desires amidst competing discourses on the subject of sex and sexuality. The HIV/AIDS epidemic, the public health discourse, as well as long-standing histories of conservative Christian views on sex during apartheid have contributed to a discourse of childhood innocence that influences how educators approach teaching Life Orientation sexuality education (Morell, 2003; Morell et al., 2002). The views and models fuelling discourses of childhood innocence have painted a picture of sex and sexuality as

something that is dangerous, disease-ridden, and something from which the youth need to be protected (Morell, 2003).

Regarding the second question, namely; whether the school is an appropriate environment for sexuality education, researchers have noted reluctances amongst parents regarding discussions of sex, sexuality and HIV/AIDS with their children due to cultural taboos on the subject (Francis, 2010). Therefore, the school represents a site that can make a contribution to adolescent learners knowing about sex, sexuality and HIV/AIDS in the light of parents' discomfort to discuss such matters (Helleve, Flisher, Onya, Kaaya, Mukoma, Swai & Klepp, 2009; Helleve, Flisher, Onya, Mukoma, & Klepp, 2011). Another matter is that in instances when parents do talk to their children, the exchange of this information may be inaccurate, biased and may reinforce the stigmas associated with sex, sexuality and HIV/AIDS (Helleve et al., 2009).

While Life Orientation sexuality education programmes make provision for discussions about sex, sexuality and HIV/AIDS, studies have shown that teachers lack the training needed to facilitate discussions on such matters (Helleve et al, 2011; Mukoma, Flisher, Ahmed, Jansen, Mathews, Klepp & Schaalma, 2009). This lack of training is exacerbated by Life Orientation teachers feeling anxious and embarrassed about their own sexualities and sexual desires coming to the fore and not wanting to antagonise parents' cultural values and beliefs or blur the teacher-learner relationship by sharing personal information (Helleve et al., 2009). Studies have also revealed that the subject matter of sex, sexuality and HIV/AIDS has placed an unrealistic demand on educators to occupy multiple roles for learners including that of counsellors, parental figures and social workers (Helleve et al., 2009). It has been suggested that Life Orientation needs to be taught with support structures in place at schools through collaborations with social workers, psychologists and/or peer counsellors, which takes away the burden on Life Orientation teachers to occupy multiple roles (Ahmed, Flisher, Mathews, Mukoma, & Jansen, 2009). The provision of such healthcare professionals seems unlikely, given the lack of resources to which schools have access.

The last question, proposed by Francis (2010), is that, as aforementioned, if schools are the best available option, what about the content and pedagogy of the sexuality education curriculum? It appears that there is a gap that exists between the content of the Life Orientation sexuality education curriculum and how educators deliver this content to learners. While the Life Orientation sexuality education programme does make provision for discussions on sex, sexuality, gender, relationships and HIV/AIDS, its pedagogy reflects traditional approaches to sexuality education that fail to generate

discussions on sexual desire and feelings unfolding within the context of adolescent relationships (Francis, 2010). Francis (2010) argues that what appears to be missing from the pedagogy is educators making space for the personal and interpersonal worlds of adolescent learners' sexual subjectivities and desires. The pedagogical value of Life Orientation sexuality education reflects an adult conceptualisation of sexual health education as manifested by educators' reluctance, embarrassment and anxiety rather than reflecting the adolescents' sexual experience. This can be attributed to what I highlighted in the previous section as the discourse of 'childhood innocence' that characterises South African adults' perceptions of youth who need to be protected from the dangers associated with sex. In this way, Francis (2010) argues that Life Orientation sexuality education needs to draw on adolescents' sexual experiences in order to be more helpful to learners.

The Life Orientation programme is dictated largely by the aims and objectives of an OBE approach as a way of correcting the injustices and inequalities of the educational system during apartheid. This approach aims to foster within learners a way of being that resonates with a democratic South Africa - free from discrimination and prejudice to create a just and equal society. While sexuality education is taught through the Life Orientation programme on matters pertaining to sex, sexuality, gender power relations and HIV/AIDS, it seems that it is still hindered by policies and attitudes associated with the apartheid regime. This includes the way in which teachers and parents maintain Christian and moralistic views that are obstacles to teaching as they construct children as innocent and in need of protection from the dangers of sex, as aforementioned. It also seems that the Life Orientation curriculum may be trying to cover too many areas as a way to compensate for the lack of other services such as those provided for by social workers and psychologists (Francis, 2010). This ambitious task ultimately overwhelms and overburdens teachers. Therefore, the discipline of Life Orientation may be trying to address, by itself, the sexual and reproductive health of adolescent learners which should be also addressed by other healthcare professionals.

6) Conclusion

In this chapter, I emphasised the socio-historical events that have led to present sexuality education initiatives, documented over four broad sections. In section one I identified four key socio-historical shifts in the history of education and formal schooling in South Africa. Schooling first appeared when the Dutch arrived in the Cape in the mid-1600s and was introduced to the slaves out of a concern for their intellectual and moral wellbeing. When the British gained control of the Cape from the Dutch in 1806, they established formal offices dedicated to education that would eventually become the Department of Education. The British also divisively tailored the education of black African 'natives'

to meet the demands of low-skilled manual labour. Education was steeped in Christian teachings that secured their servility and obedience to white Europeans. This set the tone for an inferior education that black Africans received compared to the children of the white European settlers, which was taken up further with the appointment of the Nationalist government in 1948. This government promoted Afrikaner nationalism at the expense of the political, economic and social interests of black Africans and thus the education of black African youth was strictly geared towards manual work - an education that was inferior to that of white citizens. This changed when the first black African democratically-elected government came into power in 1994 and amended educational policies to reflect a fair, just and equitable society. However, it is important to note that there are still social inequalities, related to poverty, that continue to plague the quality of education, especially in historically disadvantaged communities.

In the second section, I traced the emergence of sex and sexuality education initiatives, in particular, against the backdrop of general schooling and education, as mentioned above. The arrival of the Dutch and then the British, more so, introduced Christian teachings to the slaves and natives that prohibited any sexual activity outside marriage because it was seen as sinful, immoral and punishable by God. These teachings eroded pre-colonial sexual socialisation practices amongst black Africans that encouraged youth to explore and experience sexual pleasure, whilst prohibiting penetrative sex as this was reserved for marriage. By the time the apartheid government came into power, black African youth were displaced from their homelands as they sought paid work in the cities. This led to an increase of pregnancies out of wedlock and the spread of STDs amongst young black men and women, as a result of experimenting with sexual freedom and independence away from their watchful elders, which incited the government to implement stricter measures on sexual activity amongst youth through social hygiene campaigns. These campaigns, along with Christian teachings, encouraged young people to abstain from sex until marriage in order to keep their bodies pure. There was no formal sexuality education programmes offered at school level except for the principles loosely based on the social hygiene campaigns.

In section three, I argued that it was not until the HIV/AIDS epidemic during the late 1990s, which coincided with the newly-elected black democratic government, that formal initiatives were put in place for sexuality education to be offered in schools. This resulted in the Life Skills HIV/AIDS programme being implemented in schools. This programme aimed to uphold the sexual and reproductive health of learners in light of a host of difficulties young people presented with, such as HIV, STDs and unwanted teenage pregnancy. However, this programme proved to be unsuccessful as it

was not allocated as a formal subject with a designated time slot; instead, it was taught through other subjects such as Biology, Bible studies and not given much time, and in some schools it was not implemented at all. Furthermore, several authors have pointed out that the Life Skills programme was based on a disease-prevention framework that did little to address sexuality and gender. Researchers have also observed how gender-based inequalities characterise intimate partner relationships amongst adolescents where young women have little sexual agency over negotiating condom use, which makes them the most vulnerable to contracting HIV, STDs and falling pregnant outside of marriage. In this way, unequal gendered power relations are an important factor in the spread of HIV/AIDS. Therefore, authors have argued that any sexuality education initiatives must include discussions on constructions of gender that underpin sexuality.

In the final section, I highlighted the introduction of Life Orientation as a new teaching area that was formally introduced at primary and secondary level schooling after the Life Skills programme was reviewed and proved to be unsuccessful. It is currently taught at a national level. Life Orientation teaches sex and sexuality education through one of its several learning areas and it represents a more formal and organised initiative than the Life Skills programme. It teaches learners about responsible sexuality amid HIV, STDs and teenage pregnancy, and it also focuses on gender roles and unequal gendered power relations. Since Life Orientation has been implemented in South African schools, studies have shown that there are still substantial barriers to teaching sex and sexuality education such as Christian and moralistic views of educators and parents. Such views usually encourage a silence on matters related to sex and sexuality, and represent real obstacles on successful implementation in the classroom. After discussing at some length the socio-historical processes of school-based sexuality education as a formal medium of sexual socialisation for young people in this chapter and the previous one, in the next chapter I consider the role popular music plays in young people's lives as an informal medium of sexual socialisation.

Chapter 4 Youth and Popular Music

1) Introduction

In this chapter, I detail the relationship between young people and popular music. The purpose is to illustrate how the seemingly trivial activity of young people listening to popular music is an important component of the construction of young people's socio-cultural realities and functions as an informal medium of sexual socialisation in their lives. I organise the chapter according to three components that highlight the socio-cultural realities that the relationship between young people and popular music draws on, produces and reinforces. Each component broadly argues that the relationship between youth and popular music is a mutually constitutive and reciprocal one as well as a dynamic form of interaction capable of communicating socio-cultural realities.

In the first component, I detail the history of how young people became an object of academic enquiry through the term 'youth culture'. This is done through a history of the socio-political and economic context in which popular music emerged, and how young people became a medium through which popular music was propagated in the US, UK and South African context. I also discuss the ways in which young people have appropriated popular music in their lives from its inception in the 1950s until the present. In the second component I look at major theoretical frameworks that have been used to understand the relationship between young people and popular music. I begin with a discussion of Theodore Adorno's work, which emphasises the role authentic and creative forms of music versus non-authentic and non-creative forms play in shaping young people's lives, and how the former is capable of producing profound change. Afterwards, I discuss critiques levelled at Adorno's work, highlighting the influence of the social and cultural context on music. Thereafter, I talk to a body of work that focuses on the reciprocal influence of society and music. In the third, and last, component, I contextualise the relationship between young people and popular music within particular music genres such as rock, pop, rap and/or hip hop music, which reinforce and challenge gendered and sexual identities.

2) Youth culture and popular music

In this section, I map out the relationship between young people and popular music, and give serious consideration to the seemingly taken-for-granted and trivial act of young people listening to music. I discuss how and why this relationship became an object of academic investigation. The discussion is broken into four parts, with the first three parts focusing on work conducted in the US and UK, whilst the fourth part is focussed entirely on the South African context. The first part deals with the socio-

cultural, economic and political circumstances of young people, which created a need to scientifically investigate their activities. The second part examines how popular music emerged and the significance it played in young people's lives by highlighting the social, economic and political context at the time that popular music emerged. The third part looks at the rise of popular music in South Africa and how it emerged as a vehicle for political commentary and protest amongst black South Africans, but progressively became more entertainment-oriented, especially post-1994. Finally, part four deals with the value that popular music holds for young people, and how they incorporate music meaningfully into their lives.

2.1) The rise of 'youth culture'

The social and cultural practices of young people became an area of interest to academics during the early 1920s which gave rise to the notion of 'youth culture'. In this section I discuss the context that gave rise to the activities of young people that popularised the term 'youth culture', focussing specifically on the American and British contexts of 'youth culture'. This is in light of the influence these music markets have on the rest of the world and how they are aimed at, and taken up by, South African youth. This can be seen in the musical preferences of learners who participated in this study; the most popular songs as voted by learners are performed by American musicians.

The early twentieth century was a time when youth cultures became increasingly visible, and emerged primarily through forms of deviance and resistance to societal and cultural norms (Frith, 1983). These deviant behaviours were in response to socio-economic hardships that led increasingly to the formation of youth gangs, representing an alternative culture or a 'subculture' to the dominant and mainstream ones (Frith, 1983). In the US and UK, young people represented a counter-culture that formed the foundations of youth culture. The sociological study of youth during this time also drew attention to the practice of youth cultures through the term 'subculture' (Hebdige, 1988). However, the formation of youth cultures, based on deviance and resistance, evolved during the mid-twentieth century into youth cultures based on young people's consumption of consumer goods, particularly popular music (Hebdige, 1988). Therefore, the mid-twentieth century appeared to be a time where there was a consolidation around the term 'youth culture' as it evolved from youth gangs to style-based youth cultures.

With regard to the US and British contexts, the end of the Second World War signalled an eruption of aesthetically-differentiated social and cultural practices in which young people engaged and these increasingly became an object of investigation, particularly from a sociological point of view (Bennett,

2000; Frith, 2001). The emergence of these youth cultures prompted investigations into the social significance of such practices in terms of how they arose and the meanings that they held for young people (Bennett, 2000). What appeared to be common in most, if not all, of the varied stylised youth cultures was the element of the aforementioned deviance or resistance, similar to the youth counter-cultures during the early twentieth century, which were expressed towards the status quo during this time (Negus, 1997). The difference in the youth cultures in the mid-twentieth century was the increase in those that were aesthetically differentiated and they became a vehicle of expression around which young people organised themselves (Bennett, 2000; Frith, 2001; Negus, 1997).

Therefore, whilst youth cultures appeared long before the post-war period, it was during, and particularly after, the Second World War that identifiable social and cultural practices became a marker for youth cultures. The rise of these youth cultures was attributed to an increase in economic growth and affluence, particularly in the UK and US during the 1950s and 1960s (Bennett, 2000; Negus, 1997; Shuker, 2008). The economic boom during this time led to a culture of consumerism; goods which were once considered a privilege of the affluent classes were now available to the less affluent classes (Frith, 2001). Thus, the culture of consumerism became readily available to all sectors of British and American society through the mass production of consumer goods, benefitting the working class as well (Bennett, 2000).

During this economic boom of the mid-twentieth century, young people represented a market that was easily accessible and exploited; they resided with their parents and had one of the highest proportions of disposable income (Negus, 1997; Shuker, 2008). What emerged during this time was a youth market that was specifically designed for, and catered to, young people; the commodities it produced were clothing, cosmetics, jewellery, 45 RPM records and portable radios (Bennett, 2000; Frith, 2001). It was through the aforementioned culture of consumerism and the mass production of commodities, such as music, that youth cultures found expression. Music as a commodity became a principal vehicle and marker for the unique expression of youth cultures, especially in terms of identifying and differentiating between various groups within these cultures, based on their appearance and behaviour. Therefore, music played an important role in organising young people into aesthetically-differentiated social groups that was collectively referred to as ‘youth culture’.

A further point should be qualified, regarding the evolution of youth cultures from the youth gangs of the early twentieth century, to the style-based youth cultures of the mid-twentieth century, as influenced by the previously-stated economic growth and the production of consumer goods. It was in

response to class-based inequalities during the early twentieth century that led to the emergence of youth gangs as a form of social revolt. However, the economic boom experienced during the mid-twentieth century exploited the overall aesthetic of youth gangs from the early twentieth century. The deviant aesthetic that characterised youth gangs was channelled into the production of consumer goods, especially music, which emphasised style and social identity as opposed to the youth gang aesthetics' original meaning related to resisting class inequalities. It can be argued then that 'youth culture' was largely a term that originated from the youth's consumption patterns that were initially dictated by the youth's class position.

2.2) The rise of popular music with respect to youth culture

In this section, I look at the role popular music plays as a commodity in the lives of young people. The term 'popular music' conjures up in most, if not all, minds, images closely associated with youthfulness and as something that is relevant to the lives of young people. In the following paragraphs, I outline the conditions that gave rise to popular music and the influence it had on young people's lives. It is also important to look at the properties of popular music which make it so pertinent in the lives of young people, and how popular music has implications for creating social and cultural realities.

The association between popular music and young people appeared after the post-World War II period (Bennett, 2000; Frith, 2001; Middleton, 2000; Negus, 1992; Shuker, 2008). This does not mean that there was no relationship between young people and music before this time. During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, music and dancing were sought-after leisure activities that young people enjoyed (Frith, 2001). Therefore, 'dance halls', as they were termed, became spaces designated for young people so they could listen to music, dance and, most importantly, socialise with each other (especially with the opposite sex).

However, music and its influence upon young people were viewed with disdain and suspicion as it was seen to have a corrupting influence. This concerned 'dance halls'; the music and dancing, coupled with the availability of alcohol, were seen as weakening young people's self-control, making them less inhibited, and leading to disruptive and sexually immoral behaviour (Frith, 2001). As a result, the leisure activities of young people, especially music, were highly regulated as they represented an avenue for sexual misconduct and other misdemeanours (Negus, 1999). This issue points to a long-standing history of policing and regulating the relationship between music and its influence on young people.

The advent and marketing of the electronic microphone in the 1930s changed the way young people received music, which was previously and primarily through 'dance halls' (Frith, 2001; Negus, 1997). The microphone meant that one's singing voice could be amplified, along with musical instruments. The amplification of voice and instrumentation meant that mediums such as the radio and recording studios, as opposed to the stage, became vehicles for music. Music was now capable of entering the private and personal worlds of young people through the radio or record player in their bedrooms, instead of 'dance halls'; the latter representing a public way of listening to music (Frith, 2001). The amplification of one's voice was prioritised more than the instruments as it conveyed personal meaning through words and created a heightened emotional state for listeners. As a result, the 1930s and 1940s were dominated by popular songs that showcased the singers' vocals and their ability to create emotion through their voice (Frith, 2001). What emerged, therefore, was the 'vocal pop star', which drew on musical elements such as folk, country, rhythm and blues and jazz music.

Popular music reached new heights in the 1950s as it was spurred by the rise of television; a televised version of pop was created which became a medium and blueprint for musical performance to this day (Frith, 2010; Negus, 1999; Rothenbuhler & McCourt, 2010). The advent of televised pop music coincided but also culminated with the 1950's rise of the market that catered for the tastes and preferences of young people (Fairchild, 2008; Hull, 2004). The youth market could be understood as differing in two styles: the first was rock n' roll, which offered youth a sense of rebellion to distinguish themselves from adults, and the other was 'teen pop' which represented an entertainment–oriented "showbiz" world marked by fame, celebrity and glamour (Fairchild, 2008). Television, then, became a very important medium in propagating popular music that was steeped in a culture and market dedicated to the youth. By the 1960s, pop music and its market had become synonymous with a market and culture for youth (Frith, 2001; 2010).

It is useful, at this point, to define what "popular" is, what it aims to achieve as well as its effects. Pop music can be thought of as encapsulating a variety of musical genres and styles from rock n' roll, hip hop, country, folk music and many others (Shuker, 2005; 2008). The key, however, to these musical styles and genres becoming 'popular' rests on the extent to which they are made accessible for public to consumption. In this way, music becomes a commodity, something that is produced solely for the purposes of profit. Many have argued that pop music tends to piggyback other musical genres and styles that are not traditionally conceptualised as pop but regarded as more authentic forms of musical expression (Fairchild, 2008). This is the reason why pop music is thought to be a residual category as it

embodies musical styles and genres that remain once all other forms of pop music are stripped away (Shuker, 2005; 2008).

Pop music is therefore designed so that it appeals to everyone as it does not have certain intrinsic stylistic musical properties. It is meant to be easily digested, easy to listen to, and it provides the general public with light entertainment and something with which they are familiar (Fairchild, 2008; Frith, 2001). For this reason, popular music reinforces and re-establishes particular values, beliefs, lifestyles, thoughts, feelings and practices. Pop music replaces individual visions with a common space for thoughts and feelings, where they become clichés. In turn, these clichés are continuously recycled through pop songs but decisively work to be interpreted in an individual way (Borthwick & Moy, 2004; Hull, 2004). This has been described as the paradoxical nature of pop music. Popular music, by communicating meta-narratives in a way that are individual, is taken up as containing subjective value and, in this way, the popular becomes personal (Frith, 2001). It is also important not to neglect the fact that music is susceptible to the influence of powerful record companies who are in charge of how this music is produced and packaged (Hull, 2004; Negus, 1999). The making of a song is not only the musician's task but also becomes the task of songwriters and record producers; they assist in developing songs that will prove to be popular (Fairchild, 2008; Hull, 2004; Middleton, 2000).

Therefore, popular music is one of the primary cultural resources in which young people immerse themselves and constitutes a substantive part of their lives. Christenson and Roberts (2001) described popular music as having an 'omnipresent force' in the worlds of young people. The role that popular music plays in the lives of young people was consolidated at the time when rock 'n roll emerged and was popularised during the 1950s. Rock 'n roll music and subsequent genres, particularly more recent ones, have represented a culture that is strikingly different to the norms and values taught by parents. This has been a site and a space that the youth have identified with as it represented a break away from the parental system.

2.3) The role of popular music in South Africa

While the emergence of popular music in the US and UK was motivated by class inequalities, birthing youth-based counter-cultures which were subsequently exploited for commercial gain, in South Africa the spread of popular music was primarily through racial inequalities. In this section, I show that popular music in South Africa emerged as a form of political commentary and protest for black youth in the early twentieth century. By the middle of this century, the political character of music was silenced by the apartheid government and replaced by traditional African and religious music styles. It

was only at the close of the twentieth century, when apartheid was abolished, that there was a brief revival of politically-driven music which became rapidly commercialised, as evidenced by Afro-dance pop and *kwaito* music.

Ballantine (1989) argues that the central features of popular music in South Africa can be traced back to a fusion of ongoing and changing styles of the native Africans and the colonisers. During the nineteenth century, the most popular medium for music was 'minstrel shows'; white minstrels performed in 'blackface' that created a spectacle of the native people. The obvious racist overtones of these shows became incredibly popular amongst white audiences. The minstrel show also produced African minstrel performers who adapted it for their own ends. They mimicked the ones of African Americans that took inspiration from intoning and singing gospel-related poems and songs that emphasised the freedom of every man.

From the early twentieth century, the African minstrel shows evolved into a style of music termed *marabi*, a banjo or guitar style of performance based on cyclical harmonic patterns similar to blues music in the US (Ballantine, 1989). *Marabi* was seminal to the emergence of popular music in South Africa; the lyrics often served as political commentary and protest. *Marabi* was perceived by the white colonisers and others not confined to 'ghetto life' as having a corrupting influence, especially on black youth; it was associated with illegality, police raids, sex and the impoverished working class (Ballantine, 1989)

Marabi gradually faded towards the mid-twentieth century with the sale of gramophones and through the consumption of American-based music where black musicians and youth modelled themselves on American musicians (Allen, 2003). This lead to a new genre of music termed 'township jazz' or *mbaqanga* and *kwela*, an innovative pennywhistle jazz-oriented style of music produced by the black youth as a way of imitating their favourite jazz musicians (Schumann, 2008). However, this thriving musical scene died down when the apartheid government passed the Group Areas Act of 1950 which prohibited racial mixing and uprooted communities by confining them to designated areas based on race (Allen, 2003; Schumann, 2008). This act thus destroyed and fragmented vibrant musical spaces and communities.

According to Coplan (1979), in the 1960s the apartheid government divisively fragmented musical interests by establishing seven ethnically-based radio services for black people. Musically, each station's bias was towards traditional, neo-traditional and religious music. The establishment of

ethnically-based radio services was a deliberate attempt by the apartheid government to appeal to the ethnic musical sensibilities of black people. This was in order to drive away jazz music as it represented an idiom for social equality and incited black people to challenge the government (Coplan, 1979). Jazz music was developed by black people in America, formerly from Africa, in response to racially-driven oppressive capitalist development. Ballantine (1989) argues that jazz music was "the discourse closest to an international musical vernacular of the oppressed" (p. 309). Similarly, jazz music echoed the sentiments of the consciousness of oppressed black South Africans and as such, represented a threat to the apartheid government (Ballantine, 1989; Coplan, 1979) which incited them to keep it off black African radio airwaves.

The 1970s and '80's saw an increase in an Afro-dance pop-oriented music that was far from the ideals of jazz music (Steingo, 2006). This music was mass produced by recording studios who hired capable musicians from the countryside. In many ways, popular music became mass produced, during this time and lost its oppositional character from previous decades (Allen, 2004). It was at this point that the political edge of popular music in South Africa diminished and became increasingly entertainment-oriented (Allen, 2004). Mhlambi (2004) argues that this gave way to a genre referred to as *'kwaito'*, post-1994, as touched upon earlier, which was compared by music critics as a South African adaptation of American R 'n B and hip hop music. This signalled a new era for popular music in South Africa in which there was freedom of expression for black recording artists. Moreover, it represented the first time that black South African youth could make their voices heard through music.

2.4) Youth culture incorporating popular music

In this section, I discuss how young people incorporate music into their everyday lives. Broadly stated, in the previous sections I highlighted how popular music is incorporated into young people's lives while in the current section I discuss how young people actually use music. I elaborate on the reciprocal and mutually-constituent relationship between youth and popular music, especially with regard to the theoretical implications this has for how the relationship between the two is conceptualised. For now, though, I elaborate on how music has taken on newer forms that differ from the 1950s and 1960s, and how young people have used such media in their lives.

'Music media' is a term coined by Christenson and Roberts (2001) and refers to the cultural forms through which popular music is communicated. This term is helpful in that it identifies the media that young people use in order to incorporate music into their lives (Christenson & Roberts, 2001). The most important media that young people currently use to access music is through personally-controlled

recordings in the form of songs recorded on an MP3 digitally-based format accessed through devices such as iPods, MP3 players, mobile phones and CDs, (Christenson & Roberts, 2001) as aforementioned. Other media include the internet, radio, music videos, concerts, nightclubs as well as through friends, pop and rock magazines. These media also allow for young people to look at visuals such as music videos and images of the musicians and their personal backgrounds (Christenson & Roberts, 2001). The most influential medium has become the music video, especially with the launching of MTV in 1981. MTV is a 24-hour music channel dedicated to playing music videos which has led to the emergence of other music channels such as MTV2, MTV Base, VH1, Channel O, Trace and many others (Borthwick & Moy, 2004).

Dominick (1996) identifies four ways in which young people may use and derive pleasure from popular music media. Young people firstly use music in a cognitive way as a source of information to provide awareness and cues regarding the world at large. The second use is for diversion, which refers to the entertainment value that popular music affords young people as it works to stimulate their emotional and affective faculties and offers a distraction from the stresses of everyday life. The third use is social utility which is the social value that young people derive from music where it works to create, sustain and change interpersonal relationships with family members, peers and love interests. The fourth use is withdrawal and it refers to the capacity of popular music to help shut out the outside world by providing the listener with a private and personal space. Christenson and Roberts (2001) propose a fifth use which they refer to as "personal identity"; namely, to provide a clear sense of self, self-confidence and stability of one's self. Of the five uses mentioned, several studies have indicated that the majority of youth enjoy how music could alter their mood (Arnett, 1991; Christenson, 1994; Gantz, Gartenberg, Pearson, & Schiller, 1978; Roe, 1985; Rosenbaum & Prinsky, 1987; Wells, 1990). Music's ability to alter young people's moods points to pleasure derived from music in order to relieve tension, to reinforce a current mood, to create, or get into, a desired mood and lastly, as a distraction from problems .

Christenson and Roberts (2001) differentiate between three social ways that young people use music, which include (1) quasi-social use; (2) socialising uses and, (3) cultural uses. The 'quasi-social use' refers to 'imagined' connections which popular music makes between self and others when listening to music in solitude. Solitary listening creates an imaginary way for one to think about peers, groups and social situations. The 'socialising use' refers to popular music creating an ambience or atmosphere that allows young people to communicate with each other in situations like a nightclub or party. In other words, music becomes an integral part of the occasion as it creates mood, facilitates interpersonal

relations and fills the silence when there is no talk. Lastly, the 'cultural use' refers to popular music denoting identity, as it assigns membership; who belongs and who does not. The most important cultural use of popular music, however, is the demarcation it creates between youth and adulthood

Another important way that young people incorporate music into their lives is through gendered and sexual meanings. Bayton (1998) observes that adolescent girls and boys acquire a sense of how to be feminine, masculine and heterosexual by observing clothing, bodily gestures and the overall performance of the musician/s who simultaneously perform gender and sexuality. For instance, Frith (1978) observes that pop music is enjoyed mostly by teenaged girls who consume not only the records and singles but also magazines and clothing items that are marketed in relation to their pop idols. These teenybop cultures centre on girls' bedrooms where they dance, sing, try on make-up, and chat with their friends about boys. Frith (1978) remarks that pop music initially reflected teenaged girls' limited freedom as it promoted activities that confined them to the house and their bedrooms. However, Wald (1998) observes that pop music became increasingly sexualised and geared towards the empowerment of women and sexual freedom as witnessed by musicians such as Madonna, The Spice Girls and Gwen Stefani. This could be seen in teenaged girls who made up the core audiences of these musicians; and was reflected in how they dressed and asserted themselves through songs and catch phrases popularised by these artists such as 'Express Yourself', 'Girl Power' and 'I'm Just Girl'.

With regard to teenage boys, hard core genres such as heavy metal and rap music provide hegemonic forms of masculinity such as being heterosexual, aggressive, macho and a 'real man' for young boys (Connell, 2013). However, Whiteley (2005) argues that there have been counter-genres, such as pop music, that have provided teenaged boys with images and lyrics in which young men play 'the nice and sensitive guy'. Moreover, Tongson (2006) observes that rock music, as the antithesis of pop music, has evolved into what has been termed '*emo'* which is a soft and emotional based rock style of music that displays adolescent boys' "heteronormative heartrendering experiences" (p. 59). On the other hand, disco and other dance-oriented styles of music have been associated with gay male culture, which are usually styles consumed by young women (Christenson & Peterson, 1988; DeNora, 2000; Whiteley, 2000).

Therefore, 'music media' plays a prominent role in the lives of the youth of today. The creation of various media through which one can listen to music has afforded young people mobility in terms of personalising and listening to music whenever and wherever they are. It seems as though the world of popular music has become so increasingly pronounced that young people are literally able to immerse

themselves in it. The effects of music media are pervasive in the lives of young people because they continue to find uses for it. As much as music media is interwoven into young people's lives, they find ways of incorporating it into their lives in a way that becomes personal, is subjective and holds meaning for them, especially in terms of gendered and sexual identities. From what has been discussed thus far, the relationship between young people and popular music is significant in that both culminate in social and cultural practices that deserve closer inspection.

3) The relationship between youth culture and popular music: theoretical considerations

In the following sections, I highlight how the relationship between young people and popular music has been theorised. I also discuss some of the major theoretical trends that have been employed in popular music and cultural studies. This includes the work of Theodore Adorno, who pioneered an approach for understanding the role of music in society. Thereafter, I focus on theories that critiqued but also expanded on Adorno's work by emphasising the socio-cultural context that music draws upon in order to communicate its messages. Lastly, a body of work that pays attention to the relationship between music and society as mutually constitutive and reciprocal is discussed.

3.1) Adorno and musical aesthetic

The work of Theodore Adorno has dominated much thought on the role that popular music plays in the lives of young people, particularly from a sociological perspective. Many of Adorno's ideas were influenced by, and derived from, the Frankfurt School of critical social theory, whose central premise was to explore the ramifications of society's increasing reliance on mass cultural commodities (Seidman, 2004). The rationale for this line of thought was that mass consumption strips away individuality and autonomy and works to produce passive adherents of consumer culture who cannot think for themselves (Adorno, 1991). Adorno, (2002), accordingly, saw popular music in a similar light; as an agent of mass production and a product of a culture of consumerism.

Adorno (1991; 2002) argues that understanding popular music as a product of mass culture and a commodity allows one to distinguish between authentic or serious and more commercial or popular forms of music. This pertains to what Adorno perceives as the manner in which the audience receives the music. In the case of popular music, Adorno argues (2002) that it is designed and constructed on a predetermined and pre-programmed formula to produce, and elicit, a uniform and singular set of responses amongst listeners. In other words, 'listenership' is defined in terms of what is popular, which produces a set of responses that converge into, or around, a single idea or theme. With regard to more

‘serious’ or ‘authentic’ forms of music its reception is not easily digested or deciphered as it requires a great deal of thought and reflection in order to be understood (Adorno, 2002).

According to Adorno, (2002) popular music is merely a function, or, rather, a vehicle, through which capitalist production is able to maintain particular types of social relations based on one’s class position. Adorno (1991) argues that popular music reinforces unequal social relations based primarily on one’s class in two ways. Firstly, it works in unison with other forms of mass-produced commodities that help to detract from the social forces of oppression that characterise capitalist modes of production. Secondly, popular music as a leisure activity colludes with capitalistic forms of work schedules to provide a form of relief and relaxation in which individuals can engage when they are not working.

It becomes apparent, then, that Adorno tends to conceptualise music in a dichotomous way, where he understands it primarily as either an aesthetic or a capitalistic tool (DeNora, 2000). Adorno stresses the dynamic nature of music which has the power to shape human thought and foster critical consciousness. Music, then, according to Adorno, should be seen as an “aesthetic” or an art form, and his concern is about preserving this aesthetic value rather than the production of predetermined and constrained meanings (Bennett, 2000). Music as an aesthetic refers to communicating authenticity, sincerity and individuality which forces the listener out of his or her comfort zone. Conversely, music that would not be classified as an aesthetic form would be popular forms of music that rely on artifice and commercialisation, such as pop music. The idea of music as an aesthetic refers to it becoming an entity, capable of producing itself and having certain intrinsic properties that transcend the materialism of everyday life (DeNora, 2000). Put simply, and rather idealistically, music and its relationship to society needs to be understood as an art form and an aesthetic that provokes thought and critical thinking.

However, Adorno’s theorising about the relationship between young people, society and popular music is not without its shortcomings. Whilst Adorno saw music as active in constructing social life, he deduced that the recipients of popular music were passive, and thus incapable of generating multiple and alternative meanings (Negus, 1997). The agency that Adorno accords listeners is minimal as they are socially defined by the music which they listen to. In essence, Adorno fails to consider how the social comes to be inscribed into the music as he imagines it the other way; that music is a social force (Bennett, 2000; Negus, 1997). Whilst music is indeed a social force, Adorno does simplify the complex interaction between listener and music.

In summary, according to Adorno, music exerts an influence on society because it is an aesthetic form with powerful and intrinsic properties; separate and independent from social life. In essence, music can do either one of two things; it can promote and foster profound thought and critical thinking, or it can inhibit critical thinking to produce passive adherents to music as a capitalist commodity. What emerges then, from Adorno's thinking is that the relationship between music and society is unidirectional, where music is powerful in its ability to influence society in both positive and negative ways. However, Adorno fails to recognise that music derives its aesthetic quality from the context from which it is produced, as well as the power of audiences to reinterpret music in multiple ways, in order to rework and resist dominant meanings.

3.2) The socio-cultural context of musical aesthetic

Drawing on Adorno's thought on the aesthetics of music and its ability to influence young people, in this section I discuss some theoretical views that emphasise the context in which music is produced. By reviewing the theoretical views on the relationship between young people and popular music, the aim is to highlight that this relationship is dynamic and complex.

The work of Walter Benjamin draws from, and expands on, Adorno's view that the relationship between music and society is unidirectional. The central premise of Benjamin's argument (2003; 2008) is that the very fluidity of meaning and autonomy that mass production and culture threatens to erode from music, is what enables individuals to fashion a meaningful aesthetic. In other words, Benjamin (2008) accords consumers or listeners of mass culture or popular music with more agency than does Adorno. Benjamin argues (2003) that listeners are capable of interpreting the text (music) in a myriad of ways. Listeners thus actively work to reconstruct and fashion individual meanings from music.

According to Benjamin, (2008) whilst music becomes wangled in capitalist production and mass culture, (as argued by Adorno) it is still capable of producing the kind of critical thinking that less commercialised and 'authentic' forms of music produce. This refers to the capacities of the listener to discern the messages that music produces in a way that is insightful and critical. However, what appears to be problematic in Benjamin's work is the degree to which listeners are accorded the freedom of constructing their own meanings (Bennett, 2000). This is important, especially when Benjamin's work is steeped in Adorno's view that popular music is premised on a predetermined formula, assisted by capitalist production. The question then becomes, to what extent are listeners

capable of producing their own unique, individual and autonomous meanings when the meaning has already been fixed? (Bennett, 2000)

There has been a field of study devoted to audience reception that has focused solely on how the audience receives musical messages (Negus, 1992). These scholars have argued that the representation of music is largely determined by the audience (Negus, 1992). Therefore, less emphasis is placed on the factors and processes that underlie the production and dissemination of music; instead, the focus is on the cultural value that music holds for young people (Negus, 1992). Music, then, is thought of as a cultural resource at the moment of audience reception in that music appropriates various styles and aesthetics for its identity, especially collective forms of identity (Negus, 1992). There is much to be gained from such a perspective as music contains cultural resources for young people, which they incorporate into their lives in terms of their personal identity and interpersonal relationships. This perspective, however, is still subject to the music that audiences receive that is susceptible to particular structures and formulas that influence the reception of the music (Bennett, 2000).

Another field of study that dedicated itself to understanding the relationship between music and youth that gained much momentum was 'subcultural theory' (Hebdige, 1988). Subcultural theory, essentially, deals with the unique meanings that youth fashion out of popular music and how the accompanying stylistic and aesthetic properties are used to forge collective forms of identity (Hebdige, 1988). The central argument of subcultural theory is that popular music mobilises particular youth cultures into subcultures and bridges the gap between class positions (Negus, 1997; Shuker, 2008). In other words, subcultural expressions are understood as a response, or rather resistance, towards the social realities associated with one's class position (Negus, 1997; Shuker, 2008). Popular music is, therefore, understood as articulating the proponents of class positions that legitimate youth subcultures and in turn reflect resistances to class inequalities.

Whilst subcultural theory aimed to illustrate how the social (class position) was inscribed into the musical – which gave rise to youth expression in the form of subcultures that fashioned unique identities – it was not without criticism. The main critique of subcultural theory was the idea that 'subculture' worked to create divisions and categories by legitimating and privileging the experiences of youth as valid and authentic expressions of their social realities (Negus, 1997). In other words, subcultures created a set of conditions that one needed to meet in order for an experience or expression to be labelled as youth culture. This split youthful expressions into authentic versus inauthentic ones. This only alienated whatever theoretical attempts were made to emphasise the reciprocity between

music and youth in that the cultural and social context was privileged over music's ability to construct identity (Negus, 1997).

Therefore, theorists who ran counter to what Adorno argued similarly occupied one extreme in what can be described as a continuum between youth and popular music. These theoretical perspectives tend to favour, or rather privilege, the social and cultural context by ignoring music's influence on the social and cultural context. While the social and cultural contexts of youth are emphasised for equipping them with the means to actively engage with music, the influence music has on youth is omitted.

3.3) The reciprocity between society and music

Thus far, the challenge of developing a theoretical account of the relationship between youth culture and music is to find a middle ground between how music articulates social life and vice versa. Therefore, the question one needs to ask is how music is constructed socially and culturally and how youth culture constructs people. In other words, how does music as a social and cultural practice construct its adherents, specifically young people?

Music can be understood as a production that occurs within a given social and cultural context, enabling it to be reworked and reintroduced into the social structures that give rise to it in the first place (McClary, 1991). DeNora (2000; 2010) argues that one must look at young people's articulation of the cultural items within popular music which makes possible particular meanings, identities and values. Such an approach is cognisant of how music as an aesthetic comes to embody cultural and social value through its appropriation and consumption, which in turn produces social and cultural forms of life. This approach is considered to be steeped within an interactionist framework and an interpretive sociology (DeNora, 2000).

The focus of this interactionist approach is on the appropriation of cultural items or, in this instance, music, which in turn creates social action. This means that the focus needs to be on the things we *do to* music and in return the things we *do with* music. The emphasis here is on music as a cultural vehicle that produces cultural resources (DeNora, 2010). The relationship between society and popular music needs to be understood as a social process as this underscores how music is appropriated into everyday life. It is only then that one can understand how music as a socially- and culturally-structuring resource is imagined at the level of social experience (DeNora, 2010).

DeNora (2000) asks a series of questions that help trace the nuances of the process of how music as a cultural resource is appropriated into everyday life. The first question asked is, what are the means through which music is able to create affect within its subjects? The second question pertains to music as a 'technology' of the self (DeNora, 2000; 2010) and asks, how is music used by individuals in their daily lives? The third question asks, how does the body enter into forms of social and cultural life such as music and actively formulate and refashion socio-cultural realities? Lastly, how does music create social order in a manner where the expressive and aesthetic dimensions of people's agencies are emphasised? These questions work together to conceptualise the social process that occur between music and the listener.

DeNora (2000) answers the first question by arguing that the power of music lies in its ability to create affect and evoke emotional responses within its listeners. This is done through semiotic codes or symbols by virtue of the interplay between listener and music. 'Semiotic codes' refer to expressive practices that mostly fall outside the confines of language and are steeped in visual imagery, sound and movement (Turino, 1999). These expressive practices are constructed and constituted by audience reception within temporal and spatial dimensions (DeNora, 2000; Turino, 1999). Semiotic codes derive their power from the temporal and spatial dimensions of reality, where social and cultural meanings are generated (Turino, 1999). Therefore, the power and effect of music's semiotic codes are constituted by their recipients and the extent to which they take up such musical meanings that carry affect and emotion (Turino, 1999). In other words, music's power to produce emotion derives not only from the semiotic codes of music, but also from the way in which listeners appropriate that music in terms of their context. This importantly points to music's ability to activate potential forms of agency within its listeners.

The second question refers to individuals relying on 'self-regulating' or 'policing' strategies and socio-cultural practices, conveyed through music, for the construction of meaning and identity (DeNora, 2000). Simply put, it is through music that individuals become 'social actors' or 'social agents'. One can, therefore, find one's 'self' through music as it invokes, or rather, provides, the social and cultural resources, culminating in semiotic codes for elaborating one's identity (DeNora, 2000). In this way, music helps to articulate identities that resonate with individuals by equipping them with aesthetic reflexivity, which in turn produces individuals as objects of knowledge (DeNora, 2000). In other words, individuals take images and knowledge from music and incorporate these into their identities.

The third question concerns the relationship between the body and music as a product of material life. According to DeNora, (2000) the body should not simply be reduced to a construction of material life. Rather, the body has a mutual and reciprocal influence on material life. In this light, one needs to look at the ways in which the body enters into mediums of social and cultural life, such as music, and how individuals actively formulate and fashion realities (DeNora, 2010). (This refers to the embodiment of music or social and cultural life as an agent.) DeNora (2000) goes on to say that music should be understood as a prosthetic technology of the body as it provides a resource that motivates the body to 'do' things with, and to, music. In other words, music is a resource that helps to organise emotional and embodied agency. A question then, that emerges, is how are the semiotic codes of music appropriated by institutions and other organisations so that they are able to reconfigure social and embodied action?

This leads to the final question, which pertains to music as a device for social ordering. It refers to social ordering as an effect of temporal action, which is a consequence of emotional and embodied action (DeNora, 2000). Music highlights the expressive and aesthetic dimension, which emphasises individual agency. The expressive and aesthetic dimension of agency showcases individual feelings and agency as a corporeal and stylistic entity (DeNora, 2000). The aesthetic dimension contained in music is what drives action, feeling and embodiment and constitutes social organisation. Therefore, music operates as a device that creates social order because it provides the mechanisms for aesthetic agency, and this produces and reinforces social and cultural spaces.

DeNora's (2000) ideas on the role of music within society, drawing on an interactionist framework and interpretivist sociology, illustrates that the relationship between the two is not straightforward. Rather, the relationship between music and society is dynamic, continuous and constantly changing. Some of DeNora's (2000) key ideas are that music produces powerful emotional responses by relying on semiotic codes. These semiotic codes work to activate agency within listeners as it enables them to find their sense of 'self', and this in turn works to produce embodied action, reaffirming the ordering of social and cultural spaces. DeNora's work also talks to the multiple social processes involved in the relationship between music and young people. This resonates with the theoretical framework of this research on positioning, (Davies & Harré, 1990) a discursive process whereby the notion of selves or identities come to be produced by socially and culturally available discourses. Music draws on social discourses that construct subject positions, which are conceptual repertoires of representing oneself and/or others that young people take up and/or resist. In this way, positioning theory highlights the interactional space between music and young people where recognisable identities are constructed,

maintained or challenged. In other words, young people are positioned through and within social discourses that are found in music. In Chapter Five, I discuss positioning theory in more detail.

By outlining theoretical frameworks that conceptualise the relationship between young people and popular music, the central idea that emerges is that the messages communicated back and forth between music and its recipients are complex. This has implications for thinking about the social and cultural worlds inhabited by young people in terms of their gendered and sexual identities.

4) Gendered/sexual identities and popular music

In the final section of this chapter, I ground the relationship between popular music and young people in particular musical genres that draw on and reinforce and/or challenge gendered and sexual identities. I do this by focusing on three music genres – rock, pop and rap music – and the types of gendered and sexual identities communicated within each genre. This is done in order to highlight the various gendered and sexual meanings which popular music draws upon.

4.1) Rock: 'cock rock' and 'riot grrl'

Rock music emerged in the 1960s against more traditional forms of 'pop' music that could be described as melodic, soft, conventional and romantic (Frith, 2001). Despite rock music setting itself apart from traditional 'pop' music, it still fell under the genre of 'popular music'. This is due to the sound of rock music and other genres such as hip hop music becoming increasingly 'popularised' through radio and television. During the 1960s, rock music emerged as a serious and authentic form of musical expression, differentiating itself from conventional pop music which was considered to be commercially-driven and lacking artistic integrity and creativity (Frith, 2001). In other words, rock music built a reputation through communicating a more authentic and serious aesthetic than pop music.

It is surprising, then, that as an authentic and serious form of music compared to pop music, there is a gendered character that embodies rock music that demands closer inspection (Whiteley, 1997; 1998; 2000). The gendered character of rock music, even though it represents a source of artistic integrity, functions to include men and/or male musicians more than women or female musicians (Bayton, 1998). The production, delivery and content of rock music during the 1960s was dominated mostly, if not completely, by men. Rock music coincided with a way of 'being', and 'doing' related specifically to male sexual desire, occurring within the confines of heterosexuality (Bayton, 1998; Whiteley, 1998). During this time, rock music was a marker for masculinity and male sexuality based entirely on

how, and by whom, it was performed. Another indicator of rock music as a marker for masculinity and male heterosexual desire is that its listenership which comprised, and continues to comprise, mostly young men (Bayton, 1998; McClary, 1991). It seems that rock music has drawn on the socio-cultural resources of what it means to be a man, which in turn resonates with young men.

The context in which rock music emerged was a sexually permissive one that prioritised the sexual desires and experiences of men (Levy, 2005). It appeared to coincide with, but also reinforce, the sexually permissive climate of the 1960s that preached 'peace and love' in response to the aftermath of the two World Wars and the Vietnamese war (Levy, 2005; Whiteley, 2000). However, it also appeared to epitomise and represent a heightened, exaggerated and histrionic form of sexual expression that was very masculine. This was pioneered by rock acts such as Elvis Presley, The Rolling Stones and Led Zeppelin (Whiteley, 1998). The trend continued into the 1970s and beyond by rock acts such as AC/DC, Aerosmith, Twisted Sister, Limp Bizkit and others (Borthwick & Moy, 2004). Rock music has undergone many transformations by incorporating elements of pop, dance, rap and hip hop beats; all these manifestations are male dominated, in terms of the production, delivery and audience.

A seminal paper by Simon Frith and Angela McRobbie, (2007) entitled 'Rock and Sexuality' coined the term 'cock rock', which served to identify rock acts that emerged in the 1960s and subsequent ones mentioned above. Cock rock is a style of performing characterised by distinct clothing, body language, sound and musical instruments such as the guitar as well as the lyrical content. Frith and McRobbie (2007) describe cock rock musicians or performers as assertive, aggressive, loud, domineering and boastful. The performers' body language commands authority, along with their tight pants and deep V-neck t-shirts that emphasise their genitals and chest hair (Frith & McRobbie, 2007). Musical equipment such as microphones and guitars become phallic symbols that accentuate the display of male sexual performance, culminating in thunderous, menacing, fast-paced sounds coupled with unflinching vocal screaming and shouting (Frith & McRobbie, 2007). The lyrical content profoundly adds to the macho ambience of sound, body language and clothing, which is arrogant, presumptuous and coercive. The lyrics of 'cock rockers' are riddled with references to dangerous and threatening lifestyles, but mostly to women as sexual objects whose sole purpose is to service the sexual appetites of men (Frith & McRobbie, 2007).

'Cock rock', however, as a masculine musical style that subjugates the experiences and sexual desires of women, has not gone unchallenged. This macho bravado has been challenged by female musicians, particularly in the late 1980s and early 1990s (Coates, 1997). This period saw the rise of the 'riot grrl'

movement which was a conscious attempt to fashion a feminine aesthetic that challenged the phallocentric structures of rock music (Gottlieb & Wald, 2010). The riot grrl movement, in this regard, was very much a feminist project that aimed to subvert the passivity and sexual objectification of women as traditionally represented in rock music (Fuchs, 1998). Female musicians who were dubbed riot grrl were concerned with reshaping the images, lyrics, production, marketing, sound and composition of rock music to reflect the subjectivity of women (Gottlieb & Wald, 2010; Schilt, 2004). Therefore, riot grrl was an attempt by women to reassert and reclaim their power in the music industry through a politics that destabilised traditional representations of women.

Riot grrl musicians used the same medium men in rock music were using to sexually oppress women. Therefore, riot grrl music was assertive, aggressive, confrontational, satirical, and fashioned images that simultaneously invoked innocence and whorishness (Lafrance, 2002; Schilt, 2004). A characteristic feature of riot grrl music is also the screams and shrills that bear a semblance to the sounds of an orgasm, but quickly turn into angry outbursts meant to signify rape, sexual violation and injustice against women (Gottlieb & Wald, 2010; Schilt, 2004). Another characteristic is the play on words riot grrl musicians rely on for gender and sexual politics they wish to fashion (Coates, 1997). This is manifest in some of the names of riot grrl musicians such as Bikini Kill, Hole, Burning Bush, Ovarian Trolley, Dickless, Babes in Toyland and several others.

Rock music, then, can be understood as a playground out of which gendered and sexual identities are drawn, communicated, reinforced, resisted, reworked and subverted. The premise of rock music is inherently masculine and becomes a vehicle where masculinity is put on show as it is heightened and exaggerated. Despite its inherent masculine premise, it has been challenged by female musicians. They have mirrored exactly what men in rock do, only to subvert and challenge heterosexual and masculine assumptions of women, their bodies and sexual desires. It is important, then, to pay attention to rock music as a significant medium that draws on, whilst simultaneously influencing, attitudes, values, beliefs and opinions regarding gender and sexuality.

4.2) Pop: ‘teenybop’

If rock music has a masculine core, then pop music is argued as having a feminine core. In this section, I focus on the gendered and sexual identities constructed and circulated by ‘pop’ music. Here, I pay attention to the context in which pop music emerged, and how this gave rise to certain trends related to gendered and sexual identities. Finally, gender and sexual identities within pop music that have been subverted and resisted are also discussed.

Pop music emerged and was consolidated as a genre in the 1950s by virtue of the development of a teenage market, where the music represented a commodity primarily for young people (Frith, 2001). The ability of music to resonate with the youth meant that it had to rely on certain cultural and social conventions (Frith, 2001). Therefore, the music that was produced in the 1950s embodied a particular style in terms of chorus lines that were pleasant and catchy, capable of drawing the listener in. This style came to be known as 'pop' music, primarily based on its ability to resonate with the majority of youth. It did this by relying on catchy chorus lines, simple and uncomplicated lyrics and happy and repetitive beats. 'Pop' music has been, and continues to be, propagated by musicians such as Pat Boone, Fabian, Cliff Richard, The Beatles, Michael Jackson, George Michael, Madonna, Britney Spears and Justin Timberlake.

One way to describe pop music is to look at the appeal that it wields through audiences. This is based, largely, on heterosexual romantic conventions which specify particular gendered and sexual identities (Whiteley, 2000). Frith and McRobbie (2007) have referred to this style of music that draws on such conventions as 'teenybop'. Teenybop is consumed mostly by teenage girls or young women in general where the object of their affection is mostly male sexuality, but is also female sexuality on display (Shuker, 2005). The kind of male and female sexuality that young women buy into differ from that of the cock rocker and riot grrl genres (discussed in the previous section). These sexualities communicate vulnerability, innocence and a sense of need as they invoke self-pity (Frith, 2001). This is juxtaposed against images of both male and female teenybop musicians as good-looking, clean, wholesome and stylish (Shuker, 2005). The sound of teenybop is soft, bright, sensitive, catchy, simple, and is thus the opposite of cock rock and riot grrl music.

Teenybop is, however, not as straightforward as one imagines as there are contradictions that emerge regarding the romantic heterosexual conventions that are deployed in the music (Hawkins, 2006). This pertains to notions of gender and sexual identity, exaggerated by some pop musicians who have disrupted traditional notions of male and female sexual desire (Hawkins, 2006). One such performer, who has maintained immense popularity and longevity in the music industry, while disrupting traditional notions of male and female sexual desire, is Madonna.

Faith argues (1997) that Madonna has invoked traditional sexual representations of women on which popular music capitalises that has in turn garnered her immense commercial success. Madonna has, however, invoked these popular constructs with a sense of irony and parody that reflects a sense of

artistic integrity and creativity (Faith, 1997). Madonna's immense commercial success and longevity has raised questions related to the extent to which she adopts a sincere, original and authentic approach to music-making (Dark, 2005 & Grizzutti Harrison, 2007). However, some critics have argued that her performances, (videos, images, and lyrical content) specifically related to sexual desire, have disturbed, while simultaneously conformed to traditional representations of gender and sexuality by relying on irony, hyperbole and parody (Paglia, 2005; 2007).

Like rock music, pop music also has sets of gendered and sexual identities which it draws upon that resonate with audiences. Pop music, however, is more explicit in emphasising and producing what is considered popular amongst audiences. It therefore draws on conventional representations of male and female sexual desire as socio-cultural resources, with the intention of mass production and consumption. However, the deploying of gendered and sexual identities has not followed a stable path as the heteronormative character of these identities have been disrupted and subverted. Pop music can thus be understood as a powerful medium that reinforces, reworks and subverts gendered and sexual identities.

4.3) Rap: 'gangstas' and 'bitches'

In this section, I discuss the way rap music has drawn on, and communicated, gendered and sexual identities, and I illustrate some of the trends regarding these identities. I do this by discussing the socio-political context from which rap music emerged, and the implications this has had for gendered and sexual identities that the genre has drawn on and communicated. Finally, I discuss female musicians' roles in the resistances to dominant themes regarding gender and sexuality that rap music has produced.

Rap music was influenced by the awakening of hip hop culture during the 1970s that emphasised life on the streets, especially the inner-city areas around New York (Borthwick & Moy, 2004). This inner-city 'life on the street' culture echoed the voices and lifestyles of African American men (and women). The promotion of black empowerment and the black pride movement of the 1960s and early 1970s was an antecedent to hip hop culture (Borthwick & Moy, 2004). These movements became a socio-cultural medium of expression for the African American community living in the cities. Rap music along with break dancing and graffiti art collectively represented aspects of hip hop culture (Borthwick & Moy, 2004).

Rap music essentially emerged from street parties where DJs would use two turntables to switch from and cut between two different pieces of music (Borthwick & Moy, 2004). The result or effect was a constant break in the music which is a characteristic and an essential feature of rap music (Borthwick & Moy, 2004). The break between the two turntables was referred to as 'breaking', which created a unique beat. An accompanying feature of 'breaking' was the increased use of spoken vocals by the DJ that matched, stylistically, the beats created between the two turntables (Borthwick & Moy, 2004). The spoken vocals soon took the form of reciting poetry, especially the rhyming of words, while the music was played. It should be noted that this was an activity dominated by men as women were considered as accessories to these parties.

The street party vibe of the 1970s dominated the lyrical content of rap. This changed, however, in the 1980s as the content started to reflect the socio-political and economic place African American people occupied. During the 1990s, rap music became increasingly commercialised and was rapidly absorbed into the mainstream. The lyrical content shifted during this era to what critics referred to as 'gangsta rap' (Adams & Fuller, 2006). 'Gangsta rap' gave a heightened gendered character to rap music, more than ever before, as the performances and lyrics were extremely flamboyant, pompous, aggressive, assertive, boastful and extremely misogynistic (Adams & Fuller, 2006). Gangsta rap faded during the late'90s, and was replaced by a brand of rap that emphasised wealth, luxury living, power and the sexual objectification of women (Adams & Fuller, 2006).

As much as rap music progressively articulates the continued class and racial inequalities minority groups in America face, it continues to depict women, gay men and gender relations in a stereotypically offensive manner (Borthwick & Moy, 2004; Keyes, 2006). Pervasive phallocentric stereotypes of women are drawn upon, and communicated through rap music, in turn reflecting a world where the 'masculine' is privileged, and where male rappers adopt the persona of the 'gangsta' (Woldu, 2006). The 'gangsta' represents a person affected by the harsh and unfair realities that men of minority groups and the lower classes contend with and they adopt violent and aggressive ways of behaving in order to survive (Adams & Fuller, 2006).

The role that women play in the lives of gangstas' is a peripheral one; they are viewed with hostility, scorn, paranoia, suspicion and are seen as 'bitches' and 'gold diggers' who exploit men for money (Adams & Fuller, 2006; Woldu, 2006). Women tend to occupy a split view in the eye of the 'gangsta': they are either experienced as threatening and dangerous or as sexual objects and sites of pleasure (Keyes, 2006). For these reasons, rap music works to actively vilify and sexualise, but also exclude,

women's participation in the creation and production of music. While the content of rap music has shifted from the socio-political of the 1980s, to the violence and misogyny of the 1990s, to the luxury and the sexual of the new millennium, what has remained unchanged is the pervasive and pronounced voice of the hostile and angry man (Woldu, 2006).

There have, however, been women in rap music who have challenged such gendered assumptions such as Queen Latifah, Lil Kim, Foxy Brown, Da Brat, Missy Elliot and most recently M.I.A and Nicki Minaj. These artists have challenged the use of the term 'bitch', used profusely but deliberately to match the extent that it is used by male rappers (Keyes, 2006; Woldu, 2006). 'Bitch' is used by female rappers as a term by which women should feel empowered. This is because it denotes the survival of women in a male-dominated world. In order for women to survive the violent and aggressive world of the gangsta, they need to perform the role of a bitch (Keyes, 2006). The logic follows that if the world is a phallocentric one, women can get by through using men because they have access to the resources of the world. This process entails being a bitch; it refers to women who are calculating, cold, money-hungry, and insensitive to their man's needs (Woldu, 2006). The mere presence of women in rap has challenged its inherently masculine and exclusionary structure, especially as female rappers have achieved immense commercial success.

Rap, like rock music, has an inherently masculine premise, drawing upon and articulating gendered identities which regulate, constrain and enable the expression of such identities. These unequal gendered identities risk obfuscation, especially when rap music is praised and noticed for communicating class and racial inequalities. The stereotyping of gender and sexuality in rap music also has profound implications for youth culture. Similarly to rock and pop music, there have been spaces in rap where these traditional and parochial views pertaining to gender and sexuality have been challenged.

It can be seen, then, that the gendered and sexual identities that rock, pop and rap music draw upon have been influenced by the socio-cultural and political contexts in which they emerged. Even though these genres emerged at different times, what is constant amongst all three is the pervasive and pronounced reliance on gendered and sexual identities. However, what encapsulates these identities that are communicated in all three genres, is a heterosexual discourse that echoes a masculine-dominated world. This heterosexual discourse has not gone unchallenged as attempts have been made by female musicians to subvert restrictive gendered and sexual identities.

5) Conclusion

In this chapter, I firstly identified the social and cultural significance, within academic studies, that the relationship between young people and popular music should be accorded. I also went on to discuss the social and cultural processes that occur when young people listen to music, and the social and cultural realities these processes draw upon, appropriate and reproduce. This is important as it allows one to unpack the messages and identities that are communicated in this relationship.

In the first section, I detailed the socio-political conditions that gave rise to youth culture in the American and British contexts as an identifiable social practice. Youth cultures forged identities around deviant behaviour as a response to class disparities, which were later exploited for commercial gain in the form of consumer goods. At the same time, music started to play an important role in the lives of young people as it articulated their frustrations and became increasingly commodified and consumed by them. Thereafter, I discussed the role popular music played in the South African context as a form of political commentary and protest for young people in response to racial inequalities, which took on an increasingly commercialised and entertainment-oriented role. Finally, I discussed how young people incorporate music into their lives through various sources of media that reflects the way it shapes their personal identity and interpersonal relationships, especially in terms of gender and sexual identity.

In the second section I explored some of the major theoretical models arising from research around people's relationships with music. The first model was Adorno's idealistic view of music that should be preserved as an art form rather than produced as a commodity for mass consumption. Adorno believed that music has the power to facilitate creative thought and shift people's consciousness. The second model extended this idea by emphasising that audiences are not passive adherents to messages in music but are actively fashion meaning for their identities whilst engaging with the music. However, the first model overemphasised the role of music without acknowledging the capacity of people to decipher meanings in music, whilst the second model underscored people's agency but downplayed the role music exerts on people. The third model by DeNora (2000) steers a middle course between the first two models in that it understands the relationship between music and society as dynamic, continuous and constantly changing. The model asserts that music produces powerful emotional responses by relying on semiotic codes or socio-cultural resources. These codes or resources activate agency within listeners that enables them to find their sense of 'self', that in turn leads them to engage in embodied action and reaffirms the social order.

Finally, in the third section, I argued that rock, pop and rap music are powerful genres that draw upon and communicate stereotypical, restrictive and unequal gendered and sexual identities. These gendered and sexual identities are steeped in heteronormative and, ultimately, phallocentric frameworks. However, these identities have been met with resistance and have been subverted by female musicians. Popular music, then, becomes an important site for exploring the way in which gendered and sexual messages are communicated, especially when one considers music to be informal medium of sexual socialisation in the lives of young people. Moreover, the three songs voted for as most popular by Grade 10 learners of this study fall into the genre of rap, as well as R 'n B music, which gives one a sense of the gendered and sexual messages learners are exposed to, based on the discussion in the third and final section of this chapter. I now go on to discussing an inetgrated theoretical framework I have drawn on to make sense of the gendered sexualities found in Life Orientation sexuality education programmes and popular music as formal and informal mediums, respectively, of sexual socialisation in adolescent learners' lives.

Chapter 5 An Integrated Theoretical Framework: Foucauldian, Feminist Poststructuralist and Psychosocial Psychoanalytic Perspectives

1) Introduction

Much has been written about how approaches to teaching sexuality education in schools internationally and in the South African context tend to depict sex and sexuality as immoral, dangerous and disease-ridden (Fine, 1988; Fine & McClelland, 2006; Francis, 2010; Macleod, 2009). Many of the criticisms aimed at these approaches are informed by poststructural theoretical frameworks that understand adolescent learners as subjects whose sex, gender and sexuality are not fixed or determined but always shifting, contradictory and fluid, based on their location. This chapter is interested in such conceptualisations.

There are five broad sections that sketch the overarching theoretical framework for this research. In the first section, I ground the research problematic within a social constructionist framework, which is the backdrop to exploring dominant gendered discourses, gendered power relations and gendered subject positions in sexuality education programmes and popular music. This section underscores discourse as a conceptual frame for understanding gender as socially constructed and rooted in language and social practices. The second section argues for a Foucauldian take on discourse to explore gender and power relations, which emphasises the conditions of possibility under which statements on gender are privileged and seen as valid over other views. Statements on gender are normalised through disciplinary practices and power relations that enable and constrain constructions of gender that tend to dominate alternative ones. The first two sections thus talk to the primary research aim: analysing dominant gendered discourses and gendered power relations in Life Orientation sexuality education programmes and popular music.

The third section brings Foucault's take on discourse and view of power in conversation with feminist theory. The latter is mindful of patriarchal structures of power in the promotion of dominant discourses and power relations, related to gender inequality, that are involved in mediating subjective experiences. The fourth section brings Foucault and feminism's emphasis on the institutional effects of gendered discourses and power relations into conversation with poststructural theory of language and social power. Cumulatively, Foucauldian and feminist poststructuralism talk to how dominant gendered discourses regulate individual subjectivity through the concept of positioning. The final section adds a further dimension to discourse and positioning as discursive accounts of subjectivity by

drawing on psychosocial psychoanalytic theory. The latter underscores the notion of conscious and unconscious investments in gendered positions, which is interested in questions about 'why' subjects may adopt particular subject positions within social discourses. In the last three sections, I respond to the second research aim by analysing how educators and learners take up and/or resist gendered subject positions, as well as their conscious and unconscious investment in these positions when talking about sexuality education programmes and popular music.

2) Social constructionism

This research project has two main aims; (1) to explore dominant gendered discourses and gendered power relations that are produced in Life Orientation sexuality education programmes and popular music and (2) to understand educators' and learners' experience of these two mediums of sexual socialisation by analysing the gendered subject positions they take up and/or resist through their talk. Dominant discourses, broadly, refers to a set of social constructions related to gender that produce gendered power relations, which also make available gendered subject positions that are taken up and/or resisted. The notion of 'constructions' refers to a particular set of theoretical principles broadly related to the area of social constructionism, which represents a radical and critical alternative to traditional social psychology (Burr, 1995; Gergen, 1985; Kitzinger, 1992; Potter & Wetherell, 1987).

To speak of something as socially constructed takes the position that there is a construction process rooted in language and social practices (Burr, 1995). Therefore, language becomes a site for understanding the construction process, which is taken up by writers who are grouped into a social constructionist position, referred to as poststructuralist. A poststructuralist position builds on the insights put forth in Ferdinand de Saussure's structural theory of linguistics, where he emphasises the role that language plays in the construction of social life (Burr, 1995). Therefore, language is used to understand the construction process involved in the production of dominant gendered discourses and gendered power relations, which in turn constructs gendered subject positions that are taken up and/or resisted. To fully understand the role language plays in constructing discourse, power relations and subject positions requires a discussion of de Saussure's view of language.

de Saussure's theory of structural linguistics is seminal in the development of social constructionist thought. A central concept is the 'sign', made up of two components; the signifier (the sound of words that have the capacity to carry meaning) and the signified (the meaning that is given) (Campbell, 2004; Weedon, 1987). de Saussure argued that the relationship between the signifier and the signified is an arbitrary one in that humans divide their experience of the world into arbitrary categories. A sign does

not have intrinsic meaning; rather, it continuously gains meaning based on the difference it maintains from other signs (Campbell, 2004). Simply put, the meaning of a sign lies in its relationship to other signs, and not in something that is inherent. Accordingly, language does not reflect a pre-existing social reality that is natural, essential or fixed. Instead, it constitutes and makes available a conceptual framework of that reality for people and is fluid in that language changes, incorporating new words and eliminating others and thus it evolves over time (Weedon, 1987).

Poststructuralism shares de Saussure's view of language as a site that is integral to the construction of the person and social life, in that people's experience are the effects of the world mediated through language (Burr, 1995). It also focuses on the linguistic space in which people are produced socially, as well as individually or internally. However, poststructuralism differs from de Saussure's work by asserting that the meaning contained within the relationship between the signified and the signifier is never fixed; it is always changing over time, from one context and person to the next (Weedon, 1987). Accordingly, language is not a system of signs that has a fixed meaning; rather, it is a site of variability, struggle, tension and potential conflict, through which power relations come into play. Poststructuralists, therefore, understand talk, writing and social encounters as sites of contestation, where power relations are manifested, acted out and disputed.

If language is a system of signs involved in the construction of social meanings then this begs the questions, how does language actually represent the way that dominant gendered discourses and gendered power relations are produced? And how gendered subject positions are taken up and/or resisted? One way of doing this, which several writers have taken up, (see Foucault, 1972; Hollway, 1984; Parker, 1992; Walkerdine, 1987; Weedon, 1987) is to look at how language is represented by several discourses. In terms of relying on a working definition, Parker (1992) refers to discourse as a coherent set of meanings that constructs objects and makes available subject positions. It enables particular meanings or versions of events and constrains others; it is realised in texts, with the text referring to anything that can be given an interpretive gloss and there is also an underlying regularity to discourse. The words or sentences people use do not belong to any particular discourse, but rather acquire their meaning through the discursive context, which acts as a conceptual framework where words are embedded (Burr, 1995; Gergen, 1985). Discourse, then, can be understood as a conceptual frame of reference, against which dominant gender categories and gendered power relations are realised, and to the extent that they produce gendered subject positions that are taken up and/or resisted.

Cameron (1997, 1998) and Weatherell (2002) reflect on numerous research studies, conducted in order to examine how gender is represented in language at the level of discourse. Such research is an example of how two different approaches act as a conceptual framework for interpreting the social construction of gender. In the first instance, studies (Kramer, Thorne, & Henley, 1978; Lakoff, 1973, 1975; Maltz & Borker, 1982; Miller & Swift, 1976) refer to the construction of gender in the way that it is talked about or how it is described in texts, whilst gender is a thing that is produced in talk and texts. In the second instance, research (Crowther & Leith, 1995; Gal, 1995; Hall, 1995; Ochs, 1992; Okamoto, 1994) talks about gender as a concept and system of meanings or signifiers that mediates one's experience as gendered. The former advocates for *what* language does in the gendered meanings it produces, while the latter looks at *how* language is used in specific contexts in order to produce constructions and meanings of gender.

In the first instance, a discursive perspective shows how gender is constructed as a linguistic category that produces gender difference in talk and texts (Murachver & Janssen, 2007; Speer, 2002; Weatherall, 2002). This resonates with the first aim of this research: exploring dominant gendered discourses and gendered power relations produced in the Life Orientation sexuality education programmes and popular music. In the second instance, a discursive perspective shows how gender is socially constructed and how it produces dominant discourses and positions that mediate how people see the world (Murachver & Janssen, 2007; Speer, 2002; Weatherall, 2002). This speaks to the second research aim: exploring how dominant gendered discourses and gendered power relations mediate educators' and learners' experiences of the gendered subject positions that they take up and/or resist.

3) Foucault

In the following section, I talk to different ideas of Foucault's work in terms of relying on a theoretical framework for investigating the dominant gendered discourses and gendered power relations found in sexuality education manuals and popular music. I consider how Foucault understands discourse, in light of how constructions of gender, in this case, dominate others and become normalised. I go on to discuss how constructions of gender relate to Foucault's ideas on the process of normalisation that talk to his work more specifically on discipline in the role of constructing objects and subjects of knowledge. Finally, I consider Foucault's view of power in understanding how discourse activates power relations.

3.1) Discourse

Foucault (1972; 1981) defines discourse as a group of highly regulated statements and/or practices capable of describing a number of declarations. Foucault is interested in the rules that constitute a discourse which are located in its discursive structure (Dean, 1994; Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982; Gutting, 1989; Mills, 1997; 2003; Smart, 1985). According to Foucault, (1972; 1981), discourse is governed by a set of rules involved in the distribution and circulation of certain statements and some of these statements enjoy wide circulation whilst others are more restricted. For example, statements involving constructions of gender constitute a discourse that is kept in circulation and show up in texts such as sexuality education manuals and popular music. These statements that are widely circulated, versus ones that are restricted illustrate how the rules of formation associated with this process involve constraints that bring discourse into existence (Dean, 1994; Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982; Gutting, 1989; Mills, 1997; 2003). For this research, as aforementioned, I use discourse in order to interpret how gender is constructed as a linguistic category in Life Orientation sexuality education and popular music texts.

Adopting a Foucauldian view of discourse goes beyond identifying the way in which gender is represented in language, but also looks at how discourse is interwoven with power relations and knowledge that activates, whilst disallowing, particular constructions of gender. Accordingly, Foucault argues (1972; 1981) that discourse has a discursive structure because it produces sets of ideas, opinions, concepts and ways of speaking and behaving within a given context. For example, there is a discursive structure to the way in which gender is represented in sexuality education textbooks, which in turn produces particular versions of masculinity and femininity which are privileged over other versions.

In *The Order of Discourse*, (1981) Foucault identifies three procedures that constrain the production of discourse, which address why certain constructions of gender are produced over others in sexuality education and popular music. The first procedure is prohibition. This refers to the taboos associated with introducing topics, for example, on sex and sexuality with adolescents who are viewed as innocent and in need of protection from the dangers of sex. The second procedure is the division between madness and reason. This refers to those who represent an interruption to discourse – the mad – versus those who are aligned with it – the reasonable. For instance, feminist discourse, such as the work of Dorothy Smith, (1988) argues that because knowledge is produced by and for men, men are constructed as rational and reasonable, whilst women are constructed as emotional and prone to madness. In this way, feminist discourse represents an interruption to hegemonic forms of masculinity.

The third procedure is the division between what is true and false. This refers to authority figures who are perceived as experts and in a position to speak the truth, which immediately excludes what is not considered true. There are several institutional supports and practices such as the Departments of Education and Health, publishing houses and scientific communities involved in the production of statements regarding gender that are understood to be true and valid over others. These three procedures represent a complex set of exclusionary practices that promote particular constructions of gender, and are also the conditions of possibility under which discourse is produced (Macdonell, 1986). These three procedures show how the production of gendered discourses is implicated in relations of power that contributes to their circulation over other discourses.

Discourse has also been conceptualised however, by other writers for analytical reasons, in ways that reinterpret what Foucault intended it to mean. Henriques et al. (1984) argue that discourse is regulated by rules not internal to it but combines with rules of other discourses to establish differences between the categories of discourse. By working with these rules, discourse operates systematically with other discourses in order to delimit what can be said whilst also opening up spaces for making new statements. Kendall and Wickham (1999) use Henriques et al.'s definition as a building block to develop five steps that allow one to apply Foucault's view of discourse. The first step recognises discourse as a corpus of statements whose organisation is regular and systematic. The four steps that follow involve rules of identification in (2) the production of statements; (3) the delimitations of what can be said; (4) the creation of spaces where new statements can be made; and (5) ensuring that a practice is material and discursive at the same time. Understanding constructions of gender in Life Orientation and popular music means identifying the rules that systematically form a discourse, which represents and circulates particular statements about gender, creates avenues for new gendered statements, whilst excluding others, and naming social practices that produce such gendered statements.

3.2) Normalisation

The circulation of statements via discourse as sustained by discursive contexts occurs through what Foucault refers to as normalisation, which is the normative character that is as a result of the production of discourses that come to dominate over alternative ones. Normalisation also reflects a shift from Foucault's earlier work, archaeology, to his later work, genealogy. The former looks at how discourse produces truth claims about human nature, while the latter diagnoses and locates how discourse functions through normalising and disciplinary practices. In the following subsections, I outline Foucault's work on the role of 'discipline' in the production of self-regulating practices that

function as normalising technologies. With regard to this research, educators and learners subject themselves to disciplinary practices, and in the process construct themselves as objects and subjects of discourses, in turn normalising particular constructions of gender over others.

3.2.1) Discipline

Broadly speaking, discipline is a form of power i.e. disciplinary power that people subject themselves to through forms of self-regulation or disciplinary technologies that they internalise, and which are designed to regulate their behaviour according to a set of norms. To fully understand discipline requires an account of the changes in the operation of power that Foucault discusses in *Discipline and Punish*, (1979) which he illustrates through the history of punishing criminal behaviour in Europe. According to Foucault, discipline became a technology of power i.e., a disciplinary technology in the shift from sovereign forms of power to the power of surveillance. The latter entails a form of self-subjection, where the production of expert knowledge systems such as criminology, psychology and sociology established a system of common norms, which act as forms of self-surveillance. In this way, expert knowledge systems wield disciplinary forms of power through people's subjection to the disciplinary technologies that these systems specify, by establishing a set of common norms intended to regulate behaviour.

More specifically, in *Discipline and Punish*, (1979) Foucault shows how punishment such as public execution and public spectacle changed to punishment as confinement and surveillance, and cautions against viewing this change as representing social progress and a humane way of treating criminals. Instead, he argues that the shift from public torture to incarceration and surveillance represents a shift in the forms of power circulating within society. Punishment as public torture and spectacle represents a top-down view of power; the power of the sovereign (the king) is exercised through public execution, which is a display of his power should anyone challenge him. Punishment as confinement and surveillance represents a localised capillary form of power that is exercised from the vantage point of those at the bottom, who make their influence felt from below rather than from the top. For example, Foucault talks about how surveillance changed with the introduction of prisons as penal systems that monitored prisoners and in so doing, prisoners began to monitor their own behaviour. This view of power is achieved through what Foucault terms 'discipline' or 'disciplinary power': a form of self-regulation fostered by institutions. Modern societies are characterised by disciplinary regimes which are not oppressive, but exercise disciplinary forms of power within society through the use of various mechanisms and techniques. Disciplinary regimes are the conditions that give rise to the supervision and subjection of one's behaviour against a series of rules and regulations involved in the

control of appetite, movement and emotion. Foucault is interested in how institutions operate as disciplinary regimes such as the prison, the hospital, the university and the school, which are all involved in encouraging disciplinary practices.

According to Foucault, (1979) discipline involves a preoccupation with control that is internalised by each individual participating in disciplinary practices. It consists of attention paid to time-keeping, exercising control over one's posture and bodily functions, concentration, and generally exercising oneself in accordance with particular norms. These actions are outcomes of disciplinary technologies and they construct the individual who subjects him/herself to procedures that are imposed socially, which are invested in the disciplining of the self by the self. Such disciplinary actions are so internalised by individuals that they are not experienced as originating from institutions, and they become norms for how one must behave.

Disciplinary regimes can be seen to permeate the school and Life Orientation sexuality programmes. This is particularly in terms of how they function to normalise particular constructions of gender through disciplinary practices to which learners subject themselves, which I demonstrate later in the analysis chapters. For example, dating and courtship practices maybe discussed during classroom lessons in ways that depict young men as initiators and young women as receivers of dating-related forms of pleasure. Learners may or may not, however, subject themselves to such practices, which accord young men with more agency in relation to exercising dating pleasure than young women. In this way, one can speak of dominant constructions of gender that have a normative character in their capacity to discipline subjects, according to a set of statements or discourses that produce particular versions of gender over others. Discipline, then, illustrates how dominant constructions of gender can be normative in the way that a set of norms regarding gender are already internalised by educators and learners, which automatically privileges certain discourses over others in relation to gender.

Foucault (1979) also mentions that disciplinary forms of power and practices are invested in disciplinary technologies that produce docile bodies; a body that is useful, intelligible and skilful. Through disciplinary technologies, the body is moulded or trained according to practices that regulate individual movements, gestures and capacities of the body, which allows for an efficient and internal organisation of movements. The body thus becomes useful and obedient through its docility, which disciplinary technologies secure through disciplinary forms of power and practices. However, the power to do this comes from within the individual and from the practice to which s/he subjects her/himself.

Robinson (2012) shows how sexuality education in schools produces constructions of gender in accordance with how children police themselves and other children in terms of heteronormative masculine and feminine behaviour. These disciplinary practices are related to notions of the responsible sexual citizen and also the good heteronormative sexual subject (Robinson, 2012). The docility of learners' bodies thus normalises heteronormative masculine and feminine behaviour that learners' internalise, converging with normative constructions of gender produced in sexuality education and in turn producing the useful and responsible sexual citizen and subject.

3.2.2) Objectification and subjectification: normalising technologies

The extent to which normative gendered behaviour is internalised by learners and educators as disciplinary practices is related to becoming what Foucault (1972; 1979) terms 'objects' and 'subjects' of expert knowledge. This can be linked to the research aim related to why particular constructions of gender in Life Orientation sexuality education and popular music dominate other possible constructions of gender. The extent to which learners and educators become objects and subjects of expert knowledge systems involved in the production of constructions of gender is linked to heteronormative gendered behaviour. Foucault (1972; 1979) shows how normalisation is achieved through disciplinary technologies that objectify and subjectify individuals, according to a range of social discourses that contribute to particular constructions of gender being considered legitimate and truthful. Therefore, objectification and subjectification are normalising technologies that represent disciplinary forms of power and practices involved in the production of dominant gendered discourses.

Foucault (1979) describes objectification as involving two normalising technologies: hierarchical observation and normalising judgement. Hierarchical observation refers to organising individual bodies according to levels of finer specification. This affords a particular kind of visibility that human behaviour comes under, through observation where the goal is to make surveillance a key feature in producing and controlling the bodies of individuals. Therefore, it becomes possible to know and alter the behaviour of individuals. This means that power is produced through individuals as they are organised in a permanent and continuous field preoccupied with the functions that render them visible. The organisation of learners into classrooms at school according to grades can be understood as a way in which learners are observed hierarchically. Learners are expected to master certain skills at each grade and in doing so it allows for the surveillance, production and control of their behaviour. The bodies of learners, then, within schools, can be shaped and moulded according to societal norms and values such as the aforementioned heteronormative gendered behaviour. The surveillance of learners'

gendered behaviour is built into subjects like sexuality education that produces dominant constructions of gender, as touched upon earlier. This ensures that learners are constantly mindful of such constructions as they regulate their behaviour according to social norms produced in relation to gender.

The second normalising technology of objectification, that of normalising judgement, operates in five ways, according to Foucault (1979). These are that; (1) a system of penalties is exercised over individuals within any given social structure related to time, activity, speech, the body and sexuality; (2) the penalties establish a system of conformity and non-conformity related to behaviour; (3) the purpose of these penal structures is to correct inappropriate behaviour; (4) the penalties establish a system of rewards and punishment that quantifies behaviour that is good and bad, positive and negative; and (5) doling out rewards and punishment establishes a hierarchy according to where one functions in one's rank.

One school that was the focus of this research, and their management of teenage pregnancy, provides an illustration of normalising judgement at work. The school established a penal structure where female learners must report to the principal's office upon discovering that they are pregnant so it can be documented in 'The Black Book'. The rationale is so that the school can provide support for them. By not disclosing their pregnancy they would allegedly bring more harm to themselves and their unborn baby. The black book anticipates that some learners will conform whilst some will not. A form of judgement is imposed on female learners in order to encourage them to act responsibly and disclose their pregnancy and it in turn implicitly labels those who choose to keep their pregnancy a secret and have an abortion as irresponsible and deviant. This functions to correct what is considered deviant and abnormal sexual behaviour, especially when the school teaches abstinence from sex until marriage. The black book quantifies what is desirable, accepted and good behaviour for female learners and what is not. It also orients female learners to their rightful and useful place in terms of their gender, especially when the male learners from the same school who are the fathers of the pregnant female learners are excluded from any sense of responsibility. This works to normalise dominant constructions of gender, in terms of constructing the need to manage female learners' sexuality more than that of male learners, and that the pregnancy is entirely the females' responsibility.

According to Foucault (1979), subjectification functions as a normalising technology through the examination of, for example, learners' behaviour according to gender expectations, which is a combination of both hierarchical observation and normalising judgement. This examination normalises individuals' behaviour by claiming to interpret and decipher the truths about individuals through

records that describe and analyse their behaviour. The individual thus becomes an effect and object of both power and knowledge, in as far as they subject themselves to such procedures, in order to discover certain truths about themselves. For example, the introduction of Life Orientation as an examinable subject, that is an amalgamation of previous, non-examinable subjects such Guidance, Life Skills, Bible Education and Physical Education, (Department of Education, 2008) shows that learners must come to represent themselves as particular subjects by taking this examination. Examining sexuality education works to produce learners as heteronormative gendered subjects who subject themselves to normative constructions of gender, produced in the curriculum, that orients them to the correct way men and women are expected to behave.

3.3) Power

Thus far, I have applied Foucault's view of discourse to show that constructions of gender are a group of highly-regulated statements, some of which are circulated more than others. Thus, the widely circulated statements of Life Orientation sexuality education manuals and popular music will contain dominant gendered discourses. Constructions of gender are normative: they reflect how individuals come to discipline themselves as objects and subjects who embody the representations of gender that are produced more frequently than other representations. Therefore, normative constructions of gender involve the production of knowledge, in relation to gender, that privileges certain representations of gender over others, because they are considered as valid and more truthful. In line with Foucauldian thinking, constructions of gender have implications for producing gendered power relations, accompanying dominant discourses of gender, found in Life Orientation sexuality education programmes and popular music. For this reason, I now turn to what Foucault means by power relations, particularly his view of power, and what this says about normative constructions of gender produced in sexuality education programmes and popular music.

Foucault (1980b; 1982) is interested in an 'analytics of power' rather than a theory of power. He sees power as an open process that can be understood by examining how it is organised in a cluster of relations, which are essentially power relations/relations of power. Foucault (1980c; 1982) imagines a grid of analysis capable of analysing power relations. This analysis should be about opening up the way power works so that one resists the urge to tie power down, but rather see power as continuous. His view of power is articulated more clearly when he describes how it is often misconceived and he terms this a 'juridico-discursive' view of power.

In this view, power, firstly, functions as a prohibition to restrict and limit. Secondly, the prohibition is expressed in the form of rules or laws that, thirdly, leads to the censoring of certain ideas or behaviours. Lastly, power is seen to operate from those who possess it onto those who do not. For example, during Life Orientation lessons, educators would possess all the power as they establish the content of what will be taught related to sex and sexuality, whilst omitting other areas, in which case learners are powerless to change this. Foucault cautions against this view of power, however, because it simplifies power and ignores complexities, tensions and struggles of power in relationships. Instead, Foucault (1980) argues that power plays a productive and enabling role, as opposed to a restrictive and repressive one. He also suggests that power is multidirectional; it is not possessed but rather exercised and it may be called upon by anyone at any time. For example, learners come into sexuality education with their own views on gender as shaped by socio-cultural practices in which they are immersed, such as popular music. They may also have more fluid, flexible and contradictory ideas related to masculinity and femininity that could serve to challenge, resist, subvert or comply with ones that the educator produces in the classroom. Accordingly, Foucault's view of power means that one can talk about normative constructions of gender, played out during Life Orientation, as a site that produces gendered power relations in which educators and learners become caught up.

Foucault (1980b) also argues that power relations are intentional and non-subjective. Power is intentional because it is always exercised with particular aims and objectives, which he refers to as 'tactics' and 'strategies'. For example, an educator will teach an abstinence-only approach to sex, with the intention of curbing the increase of teenage pregnancy within the school. However, intention is also non-subjective, which is potentially contradictory, because if power is intentional then it must be produced by a subject.

To say that power is non-subjective is, however, consistent with Foucault's claim that it is not possessed, but is rather relational, shifting, mobile and unstable. The educator, then, does not possess power but participates in it, even though it is unintentional. When the educator participates in power, it is beyond his/her control because the intention to teach an abstinence-only approach is enmeshed and entangled in a web of discursive and social relationships and institutions, such as relationships with the principal, curriculum advisors, the Departments of Education and Health, religious discourses around appropriate sexuality and others. The intention to teach learners an abstinence-only approach has unintended consequences and effects. For example, within a schooling context with an increase of teenage pregnancy, such an approach ignores the gendered power relations between boys and girls in terms of articulating their agency, sexual pleasure, and contraception. Girls are likely to be held more

responsible whilst the role of boys is neglected concerning the issue of a teenage pregnancy. Therefore, the local and specific aims, objectives and goals of the teacher interact with the learners' local and specific objectives and goals; the meeting of both parties' local and specific aims and goals results in effects and consequences that are not the reflection of the teacher or the learners. Accordingly, power is intentional because it has specific aims and objectives, and it is non-subjective because it is not possessed or controlled by, but rather surpasses, the individual. The discourses, then, involved in producing normative constructions of gender are implicated in gendered power relations in which educators and learners participate.

Foucault (1980b) also argues that power relations are always characterised by resistance in that resistance is a fundamental and structural component of power. Where there is power, or power relations, there is always resistance; resistance is never in a position where it is outside of power relations. The logic follows that without resistance, there cannot be a power relation with two individuals or a group of individuals pushing or pulling against each other. Importantly, through resistance, then, power relations can always be altered. Accordingly, if power relations work to normalise knowledge, then they are also capable of producing knowledge that may resist the normative ways of knowing. It is important to bear in mind that expressing resistance towards normative ways of knowing is an act of power in itself in that it has the potential to become another normative way of knowing. For example, the educator may rely on the Life Orientation textbook to illustrate how challenging gender stereotypes promotes gender equality, which learners may resultantly actively resist. Girls may argue that it is unnatural for a husband to stay at home and look after the children while the wife works, because a man must be the protector and sole provider for the family. Some learners may also talk about same-sex relationships or intersex individuals that may challenge the teacher's ability to think about gender as an inherently heterosexual construct. This will, in turn, resist conservative views of gender that other learners maintain.

The sexuality education classroom, then, becomes a field of exchange for power relations that have no singular source but rather flow from multiple points. In this way, the classroom reflects certain strategies or macro structures of power, such as the national curriculum statement for Life Orientation, along with the tactics or micro forms of power, such as popular culture and music as practices in which learners are steeped. In other words, the sexuality education classroom is a network of power relations that illustrates the strategies and tactics of power around knowledge that are produced about sex, sexuality and gender. They are circulated more than other representations of this knowledge because they are seen as more valid or truthful, but may be also resisted by learners and educators. Therefore,

valid and truthful representations are produced through the objectifying and subjectifying role of expert knowledge systems that allow educators and learners to draw on particular discourses on sex and gender within the classroom. The sexuality education classroom can thus be seen as site where reinforcing, overlapping and resistant views are produced, pointing to a network of power relations which reveals how knowledge works to normalise particular constructions of gender as valid and truthful.

4) Foucault and feminism

Thus far, I have applied Foucault's ideas concerning discourse, normalisation and power to show how dominant gendered discourses and gendered power relations are produced. Dominant discourses and power relations, as theoretical constructs, have implications for the type of subject Foucault envisions which feminism has taken up, especially with regard to gendered subjects. The use of Foucault's theories to explore dominant discourses on gender and gendered power relations is criticised by some feminists (Balbus, 1988; Fraser, 1981; 1985, 1989; Hartsock, 1990; Moi, 1985). This is due to a lack of an account of a coherent set of norms involved in the construction of gender, which produces a view of power as not located within identifiable patriarchal structures responsible for gender inequality. Such tensions between Foucault and feminism have implications for the utopian vision that feminism may or may not espouse using Foucauldian theory, in order to make sense of dominant gendered discourses and gendered power relations that mediate people's experiences through gendered subject positions. I explore these aforementioned resultant tensions below.

The first tension centres on feminists that critique Foucault's conceptualisation of norms. Foucault (1979; 1980d) argues that norms serve to create social categories, such as gender, where particular representations are privileged over others that claim to be truthful and value-free. This is contrary to modernist strands of feminism, which reflect the Enlightenment's position on knowledge based on a set of norms that are objective and true. McLaren (1997; 2002) argues that Foucault problematises the notion of norms which some feminists have interpreted as his rejection of norms. This has led to the argument that Foucault is incompatible with feminism because one cannot engage in social criticism of oppressive patriarchal system if one rejects norms (Fraser, 1981; 1985; Hartsock, 1990, 1996). However, Sawicki (1991) and McLaren (2002) argue that Foucault's genealogical approach interrogates the disciplinary technologies and practices in which individuals participate through disciplinary forms of power, in accordance with a set of common norms that function as social truths. In this way, Foucault (1979; 1980) challenges the notion of norms because of their normalising power, which represents a form of critical engagement with social and political issues.

In continuing with this idea, Bartky (1990) extends Foucault's form of social criticism to show how normative notions of what it means to be feminine produces an ideal type of woman that is characteristic of a modern patriarchal form of domination. Bartky (1990) identifies three disciplinary practices that produce normative notions of femininity as a symptom of patriarchal domination. This includes (1) exercises and diet regimes that produce a body of a certain shape and size; (2) practices that elicit particular gestures, postures and movements and (3) dressing the body in particular ways through fashion and cosmetics. These disciplinary practices or 'techniques of femininity' collude with normative notions of femininity that are not imposed from the outside by patriarchal forms of domination but are rather internalised by women. To speak, then, of dominant gendered discourses and gendered power relations, from a Foucauldian perspective, is to continuously critique how norms expose patriarchal forms of domination. In linking this to one foci of my research, these norms regulate the gendered experiences of learners and educators, in ways where they subvert, resist and/or reinforce the disciplinary technologies or practices that produce masculinity and femininity.

The second tension between Foucault and feminist critics of his work is his understanding of power. Feminists (Deveaux, 1994; Hartsock, 1990) have critiqued Foucault's view of power based on his genealogical work which suggests that power is the result of a subject that is completely determined by forces beyond their control, leaving no room for agency. Hartsock (1990) maintains that power is something one can have, whilst Foucault (1979; 1980b) talks about power as not being a phenomenon that is physically exercised by any one group or individual over another at any time. Hartsock (1990) argues further that Foucault's view of power excludes an account of the systematic domination associated with patriarchal structures because he understands power as functioning in a network and a capillary-like fashion. Hartsock (1990) argues that this account implies that people on the periphery are responsible for their own oppressive circumstances, and it creates no hope for them because power is everywhere. However, in Foucault's later works, (1982; 1997) he argues that power can be reversed, whereas domination is static and ossified. Domination is a particular formation of power. It is a state of asymmetrical power relations that remain fixed and unchanged over a lengthy period of time, and these can be challenged through collective forms of action (Foucault, 1980).

Faith (1994) and McLaren (2002) add to this argument by illuminating the positive (resistance) and negative (domination) dimensions of Foucault's view on power: power functions negatively to limit, dominate and normalise, which is similar to what feminists refer to as 'power over'; and power functions positively to create new possibilities, produce new things, ideas and relations, which is

similar to what feminists refer to as ‘empowerment’. In terms of this research, Foucault’s view of power shows how educators may re/produce dominant discourses on gender in the classroom that may constrain, normalise and limit how learners experience this ‘power over’ phenomenon. Learners, however, have the capacity to take up and/or resist these gendered discourses and the gendered subject positions, which could lead to their empowerment.

5) A Foucauldian and feminist-based poststructuralism

Thus far, I have spent a considerable amount of time grounding Foucauldian concepts in examples related to the central research aims; that is, investigating dominant gendered discourses and gendered power relations in Life Orientation sexuality education programmes and popular music. I now shift the focus to addressing the second aim of this research: exploring how gendered discourses and gendered power relations mediate the experiences of educators and learners through the gendered positions they take up and/or resist.

Foucault’s ideas on discourse and normalisation represent a form of poststructuralism appropriated by feminism that focuses on the relationship between discourse, power, social institutions and practices for understanding gendered experience (Braidotti, 1991; 1997; Gavey, 1989; Hare-Mustin & Maracek, 1992; Hollway, 1984; Weedon, 1987; West & Zimmerman, 1987). In what follows, I discuss a Foucauldian and feminist poststructuralism, including how such an alliance speaks to dominant gendered discourses and gendered power relations that construct gendered subject positions that educators and learners take up and/or resist.

In relation to this idea of the intertwining of Foucault and feminism’s theories in my research, Foucault’s work contains principles of poststructural theory regarding the plurality and ongoing deferral of meaning, as well as the discursive construction of subjectivity, that are integrated into a theory of language and social power (Hollway, 1984; Weedon, 1987). Poststructural theory is enriched by Foucault’s (1979) detailed explanation of the institutional effects of discourse and how it constitutes and regulates individual subjects. Furthermore, the multiple meanings that language creates are informed by historically-specific discourses. For example, Foucault (1980a) argues that an individual can talk about ‘their sexuality’ because it is historically related to how power was exercised, and individuals were governed, through the human sciences preoccupation with the discursive production and control of sexuality. Discourses, then, are ways of constituting knowledge, along with social practices and institutions, forms of subjectivity and power relations.

In terms of gendered discourses, Foucault (1980a) also talks about the 'hysterisation' of women's bodies, which began in the eighteen century. Female bodies became the subject of modern science and were subjected to processes of hysterisation: women were mostly fit for child-bearing purposes because their bodies were so saturated with sexuality it made them 'nervous' and 'hysterical'. Feminist poststructuralists have taken up Foucault's discursive production of the nature of women's bodies further, in order to argue that this was integral to reconstituting the social norms of femininity: subjectifying women's bodies for the male gaze, and excluding them from most public activities.

Whilst discourses are firmly entrenched by social institutions – such as law, education, health, work, family and religion – they are sites of conflict and contestation because the practices they promote are constantly challenged. Discourses are continuously challenged because they offer preferred forms of subjectivity and social practices articulated within a discursive field, where there is always the possibility of resisting, subverting or complying with the discourses that are made available. For example, the extent to which gender relations appear in the Life Orientation sexuality curriculum may reflect feminist infused liberal-humanist discourses, but within the classroom it may intersect with discourses related to Christianity and morality that the educator draws on, or discourses on the essential character of gender that learners may invoke in order to subvert progressive gender roles. The discourses, then, that are produced about gender are multiple and intersect in ways that are complementary, inconsistent and contradictory.

Power is also central to the process of resisting a dominant discourse. That is, "discourse transmits and produces power; it reinforces it, but it also undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it" (Foucault, 1980b, p. 101). This means that discourse constructs and makes visible the process of power relations at work in discursive contexts, where gendered subjectivities and social practices are circulated. For example, during a sexuality education lesson, an educator may discriminate against female and/or male learners who could have entered into early parenthood, or fallen pregnant despite being exposed to the teaching an abstinence-only approach to sexuality education. The learner/s, in turn, may become upset with how the educator positions them in relation to traditional constructions of femininity and masculinity and could actively challenge the educator, possibly resulting in the learner/s violating the school's code of conduct for inappropriate behaviour in the classroom. In this way, power relations regarding gender are continuously re-enacted in competing and contradictory ways.

In his book *The Subject and Power*, (1982) Foucault argues that his objective has always been to construct a history of the various ways in which human beings come to be subjects. His objective is about, for the most part, subjectivity, which is of concern to a feminist postructuralism. This is because the localised and ongoing shifts in women's experiences are situated in historically- and institutionally-oppressive patriarchal structures and practices (Gavey, 1988; Weedon, 1987). In *The Order of Discourse*, (1981) Foucault argues that through discourse, one can speak based on things that have been said before, in that conditions on what was said before constrain what is said now, making available various subject positions from which one can speak from an esteemed position. The experiences of women or educators and learners as gendered subjects can thus be understood through the speaking positions or subject positions that gendered discourses make available for them to take up and/or resist.

5.1) Positioning

The concept of positioning is also important in Foucault's theory of power and discourse as subject positions that gendered discourse within Life Orientation sexuality programmes and popular music make available for educators and learners to take up and/or resist underscores the process of positioning. I use positioning to understand how the experience of learners and educators are mediated by dominant gendered discourses and gendered power relations. Positioning is a discursive process whereby the notion of selves or identities comes to be produced by socially- and culturally-available discourses (Davies & Harré, 1990). Discourse, in turn, provides people with conceptual repertoires as a way of representing themselves and others (Burr, 1995). These conceptual repertoires are essentially subject positions that are made available and which people draw upon. Subject positions thus indicate how one is positioned within, or by, a discourse (Hollway, 1984; Weedon, 1987). My research is specifically interested in how gendered discourses mediate educators' and learners' experiences through the reflexive and interactive gendered subject positions that they take up and/or resist.

Discourses make available subject positions by way of creating a 'structure of rights' which this provides the possibilities for, and limitations on, what people can and cannot do within a particular discourse (Arribas-Ayllon & Walkerdine, 2008; Davies & Harré, 1990). For example, gendered discourses within the Life Orientation sexuality education curriculum may produce discursive practices such as safe and responsible sexual behaviour for adolescent boys and girls, but the power of such practices lies in its ability to create subject positions and the extent to which these are taken up or not. Subject positions such as 'the good girl' who holds on to her virginity or 'the bad girl' who is considered whorish may emerge, which female learners, in this instance, will either accept and/or

reject. Therefore, if a subject position is taken up, the person sees the world from the vantage point of that position and that position is accompanied by particular images, metaphors, narratives and concepts that are made relevant within particular discursive practices which position the person (Davies & Harré, 1990).

Importantly, taking up a subject position is not fixed or permanent but is constantly shifting and changing depending on the context. Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine (2008) argue that the vantage point from which the person sees a position represents a moral location or order, and this in itself represents practical technologies for speaking the truth. This is very much Foucauldian in that knowledge functions to create, in this instance, gendered subject positions or ways of speaking, which male or female learners may take up as truths about who they are, in turn reflecting power relations around controlling and regulating gendered subjectivities.

Positioning also underscores how educators and learners come to speak as gendered subjects in particular contexts, like that of the sexuality education classroom, structured at the level of conversational interaction. There are two types of positioning that occur at this level: reflexive positioning and interactive positioning (Davies & Harré, 1990; Harré & Moghaddam, 2003). Reflexive positioning refers to how people position themselves that will immediately and privately resonate with them or not (Taylor, Bougie, & Caouette, 2003). For example, during Life Orientation sexuality education lessons, boys and girls may be told to list good and bad aspects about what it must feel like for the opposite gender. The learners listen to how each gender perceives the other, and are given a chance to comment on whether they feel this is accurate or not. In this instance, boys and girls will reflexively take up and/or resist subject positions that draw on key discourses that structure femininity and masculinity because it coincides or not with their experience of what it means to be a girl and boy. This allows them to speak with a certain authority around whether the opposite gender's perception of their gender was accurate or not.

Interactive positioning, on the other hand, refers to how one person positions another during conversational interaction (Davies & Harré, 1990). This process can be understood as a constant struggle to set the tone of a conversation or define the situation as there are competing meanings. This type of positioning also highlights the power relations involved in discourses, their discursive practices and the subject positions that are made available. Power relations, then, are constantly at play in conversational interaction. This is because participants are continuously faced with a confluence of competing and complementary discourses, accompanied by their own structure of speaking rights,

obligations and possibilities for action, and through which subject positions carry identities and possess power implications.

As an example, Walkerdine (1981) illustrates how interactive positioning in nursery school classrooms fosters oppressive discourses in relation to sexuality and gender, where the teacher was female. Discourses deployed in nursery school education position the teacher in ways that render her as relatively powerless in relation to male learners, who draw upon heteronormative discourses in order to position her as a sexual object in relation to them, as little boys, in oppressive ways. Walkerdine's (1981) work shows how the subject positions in an interactional space, such as the classroom, reflect discourses on sexuality and gender that involve a struggle around positioning others, or being positioned, in ways that expose power relations at work in oppressive contexts.

6) A psychosocial psychoanalytic perspective

Thus far, I have examined the concept of positioning to show how learners' and educators' experiences are mediated through gendered subject positions that they take up and/or resist. I explore positioning further in this research in order to include a set of ideas that extend the arguments made thus far regarding the way educators and learners can talk as gendered subjects. This involves the psychoanalytically-informed notion proposed by Hollway and Jefferson (2012) of conscious and unconscious investments, which speaks to the conscious and unconscious reasons or motivations for why subjects take up and/or resist subject positions made available by discourses. These reasons or motivations for this are related to educators' and learners' talk, reflecting emotional content, which influences why they invest in particular gendered positions. I elaborate in detail below this idea of conscious and unconscious investments.

To speak of conscious and unconscious investments is to draw upon a set of psychoanalytic ideas, falling within psychosocial theory, which have emerged as a theoretical framework for conducting social research. Frosh and Baraitser (2008) argue that the notion of psychosocial research is based on "conceptualising and researching a type of subject that is both social and psychological, which is constituted in and through its social formations, yet is still granted agency and internality" (p. 349). However, the authors are quick to point out that the implications of the psychosocial means that the work lies in constantly looking back in order to examine whether one is leaning too much on either the psychological or the social. The task for psychosocial theory thus becomes about reflexivity: a critical practice that is continuously iterative and reflexive of the knowledge it produces.

The earliest form of psychosocial research has its roots in the Frankfurt School of critical social theory during the 1960s, when Jurgen Habermas led initiatives in developing a critical theory on the cultural construction of identity. In doing so, he attempted to marry sociology with Freudian psychoanalysis to explain the construction of identity (Seidman, 2002). In this way, Habermas posited self-reflection as a path to self-knowledge that could emancipate one from dominant and subsuming systems of social knowledge (Clarke, 2008). Self-reflection facilitates emotional insight that unlocks the internal and external forces in the ideological oppression of people so that they can be liberated (Frosh, 2006). In linking with this idea, in theorising about racial identity, Fanon (1968) saw the construction of colonial black identity and oppression as the outcome of socio-historical oppressive processes of hatred and a psychodynamic of racism. The work of Fanon and Habermas form the backdrop to, and a rationale for, the inclusion of psychoanalytic concepts, alongside critical social theory, in what is now referred as psychosocial research. This is because their work reflects an interest in psychosocial processes at work in the construction of knowledge and cultural identity.

Accordingly, the theory that informs psychosocial research maintains that both social and psychological factors shape social life; one cannot talk about them separately because they are indeed inseparable (Clarke, 2008). Using psychoanalytic concepts in order to explain the cultural construction of identity is one theory and method amongst a cluster of others employed in psychosocial research. Frosh, Phoenix, and Pattman (2003) argue that psychoanalytic concepts can articulate individual motivations at an unconscious level, and the ways in which these motivations influence individuals' specific positioning in discourse. According to Henriques et al., (1998) this means that psychoanalytic concepts can be used to show why individuals may invest in particular subject positions, produced by discourses and involved in reproducing power relations, which privilege the expression, coherence and consistency of certain identities over others. My research relies on Hollway and Jefferson's (2012) theory of the defended subject that puts forth the notion of conscious and unconscious investments in subject positions made available by discourses, which specifically argues that people invest in discourse in order to defend against anxiety. Hollway and Jefferson (2012) base their theory on research that was conducted on the fear of crime. They were specifically interested in how participants come to receive the knowledge that they draw upon in order to talk about crime, but also why they represent their experiences or feel inclined to talk about crime in particular ways.

The rationale for explaining why participants talk about or represent their experiences in a certain way – or invest in particular positions and discourses – comes from the desire to understand what "produces the specific choice of 'location' a particular individual makes amongst the available identity positions"

(Frosh, Phoenix, & Pattman, 2003, p. 40). For Hollway and Jefferson, (2005) this point talks to issues of an individual's agency in ways that are neither separable from the social world nor determined solely by it, but rather that it is psychosocial. Accordingly, Hollway (1984) notes that discursive psychology lacks an account of an individual's agency that goes beyond producing discourse-determined versions of subjectivity, as constituted by discourses and positions. As a result, discursive psychology has been criticised for producing what some call 'blank subjectivity' (Georgaca, 2005; Parker, 1994) or 'empty subjectivity' (Gough, 2004). Hollway and Jefferson (2005; 2012) thus argue that psychoanalytic concepts add to understanding agency and subjective, emotionally-laden, personal and biographical experiences of the individual subject, whilst still maintaining a view of the subject as fragmented, and shaped by discourse and discursive subject positions. The view of the subject as fragmented is based on the psychoanalytic notion of the unconscious, which refers to a divided self, and is similar to how discursive psychology understands the self as constantly shifting and changing.

In returning to my discussion of psychosocial research, a psychosocial subject entails, firstly, a view of the subject as discursive. This suggests that people make sense of their experiences of the world by drawing on discourses as coherent sets of meanings that in turn construct subject positions for talking about and representing experience. Whilst a discursive view of the subject takes into consideration the interactive and social context, and the power relations involved in mediating people's experiences, it does not explain why people position themselves within a particular discourse, or represent themselves in such a manner. Secondly, a psychosocial subject is a biographically-unique and defended subject (Hollway & Jefferson, 2012). In being biographically unique, subjects are understood as being different from one another based on their personal biographies. That is, as defended subjects, people invest in discourses when the identity positions it makes available provide protection from feelings of anxiety.

Hollway and Jefferson (2012) argue that defences against anxiety are understood as an intersubjective process in that they are used in relations between people. This means that the self is relational - it is dependent upon its interactions with others that constitute its inner world which, in turn, helps it to make sense of the outside world. This view of the self is based on Melanie Klein's notion of 'internal objects', which refers to mental and emotional images of external objects that are taken inside the self and serve to shape the self. Hollway and Jefferson (2012) are also quick to point out that they do not conceptualise anxiety as a psychological trait; rather, anxiety and the defences it produces are understood as complex responses to events and people in social worlds, from the past and present. Furthermore, the feelings of anxiety that discourses and positions invoke within subjects is an

unconscious process. It is thus the conscious and unconscious motivations mediated by, amongst other things, the subject's biographical history that enables them to take up multiple subject positions and social discourses (Saville Young & Frosh, 2009).

Hollway and Jefferson (2012) put forth their notion of the psychosocial subject by considering the continuities and discontinuities between psychoanalysis and discursive psychology, in order to show how both approaches can be used to think critically about individual subjectivity. Both approaches are interested in the construction of individual subjective realities, not for their truth value but for how meaning is indirect and mediated by the intersubjective encounter between the analyst and analysand (psychoanalysis) or discourses and subject positions (discursive psychology) (Wetherell, 2003). However, both approaches differ in accounting for how personal experience is mediated. For the former, personal experience is mediated by unconscious dynamics and interactive relational processes that shore up through anxiety; and for the latter, personal experience is mediated by the subject positions constructed by broader social discourses (Saville Young & Frosh, 2009).

As introduced above, Hollway and Jefferson's (2012) theory of the defended subject draws upon psychoanalytic ideas in their view of the psychosocial subject. The act of positioning oneself by investing in particular discourses is conceptualised as a defensive strategy that the subject employs because s/he experiences anxiety based on past experiences. According to psychoanalytic theory, the self thus defends because it experiences anxiety in relation to threats that come from outside the self, especially during infancy and childhood. This anxiety operates mostly at an unconscious level. Hollway and Jefferson (2012) draw on the aforementioned work of Melanie Klein in order to elaborate upon how the self is formed from unconscious defences against anxiety.

According to Klein, (1975) the way in which people manage their anxiety has its roots during the first six months of life as this is a time when the infant exists in a total omnipotent and dependent state. The infant's dependence on its caregiver for its needs to be met produces polarising emotions, or splits: it feels good, protected and nurtured, or it feels bad, threatened and neglected (Segal, 1988). These spilt emotions are as a result of the infant introjecting and internalising the primary caregiver, who becomes a part of the infant's internal world, and is experienced by the infant as part-objects, and not as a whole and complete person (Segal, 1988). The polarising emotions that the infant experiences are a necessary defensive strategy, referred to as 'splitting', that allows for good experiences to be kept separate from bad experiences, in order to better tolerate anxiety.

Klein (1975) argues that the infant splits its caregiver into either a good or bad object that over time comes to embody exaggerated good and bad features that the infant will use to make sense of the world when it feels threatened and anxious. Splitting characterises a particular position that the infant occupies for the first three months of life: the 'paranoid-schizoid' position. As a side note, Wetherell (2003) notes that the term 'position', used here, invokes a different set of theoretical assumptions to how the term is used discursively; the psychoanalytic 'position' can enhance the discursive 'position' by bringing a sharper focus to the personal experience of the individual subject. The paranoid-schizoid position is a necessary defensive developmental function for the infant that becomes a template in adulthood, used to defend against anxiety-provoking and threatening experiences. For example, in a study on men and masculinity, Wetherell (2003) looks at how a man in his mid-twenties invests in discourses related to hegemonic forms of masculinity that position him as tough, assertive and confident. His investment in this discourse is due to defensive strategies used in his talk reminiscent of splitting; people in his life are either strong and worthy opponents he admires, mostly men, or they are reduced to being weak, ineffective, emotional and not deserving of his time, mostly women. In this way, he operates from the paranoid-schizoid position, which serves to protect a vulnerable and fragile view of himself in that he divides his experiences of the world into good/idealised parts and bad/devalued parts (Wetherell, 2003).

Klein (1975) also highlights another developmental defensive strategy: the 'depressive' position which characterises the latter half of the first six months of the infant's life. This, like the aforementioned process of 'splitting' also becomes a template used in adulthood to defend against anxiety-provoking and threatening experiences. This position allows one to develop their ability to reconcile the good and bad spilt in the same object so that it becomes a less fantasised object and rather represents a real person. The infant, in this way, goes through a sad and depressed phase because it hated the bad object, the devalued caregiver, which it now sees as a whole person, part of the same idealised caregiver who loved and cared for it. Therefore, the depressive position refers to the infant's ability to produce a more integrated view of others, especially its caregiver. Klein argued that this position reflects a more ambivalent and complex view of others, which creates new experiences for the child related to guilt, gratitude and mourning, other than just good and bad feelings.

As an example of the depressive position, on the subject of sexual pleasure, a female learner is self-reflexive when she positions herself as both an initiator and receiver of sexual pleasure. She remarks that girls or young women are expected to be recipients of sexual advances that boys or young men make as initiators of sex. If a girl initiates sex she is considered 'slutty' or un-ladylike, which talks to

the ways in which young women are split by others as either the good girls (virginal) or bad girls ('slutty'). There are times when she initiates sex with her boyfriend, and worries this may depict her in a negative light, but there are also times when she likes to be the recipient of her boyfriend's advances. Therefore, she operates from the depressive position, which serves to highlight the tensions she experiences with regard to internalising both the initiator and receiver positions as good and bad parts of being a girl, rather than splitting off and projecting either position onto other girls.

Klein (1975) argues that all people move between the paranoid-schizoid and depressive positions, although some people may rigidly use one position more than the other. Furthermore, Hollway and Jefferson (2012) argue that these defensive positions against anxiety are an intersubjective process: they come into play in relations between people. This means that the individual subject is relational, where one can only know another through one's own subjectivity, and it speaks to a view of the subject that is simultaneously psychological and social, in other words, a psychosocial subject. The psychological component that Hollway and Jefferson (2012) discuss here, as influenced by Klein, is what they refer to as a 'psychic world'. Their version of the psychosocial subject, then, is psychic because of the unique biography of anxiety-provoking life events and how these are unconsciously defended against. They also argue that the psychic is also simultaneously social in three ways in terms of: (1) defensive strategies that are responses to, but are also produced by, dominant discourses; (2) the anxiety defended against that arises from unconscious intersubjective processes, and (3) the anxiety-provoking real events of the social world that are discursively and defensively appropriated (Hollway & Jefferson, 2012). The last point talks to the way anxiety-provoking real life events are mediated through discourses that the subject unconsciously defends against by investing in particular subject positions. Therefore, it is this psychosocial subject, both psychic and social, that consciously and unconsciously invests in particular discourses and takes up and/or resists particular subject positions.

Hollway and Jefferson's (2012) notion of the psychosocial subject as defended has been questioned in terms of the extent to which their approach is 'psychosocial', as well as the applicability and implications of using psychoanalytic theory alongside discursive theory. Wetherell (2005) and Spears (2005) argue that Hollway and Jefferson mislabel discursive explanations of subjectivity as discourse-determined because it neglects an account of individual agency. In fact, they argue that Hollway and Jefferson psychologise individual agency, rather than seeing social discourses and power relations as the multiple ways in which personal experience is mediated. In this way, it is argued that Hollway and Jefferson's approach is not psychosocial at all. This is because they employ the notion of defences as a means to account for agency in the production of subjectivity, which ultimately results in

individualising personal narratives and ignoring the discursive context (Spears, 2005; Wetherell, 2005). However, Hollway and Jefferson (2005) underscore that psychoanalytic concepts are used to supplement discursive accounts of subjectivity, by adding emotional and biographical content to subjective accounts, which discursive psychology neglects to do.

Furthermore, Frosh and Baraitser argue (2008) that the defended subject psychologises agency because of the brand of psychoanalytic theory that it draws upon in order to argue for a subject that is psychosocial. This is a Kleinian object-relations view that automatically privileges a view of the subject as psychological before it is social. This can be traced back to a reliance upon a developmental account of the subject in order to describe unconscious intersubjective processes that ultimately produce "predictable, motivational accounts and interpretive strategies" (Frosh & Baraitser, 2008, p. 353).

Moreover, Frosh and Emerson (2005) argue that a Kleinian-steeped view of the subject risks producing top-down interpretations of subjectivity that privilege certain readings of the subject over competing and alternative ones. This is due to its psychoanalytic interpretive strategies that are grounded in a clinical context where personal and biographical information is prioritised (Frosh & Emerson, 2005). Georgaca (2005) argues that prioritising personal and biographical information reduces subjectivity to individual psychological processes, which tend to pathologise individual subjects, and also lead to essentialising accounts of subjectivity. Nonetheless, one can still draw upon Hollway and Jefferson's approach by ensuring that the analysis is grounded in the text or the data, in order to eliminate the tendency for psychoanalytic theory to be over-interpretive and 'heavy handed'. Put another way, the emphasis should not be on psychoanalysing participants but rather on analysing and treating the text as a particular encounter between two people in a particular moment in time (Hollway & Jefferson, 2005, 2012).

Furthermore, Hollway and Jefferson's approach takes into serious consideration the subjects' emotional and biographical histories, which enrich and extend discursive accounts of subjectivity as mediated by social discourses and subject positions. Combining these approaches has implications for thinking about the gendered sexualities found in mediums of sexual socialisation that serve to shape young people's subjectivity, which my research wishes to add to existing literature on the subject.

7) Conclusion

In this chapter, I firstly located dominant gendered discourses, gendered power relations, and gendered subject positions firmly within a social constructionist framework. This theoretical framework highlights sexuality education programmes and popular music as social and linguistic practices involved in the construction of gender. Secondly, I adopted a Foucauldian view of discourse that emphasises the conditions of possibility where statements on gender within the sexuality education curriculum and popular music, for instance, will dominate over other statements. These are privileged gendered meanings that educators and learners unquestionably accept during sexuality education lessons because of rules and regulations related to disciplinary gendered practices – for example, heteronormative dating practices – to which they subject themselves. Furthermore, the sexuality education classroom, by way of example, becomes a platform upon which power operates over competing and complementary gendered meanings that are taken up and/or resisted by educators and learners. Thirdly, I considered the contribution that feminist theory makes in considering and perceiving dominant discourses and power relations from a Foucauldian standpoint. This concerns the role of patriarchal power structures of domination, promoting gendered discourses and power relations that are not only restrictive but also productive in terms of educators' and learners' gendered subjective experiences. Fourthly, I took these gendered subjective experiences further to include the concept of positioning. This is a poststructural reading of subjectivity that takes into account the discursive contexts such as the school, classroom or communities of educators and learners in relation to gendered discourses that offer subject positions that they may take up and/or resist, which equips them with forms of social power. Finally, I problematised positioning further in order to include psychosocial psychoanalytic theory as a way of including emotional and biographical historical information that serves to enrich discursive accounts of subjectivity. This included an interest in educators' and learners' conscious and unconscious investments in the gendered subject positionings in order to engage with possible reasons for why they may take up and/or resist particular subject positions within social discourses.

Chapter 6 Methodology

1) Introduction

In this chapter, I extend the arguments made for an integrated approach in the previous chapter. I do so by discussing the methodological implications and the actual collection and analysis of data with respect to: (i) the dominant gendered discourses, power relations and subject positions found in Life Orientation sexuality education programmes and popular music; and, (ii) the subject positions and conscious and unconscious investments in these positions deployed by learners and educators in an interview context. In relation to this, there are five overarching areas that sketch exactly how these theoretical constructs are taken up methodologically. These include (i) the debates and discussions of an integrated approach that draws on Foucauldian, feminist poststructural and psychosocial psychoanalytic research methods; (ii) the research questions that have been formulated, based on researching discourses, subject positions, and conscious and unconscious investments; (iii) the research design, which entails the schools, participants, and the data collection and analysis; (iv) the researcher's reflexivity; (v) the reliability and validity of discursive and psychosocial psychoanalytic research methods; and, (vi) the ethical considerations involved in this research design.

In the first area, (labelled as section '2') I discuss the methodological tensions with respect to combining discourse, positioning and psychosocial psychoanalytic analysis, in order to illustrate why and how they are used. The tensions between these constructs are also grounded in methodological discussions in order to show how they speak to each other in ways that enrich and extend, rather than foreclose, the analysis. A discourse analytic method consistent with a Foucauldian-driven poststructural framework interrogates dominant gendered discourses and power relations. Adding a feminist lens helps to situate the analysis within gendered power relations and contexts. Employing methods related to positioning, and conscious and unconscious investments, helps to illuminate the interactional context within which discourses emerge, grounding discourse analytic work in gendered subjective experiences that draw on emotional and socio-personal histories.

Thereafter, I outline in the other four areas (labelled as sections '3', '4', '5' and '6') how discourse, positioning, and conscious and unconscious investments were applied during the data collection and analysis, and the implications thereof. I then go on to discuss the main research questions and sub-questions. Thereafter, I provide a brief breakdown and general structure of the data collection and the data analysis procedures, in accordance with the research questions. I go on to describe the schools and participants involved in generating the data. Afterwards, I talk through the data collection and analysis,

with particular emphasis on how discourse, positions and investments were adapted and had to be reworked, in order to apply them to the research questions. I then go on to discussing the role of reflexivity in terms of the implications it has for the data collection and analysis. I follow this with a discussion on the reliability and validity of drawing on discourse analytic and psychosocial psychoanalytic research methods. Lastly, I discuss the ethical challenges of the research.

2) Discourse, positioning and conscious and unconscious investments – an integrated methodology

In the following section, I reflect on the debates of combining methodologies in order to answer questions related to discourses, subject positions and conscious and unconscious investments. This also serves to build a case for an integrated approach to researching gendered sexualities in sexuality education and popular music. In so doing, I firstly look at the merits of using the method of discourse analysis, as a means to discuss how dominant gendered discourses and power relations are normalised, by relying on Foucauldian adaptations of discourse analytic work, as well as other approaches within this framework. Secondly, I unpack that a Foucauldian discourse analytic approach is extended to include a positioning analysis that examines how dominant gendered discourses and power relations are reflexively and interactively taken up in relational contexts. Lastly, I show that a positioning analysis is also extended to emphasise why positions are taken up and/or resisted through conscious and unconscious investments that in turn illuminate emotional experiences and personal biographies that surface within interactional contexts.

My research examines how Parker (1992; 1994; 1999; 2002) conceptualises discourse and adapts it as a Foucauldian discourse analytic method. According to Parker, (1992) discourse is a "system of statements that constructs an object" (p. 5) and, furthermore, objects are made real to the extent that statements produce a subject who can talk about it. Similarly, Foucault understands discourse as "practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak" (1972, p. 49). According to Parker (2002), the practices forming objects and subjects are disciplinary practices to which discourse analysis must attend. It can only do this by interrogating the disciplinary contexts that produce disciplinary practices. For this research, the schools and classrooms are the disciplinary contexts whilst sexuality education pedagogy and other informal cultural practices such as dating, peer groups and popular music, amongst others, are the disciplinary practices to which educators and learners are subjected that in turn allows them to speak as gendered subjects.

Furthermore, Parker (2002) emphasises three characteristics for reading dominant discourses that populate texts, such as the manuals used to teach sexuality education. Firstly, discourse analysis attends to *contradictory* discourses that communicate a coherent set of meanings constituting a cluster of dominant discourses. These discourses do not complement each other in neat and clear ways; rather they overlap to communicate a set of dominant and taken-for-granted meanings. Secondly, discourse analysis should demonstrate how the *constitution* of contradictory dominant discourses constrains and enables objects and subjects of knowledge. In this way, the constitution of dominant discourses makes available multiple ways of speaking as subjects that will cohere around dominant sets of gendered meanings found in the sexuality education curriculum. Thirdly, the multiple ways of speaking that dominant discourses make available equips its speakers with *power*. Power is exercised when one speaks because one is in possession of a particular kind of knowledge that may not be available to others. This talks to power relations that dominant discourses within sexuality education manuals contain and the ideological ramifications inherent in the practice of teaching sexuality education in the classroom.

Hook, however, (2001) questions the extent to which Parker's adaptation of discourse resonates with a Foucauldian application of discourse. He contends that Parker does not adequately engage with the socio-discursive context, or the material conditions of possibility, like schools or pedagogical practices, which give rise to truth claims where discourses acquire their dominance. Parker's view of discourse also obscures a thorough reading of an analysis of power of the discursive practices that produces, and is constitutive of, the order of discourses (Hook, 2001). Other Foucauldian discourse analytic approaches place more emphasis on the material conditions of possibility, which allow for a more effective analysis of dominant discourses and power relations. For instance, Kendall and Wickham's (1999) approach examines the regular and systematic function of discourses by identifying the rules governing the production of statements, delimitations of the sayable, the creation of spaces where new statements can be made and the practices that inform statements which are both material and discursive.

Similarly, Rose (1985) has tracked the conditions that made psychology's current material practices possible, particularly how social ills became a psychological reality. In relation to this, Hacking (1991; 1992) engages the material practices of statistics and multiple personality disorder, and the realities they construct, by delving into a history of the present and the discourses that make these practices real. Walkerdine and Arribas-Allyon's (2008) approach adds to this by looking at the role of the subject in discourse, to show how the subject is realised in material and discursive practices through

technologies of power, subject positions and subjectification. Similarly, Willig's (2008) approach to discourse analysis looks at the discursive resources made available within a given socio-cultural milieu, and the implications this has for inhabitants of this discursive economy. I use Parker's approach to discourse, along with the aforementioned approaches, to assist the analysis with remaining as close as possible to Foucault's emphasise on the material conditions of possibility that produce discourse.

Accordingly, the decision taken to include classroom observations and learners' musical preferences as part of the data collection is based on an acknowledgement of the material practices in which sexuality education manuals and curriculum are embedded. These represent some of the conditions of possibility that produce dominant discourses on gender and power relations in the first place. The sexuality education classroom observations allowed me to witness the disciplinary practices that regulate the gendered subjectivity of educators and learners through the deployment of dominant gendered discourses and practices. The music learners prefer listening to can also be perceived as disciplinary practices. However, they represent informal practices that capture a cultural space in which learners are immersed, where constructions of gender and power relations circulate in the lyrical content and music videos. In line with Parker's work, classroom observations and popular music as material practices can be adapted as texts for discourse analysis. He argues that texts are "delimited tissues of meaning which may be written, spoken, or reproduced in any form that can be given an interpretive gloss" (Parker, 1989, p. 57). Discourse analytic work has gone beyond spoken and written texts such as school textbooks (Davies, 1995; 2003) to include classroom lessons, (Walkerdine, 1981; Walkerdine & Lucey, 1989) visual and aural texts such as music, (Barthes, 1977; Machin, 2010), physical texts such as schools and classrooms (Foucault, 1972; 1973) and instances where the researcher is a writer of the text, such as ethnographic work (Humphreys, 1999).

Parker's discourse analytic approach also emphasises that discourses construct subject positions which can be taken up and/or resisted. This underscores the interactional context, such as sexuality education classroom interactions, where dominant gendered discourses and gendered power relations are circulated and serve to mediate the subjective experiences of educators and learners as gendered. For instance, feminist adaptations of discourse analysis performed by Hollway (1989) demonstrated how dominant discourses on masculinity and femininity offer a range of subject positions that heterosexual couples take up and/or resist within an interviewing context, which positioned them in shifting relations of power to their partners and others. In this way, Parker's adaptation of discourse analysis can be extended to foreground an analysis of the interactional context, such as classroom observations

and the interviews with educators and learners. Classroom observations and interviews emphasise the material practices where dominant discourses and power relations are organised at the level of conversational interaction.

Davies and Harré's (1990) positioning analysis adds to this discussion by investigating how dominant gendered discourses are taken up in the interactional context and mediate the experiences of educators and learners as gendered. The notion of positioning brings focus to the dynamic aspects of social interaction, and shows how gendered subjectivity is achieved through the ways in which people are positioned through discursive practices (Davies, 1989; Henriques et al., 1984; Weedon, 1987). Therefore, the interactional context is analysed for the reflexive gendered subject positions that educators and learners take up and/or resist, whilst interactively positioning others during sexuality education classroom lessons or the interviews.

Korobov (2001) argues that positioning can be applied in ways that are either overly bottom-up (conversational analysis) or top-down, (discourse analysis) with regard to the way that positioning theory methodologically invokes the interactional context. Conversation analysis reads the context for subject positions that are a product of the speakers own actions, and only examines the microcosm or micro context of the conversation, whilst discourse analysis reads both the context and speaker's actions as producing subject positions and also, as the title suggests, examines the broader discourses which are taken up in the narratives. What is at stake for the latter is that subject positions end up appearing ideological and as being linked to the researcher's political interests, rather than reflecting the speaker's subjective experience (Schegloff, 1997; 1999). Alternatively, for the former, subject positions reflect speaker's subjective experiences in ways that neglect socio-historical processes (Billig, 1996; 1999). This has implications for researching the reflexive and interactive gendered subject positions found in sexuality education classroom observations and educator and learner interviews in that it is possible to neglect the socio-political and ideological role of sexuality education pedagogy as a disciplinary practice.

In relation to this, Parker (1992) affirms that positioning theory does not engage the disciplinary role of contexts in producing discourses. This is because it fails to analyse the history of discourses that challenge or reproduce oppressive structures, which are treated as being outside of the speaker's location during conversational interaction. As much as Foucauldian discourse analysis benefits from positioning analysis, emphasising the interactional context that speaks to the material conditions of possibility, positioning analysis benefits from Foucauldian discourse analytic work in foregrounding

the disciplinary function of contexts and social practices. For example, Hodge (2002) looks at how speakers position themselves in conversational interaction according to shared moral codes that contain practical technologies for speaking truths, which in turn reflect complex power relations at play. In this way, a Foucauldian application of positioning foregrounds the discursive and non-discursive practices that make it possible for speakers to position themselves morally within a series of power relations.

Including interviews with educators and learners, as well as classroom observations as my data collection sources, underscores how dominant gendered discourses and power relations found in the sexuality education manuals are structured at the level of conversational interaction through the notion of positioning. Positioning illustrates how speakers are positioned by discourses whilst simultaneously positioning themselves discursively. Accordingly, educators and learners reflexively take up and/or resist gendered subject positions whilst interactively positioning others within the classroom and interview. In addition to this, the classroom and interview are also perceived as disciplinary contexts and practices, which represent the conditions under which gender is narrated. Furthermore, Parker and Burman (1993) draw attention to how terms such as 'discourse' and 'positioning', from a Foucauldian-driven poststructuralist perspective, especially when they inform each other, are easily conflated and, when not specified, can obscure the nuances regarding how the text is treated.

In continuing in this vein, positioning analysis emphasises the conversational context that presupposes the text, which can work to counter the reifying effects of identifying discourses. In this way, positioning analysis is helpful in opening up the text. For instance, concentrating solely on the dominant gendered discourses and power relations found in sexuality education manuals does little to show how it functions as a disciplinary practice, especially when the disciplinary context, such as the classroom or interviews, is not accounted for. Therefore, including a positioning analysis which is geared towards conversational processes, situates texts such as sexuality education manuals within discursive practices, such as interviews and classroom observations. This demonstrates not only how dominant gendered discourses and gendered power relations populate texts, but also how they mediate subjective experiences.

Taylor and Littleton (2006) argue that whilst the notion of positioning prioritises the person-in-situation, it neglects the personal biography of the speaker's unique subjective experience. Emphasising the personal biography of speakers and their emotional life is an area of researching subjective experience which Hollway and Jefferson (2012) take up in what has been termed,

'psychosocial psychoanalytic' methodology. As is the case with positioning work, Hollway and Jefferson's (2012) method is interested in talk-in-interaction, which is transcribed into text but pays attention to the unconscious dynamics that influence individual actions, and point to internal conflicts, which are expressed through talk. The talk-in-interaction is analysed through the individual's emotions, as a reflection of their internal worlds that populate the text, which a positioning analysis cannot perform (Gough, 2009).

Whilst positioning is interested in the social discourses that individuals draw upon in their talk, psychosocial psychoanalytic methodology also explores talk but rather views it as indicative of the psychic structures that mediate individuals' social lives (Saville Young & Frosh, 2010). Therefore, I relied on Hollway and Jefferson's (2012) methodology in order to analyse the talk of learners and educators during one-on-one interviews, as suggestive of their internal conflicts and based on their personal backgrounds and emotional life. Furthermore, psychosocial psychoanalytic methodology, like positioning work, is interested in the researcher's reflexivity, but takes it further by paying attention to the researcher's emotional and fantasy life, and not only their socio-cultural positioning (Hollway & Jefferson, 2012; Wetherell, 2003).

Wetherell (2003) notes that Hollway and Jefferson's methodology, unlike positioning analysis, goes 'behind' the text to look at the subject positions that speakers construct through their talk that are suggestive of anxieties, defence mechanisms and particular ways of relating that stem during infancy and resurface throughout their lives. The interpretive strategies that Hollway and Jefferson (2012) rely on, in order to investigate the anxieties and defence mechanisms that shore up in the text, include analysing participants' personal biographies, using psychoanalytic concepts such as splitting and projection and reflecting on the research relationship or the researcher's subjectivity as a form of triangulation. However, Parker (2005) argues that psychoanalytic theory privileges the individual's inner worlds, along with a 'top-down', theory-driven formulation, that serves to construct the researcher as an expert in decoding participants' everyday experiences into real knowledge.

Despite this criticism, Hollway and Jefferson's (2012) work on conscious and unconscious investments has prompted a lively debate on the usefulness of psychosocial theory, drawing on both discursive psychology and psychoanalytic theory, and the extent to which they complement each other. For instance, Hollway (2009) has developed an experience-near approach, drawing on psychoanalytically-informed observations, in order to go beyond a talk-based method that focuses on dimensions of time, embodiment, practices, spatial sensitivity and multiple positioning, and how

knowing is accomplished in research. In a different vein, Frosh and Emerson (2005) employ a critical narrative analysis that combines a 'top-down' strategy, which draws on psychoanalytic theory, along with a 'bottom-up' strategy that involves a fine-grained reading of the text. The authors suggest that psychoanalytic theory be used as a reflexive tool of the possible interpretations that may be tested within the text as discursive constructions. As a result, I relied on Hollway and Jefferson's psychosocial psychoanalytic approach because it takes into serious consideration the unconscious motivations and/or reasons for why subjects may invest in particular subject positions. I also relied on Frosh and Emerson (2005) and Frosh and Saville Young's (2011) directions for grounding psychoanalytic interpretations within the interview text that entailed a fine-grained reading of the text.

The decision to interview educators and learners about their personal background, particularly their gendered and sexual socialisation, was in order to contextualise sexuality education within emotional and biographical experiences. In this way, the interviews were not only conversational processes where dominant gendered discourses and power relations were invoked and gendered subject positions were taken up and/or resisted. The interviews were also intersubjective encounters, conceptualising educators and learners as emotional and defended subjects who protected themselves from feeling anxious. They did so by investing in particular gendered subject positions based on past experiences, memories or events. Hollway and Jefferson (2012) argue that the text is determined in multiple ways; the text is mediated by participants' personal biography, power relations, social contexts and the interpersonal context of the interview. In this way, exploring educators' and learners' investments in gendered subject positions goes beyond discursive views of the text in order to illuminate emotionally lived, unconscious and defended experiences of speakers during interviews (Hollway, 2009). The text also comes to represent a conscious and unconscious intersubjective encounter, based on the interviewer's reflexive impressions, which includes making extensive field notes detailing the thoughts, feelings and observations of the researcher during the interview. Therefore, the interviews with educators and learners emphasises the unconscious intersubjective dynamics of conversational interaction, amidst the school and classroom as disciplinary contexts and teaching sexuality education as a disciplinary practice, in order to highlight emotional and biographical content.

3) Research questions

The rationale for an integrated theoretical and methodological framework, which is my interest in investigating dominant gendered discourses, gendered power relations, gendered subject positions and conscious and unconscious investments in these positions, is represented below by a set of main and sub-research questions. These questions form the impetus for my research.

Main Questions

1) How do the Life Orientation sexuality programmes in Clarins Hill High and Rylands West School[4] challenge and/or reproduce dominant discourses on gender and gendered power relations contained in popular music and vice versa?

2) What gendered subject positionings are made available and taken up, or resisted by, the learners and educators in this process?

Sub-questions

(i) What discourses concerning gender are found in the Life Orientation sexuality education programmes?

(ii) What discourses concerning gender are found in the contemporary music that the learners in the school prefer listening to?

(iii) How do the discourses concerning gender, found in the Life Orientation sexuality education programmes and contemporary music that learners prefer listening to, dovetail or diverge?

(iv) What interactive and reflexive gendered positionings do learners and educators invoke when talking about Life Orientation sexuality education and popular music?

(v) What are learners' and educators' conscious and unconscious investments in the gendered positionings they invoke in their talk?

4) Research design

The research design is organised according to **two** components that talk to **five** sources of data that have been collected (refer to Figure 1, below). Component **one** responds to the **first main** research question, and the **first three sub-questions** that follow. Ian Parker's (1992) ten criteria for identifying discourse, as a broad framework, along with Davies and Harré's (1990) positioning analysis are used to answer these particular questions. Component **two** responds to the **second main** research question and the **last two sub-questions** that follow. As aforementioned, Davies and Harré's (1990) positioning analysis, along with Hollway and Jefferson's (2000) psychosocial psychoanalytic approach are used to answer these questions.

[4] A pseudonym is used for both the schools.

Figure 1

Sub-questions	**Data Collection**	**Data Analysis**
(i) What discourses concerning gender are found in the Life Orientation sexuality education programmes?	Life Orientation manuals Observations	
(ii) What discourses concerning gender are found in the contemporary music that learners in the school prefer listening to?	Music videos & lyrics	<u>Component 1</u> Discourse analysis using Parker's work and positioning theory
(iii) How do the discourses concerning gender, found in the Life Orientation sexuality education programmes and contemporary music that learners prefer listening to, dovetail or diverge?	Observations Life Orientation manuals Music videos and lyrics	
(iv) What interactive and reflexive gendered positionings do learners and educators invoke when talking about Life Orientation sexuality education and popular music?	Interviews with learners Interviews with educators	<u>Component 2</u> Positioning theory and psychosocial theory i.e., Hollway and Jefferson's theory on thedefended subject
(v) What are learners' and educators' conscious and unconscious investments in the gendered positionings they invoke in their talk?	Interviews with educators Interviews with learners	

4.1) Schools and Learners

This study forms part of a broader research project that investigated Life Orientation sexuality programmes in the Western Cape and Eastern Cape. All five of the data collection sources were generated within two schools in the Eastern Cape province. Of the nine provinces in South Africa, the Eastern Cape is one of the largest, yet also one of poorest. The province faces educational challenges with regard to inadequate infrastructure conducive for teaching and learning. Large numbers of learners are accommodated, and teachers lack proper training. Due to these reasons, the Eastern Cape's educational performance is ranked as one of the lowest in South Africa (Bantwini, 2010). With this in mind, the first of the two schools that formed part of the study was Rylands West. The school integrates both primary and secondary phases of learning and is situated in a small rural and farming community forty kilometres away from the closest town. The school building itself is very old, rundown, and not very big, which reflects in the learner population that averages around 150 learners

every year. The majority of the learners come from impoverished backgrounds and most, if not all, are black and isiXhosa-speaking. The school also has a very strong Christian culture, with learners constantly encouraged to abstain from sex. Sexuality education was formally introduced into the school's curriculum through the Life Orientation learning area around 2002.

The second school, Clarins Hill High is situated in a working class area within a town in the Eastern Cape. Historically, under apartheid the school was developed for coloured learners, but has since changed post 1994, with the learner population currently comprised of coloured and black learners. Learners who attend this school come from working- to middle-class homes. Clarins Hill High used to teach predominantly in Afrikaans, but switched to teaching in English since the mid-1990s, and has classes devoted to teaching all subjects in both languages. The school is much bigger than Rylands West Combined School, with an average of over 1000 learners in attendance every year. The school's infrastructure is old and appears to be rundown. A major problem that Clarins Hill High faces is growing numbers of teenage pregnancy each year despite the introduction of formal sexuality education offered through the Life Orientation programme post 2002.

4.2) Component 1

In this section, I outline the data collection process and data analysis involved in answering the first three sub-questions; (see Figure 1) namely, (i) what discourses concerning gender are found in the Life Orientation sexuality education programmes? (ii) What discourses concerning gender are found in the contemporary music that the learners in the school prefer listening to? (iii) How do the discourses concerning gender, found in the Life Orientation sexuality education programmes and contemporary music that learners prefer listening to, dovetail or diverge? In this regard, there are three sources of data that were collected. These include (i) the Life Orientation sexuality education manuals and materials, (ii) the lyrical content and music videos of songs to which learners prefer to listen; and (iii) classroom observations. These three data sources were subject to Parker's (1992) ten criteria for identifying discourse as well as a positioning analysis.

4.2.1) Data collection for component 1

(i) Life Orientation sexuality education manuals and materials

In order to gain access to Life Orientation sexuality education manuals and materials, I consulted with two educators, one from each of the schools, who are responsible for teaching Life Orientation at Grade 10 level, in order to gain a sense of the kind of resources they utilise in order to teach the

sexuality education component of Life Orientation at their respective schools. Each of them mentioned that they relied on one primary source to teach Grade 10 learners sexuality education. The educator from Clarins Hill High relied on *Oxford Successful Life Orientation*, (2011) whilst the educator from Rylands West School used *Shuters Top Class Life Orientation* (2011) as the base for their teaching material. Both sources are referred to as a 'Learners Book' and are approved by the Department of Education as prescribed textbooks for Grade 10 Life Orientation classes. It is also worth noting that each textbook contains fewer than two hundred pages of information and about twenty to thirty of these pages are devoted to sex and sexuality education. In line with my research questions, only the sections on sex and sexuality formed part of the data collection. As mentioned earlier on, this research locates the Life Orientation sexuality education manuals and materials within other discursive practices, which are taken up in formal and informal ways, such as the classroom interactions and the interviews, with educators and learners.

(ii) Lyrical content and music videos

For the lyrical content and music video component of my data collection, I generated a list of the music that Grade 10 learners at the two schools preferred listening to by conducting a survey that I developed (see Appendix A). The survey took the form of a one-page self-administered questionnaire, with instructions at the top of the page asking learners to list their top ten current favourite songs which they had heard on the radio, through their cellphone, watched on TV or the internet. I met with the Life Orientation educators of both schools in order to discuss how the survey would be administered in such a way that did not impact on teaching. At Clarins Hill High, the Life Orientation educator was helpful and kindly suggested that I leave the questionnaires with her, which she distributed to all her Grade 10 educator colleagues who would in turn hand them out in their classes. She was instrumental in carrying out this task, collecting all the completed questionnaires as quickly as possible and then returning them to me. In terms of administration, the questionnaires required very little instruction as they were self-administered. At Rylands West School, however, I was involved in the administration of the questionnaires as there was only one class of Grade 10 learners with eight learners in total. This required a lot less logistics than would have been needed on my part at Clarins Hill High if the educator had not kindly assisted. The Life Orientation educator at Rylands West School kindly made available a date and time for me to administer the questionnaires. Once all the questionnaires (in the region of just over 300) had been collected from both schools I went through them to look for the songs most commonly cited by learners, and from this I selected the top three ones. The songs were: *Climax* by Usher; '*Beez in the Trap*' by Nicki Minaj; and '*Where have you Been*?' by Rihanna. These songs are from the R 'n B, hip hop and rap music genres.

(iii) Classroom observations

In order to organise the classroom observations aspect of my data collection, I met with the Life Orientation educators from both schools to learn about which day/s and at which time/s they teach the sexuality education component of the curriculum, so that I could observe those lessons. The educators drew my attention to an outline of the Life Orientation curriculum, in which it is stipulated that the sexuality education component would be taught during the third term. However, there were areas related to sexuality education such as gender and gendered power relations that were taught during the first term. As a salient area related to my research, I asked the educators if I could also observe these lessons, in addition to the ones I would observe during term three. In speaking with the educators during this time, I emphasised that the point was not to evaluate their teaching, but rather to look at the content of what is taught and how the learners related to this and the educator. This was necessary in terms of reducing educators' performance-based anxiety, related to feeling evaluated by someone from an institution of higher education. I also explained that the observations would not be video- or audio-recorded and nor would I participate in the lesson. Rather, I would find a seat at the back of the classroom and make extensive notes during the lesson. Lastly, I also asked them to alert the class beforehand that I would observe them, as a way of gaining their permission and to gauge if any learners did not feel comfortable with the process, which was not the case in the end.

The observations that I did were used to look at how the dominant gendered discourses, and gendered power relations, found in the Life Orientation sexuality education manuals, were reproduced in the classroom between the educator and learners and amongst the learners themselves. Simpson and Tuson (2003) argue that the act of observing occurs from the perspective of the researcher's subjective world: it includes past experiences of situations related to the current one, and conceptual frameworks with which the researcher is familiar in order to interpret the situation. This view has implications for the observational technique the researcher uses, which influences what kind of information is collected, how it is collected, what it demonstrates and how it is understood by the researcher (Angrosino, 2005; Anderson & Burns, 1989; Mertens, 2005; Parker, 2005; Stocking, 1983; Walford, 2001). Conceptualising, then, the role of the researcher and/or observer within the observed context becomes important. Accordingly, I wanted to observe the behaviour of educators and learners as they occur 'naturally' in the classroom, but I was simultaneously aware of my relation to them, as a stranger, and perhaps someone that they may like to try and impress, and how it might influence their behaviour. Thus, the classroom interactions that I observed might not have been a truly authentic representation of what usually occurs there.

In relation to this, Spradley (1980) identifies five types of participation that characterise the extent to which the observer engages with the observed. These include non-participation, passive, moderate, active and complete participation. My participation was passive in that I was present in the classroom but I did not interact with the educators and learners. Furthermore, Adler and Adler (1994) argue that, as an observer, the researcher occupies membership roles where they exist as an outsider to, but also inside, the observed group. They identify three common roles in relation to this: (1) a peripheral member researcher; (2) an active member researcher; and (3) a complete member researcher. I adopted the role of the peripheral member in that I observed and interacted closely enough with educators and learners to establish an insider's perspective but without participating in the actual classroom activities. This underscores that there can be no pure form of observation as the mere presence and the subjectivity of the researcher will influence what is observed, as aforementioned. Later on in this chapter, I talk to my reflexivity as the researcher, as a way of thinking further about the role that I played in, and thus the influence that I had, on the production of the data collection.

In accordance with the approach taken of the peripheral role as the observational researcher, I used an open-ended qualitative observational technique in order to record the classroom activities. This entailed a process of note-taking, at length, documenting what was happening from the beginning to the end of the lesson. This echoes what Simpson and Tuson (2003) refer to as a 'descriptive' and 'narrative' recording of what is happening in the classroom in that the point is to record as much detail as possible. There were, however, certain parameters that I established which allowed me to focus on specific activities occurring in the classroom. These parameters included; (1) the content of what is taught; (2) the pedagogical approach used; (3) interactions in the classroom; (4) materials used; (5) spatial arrangements; and (6) debriefing with the educator and personal reflections after the lesson. For each of these parameters, I focused on the extent to which constructions of gender and gendered power relations were taken up in the content of the lesson, by examining the educators' approach to teaching, interactions between male and female learners and how they were organised spatially in the classroom.

4.2.2) Data analysis for component 1

I conducted the first component of the data analysis, as aforementioned, on texts generated from the Life Orientation sexuality education manuals and materials, the music videos and lyrical content of the most popular songs amongst the learners (accessed from the internet) and the sexuality education classroom observations. These three sources of data did not need to be transcribed as they already existed as written text. With the exception of the music videos, the videos had to be typed from a video

file into a Microsoft Word document. Parker (1990; 1994; 1999) conceptualises the text as anything that can be given an interpretive gloss, as stated earlier. This has implications for the inclusion of non-traditional texts such as the music videos and classroom observations. Therefore, the music videos are a source of data that can be subjected to a discourse analysis because they can be given an interpretive gloss. However, they needed to be converted into text, as aforementioned, in order to be interpreted for the discourses therein.

In order to perform the conversion of music videos to text, I drew on four ways that Machin (2010) argues that meaning is connoted through music videos as a transcription technique rather than an analytic technique. The four ways I used to transcribe the videos into written text included paying attention to the poses, gaze, objects and setting. 'Poses' are the attributes of the musician/people and the type of relation they create between one other and the viewer. 'Gaze' is how the viewer is invited to look at the musician/people. 'Objects' are items that fill in the video other than the musician or people, such as clothing, make-up, accessories and props. Finally, 'setting' is the place where musicians/people are situated. I went through each shot and frame of the three music videos and documented what was unfolding in terms of pose, gaze, objects and setting.

A corpus, then, of the first three sources of data was generated and subjected to a preliminary and early stage of analysis. This involved coding the data into manageable chunks, organised around dominant gendered discourses, gendered power relations and gendered subject positions. I used codes to chunk phrases, sentences and sometimes paragraphs in order to gain an idea of key themes emerging within and across the corpus of data that talked to discourses, power relations and subject positions.

When coding the data for discourses, Kendall and Wickham (1999) provide clear instructions for how to go about doing so. They remind the analyst not to confuse discourse for language as the former recognises a group of statements whose organisation is regular and systematic, especially in specifying types of objects and subjects. In this way, it was important to code groups of words or chunks of information that had a systematic and regular way of invoking and speaking about objects and subjects. By way of analysis, I also made notes or analytic memos of my general impressions every time a new code was created. I repeated the coding process several times before overarching terms and concepts surfaced, which became a way of streamlining multiple codes. 'Discourse' and 'positioning' represented the terms or conceptual ways I used to summarise the data, especially as these constructs drive the research questions (see sub-questions i, ii and iii). Thereafter, I began cutting and pasting excerpts from the corpus of data, related to the broad conceptual themes, into a Word document, and I

noted the source of the data that the extract came from. This is where the codes that were organised into conceptual themes shifted from a preliminary analysis and required a formal and in-depth analytic framework.

Parker's ten criteria for discourse analysis and positioning analysis

Parker's (1992) ten criteria for identifying discourse and positioning theory informed how I repeatedly went through and developed a list of the extracts that represent different discourses and subject positions. Thereafter, the overarching themes could be analysed for how the discourses and positions that speak to dominant gendered discourses and gendered power relations are constructed and what the implications are for using them. I did not use Parker's approach (1992) exclusively but rather as a broad analytical framework in my research. Along with positioning theory, I drew on other Foucauldian discourse analytic approaches to counter the tendency of Parker's (1992) method to reify discourse in a way that abstracts them from the material conditions that make them possible, which in turn weakens the analysis of power relations (Hook, 2001). This had implications for the classroom observations, which demanded the kind of analysis that would capture the liveliness and discursive nature of a social practice which is in jeopardy of being stripped away if Parker's method was applied straightforwardly.

In an attempt to address this caution, I thus selected what I understood to be parameters that Butler (1997) and Humphreys (1999) use to analyse ethnographic-based research that attempts to maintain the integrity of the multiple voices within and readings of the classroom observations, as a piece of text. The multiple voices in this instance included (i) the researcher; (ii) the subjects under inquiry; (iii) the broader context, and (iv) the reader or user of the findings. I understood these parameters as producing subject positions which are informed by particular discourses, and could thus be applied to a Foucauldian discourse analytic approach. I integrate this below, where the finer details of the analysis are discussed.

Parker's (1992) first criterion specifies the actual text where the discourse is located and the sets of relations that emerge in response to this discourse; namely, the objects and subjects. The second criterion is that the object(s) contained in the discourse rely on the process of objectification and there are two layers involved in this. Firstly, through language, discourse brings objects into being, in the sense that one can know and talk about these objects and the object is thus given a reality. Secondly, the reality that the discourse specifies is that of the discourse itself. This refers to the ways of talking that a text generates about the discourse itself. In other words, the discourse becomes an object that is

subject to discourse analysis. Thirdly, a discourse creates possibilities for specific types of self to enter and speak, write, read or hear the text and it positions individuals as subjects. Put in another way, discourse creates a relationship between the text and the type of person it aims to address. In this relationship, positions of power are offered which allow one to speak, as having certain rights to do so based on the amount of knowledge one has acquired related to the discourse.

The first three criteria, therefore, engage discourse by examining where it is located as text; what objects it speaks about and who the subjects are that it is aimed and not aimed at? However, the aforementioned three criteria can seem vague, and Willig's appraoch (2008) was instructive here; she provides practical ways of engaging these criteria, by asking how the objects are discursively constructed and what discursive resources this allows subjects to draw upon. This speaks to socio-cultural practices within the text that discursively form the objects from which subjects speak.

Furthermore, identifying discursive constructions and resources lays the groundwork in emphasising the role of the context in producing discourse. Parker's (1992) third criterion and Willig's ideas about (2008) discursive constructions and resources are taken up further to include a positioning analysis of how the subject is positioned in relation to discourses that are bound up in social and discursive practices. Subjects exist within a moral order and can reflexively position themselves in automatic and imaginative ways, and/or they can be interactively positioned in relation to other people, events or activities (Davies & Harré, 1990; Van Langenhove & Harré, 1999). Reflexive positioning is a process by which one knowingly or unknowingly positions oneself based on continuous personal narratives one maintains about oneself either privately or shares with others. This can be seen when one shares fragments of one's personal experiences or stories with others in the form of some dialogue or documents it through writing in a diary or an autobiography. Interactive positioning underscores the processes of conversational interaction during which speakers take turns to intentionally or unintentionally position one another. This can be seen between two or more people in setting the tone of a conversation when speaking to one another.

The point is to identify the contradictory reflexive and interactive subject positions that discourses make available, for instance within sexuality education classroom lessons learners and educators take up and/or resist. For the corpus of data, it is important to identify the discourses that enable favourable versus less favourable subject positions, and also the extent to which they are taken up and/or resisted within the text.

Identifying the positions of subjects and the objects they speak of with conviction and truth is reliant on the context that makes the discourse available. The analysis that I conducted thus needed to take into account the material and discursive context of the classroom observations. Rose (1996) is instructive here as he talks about 'problematising' the objects, subjects and positions in terms of the material and discursive practices that render them visible. This involves asking questions, such as, how were learners and educators able to speak in particular ways and how was I able to represent them the way I did, through observation? This allowed me to look at the social and psychological ways of talking that I relied upon in order to construct myself in relation to the educator and the learners in the classroom. I was thus able to step into subject positions that I in turn created as reflexive and interactive ones for myself, the educator and learners in this space. This helped to foreground the material and discursive relations of the classroom observation through the constructions that produced them – as objects, subjects and positions – so that they could be examined from a position that interrogates the present regimes of truth.

Parker's (1992; 2002) next four criteria pay attention to the formal properties of the discourse, in order to develop a richer conceptual account of it. This heightens the tendency to reify discourse, and it was thus important to keep in mind the material and discursive context. The fourth criterion is the extent to which a group of statements within the text can be coherently grouped together to form a set of meanings related to a discourse. The fifth criterion is the way that a discourse draws on complementary and contradictory discourses that create contrasting ways of speaking whilst constituting different objects. The sixth criterion is the reflexivity of a discourse, which entails looking for instances within the text where discourse reflects upon its way of speaking. And the seventh criterion focuses on the historical location of the discourse by asking how and where it emerged, and how it has changed.

Criteria four to six had implications for decontextualising the Life Orientation manuals, even though they represent various imagined ways of constructing objects, subjects and positions. It was important, then, for the analysis to pay attention to the actions, activities and practices that these data enable and/or sanction, in order emphasise the material and discursive context. Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine's (2008) analytical tool related to subjectification was used here, in order to identify practices of self-regulation within the Life Orientation manuals and music, that are formed via technologies of domination by acts of subjection and technologies of the self. This meant paying attention to actions that the self is oriented to, that speak to the personal and moral context of the ability of the self to transform itself within such technological and ethical parameters.

Parker (1992; 2000) proposes three final criteria that underscore the socio-political interests attached to discourse. The eighth criterion focuses on discourse reproducing discursive practices and material relations, propagated by institutions. This entails how such practices reinforce and/or subvert institutions attached to the production of knowledge. The ninth criterion identifies the discourse supported by institutions as structured around, and reproducing, power relations. This involves the extent to which one has access to, or the rights to speak about/on, a particular discourse, and the gains and losses associated with doing so. The final criterion refers to the ideological effects of discourse within the text that not only claim to be truthful, but are understood as unfolding within a particular context and historical period. Macleod (2002) argues that these three criteria go beyond merely describing the discourse, as the first seven do, to deconstructing it in the text. In particular, applying Foucault's view of power is consistent here in that the relations that emerge from the productive forces of power are established, consolidated and circulated through discourse that function as truth (Green & Sonn, 2006). Bacchi (2005) and Cheek (2004) argue that truths represent institutional forms of knowledge and practice that have implications, politically for feminism, for reclaiming marginalised subjectivities. This lends itself to exploring gendered power relations in ways that one can resist, and/or comply, with the normative constructions of gender that are made available through discourses in the texts.

4.3) Component 2

This section outlines the data collection and data analysis involved in answering the last two sub-questions (see Figure 1). These sub-questions are as follows; (iv) what interactive and reflexive gendered positionings do learners and educators invoke when talking about Life Orientation sexuality education programmes and popular music; and (v) what are learners' and educators' conscious and unconscious investments in the gendered positionings they invoke in their talk? There were two sources of data that were collected in order to answer these questions – interviews with both the learners and the Life Orientation educators. The interviews were then subject to a positioning and psychosocial psychoanalytic analysis.

4.3.1) Participants

Learners and educators from both schools constituted the participants of this research. I choose to select learners from Grade 10 based on the National Curriculum Statement for Life Orientation (2008) where sexuality education is covered most extensively in this grade. I selected educators on the basis that they teach Grade 10 Life Orientation classes. I interviewed eight learners: four selected from each

school, with two girls and two boys from each one, which meant that there were four girls and four boys altogether. The age range of learners varied from 16 to 18 years. I selected learners according to those who contributed the most to the richness of discussions during the classroom observations. In addition to this, the Life Orientation educators assisted me with identifying which learners they felt would be the most suitable candidates for the interviews, in terms of the depth of the narratives they could bring when talking about sexuality education. Lastly, I interviewed two educators, one from each school, both Grade 10 Life Orientation educators and both female. Altogether, there were ten participants involved in this component of the research.

4.3.2) Data collection for component 2

(i) Interviews with learners and educators

I interviewed learners and educators at the schools during a time that the educators deemed most appropriate, so that it did not interfere with teaching or learning. I conducted all the interviews within a space of two months, and each interview lasted for about an hour to an hour-and-a-half-long. Also, I interviewed each participant twice, with the second interview being scheduled a week after the first one. During this time, I reflected on the unconscious intersubjective processes that emerged from the first interview, which were explored and clarified further in the second one. This is consistent with a psychosocial approach to interviewing, which I will elaborate upon below. For three interviewees at Rylands West School, I used an interpreter as their first language is isiXhosa.

(ii) The interview process

I produced the type of data during the interviews that satisfied the theoretical constructs of the research questions; namely, educators' and learners' gendered positionings, and their conscious and unconscious investments in such positions. Accordingly, I conceptualised and carried out the interviews in correspondence with discourse analytic work and psychosocial psychoanalytic research methods. I drew on aspects of discourse analytic work to emphasise the conversational and interactional nature of the interviews (Jacoby & Ochs, 1995; Holstein & Gubrium, 1995; Spradley, 1979; Wood & Kroger, 2000).

I understood the interviews as an active meaning-making process where interviewees were seen as constructors of knowledge in collaboration with me. This view of interviewing relies on the understanding that the interview is a site of knowledge construction (Kvale, 1996). That is, the knowledge offered by the participant does not simply exist and is waiting to be elicited, but is actively and subjectively produced in and through the interview encounter (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995; Wood

& Kroger, 2000). This view lent itself to conceptualising the interview as a conversational encounter that created subject positions that were taken up and/or resisted by me and the interviewee. I also relied on psychosocial research methods, specifically Hollway and Jefferson's (2005; 2012) 'free association' narrative interviewing approach, which is based on the principle of encouraging participants to say whatever comes to mind, in relation to a particular topic, such as sexuality education or popular music. This interview technique is designed to elicit narratives where the associations produce pathways to emotional motivations. These emotions are understood as attempts to avoid anxiety that the interview context produces, which Hollway and Jefferson (2012) refer to as 'attempts to defend against anxiety' by consciously and unsconsiously investing in particular subject positions. Therefore, the interview is understood as an intersubjective encounter between the interviewer and interviewee, the latter of whom is seen as a defended subject.

The interviews themselves were semi-structured and divided into five broad focus areas. For the educators, these areas included; (1) the personal and local context of teaching sexuality education; (2) the approach to teaching sexuality education; (3) the perceived outcomes of sexuality education in Life Orientation; (4) the personal and systemic issues related to teaching sexuality education in Life Orientation, and (5) popular music. For the learners, the areas included; (1) gender issues; (2) intimate relationships' (3) school/community issues around sex/sexuality and reproduction' (4) the role that Life Orientation plays in relation to sex/sexuality and reproduction, and (5) popular music. The interviews consisted of eight questions for the learners and seven questions for the educators (see Appendices B and C for the interview schedules). The five focus areas for the interviews also permitted for lines of questioning that were flexible enough to be built up and altered during the course of the interview. New questions or combined questions were added as the interview unfolded, according to the meanings that emerged. I used the interview schedules, then, as guides that facilitated the give-and-take process of me collaborating with the interviewee as active meaning-making subjects, to create a conversational tone.

I reworked the interviews further to include Hollway and Jefferson's (2012) 'free-association narrative interview', where the interviewer frames their questions in the most open-ended way as possible or uses follow-up questions such as, 'tell me whatever comes to mind when I mention sexuality education'. Furthermore, Hollway and Jefferson (2012) liken and adapt 'free association' to the idea of the 'gestalt' of the participants' life story, which I needed to produce during the interviews. Gestalt refers to maintaining the structure of the entire interview, rather than dividing it up, as preserving the 'form' or whole shape points to participants' underlying anxieties, and attempts made to defend

against them. This is the reason why they invest in certain identities, and draw on certain aspects of their life story, during the interview (Hollway & Jefferson, 2012). The process of participants telling their life stories is thus a conscious but also unconscious one.

I also drew on Hollway and Jeffersons (2012) suggestions for a 'life story approach' to interviewing that elicited interviewees' personal biographies as a way of drawing out their gestalt. This helped to show why interviewees defended from feeling anxious, based on their past experiences. In the interviews, I encouraged participants to talk about memories, stories or events in their lives within the focus areas of the interview. I did so by firstly asking open-ended questions that remained close to the interviewees' meaning-making frame. Secondly, I framed my questions along the following lines: "tell me a story", "share an incident/memory", or "talk of a time when". This produced accounts of real events that reflected interviewees' choices, morals, values and significant relationships that are challenging, loving or painful. In this way, the interviewees were invited to colour in the blanks of what they saw as important; their responses, at times, were verbose and tangential, but represented highly personal points. Thirdly, I avoided asking 'why' questions because these kinds of questions tend to elicit rational and intellectual responses that are disconnected from interviewees' actual lives. Lastly, I engaged in active listening by following up on themes important to the interviewees, and using the same words and phrases that they did. My line of questioning remained open-ended to elicit fuller, deeper, and richer accounts of their stories, memories or incidents that spoke to their biography. In this way, I was able to encourage free associations during the interviews without offering interpretations and judgements. I also kept in mind the research agenda, without allowing it to foreclose but rather provide an open-ended structure for their life stories.

According to Hollway and Jefferson (2012), the intersubjective dynamics in an interview produce data that underscore the role of the interviewer in relation to the interviewee, where both are left with strong feelings. This means that the impressions that both parties maintain about each other do not come from the 'real' relationship; rather, what both say and do during the encounter are mediated by internal fantasies that stem from each person's history of significant relationships. Therefore, what is spoken about during the interview, such as life histories, will contain information about both parties' feelings produced in, and about, the interview. In this way, the reflexivity of the researcher, which includes their thoughts about the research relationship, serve as extra data sources against which interview data can be triangulated in order to make interpretations. I documented the intersubjective dynamics of the interviews by making extensive field notes that included my feelings and fantasies regarding the interviewees. In doing so, I drew upon my background as a counselling psychologist to document my

impressions and observations of interviewees. Based on this, I was then able to create profiles for each interviewee including a detailed account of the relationship between me and each interviewee. From this meeting, I established demographic profiles for the interviewees, and what this may have meant for me and the interviewees, that evoked particular emotional responses and precipitated conscious and unconscious intersubjective dynamics. Walkerdine (1997) argues that the interviewer/researcher's feelings, then, comes to produce a certain version whilst opening up the possibilities of reading the interview material. This indicates that the researcher is no different from the subjects of the research, as the interview is read through his or hers feelings and fantasies.

As aforementioned, in terms of the timing between the interviews, I scheduled a second interview a week after the first one. Before the second interview, I listened to the audio recording of the first interview repeatedly. I made extensive notes during this process, and from this I constructed a series of questions tailored for each interviewee that formed the second interview schedule. These questions were largely based on the conflicts or tensions reflected through the contradictions, avoidances or hesitations that emerged from the first interview. The second set of questions intended to explore the conflicts or tensions further. These questions also remained open-ended, and the time between the first and second interview allowed me to reflect on and document the intersubjective dynamics of this encounter.

4.3.3) Data analysis for component 2

The interviews were audio-taped and transcribed using eight of the nine transcription conventions listed by Parker (1992) (see Appendix D). This includes (1) where doubts arise about the accuracy of material, put this in round brackets (like this); (2) when material is omitted from the transcript, use a pair of empty square brackets e.g., [ ]; (3) when clarifying something, use square brackets like this [to help the reader]; (4) when there are noises, words of assents and others, put this in slashes e.g., /hmm/ /yes/; (5) indicate the absence of a gap between one speaker and another with = at the end of one and the beginning of the next utterance; (6) indicate pauses in speech with the number of seconds in round brackets, e.g., (2) for two seconds, and a full stop for pauses less than a second, e.g., (.); (7) indicate an extended sound with colon marks, e.g., ye::s; and, (8) indicate emphasis in speech by <u>underlining</u> those parts of the text. I also included as an additional convention, which was the use of square brackets to indicate tone or feeling, for example [angry tone], from Frosh, Phoenix and Pattman (2003).

As with the first data set, I reaptedly coded the interviews in order to produce broad themes, consistent with interactive and reflexive gendered subject positions that the interviewees took up and/or resisted,

and their conscious and unconscious investments in these gendered positionings. Therefore, I used subject positions and conscious and unconscious investments as conceptual categories in order to organise the themes. Reading for conscious and unconscious investments required further adaptation, which I discuss below.

Positioning Analysis and Psychosocial Psychoanalytic Analysis

Davies and Harré's (1990) positioning analysis was used in order to analyse the dominant gendered discourses and gendered power relations structured at the level of conversational interaction that characterised the interviews. The identification of subject positions here is reliant on the identification of discourses, as outlined earlier and informed largely by Parker (1992; 2002), but also by Willig (1999; 2008), Arribas-Allyon and Walkerdine (2008) and Rose (1996). Therefore, a Foucauldian discourse analysis is still a prerequisite for the positioning analysis, in order to identify the reflexive and interactive subject positions made available through the discourses that are produced in the interview narratives. The difference here is that conversational aspects of positioning are emphasised, but within a Foucauldian conceptualisation of the interview as a discursive event that constructs both interviewer and interviewee as subjects and objects of scientific enquiry, in turn producing a set of power relations. I used a Foucauldian conception of positioning in my research, which is consistent with the work of Davies and Harré (1990). I also identified discourses on gender and sexuality that the interviewee and I reflexively drew upon in order to position each other interactively within our talk in shifting, contradictory and multiple ways.

In terms of positioning and its relation to my research, Davies and Harré (1990) discuss five dimensions, or levels, when looking closer at the process of positioning – the interviewer and interviewee positioning themselves (reflexively) and each other (interactively) – and what it actually entails. Firstly, the words that the interviewee uses will contain images and metaphors that reflect certain/various ways of speaking. Secondly, the interviewee may understand their words or talk as the manner in which one usually speaks on a specific occasion. Thirdly, this specific occasion is understood differently by each interviewee, depending on the availability of competing discourses. Fourthly, the positions the interviewee creates for him/herself and others are contradictory and non-linear and are the possibilities and limitations for what people can and can not do. Lastly, positions may be perceived by the interviewee or others as known roles. Therefore, I conceptualised the interview as a regulatory discursive space where both parties position themselves and each other according to a shared moral location. Power is also seen to operate through discourses that the interviewer and interviewee invoke by taking up and/or resisting certain subject positions.

The positioning analysis, which I drew upon in my analysis, set the tone for analysing interviewees' conscious and unconscious investments in the gendered positionings made available in their talk, by emphasising the socially-constructed nature of this talk. However, in doing so, I had to adapt the coding process further in order to address this set of theoretical concepts. Hollway and Jefferson's (2012) analytical tools for analysing interviewees as defended subjects were instructive at this point. Whilst Hollway and Jefferson (2012) caution against coding because it fragments interviewees' gestalt (as opposed to preserving it) the point was to code interviewees' feelings and the intensity of them in order to situate this within the positioning-analytic framework that draws on Foucauldian discourse analytic work. Therefore, I coded the interviewees' feeling states in order to signal the significance of the material in terms of levels of defensiveness and of anxiety, which informed my reading of possible unconscious investments.

In analysing interviewees' conscious and unconscious investments, I paid attention to the nature of their personal history, and the extent to which their histories pointed to patterns of relating, or particular defensive structures, that supported a particular reading of the text as signalling the investment in particular discourses for defensive purposes. To do this, I had to familiarise myself with the interview transcript material by reading it several times. This was in order to arrive at interviewees' gestalt (a patterning of interviewees' affective life) which would become clearer by looking for inconsistencies, contradictions and absences in their stories that pointed to a motivated story-telling account. A motivated story-telling account refers to story telling that serves a particular purpose, in this case a defensive purpose. I looked for discrepancies in interviewees' stories that reflected an emotional reality that they were defending against because it was too threatening to the self, in accordance with the theory of the defended subject (Hollway & Jefferson, 2005; 2012). I traced interviewees' defended positions by relying on five steps that Frosh and Saville Young (2010) suggest for grounding psychoanalytic interpretations within the text. These steps emphasise that interviewees' conscious and unconscious investments in subject positions are produced by the discursive and social contexts in which they are embedded, and are not based on some pre-existing psychoanalytic reality. The five steps can also be understood as maneuvers or sequential processes that gradually move the analysis from a discursive reading to a psychoanalytic reading of interviewees' emotional investments in particular subject positions. I applied the five steps to a particular extract from each interview, based on stories or life events interviewees spoke about, that were emotionally significant and reflected personally high points in their lives. These steps include the: (i) content, (ii) structure, (iii) interruptions, (iv) linguistic devices, and (v) reflexivity.

The first step, content, refers to identifying the discourses within the text through which discursive positions are made available that the interviewee takes up and/or resists. Through this step I was able to ascertain unique gendered identity positions that resonated with interviewees, based on dominant gendered discourses they drew on in their talk during the interview. The second step, structure, looks at how the interviewee or narrator's story is structured, especially how particular meanings are prioritised over others. Accordingly, I was able to get a sense of interviewees skill as storytellers and the kind of story they constructed that resonated with me, as the listener, in particular ways, for example invoking sympathy. The third step involves paying attention to interruptions in interviewees' story or narrative. This step marks the first phase of the analysis that shifts the reading of the narrative from purely discursive to a psychoanalytic one. The interruptions refer to inconsistencies or contradictions in interviewees' seemingly coherent story lines or narratives that actually pointed to motivated storytelling. Furthermore, the interruptions signaled moments of active meaning making in the face of pressing unconscious material that interviewees defended against because it was too threatening for them. The fourth step looks at the linguistic devices within the text, specifically the narrators's actual words to ground psychoanalytic interpretations by showing how the narrator is positioned in relation to social discourses. This step relied on Lacan's ideas about people not simply using words but how words end up using people or the words people use sometimes have unintended consequences (Frosh & Saville Young, 2010). Hollway and Jefferson's (2012) notion about free association allowed me to trace how the unconscious operates through a logic of its own through interviewees' patterned language usage within their narrative that pointed to particular unintended meanings. For the final step, I relied on my reflexivity as the interviewer, in order to strengthen my psychoanalytic readings of interviewees' stories by elaborating on the interview as a specific intersubjective encounter, within which the narrative was produced. I elaborate on my reflexivity in more detail below.

Using the theory of the defended subject goes hand-in-hand with the interviewer's reflexivity. Reflexivity entails asking how the interviewer uses his/her own subjective knowledge of the interview, and life, to bring out the voice of the interviewee. According to Frosh and Saville Young (2008) reflexivity makes provision for thinking through the interviewer's experience of the interviewee, particularly what the intersubjective encounter could mean for the interviewee's conscious and unconscious investments in specific discursive positions. In this way, the interviewer's position is emphasised in constructing a particular version of the interview, as opposed to representing a fixed reality and objective knowledge. Therefore, the position of the interviewer is not about eliciting the

real or true viewpoint of the interviewee; rather it is about a specific intersubjective encounter, such as the interview foregrounding how the interviewee defends against anxious feelings by investing in particular subject positions. Hollway and Jefferson (2012) also note that reflexivity is also used to strengthen the theoretical convictions about the kind of emotional reality that the interviewee is defending against. An example would be confirming if the interviewee used certain defence mechanisms, like splitting, with the interviewer, in a way that is or is not consistent with others outside of the interview.

5) Reflexivity in discourse, positioning and psychosocial psychoanalytic research

The role of reflexivity in conducting discourse analysis is paramount to thinking critically and continuously about how the production of knowledge is likely to impinge upon the research process. Whilst adopting this analysis allowed me to interrogate the discourses within the texts, as discussed above, it also challenged me to think about competing discourses, and the tendency to privilege some discourses over others. In this way, I represented a very real threat to merely propagating particular discourses, uncritically and unknowingly. It was important for me, then, to reflect on the knowledge that I drew upon to make sense of the texts, but also throughout the research process.

Whilst reflexivity is a salient feature during the analysis it was also pivotal throughout the research process, especially in the preceding stages such as the data collection. For instance, relying solely on the Life Orientation sexuality education manuals and materials as a form of data collection, in order to investigate constructions of gender and power relations, meant limiting the discursive field in which this topic is spoken about in less formal and taken-for-granted ways. Hence, incorporating the popular music that learners listen to and the classroom observations helped to broaden the discursive field and thereby allow for alternative and/or competing discourses regarding sexuality and sexual socialisation to surface. Therefore, a discourse analytic approach sensitised me into thinking reflexively about the knowledge that I drew upon and what this would actually produce at every point in the research, from conceptualising the research questions, literature review and theoretical framework to the data collection and analysis procedures. In this way, the stages that precede the analysis cannot be underestimated for the influence that they have on the type of data that will be produced.

My role as both a researcher and psychologist were instrumental for informing how I collected and analysed the data. These roles are heavily steeped in various academic and scientific discourses that cannot be regarded as an objective and a value-free way of selecting the most appropriate data collection and analytical strategies. In fact, Parker (2002) argues that subjectivity and experience are

spaces for critically engaging with scientific knowledge as an objective source. This inversely allowed me to draw upon the roles that I occupy, as opposed to shying away from them by thinking through how they construct my experience of the world. In relation to this, Walkerdine (1990) talks about the researcher paying attention to their subjective experiences with regard to gender, race and class during the research process, in order to be as rigorous as possible. Engaging with my subjective experience of the data helped to reduce the extent to which power relations were re-enacted between my perceived expert role and the passive role of the research participants. This was especially important for conducting and analysing the classroom observations.

Equally important for all three sources of data is what Wilkinson (1988) refers to as engaging in disciplinary reflexivity: the capacity to reflect on the research one conducts from one's academic discipline. When looking over, observing and analysing the data, I found myself often drawing on psychoanalytic terms and concepts, as well as developmental theory and processes in order to describe participants' patterns of interaction, feelings, images, objects and sounds within and across the data. This was based on my training as a counseling psychologist within community and psychiatric institutions that are driven by psychoanalytic schools of thought.

In relation to this, Rose (1985) talks about the 'psychological-complex' which suggests the reducing of social processes to psychological ones, based on knowledge and practices that psychology produced, in order to establish itself as a legitimately scientific discipline. I was acutely aware of this during my research process. However, I also found myself drawing on social constructionist terminology, which represents the discursive turn within psychology to avoid essentialising social categories, such as gender, that psychoanalysis and cognitive-neurosciences slips into. Therefore, I had to pay attention to what felt like a conflict at times, between psychoanalytic and discursive-steeped discourses surfacing in my mind, in order to explain the data. I had to refrain from allowing these competing discourses to interfere with and/or restrict the data from speaking more naturally, and so I relied on Foucault's necessary and sufficient conditions that make knowledge possible. This meant contextualising the data as thoroughly as I could, but also bringing the competing discourses that surfaced in my mind into conversation about constructing the data in particular ways.

The classroom observations represented more of a physical manifestation of exercising reflexivity, as I was actively involved in constructing these as data. The discourses I drew upon in order to describe the classroom interaction had much to do with how I positioned myself in relation to the educator and learners, which immediately positioned them in relation to me, and vice versa for them. To them, I

represented a middle-class Indian male student from the Department of Psychology at Rhodes University completing a PhD. The educators were aware of this, based on the permission forms and letters of consent that I shared with them, and the introductory meetings held with them. The learners were made aware of this when the educator would ask their permission, no later than a day before, for me to observe them, and again upon introducing me to them on the day of the observation. I dressed in smart-casual attire on every visit to the school, which made me look professional compared to educators who were clad more casually. This distinguished me even further, along with my socio-economic, socio-cultural and racial background, from the communities and schools of the educators and learners, which was very different to the context from which I come. Within the classroom observation context, there may have been several ways I was positioned, based on my position as a young man who comes from a privileged background, is educated and seen as an expert. This impacted on the way in which the educators and learners positioned me and vice versa and therefore I had to be very aware of my position in relation to the educator and learners during the classroom observations, in particular. This had implications for addressing the shifting and contradictory relations of power during the observations between me, the educators and the learners.

During the interviews, my reflexivity was central to analysing learners' and educators' conscious and unconscious investments in the gendered positionings invoked through their talk. Reflexivity here is about the intersubjective dynamics between the interviewer and the interviewee. The copious notes I made throughout the interviewing process, of how the interviewees and I subjectively experienced each other, enabled me to engage and unpack the intersubjective dynamic of the interview more deeply. This type of reflexivity lends itself to making interviewees' emotional worlds come alive, in a way that takes the researcher's subjective experience of the intersubjective encounter very seriously, as it underscores the psychoanalytic notion that one can only know another through one's own subjectivity (Frosh & Saville Young, 2008). At the same time, the reflexivity pays attention to the intersubjectivity of the encounter. This is then triangulated with the interviewee's personal history of significant relationships in order to provide a particular reading of the participant's subjectivity. The interview as a relational context allows the researcher access into the social and discursive worlds of interviewees, in order to illuminate their emotional worlds that are represented through personal investments, conscious and unconscious, in particular storylines or ideas, which reflect broader discourses that specify subject positions that are taken up and/or resisted.

However, relying upon psychoanalytic theory, as a reflexive tool that represents a psychosocial approach to analysing interviewees as defended subjects who consciously and unconsciously invest in

subject positions made available by discourses, can be counter-productive to the overall project of reflexivity. From a strong discursive point of view, psychoanalytic theory struggles to accommodate competing discourses due to narrow and rigid ontological and epistemological claims that individualise and pathologise the self and subjectivity, which immediately privilege and close off interpretations it makes from competing ones (Frosh & Baraitser, 2008; Georgaca, 2005; Wetherell, 2005). In this way, reflexivity can become about justifying interpretive claims that remain psychoanalytically aloof to multiple and contradictory ways of reading the data.

The uncritical use of reflexivity, when drawing on psychoanalytic theory, has implications for allowing the voices of interviewees to speak in ways that challenge the discourse that I use in order to construct them and myself as particular objects and subjects of enquiry. To guard against this, I took steps to ground my psychoanalytic interpretations of the interview material within my reflexivity and triangulated this with evidence from the texts that reflected participants' words. Grounding my psychoanalytic interpretations in my reflexivity and the text prevented me from drawing on psychoanalytic discourse in ways that are top-down, which individualises and pathologises interviewees, and limits competing discourses from drawing out interviewees' material and discursive contexts. In these instances, I tried to avoid the role of the expert interviewer who had access to a discourse that allowed me to establish psychological truths about interviewees. Therefore, my reflexivity talked to the specific intersubjective encounter with participants rather than constructing 'psychological truths' about their conscious and unconscious investments in specific subject positions, and generalising this to other areas of their lives.

6) Validity and reliability

Wood and Kroger (2000) propose a warranting framework for assessing the reliability and validity in discourse analytic research. Discourse analysis is interested in how specific or dominant meanings come to be produced in particular contexts, as opposed to emphasising how such meanings can be duplicated across contexts, and proving the accuracy and truthfulness of meaning. The latter two views reflect the principles determining reliability and validity in empirically-driven research. The former view characterises interpretive-based research, specifically social constructionist research methods, which is consistent with my research. Wood and Kroger (2000) propose criteria for warranting the interpretive claims that a discourse and positioning analysis makes that transcend reliability and reformulate validity. By 'warranting', Wood and Kroger (200) are interested in the capacity of discourse analytic research to demonstrate that the analysis is: (i) sound i.e., based on well-grounded principles or evidence; and, (ii) trustworthy, i.e. the interpretive claims do not only help make sense of

a particular discourse, but also help in understanding intersecting and/or other discourses, for furture work. Furthermore, both these concepts also allude to what Nixon and Power (2007) refer to as establishing a framework for rigour in discourse analytic research. Therefore, sound and trustworthy interpretive claims are about practicing good science rather than replicating claims and establishing truth claims.

The first way to warranting the interpretive claims I made in my research is to reflect on the particular theory that I used, namely, Foucauldian and feminist poststructuralism, in order to analyse the dominant gendered discourses found in sexuality education manuals and the lyrics and videos of popular music. Foucauldian theory underscores the material conditions of possibility, like schools or pedagogical practices that give rise to truth claims where discourses acquire their dominance. This means that the analysis of discourses must be attentive to the socio-discursive context and discursive practices that the texts i.e. sexuality education manuals and popular music, are embedded in, which is what produces and constitutes discourse in the first place. Reflecting on the theory that informs the kind of interpretive claims I made allowed me to develop a discourse analytic approach that took into consideration Foucault's necessary and sufficient conditions in the production of discourse.

Furthermore, the discourse analytic approach I used in my research informed the kind of data I collected and how I went about collecting it. Accordingly, it was important to contextualise sexuality education manuals as a formal medium of sexual socialisation in adolescent lives, within practices and contexts where gendered discourses acquire their dominance over other discourses. As a result, I took the decision to analyse the lyrics and videos of popular music, as a social practice within which adolescent learners are embedded, which is involved in the promotion of gendered discourses that may dovetail and/or differ from the ones found in the sexuality education manuals. Moreover, the sexuality education classroom observations and one-on-one interviews with learners and educators formed part of the data collection in order to examine how dominant gendered discourses and the subject positions that they construct are taken up and/or resisted within these interactive contexts. Therefore, the popular music represented a social practice, whilst the observations and interviews represented discursive contexts, which can be understood collectively as the material conditions where gendered discourses in sexuality education manuals are produced, and aquire their dominance over, or along with, other discourses. Therefore, in reflecting upon the theory, method, data analysis and data collection practices and procedures they are consistent with what Kroger and Wood (2000) refer to as the 'documentation of the data'. This process involves a clear description of all facets of the research, which satisfies the criteria of trustworthiness in making interpretive claims.

The second way of warranting the interpretive claims that discourse analytic work makes is to meet what Wood and Kruger (2000) refer to as the criteria of 'soundness'. The first criterion is 'orderliness', which refers to the step-by-step process of arriving at interpretive claims. In this instance, I relied on Parker's (1992) ten criteria for analysing discourse and other Foucauldian discourse analytic approaches that elucidate the material conditions of possibility under which discourse is produced. I also supplemented the analysis of discourses with a positioning analysis, as mentioned earlier in the chapter, in order to show how learners and educators are reflexively and interactively positioned within discourses as gendered speaking subjects.

The second criterion is 'demonstration', which concerns the steps involved in the actual analysis of extracts from the sexuality education manuals, lyrics and videos to the music, classroom observations and one-on-one interviews that I processed. In the analysis chapters, I demonstrate, by selecting a group of extracts from the data listed above, how they draw upon discourses that construct coherent sets of meaning. These meanings, in turn, construct objects and subjects of knowledge that activate power relations by also partnering with other discourses. Wood and Kruger (2000) argue that demonstration contributes to warranting interpretive claims in two ways. Firstly, it provides an opportunity to check the analysis, by re-doing and refining it and secondly, it helps to ensure the soundness of claims.

Drawing on psychosocial research methods, and on psychoanalytic theory, in particular, in order to analyse interview material for the depth of emotional content, provides an interpretation that discursive approaches fail to achieve. However, what is at stake here is the tendency to deploy psychoanalytic theory in ways that privilege its claims and that individualise and pathologise participants' narratives without actually considering their social location, whilst also constructing the researcher as the expert. Concerns thus arise over the validity and reliability of drawing on psychoanalytic theory in order to analyse the narratives found in interview material. Saville Young (2009) argues that one must attend to the validity and reliability of the interpretive claims that psychoanalysis makes by constantly engaging in reflexivity. The more reflexive one is, the more one actively engages in a process of checking the validity and reliablity of one's interpretive claims, whilst checking validity, in turn, encourages one to be more reflexive.

For this research, I relied partly on reflexivity, as specified earlier by Saville Young, (2009) as a way of using the intersubjective encounter between myself and participants, paying specific attention to the

conscious and unconscious feelings that both parties evoked within each other, based on our personal biographies. Relying on my reflexivity, in order to make sense of interviewees as defended subjects who invest in particular subject positions, raised questions about the validity in making such claims, especially the extent to which these are held as some kind of truth about participants' subjective experiences. Essentially, this speaks to the limits of interpretation, especially in qualitative analysis, in terms of what counts as a valid interpretation. My subjective experiences of participants enabled me to confirm or verify the defensive strategies that they enacted with me that were similar to how they relate with people outside of the interview. However, my reflexivity was not used as a substitute for theory, but from evidence from the text, itself. It thus prompted me to rather think about the meanings that were produced during a specific intersubjective encounter, through my particular viewpoint and position as a young, middle-class man. In this way, I acknowledge multiple interpretations of the interviewees' subjective experiences, but also that a particular situation will constrain the way in which experience is read/understood through this reflexivity.

Other than my reflexivity, I also relied on conventions that Frosh and Saville Young (2010) suggest for using psychoanalytic theory in order to interpret the interview material. Their conventions ground the use of psychoanalysis in order to interpret defensive strategies that the participants used in my research in order to consciously and unconsciously invest in particular subject positions within the text. Therefore, the interview, as transcribed into text, becomes a way of grounding not only the use of psychoanalytic theory, but also the intersubjective encounter where the theory is applied in order to make interpretive claims. In this way, the actual content, structure, interruptions and linguistic devices of the interview are analysed, which limits the interpretation of the text. This strategy is important, however, for validating the interpretations, as it prevents the privileging of psychoanalytic theory that claims to produce objective truths about participants. Therefore, I relied on my reflexivity, as well as grounding my use of psychoanalytic theory within the text, in order to check if my interpretations were valid and reliable.

7) Ethical considerations

This research was granted ethical approval from the Rhodes University Research Projects and Ethics Review Committee (RPERC) and the Rhodes University Ethics Committee (RUEC). The major ethical challenges to this research were broadly related to informed consent, and the risks and benefits associated with subjects' participation due to the subject matter under investigation. The former entailed acquiring subjects' permission to participate in the study, whilst understanding what the

research is about. The latter refers to the ways in which the study may bring harm, distress or discomfort versus what may be gained or seen as positive as a result of participating.

Gaining access to learners and educators required acquiring permission to conduct the research from particular institutional structures and supports. This included the Eastern Cape Department of Education, the principals, grade heads of the schools and parents (see Appendices F and G). These structures represent particular institutional interests that act on the behalf of the participants. It was thus important to think through the aims and objectives of the research and how these could potentially prevent, or make it difficult for, educators and learners to participate within these institutional frameworks. For instance, as sexuality education is the focus of this research, it was important to think about institutions, such as the Department of Education and the schools, as structures involved in potentially sustaining cultural taboos on sexuality. As a researcher, I came with my own understandings of sex and sexuality education that may have potentially, in direct or indirect ways, challenged, or converged with, the status quo of the schools. For instance, Parker and Burman (1993) talk about the power of the researcher as a producer of discourse and the ethics of imposing meanings onto the data. In this way, I had to be mindful of the extent to which my interests did not interfere with those of the institutional structures, and in the process potentially compromise the position of the participants who are immersed in, and regulated by, these structures. It was crucial, then, to approach these structures and participants in a manner that was non-threatening to the views that they maintain about sex and sexuality, by using language that was neutral. (However, it is important to note that using neutral language also invokes particular power relations.) I did this by framing my research as wanting to explore the schools' approach to teaching sexuality and the educators' and learners' thoughts and feelings about Life Orientation sexuality education programmes in general.

Once access to the educators and learners was granted, obtaining their informed consent brought up additional ethical challenges, particularly where the interviews were concerned. When conceptualising the research, it was imagined that asking participants to talk about stories, memories or events in their life broadly related to sex and sexuality would be rather anxiety-provoking and may cause them discomfort. Therefore, it was important to address this by assuring participants that their participation was voluntary, that they could drop out of the study at any point, that they could decline from answering questions that made them feel uncomfortable, and that they would be promised confidentiality. Providing these parameters were important in order to protect participants from any harm that the interview posed. My role as a registered counselling psychologist helped to provide emotional containment and holding when the interviews elicited distressing, painful or traumatic

experiences that occurred in participants' lives because of the subject matter. In such instances, it was important for me to have a list of resources to which participants could be referred if they needed further assistance such as counselling. One such instance arose which I will discuss in detail, below.

By way of context, Hollway and Jefferson's (2012) free association-based narrative interviewing technique informed how I elicited participants' life histories. This style of interviewing is adapted from psychoanalytically-driven clinical contexts into one that can be used in research, and explores participants' emotional realities, as reflected through conscious and unconscious investments in particular discourses. However, this type of interview may leave the participant feeling as though he or she may have disclosed more than they originally wanted to or imagined. Semi-structured interviews, in general, may also elicit highly personal information, as the questions are open-ended. This was something that I was quite struck by: after the interviews, many participants remarked that it felt like a counselling session. In response to this, an ethical question that comes up is: how are participants' interests to be protected from an interview that provokes unconscious material, which was originally adapted for a clinical context such as therapy? In this instance, it was important for me to be clear with the participants about what the interview would focus on. I explained to participants well before the day of the interview that I would ask questions related to sexuality education and popular music that would touch on past events, memories and experiences from their personal life. Furthermore, I also informed participants that if the interview brought up any topics which made them feel uncomfortable, they could stop the interview immediately or simply refrain from talking about that particular topic. There is also the question of the benefits for participants, which talks to the interview as a space where learners, in particular, and educators, could talk about topics, such as sex, that are considered taboo in their community. In this way, the interviews where seen to benefit the learners and educators by functioning as a space where participants could feel heard, understood and empowered, when given the chance to express their concerns that converged with the topic under investigation, i.e., sex and sexuality, in this case.

The interviews brought up much anxiety for one participant, in particular: a Grade 10 female learner who disclosed that she was raped two years ago whilst she talked about what it feels like to be a girl in school. It became clear that the interview provided a space to talk about this traumatic event, about which she had not spoken to anyone else, except to family and the police. I recalled feeling guilty for eliciting this highly personal and painful event in her life but I also felt that it was something important in her life that she may have wanted to talk about consciously or unconsciously. It was important for me to contain and normalise strong feelings of sadness and anger that surfaced during this interview.

In this instance, I had to be very careful about taking up multiple and conflicting roles that would cause the interviewee harm. I was, first and foremost, in the interviewing context a researcher, and it was important for me not to confuse this with doing therapy. However, it was also my ethical duty and responsibility to provide emotional containment, which Hollway and Jefferson (2012) acknowledge when conducting 'free association' narrative interviews, as the interview elicited a traumatic experience from her personal history. It was important, then, for me to refer this interviewee for further counselling, and because there was a pending court case I contacted FAMSA (Families South Africa – a non-profit organisation that provides relief for families with regard to HIV/AIDS, domestic violence, poverty, counselling and legal support and/or representation) to provide support throughout this emotionally-taxing process when it arose. In this way the interview also represented a space for talking about painful and difficult life events or experiences that the interviewee may have forgotten, blocked out or repressed. This becomes an avenue for them to take this up further, which may have a positive impact in their interpersonal, occupational and social functioning in the long run.

Another ethical issue that arises, from adapting interviews for research purposes that analyses conscious and unconscious investments, is the tendency for psychoanalytic theory to individualise, pathologise and foreclose participants' life histories. Hollway and Jefferson (2012) propose three principles in response to this: 'honesty', 'sympathy' and 'respect'. Firstly, the interview data must be approached honestly and openly in that interpretations must be based on the evidence from interviewees' available biography, the interviewer's reflexivity, and the interview text itself, whilst not ignoring contradictory evidence. This has implications for limits on the truth value of interpretive claims when applying the theory of the defended subject. Secondly, interviewees' responses must be approached with sympathy in that the interviewer must situate themselves alongside interviewees by using familiar self-knowledge and difficulties in order to understand their inconsistencies and anxieties (Hollway & Jefferson, 2012). Lastly, the interviewer must approach the interviews with respect by paying close attention to, and carefully observing, the interviewees' responses. Respect, in this sense, refers to noticing what is usually overlooked, as well as things that may be too painful to notice. This is closely related to the psychoanalytic notion of recognition: to achieve a differentiated self, one needs recognition from an independent other who is objective of one's own omnipotent wishes (Benjamin, 1995) in the same way as the interviewee is to the interviewer.

My role as the researcher during the sexuality education observations posed another ethical issue with regard to informing the educator and learners of my role in relation to them - without being deceptive. Mulhall (2003) argues that informing participants about the researcher's role and the extent to which

this entails some form of deception are constant ethical problems that researchers face during observations. Mulhall (2003) asks how informed participants can really be. This is especially difficult when the researcher needs to be as open-ended as possible when informing participants about the observations so that they do not end up influencing the participants' behaviour, in accordance with specific parameters that the researcher uses in order to guide his or her observations. For instance, I informed educators and learners that my role was to sit in on, and observe, the sexuality education lesson, whilst not as a participant in the lesson. However, I did not inform educators and learners about the specific parameters I used to guide my observations, such as the content of what is taught, the pedagogical approach used, the interactions in the classroom, the materials used and the spatial arrangements of the classroom. The point was to observe how sexuality education lessons normally unfold, without influencing the educator and learners to behave in particular ways, as far as possible. However, the mere presence of the rersearcher during the lesson makes this hard to achieve, as it already sensitises participants to the role of an outsider, resultantly influencing their behaviour in some way. It was important for me to inform the educator and learners of my role as an observer in a way that was open-ended, whilst not alerting them to the parameters that I used as a guide. Therefore, I kept this information away from learners and learners in order to observe the extent to which each parameter invoked constructions of gender and sexuality, as naturally unfolding as possible, without influencing them from producing socially-desirable responses. This meant that participants could not be completely informed of my role as the observer.

8) Conclusion

Applying and adapting theoretical constructs, and potentially competing ones, too, – that of discourse, positioning, and conscious and unconscious investments – for methodological purposes requires considerable scrutiny. Drawing on integrated theoretical and methodological frameworks has implications for the research one generates and the extent to which this maintains a way for discussing a particular topic, such as Life Orientation sexuality education and popular music, that includes multiple levels of analysis. In broadening the analysis, I explored how the theoretical constructs challenge and enrich the kinds of data that are generated. This was also useful for dialoguing between the three constructs – discourse, positioning and conscious and unconscious investments – that extended how each has been applied and adapted methodologically, and how they can be enhanced when proposing alliances between seemingly different theoretical paradigms. The data collection and analysis of this research was an illustration of how this can be achieved. The role of reflexivity was, and is, instrumental to applying theoretical constructs for methodological purposes that challenge the very claims that they make.

The first challenge was adapting Parker's discourse analytic approach so that it took into consideration Foucault's necessary and sufficient conditions for the production of knowledge within the corpus of data. This pertained to identifying discourses in such a way so that I did not isolate them from the discursive and material contexts that are also responsible for their production. Secondly, augmenting Parker's (1992) discourse approach with Davies and Harré's (1990) positioning analysis highlighted the discursive and interactional context, where discourse offers subject positions that people can take up and/or resist that allows them to speak with authority and legitimacy. Again, in using positioning as a discursive process, I had to be cognisant of wider material conditions and contexts that inform the positions one can speak from in the first place. Thirdly, taking positioning further to include Hollway and Jefferson's (2012) idea of conscious and unconscious investments, the analysis emphasised subjects' anxieties related to their emotional experiences and personal histories.

The common challenge to applying and adapting all three theoretical constructs was the extent to which these abstract concepts engage with the social contexts from where the corpus of data is derived. Foucault was instructive, in terms of continuously orienting the data collection and analysis to the conditions that make knowledge possible and endow them with truth, which in turn pays attention to the historical nature of the social context. The conditions under which knowledge becomes possible was taken up further in order to include a positioning analysis that underscores interactive contexts, such as the classroom, which constructs subject positions that mediate personal experiences. Furthermore, a psychosocial psychoanalytic analysis emphasises the interactional context as an intersubjective encounter, where knowledge is mediated at the level of emotional and socio-personal experience.

In terms of next four chapters, I apply the integrated theoretical framework in Chapter Five, and the corresponding methodological approach put forth in this chapter, in order to analyse four themes that emerged across the data set: Chapter Seven – responsible sexuality, sexual risk, choice and rights; Chapter Eight – sexual, romantic dating and/or relationship pleasure; Chapter Nine – the transitioning heteronormative adolescent; and, Chapter Ten – gendered power relations, roles and raunch culture.

Chapter 7 Responsible Sexuality, Sexual Risk, Choice and Rights

1) Introduction

In this chapter, I analyse the notion of responsible sexuality, a dominant theme that found expression alongside other equally pervasive themes such as sexual risk, sexual choice and sexual rights. Collectively, these themes featured in the Life Orientation sexuality education manuals, sexuality education classroom lessons, and the individual-based interviews with educators and learners but they were markedly absent from the music voted most popular by learners. This chapter is divided into three sections that analyse, (1) four intersecting discourses – responsible sexuality, sexual risk, choice and rights; (2) the interactive and reflexive subject positions these discourses collectively make available that were taken up and/or resisted by educators and learners; and, (3) a Life Orientation educator's conscious and unconscious investment in one such subject position.

In the first section, I analyse coherent sets of meaning for each discourse. The responsible sexuality discourse constructs a set of meanings on the enormity of decision-making and sexual readiness that featured in the Life Orientation manuals, classroom interactions and the educator-based interviews. The sexual risk discourse constructs a set of meanings on risky behaviours and outcomes, and the incitement to risk management that appeared in the manuals, classroom interactions and learner-based interviews. The choice discourse constructs a set of meanings based on the knowledge needed to make correct choices, and the best choice – the incitement to abstain – was made available in the manuals and educator-based interviews. Lastly, the rights discourse, which constructs a set of meanings on the incitement to know your sexual rights, featured solely in the manuals.

For the second section, I analyse three sets of subject positions; the responsible sexuality discourse produces the first two sets while the discourse on choice produces the last set. These subject positions include; (i) the maternal and saviour subject positions that were reflexively taken up by educators during interviews; (ii) the moral authority subject position that was reflexively taken up once again by educators during classroom interactions; and, (iii) the sexually active and sexually abstinent subject position that learners reflexively took up and interactively positioned other learners during individual-based interviews. Lastly, in the third section, I analyse an educator's conscious and unconscious investment in the saviour subject position, made available by the responsible sexuality discourse that she drew upon through her talk during an interview.

2) Discourses

2.1) The responsible sexuality discourse

A responsible sexuality discourse was consistently invoked, not only in the Life Orientation manuals, but also in the classroom observations, and learners' and educators' talk during the interviews, all of which related to sex and sexuality education programmes. This discourse converges around two coherent sets of meaning: *(i) the enormity of decision making* and *(ii) sexual readiness*.

(i) The enormity of decision-making

Jones (2009) and Kemmis, Cole, and Suggett (1983) argue that decision-making in sexuality education aims to promote sexuality skills and knowledge as a matter of personal choice amidst learners' perceived lack of knowledge and skills. This is in order to protect their self-interest. This set of meanings on decision-making can be seen in the following extracts, taken from the Life Orientation manuals that the Grade 10 educators in my research use in their classrooms.

> Extract 1.1
>
> It is natural for teens in a dating relationship to think about a sexual relationship. Wanting to have sex, not wanting to have sex, and being confused or scared about it are all normal. Choosing to have sex is a big decision. [Attwell et al., 2011, p. 106]
>
> Extract 1.2
>
> It is important to make the decision that is right for you. There are many questions to ask yourself before deciding. [Attwell et al., 2011, p. 106]
>
> Extract 1.3
>
> The consequences of beginning a sexual relationship are lifelong. Before deciding to have sex with a partner, you need to consider the following: [Doubell et al., 2011, p. 112]

In Extract 1.1, the manual naturalises and normalises sexual relationships as something that all "teens" think of and are ambivalent about. However, the sentiments concerning having sex as "natural" and "normal" are followed by the warning that it "is a big decision". "Big decision" does little to normalise and naturalise sex; rather the phrase pressurises learners not to feel ambivalent about choosing to have sex. Extract 1.2 emphasises that there is a "right" decision to be made "for you", which implies that there are wrong decisions - which the text does not mention. In Extract 1.3, considering "many questions" before "deciding" to have sex suggests there is a decision-making process learners should go through in order to arrive at the right one. Extracts 1.1 and 1.2 invoke the neo-liberal subject capable of exercising individual choice. The Life Orientation manuals, then, construct learners as right

or wrong decision-making subjects which in turn positions them as either sexually responsible or irresponsible subjects.

The extracts below look at the enormous weight that educators are encouraged to place on decision-making as a coherent set of meanings to talk about responsible sexuality, which arose during a sexuality education lesson and individual-based interviews respectively.

> Extract 1.4
> [S]he (the educator) alerts the class to a short story on page 105 of their textbooks, in order to illustrate the idea of a life role. The story is about a young girl who has a baby and she comes from a very poor family who struggles to help her look after her child, as well as the father of the child, her boyfriend, who is uninvolved… The teacher then goes on to ask the class what decisions the girl made that changed her life forever. [Classroom observation taken from Ryland West School]

> Extract 1.5
> That is something I always tell them. When you want to have sex you have to think hard about it, why. You know and do you trust this person and do you love this person. And are you just going to have sexual intercourse with this one person, = /uh huh/ = you know. So I always tell them it's a big decision and it's a responsibility, and I also always tell them that there is enough time for that, you know. [Interview with educator: Mrs Buckley]

> Extract 1.6
> **OK. So what would you say are your goals to teaching sex education to Grade 10s –your personal goals to teaching sex to Grade 10s? What are they? What do you want them to take away from, or what do you want to give them?**[5]
> I want them to be responsible citizens.
> **Responsible citizens?**
> Yes. I want them to be... at least to be responsible. To, to know what is right and what is wrong. [Interview with educator: Mrs Mazibuko]

In Extract 1.4, the educator engages learners in the decision-making process by alerting them to a case study on a "young girl" who became a young mother because she chose to have sex – which is highlighted as the wrong decision. For Mrs Buckley, in Extract 1.5, having "sexual intercourse" is a "big decision" and a "responsibility", as is the case with Mrs Mazibuko, who says that responsible decision-making means differentiating between "what is right and what is wrong." As proponents of the sexuality education curriculum, educators place enormous weight on responsible decision-making.

[5] The bold font indicates my words as the interviewer.

They are actively involved in constructing learners as sexually responsible or irresponsible, based on making right or wrong decisions.

(ii) Sexual readiness

Sexual readiness is the second coherent set of meanings that the responsible sexuality discourse makes available and it talks to learners' self-knowledge with regard to knowing when they are ready to have sex (Ahscraft, 2006). The extracts below are from the Life Orientation manuals:

> Extract 1.7
>
> Are you ready for sex? [Attwell et al., 2011, p. 106]

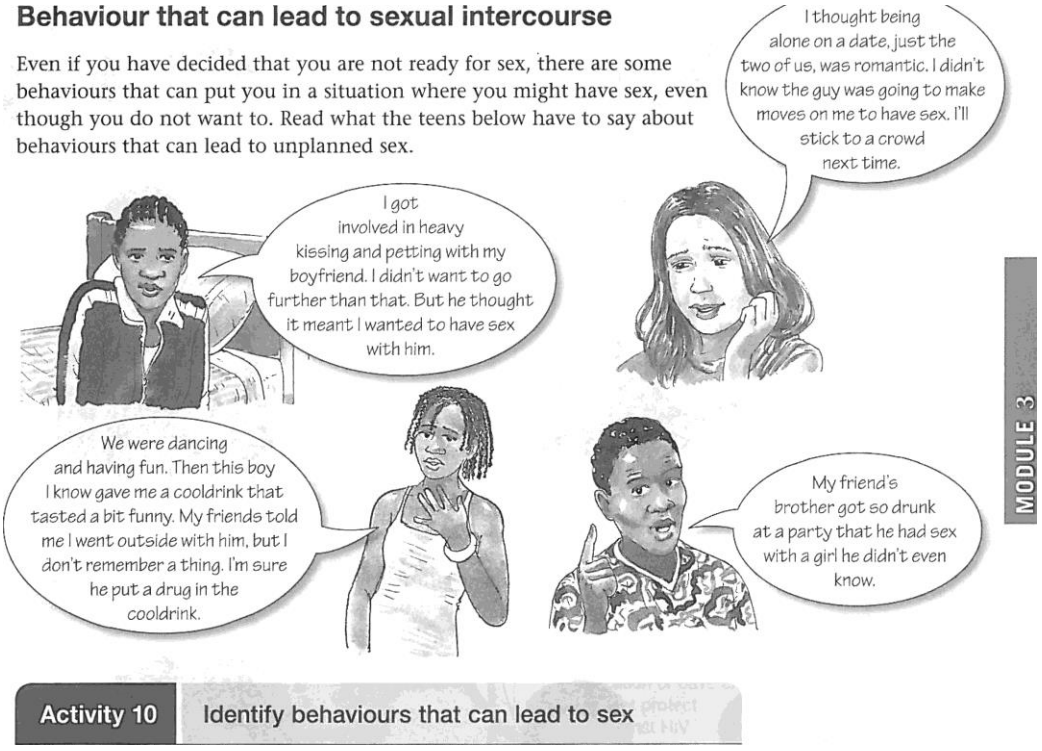
> Extract 1.8
>
> Before deciding to have sex with a partner, you need to consider the following:
>
> 1) How do you know you are ready?
>
> 2) Why do you want to have sex? Is it because you are ready for a lifelong commitment to one partner, or is it because you want to prove yourself to your friends, for example?
>
> 3) What does your decision about sex say about your self-esteem?
>
> 4) What contraception will you use? Where will you get this contraception? What are the risks involved with using this contraception?
>
> 5) What about HIV? Do you and your partner both know your status? [Doubell et al., 2011, p. 112]

> Extract 1.9
>
> If you do not feel ready for sex, you need to say "No". This is not always easy to do. [Attwell et al., 2011, p. 107]

In Extract 1.7, the sub-heading in the manual, "Are you ready for sex?" presupposes that there is a way to know when "you" are ready for sex. Accordingly, it makes demands on learners to know if they are ready or not. The subheading, then, constructs a particular kind of self-knowledge, based on sexual readiness, that learners must acquire if they are to be sexually responsible. In Extract 1.8 is a questionnaire, deployed to help learners discern if they are sexually ready, by posing questions based on undesirable consequences, for the most part, related to having sex. These questions do not provide learners with actually knowing when to have sex, but rather pose a range of (negative) scenarios to dissuade learners from having sex. In this way, learners are invited to know their sexual readiness as premised on the undesirable outcomes of having sex, rather than desirable ones. Extract 1.9 helps learners say "No" to sex, as the desirable choice,

especially when previous extracts talk to the undesirable consequences of having sex. Therefore, learners' knowledge about sexual readiness is not really about being sexually ready but rather about not having sex. The extracts here thus construct the knowledgeable subject, who is also the sexually ready or prepared subject, as opposed to an unprepared subject who is likely to have sex. Constructions of gender are also subtly woven into the set of meanings on sexual readiness based on the illustration in the Life Orientation manual below.

Figure 1.1[6]



[Attwell et al., 2011, p. 107]

In Figure 1.1, the redundancy of the idea 'choosing not to have sex' – repeated at the start and end of the first sentence in the contextual paragraph – activates the sexually knowledgeable and prepared subject who is also a responsible decision-making subject. Afterwards, this subject is read through the narratives of three young women who talk of a "boy"/ "boyfriend"/ "guy" wanting sex, whilst the young women did not. In these instances, the young women are constructed as sexually uncertain, but represent the sexually prepared yet responsible subject, based on their decision not to have sex. On the other hand, young men are constructed as sexually certain but are unprepared because their decision to have sex is irresponsible. This is reinforced

[6] Permission has been granted from the publishers to reproduce images from the Life Orientation manuals used in this thesis.

when the young man is constructed as sexually reckless because he had sex at a party in a drunken state with an unknown woman. In all four narratives, young men are depicted as unable to say no to sex, as they lack the self-knowledge concerning sexual readiness that would prepare them to say "No" and it also suggests that they may have uncontrollable sexual desires.

The gendering of sexual readiness and self-knowledge is also reflected with an educator, as can be seen in the extract below.

> Extract 1.10
> With sex, I would say, you must be able to say no, until you are ready; when you are ready, and if the boy respects you, he needs to respect you or your opinion also, *nê*? There's no way of him forcing you to do what you don't want to do. I mean, be able to say no. I mean, those things, em, they help them a lot, even with boys, *nê*? When the girl is not ready, you cannot force the girl to do that; to have sex with you when she's not ready. [Interview with educator: Mrs Mazibuko]

In Extract 1.10, the educator constructs young women as sexually uncertain because they do know when they are ready, whilst young men are positioned as sexually certain. In this way, sexual responsibility falls on young women, based on uncertainty about having sex, so they can know with certainty how to say no and that they want to say no. Alternatively, young men are excused from sexual responsibility because they are certain about having sex; they have made up their minds and cannot be persuaded to say no.

2.2) Discourse of sexual risk

Woven into the responsible sexuality discourse, the sexual risk discourse constructs two coherent sets of meaning on: *(i) risky behaviours and outcomes* and *(ii) an incitement to risk management*. These will be explored below.

(i) Risky behaviours and outcomes

Moran (2000) argues that sexual risk is used in sexuality education in order to conceptualise sexuality as a site of danger. This in turn constructs learners as subjects who are at risk of contracting diseases and falling pregnant. The set of meanings on risky behaviours and outcomes can be seen in the extracts below, taken from the Life Orientation manuals and a classroom observation.

Extract 1.11

Sex can cause an unwanted pregnancy, HIV or other sexually-transmitted infections. Some teens have sex because they feel pressure from their friends or the person they are going out with. [Attwell et al., 2011, p. 106]

Extract 1.12

One of the consequences of sexual intercourse can be pregnancy. Most teen pregnancies are unplanned and most teens are not ready to be parents. [Attwell et al., 2011, p. 108]

Extract 1.13

The average length of a relationship among young adults is six months. If a teenage has sex with a new partner every six months, how many people will she/he have had sex with by the time she/he is 30? Their chances of contracting a sexually transmitted infection such as HIV would be quite high. [Doubell et al., 2011, p. 112]

Extract 1.14

She [the educator] says that if they [learners] are not ready and they have sex they may find themselves in a situation where will want commit suicide, shatter their dreams, and worry their parents. [Classroom observation from Ryland West School]

Extract 1.11 lists the negative outcomes of having sex that arise from behaviours such as "teen" "pressure"; sex is described as leading to an illness or pregnancy and is depicted as a risk. In Extract 1.12, one consequence in particular is that of falling pregnant, and thus it is depicted as one of the risks of having sex. Furthermore, the words "unplanned" and "not ready to be parents" invoke a lack of decision-making and sexual readiness, with "parenthood" being mentioned as another incurred sexual risk. Extract 1.13 outlines another outcome of having sex – that of "HIV". The extract relies on probability to emphasise promiscuity, as a risky behaviour, by the age of 30 if a teenager has sex with a new partner every six months. In Extract 1.14, sex as a risky behaviour is taken up in the classroom. The educator warns learners of the negative outcomes: it may "shatter their dreams" perhaps prompting them to "commit suicide" and their sexual behaviour will "worry their parents". These extracts construct the sexual risk-taking subject, that positions risk-taking learners moreover as pregnant teens, parents, HIV-stricken, failures, suicidal and burdensome. These 'risky' subject positions are intended to inform decision-making and sexual readiness and to persuade learners to delay having sex, which is constructed as the responsible thing to do.

The emphasis placed on the risky behaviours and outcomes related to sex, particular by educators, is echoed in the extracts below from individual-based interviews with learners. This was in response to my asking them what they had covered in Life Orientation lesson with regards to sexuality education.

> Extract 1.15
> /Umm/ (.) they will just tell you that don't have sex. You're still young! = ok = Wait until you get married. That's what they cover in sex education. [Interview with learner: Siya]

> Extract 1.16
> Abstinence! You're gonna have babies! [Interview with learner: Thami]

> Extract 1.17
> It's always the negative things. Like Anele [another male learner who was present at the focus group interview for boys] said pleasure is not covered. [Interview with learner: Bongani]

All of the above three extracts illustrate how learners talk of the emphasis that educators place on sex as a risky behaviour with negative outcomes that should be averted. The learners' comments indicate that educators would be inclined to depict sex as risky in order to position them as either sexually responsible or irresponsible subjects.

(ii) An incitement to risk management

Carlson (1992) mentions that sexual risk in sexuality education is also involved with constructing learners as well-informed individuals who are capable of managing their sexuality. The second set of meanings on the incitement to risk management is articulated in the Life Orientation manuals, and also noted in a classroom observation, as seen below.

> Extract 1.18
> Having sex in the right relationship can make you feel good about yourself but in many situations it can make you feel worthless and ashamed. [Attwell et al., 2011, p. 106]

> Extract 1.19
> If you have an unplanned pregnancy, you will need to deal with it. You and your partner will need to make some hard choices. One of your options is to accept the responsibility and keep the baby. [Attwell et al., 2011, p. 108]

Extract 1.20

And if he has sex with his girlfriend then she may fall pregnant, which is a bad thing. Then, she writes on the black board: "Stay away from nightclubs, unsupervised parties, late night meetings, clubs, shebeens, taverns and bars. Avoid being alone with someone who is physically attracted to you." She engages the class in a discussion, minimally so, and goes on to emphasise the dangers of being in a relationship and talks about dangerous situations like rape and having one's drink spiked at a party. [Classroom Observation from Clarins Hill High]

In Extract 1.8, the manual stipulates that sex should take place in the "right relationship". A sense of right and wrong is established with the incitement to find the right relationship in order to manage the risk of feeling "worthless and ashamed", without what is considered "right" being discussed. Extract 1.9 flags managing the risk of falling pregnant in that learners are told they "will need to make some hard choices". The incitement to accept the responsibility of having a baby is flagged as the only option. Abortion or giving the baby up for adoption are not mentioned, nor is the encouragement of contraception as a preventive measure. In Extract 1.20, managing sexual risks is emphasised in the classroom as the educator incites learners to stay away from "nightclubs", "unsupervised parties", "late night meetings", "taverns", "shebeens" and, obscurely enough, from "someone who is physically attracted to you." However, these behaviours and situations do not explicitly tell learners to stay away from sex. Rather, there is an implicit incitement to manage the risks mentioned above. Collectively, these extracts construct learners as managers of risk.

2.3) Discourse on choice

The choice discourse constructs two coherent sets of meaning that are found within the sexuality education material. These include (*i) the knowledge needed to make correct choices* and *(ii) the best choice – the incitement to abstain*.

(i) Knowledge needed to make correct choices

The extracts below are from the Life Orientation manuals and they talk to what Haffner (1992) refers to as sexuality education. This draws on a wide range of topics, such as contraception, in order to equip learners with the knowledge to make the right choices regarding their sexual health.

Extract 1.21

Condom

What is it and how does it work?

For men, a rubber latex sheath that fits over the erect penis. For females, inserted in the vagina to cover the uterus. Condoms prevent sperm for (from?) entering the uterus.
Chances of getting pregnant:
3% when you use it correctly every time
12% if you do not use it correctly
Less than 1% if used with sperm-killing foam every time [Attwell et al., 2011, p. 109]

Extract 1.22
Oral Contraceptive Pills – the Pill
What is it and how does it work
Artificial hormone pills that contain oestrogen and progesterone that are taken daily to stop the ovaries from releasing eggs. Progesterone-only pills thicken the mucus in the cervix to prevent sperm from reaching the uterus. It also thins the uterine lining to prevent the implantation of an egg.
Chances of getting pregnant:
Less than 1% when taken daily
3% if you miss a pill [Attwell et al., 2011, p. 109]

Extracts 1.21 and 1.22 illustrate that they anticipate that teenagers are, or will become, sexually active as they prove knowledge on two types of contraception – a "condom" and "the Pill" which they assume teenagers will find helpful and appropriate. It is interesting to note that the two types of contraception are discussed in terms of the definition, function and the risks involved with becoming pregnant, which is strengthened by claims based on statistics. This represents scientific knowledge that the manual relies on as it is considered valid and truthful statements that should inform learners' choice of the correct type of contraception to use, which will reduce the risk of pregnancy. This is in accordance with the conceptualisation of learners as responsible sexual subjects, based on the idea of the neo-liberal subject who is capable of exercising individual choice, particularly the correct one. These extracts construct learners, firstly, as sexually active subjects who should avoid pregnancy. Secondly, the extracts construct the knowledgeable and informed subject, who, by implication, is also sexually responsible.

(ii) The best choice – the incitement to abstain

Despite the manuals constructing knowledge to help learners the make correct choices with regards to having or not having sex, they ultimately construct a coherent set of meanings on what the best choice is. These meanings pay lip service to choices in the first place, which can be seen in the extracts below.

Extract 1.23

Some choose to abstain from sex for religious reasons, while others abstain because they do not feel ready to date seriously, or because they are scared of the consequences. [Attwell et al., 2011, p. 106]

Extract 1.24

By now you should know that the best method of contraception is to say "no" and to abstain from sex until you are ready for the responsibilities of parenthood. But because many teens today are sexually active, it is important to know about different methods of contraception and how they work. This information will help you to make the right lifestyle choices. [Attwell et al., 2011, p. 109]

In Extract 1.23, the manual refers to abstinence as a choice – "some choose to abstain" based on "religious reasons", "sexual readiness" and/or feeling "scared of the consequences." However, in Extract 1.24, the manual remarks that, "by now" learners "should know" that abstinence is "the best method", which presupposes that this is the "best" choice. Moreover, and implicit in this extract, is that sex is reserved for when you are ready for procreation, which overrides information provided on contraception, evidenced in the same manual, seen in Extracts 1.21 and 1.22. In Extract 1.23 and 1.24, the manual also differentiates between the "sexually active" "teens" of "today" from the "teens" that "choose to abstain", especially when abstinence is described as the "best" choice. These extracts construct the sexually abstinent teen versus the sexually active teen. The former is sexually responsible whilst the latter is not.

The extracts below are from individual-based interviews with educators that contribute to the incitement to abstain.

Extract 1.25

I just showed them once how a female condom looks = **Right, right**. **How did that go?** = What do you call it? The finger? It's a small little condom that you can put on your finger = **I'm not sure, I'm not sure** = She showed me this thing and I went to show them = **How did they respond?** = I just kept my cool. That's why I say with some things I'm fine because it won't (2) I try to be knowledgeable about what's going on because the youngsters live in another era and they see. [Interview with educator: Mrs Buckley]

Extract 1.26

That you need to have one partner, and that was goes a long way, *mos*, if you want to choose a partner for you; partner for life. If you cannot have so many partners because nobody's going to be interested in you. = /**Um-hm**/ = Because the males, they get it from you. They can watch you. The way you grow up.

> The way you do things. Even if the one was going to be interested in you, when... if he sees that you have got so many partners, he won't be interested in you. So you need to behave in a certain way.
> **OK, and what about the other way around; if men who have many partners?**
> With men, that's in their... I don't know if it's in their culture or what, but men they... that's what they do until they settle down. = /**OK**/ = Until they settle down they keep on searching until they settle down… Yes, but a woman, a lady, I mean, take it from me. There's no way that you can have boyfriends. Even if you hear that your boyfriend has got a woman, you don't mind. Yes, you'd fight over him, but it's him who's having girlfriends. It's not you. You should at least be faithful to your husband. [Interview with educator: Mrs Mazibuko]

In Extract 1.25, Mrs Buckley's comment draws on the knowledgeable and informed learner who is aware of the choices of contraception made available to them. She is able, then, to speak of the sexually active teen, a position she seems not to favour based on her anxiety and discomfort -as evidenced by her remark about how she "kept [her] cool" when talking about condoms. By default, she seems to favour the sexually abstinent teen, especially as she feels that the sexually active teen comes from "another era", which indicates that she finds it uncommon. In Extract 1.26, Mrs Mazibuko invokes similar subject positionings to Mrs Buckley, but they take on a gendered character. Within the context of talking about contraception for young men and women, she constructs young women as "faithful" and young men as sexually curious and active because "they keep on searching" before they "settle down". Mrs Mazibuko's comments imply that young women are likely to abstain from sexual intercourse, which curbs their sexual agency compared to young men.

2.4) The rights discourse

The rights discourse is the last discourse interwoven with the responsible sexuality, sexual risk and choice discourses. This discourse constructs a coherent set of meanings concerning *the incitement to know your sexual rights*. According to Carlson, (1992) sexual rights in sexuality education emphasises that learners have a right to choose whether or not they will have sex. These meanings can be seen in one of Life Orientations manuals, as noted below.

> Extract 1.27
>
> Know your sexual rights
>
> You have a right to enjoy sex when you feel ready for it. Sex should be a natural, beautiful experience. You shouldn't associate sex with fear and disgust.
>
> You have the right to wait until you are ready for sex. Do not force yourself to agree to sex to please someone else or keep in with the crowd.

> You always have the right to say "No". A human body cannot be owned by someone else. You do not belong to a relative, a teacher or a boyfriend or girlfriend.
>
> You have the right to be respected. Many people seem to admire boys who are sexually active. But if a girl behaves in the same way, she is considered a slut and not treated with respect. Nobody should show or not show you respect because of your sexual activities and nobody should pressurise you into making decisions against your will.
>
> You have the right to set limits. If you enjoy kissing your partner but do not want to go any further, you have the right to say so. [Attwell et al., 2011, p. 114]

In Extract 1.27 the manual invites learners to "know [their] sexual rights". The heading draws on a human rights framework in order to protect learners' sexual rights. It also represents a particular kind of self-knowledge that learners should know. The text provides bullet points that invoke, as was previously identified, sets of meanings: the responsible sexuality discourse which includes sexual readiness and decision-making. Sexual rights are represented as what is in the learners' best interests; these being to decide when they are ready to have sex and to be able to say 'no' if they are not ready. In this way, the manual constructs the rights-bearing subject as a responsible subject; learners are incited to exercise their rights as sexually ready subjects. Furthermore, the manual constructs boys as more likely to be sexually active than girls because of the stigma attached to being labeled a "slut". This means girls are often "not treated with respect" if they have multiple sexual partners. This implicitly constructs girls as needing to exercise their sexual rights more than boys. The implications of this are that girls are expected to be more sexually responsible than boys.

3) Reflexive and interactive subject positions

The discourses mentioned above constructed additional coherent sets of meaning that did not appear in the Life Orientation manuals, but were pronounced during the classroom observations and the one-on-one interviews. These meanings had implications for constructing subject positions that educators and learners reflexively and interactively took up and/or resisted. Firstly, the responsible sexuality discourse constructed a coherent set of meanings on *responsible roles adults should assume on the subject of sex and sexuality*. In turn, this set of meanings constructed the maternal, saviour and moral authority subject positions that educators reflexively drew upon during sexuality education lessons. Secondly, the discourse on choice constructed a coherent set of meanings on *the sexual choices available to learners*. This set of meanings produced the sexually active and sexually abstinent subject position, as aforementioned, which learners

reflexively and interactively took up and/or resisted during the one-on-one interviews. These subject positions are sketched in detail below.

3.1) The maternal and saviour subject position

The extracts below are all from an individual interview with Mrs Buckley, the Life Orientation educator from Clarins Hill High:

> Extract 1.28
> I (.), they look on me as their mother, so it is a bit difficult for them to openly speak about things like that. /Umm/, I will (.) can remember my first lesson. I don't know where to put my head in.

> Extract 1.29
> I just took a deep breath and I spoke in a respectful way and I could tell you, each class had different, um (2) = **reactions?** = reactions. One class told me about different positions = **how did you feel?** = I didn't even know what it is [Gasps and is shocked]. A sixty what!? [A sexual position, sixty-nine] I had to ask in the staff room and they were la::ughing.

> Extract 1.30
> When it comes to sexual behaviour and anything I speak about, then I would imagine myself speaking to my children.

> Extract 1.31
> Some children speak openly about it = **how does that make you feel when they talk like that?** = I just think of my own children [laughs and becomes shy] = **okay** = you know, I just think 'wow!' Do your children also know this as well?

In Extract 1.28, Mrs Buckley reflexively positions herself as a "mother", based on the 'responsible sexuality' discourse and in relation to the learners during her sexuality education class. This position makes it anxiety-provoking for her and the learners to talk about sex. It seems that she positions herself as a 'mother' to protect not only learners' anxiety but, more specifically, her own, in relation to talking about sexuality. This is confirmed in Extract 1.29; she "took a deep breath and spoke in a respectful way", which indicates that she needed to compose herself. Her anxiety is revealed even more with respect to her lack of knowledge of sexual positions such as a "sixty-nine", which her learners knew about. This lends weight to her reflexive position as a mother rather than an educator as it stops her from going into the details about sex. In Extracts 1.30 and 1.31, she interactively positions learners as her "children". This constructs a mother-child relationship during sexuality education rather than an educator-learner one, which avoids the topic of sex as it would be

irresponsible for a mother to expose her children to sex.

The next set of extracts is from an interview with Mrs Mazibuko, the Life Orientation educator from Rylands West School.

> Extract 1.32
> Errr, it is a challenge, because here at Rylands West the learners are sexually active before knowing the consequences, *nê*, because their background community… (2) it's poverty stricken, abuse of alcohol... So they end up doing the wrong things, *nê*, but now at... it least when I... when I'm teaching this Life Orientation to them, I can now be able to save them from making those mistakes.

> Extract 1.33
> It's challenging, because the parents, they don't see anything wrong. They don't see anything wrong, because if they fall pregnant at early age, they know that they will get a grant. They will get money from the government, *nê*, and the parent will claim for a foster care grant and all those grants; all sorts of grants. To them, being pregnant means money. So we had to come in now as Life Orientation educators… = /*Um-hm*/ = to say, now, this is about your life; about you. You need to be somebody in life.

> Extract 1.34
> That's why I'm saying now, with Life Orientation, it opens doors for me, at least, to share information with the learners, the things that I did not have. It will. It will save them. It's helping. It is. As I'm saying, I've got only a few... I had only two pregnancies, here at Rylands West, from 2008. That means it is making an impact.

In Extract 1.32, Mrs Mazibuko is cognisant of the surrounding community that learners come from: "poverty stricken", and where "abuse of alcohol" occurs. Against this backdrop, she interactively positions learners as "sexually active" and at-risk subjects, whilst reflexively positioning herself as a saviour; she wants to "save them from making those mistakes." Furthermore, in Extract 1.33, Mrs Mazibuko interactively positions the parents of learners as irresponsible because they see their children falling pregnant as an opportunity to receive a "foster care grant". In this way, she interactively positions learners and parents as opportunistic because "being pregnant means money", which affirms her position as a saviour. She repeats the sentiment of being a saviour in Extract 1.34; where she states that Life Orientation "opens the door for [her]… to share information with learners" because "it will save them". Again, she reflexively positions herself as a saviour, in relation to learners whom she interactively positions as an at-risk group and as sexually active. Her position as a saviour also means that she is the most responsible on matters related to sex, especially as learners and their parents are opportunistic and sexually irresponsible.

3.2) The moral authority subject position

The following extracts focus on how educators reflexively take up the position as the moral authority during sexuality education lessons. The first set of extracts below is from Clarins Hill High.

> Extract 1.35
>
> [The educator] went on to say that: "Many of 'you' sitting here are big men and women and this should be a lesson for all of you." She begins to read aloud a case study. The story is about a boy who is in Grade 10 and is dating a girl who has left school, and she wants to marry him and have children. The teacher then asks the learners what they should do in a situation like this. The class seems unresponsive to this and she goes on to list the good and bad choices. She goes on to tell the class that she "is not going to go into this." She talks about the boy delaying sexual intercourse and pursuing his studies, which is a good thing. And if he has sex with his girlfriend that she may fall pregnant, which is a bad thing. She goes on to emphasise the dangers of being in a relationship and talks about dangerous situations like rape, having one's drink spiked at a party.

> Extract 1.36
>
> [L]earners start interrupting the lesson and make it very hard for her to continue. She goes on to talk about rape and what this means. The class turns this into a joke; they start laughing and making jokes about rape, and in the process become increasingly disruptive, and everyone is shouting out answers. The answers that the learners are giving, or rather, responding to, mock and ridicule what the teacher is talking about. Whilst learners are laughing and joking about the subject matter of rape, the teacher is talking about the pitfalls and disastrous circumstances that young people find themselves in because of sex. And the class increasingly turns these catastrophic situations related to sex into jokes. The teacher deals with this by talking over the jokes and laughter of the learners.

In Extract 1.35, the educator derisively refers to learners as "big men and women", based on a case study about a boy and girl who are faced with the decision to have sex, in that she intends for it to "be a lesson for all of [them]." In this way, she mockingly and interactively positions learners as adults, whilst reflexively positioning herself as a moral authority on the subject of sex. However, the learners resist this position by remaining "unresponsive" to initiatives she makes to stimulate a discussion. As a moral authority on sex, the educator goes on to list "good and bad choices" with regard to sex; the former entails "delaying sexual activity" and "pursuing [one's] studies", whilst the latter is having sex and "fall[ing] pregnant". She also implicitly draws on the set of meanings on sexual risk to interactively position learners as sexually at-risk and/or risk-taking subjects. In Extract 1.36, these positions spur learners to become "increasingly disruptive" and in so doing they overtly resist the

educator's positionings. In response to the educator's morally authoritative position, that works to condescend learners, they defy her by reflexively and ironically positioning themselves as sexually irresponsible, sexually risk-taking and rebellious. For instance, their "jokes about rape" exaggerate their ignorance of the backlash of situations encouraging sex, whilst suggesting apathy on the risk of rape and pregnancy. The following extracts are from Rylands West School.

> Extract 1.37
>
> A girl asks how a girl who has never menstruated can get pregnant. A boy responds saying maybe it is because of peer pressure; other girls may force her to have sex. The teacher facilitates this, asking the other girls in the class what they think of this question. The girls do not really seem to engage with this. The teacher says "I want more answers, let's discuss this! What do you think happened here?" However, the class remains quiet. Then the teacher steps in and says the "child" was not ready. A female learner then says maybe she was raped and did not know what was happening. The teacher follows on this, saying that the adult took advantage of the child and that the parents should have seen a change in the child's behaviour.

In Extract 1.37, a female learner curiously asks how a girl "who has never menstruated can get pregnant". This question spurs a discussion about being curious about sex that invites the educator and fellow learners to take up and/or resist related subject positions. Accordingly, the female learner reflexively positions herself as sexually curious. A male learner responds to her and in his response he invokes a set of meanings on peer pressure which interactively positions girls as either sexually at-risk or risk-taking subjects when in the company of peers. In response to these two learners, the educator reflexively positions herself as a moral authority on this subject by demanding "more answers" as a way of inciting them to "discuss this". Learners do not engage her, suggesting resistance towards how they are set up as either sexually at-risk or risk-taking subjects, which may construct them as sexually irresponsible. As a moral authority, the educator implicitly and interactively positions learners as children, as a way of providing clarity on the female learner's question by saying the "child was not ready". This incites another female learner to position the child as a victim of rape, which indirectly and interactively positions girls as sexual victims. The educator takes up this position to introduce and construct "the adult" who "took advantage of the child", that invokes the sexual perpetrator-sexual victim subject position relationship. She also interactively positions parents of learners as blameworthy because "they should have seen a change in the child's behaviour." In this way, the educator again reflexively positions herself as a moral authority; she provides clarity, tells right from wrong, and assigns blame. It is interesting to note how a simple question on menstruation and pregnancy incites the educator to invoke subject positions related to sexual violence.

3.3) The sexually abstinent and sexually active subject positions

In this section, I focus on extracts from individual interviews with learners. Learners reflexively took up and/or resisted, whilst interactively positioning others, as sexually abstinent versus sexually active subjects as well as related positions that reflected constructions of gender. The extract below is from an interview with Rosella, one of the learners.

> Extract 1.38
>
> /Hmm/ that's normal for them [smiles] because they = **Okay** = I don't want a guy when I get married, I don't want a guy that's unexperienced… Because (2) I'm a Catholic. I do go to church. I read the Bible. Like have sex when you're married. Like in the ten commandments, I think it's the second one, ja! That we should get married before we = **before you have sex?** = /mmm/ at this school (1) people know, people, girls, especially girls, know that boys do have sex. Because they don't worry about that. So it's a natural for them to have sex. As for girls, it's just bad!

In Extract 1.38, Rosella reflexively positions herself as a "Catholic" and talks about having "sex when you're married", "especially [for] girls". In this way, she reflexively positions herself, and interactively positions other girls, as sexually abstinent. Boys, however, are exempt from this, which can be seen when she interactively positions them as sexually active because it is "normal" and "natural" for them to have sex before marriage. For Rosella, taking up a sexually abstinent position is also about the position of a virgin, based on her position as a Catholic. Moreover, she feels that it is undesirable for girls to be sexually active subjects. Accordingly, the sexually abstinent and sexually active positions takes on a gendered form and positions her and other girls as sexually abstinent, and boys as sexually active.

The next extract is from an interview with Siya, a female learner.

> Extract 1.39
>
> When you're married! What if you don't get married? Yes.
>
> **OK. So you were, kind of, saying that it's actually ok to have sex before you get married.**
>
> Now, when you are ready at some stage, at some point, if you're older. Not… you don't have to put a ring; then you can have sex.

From the extract above, and in response to delaying sexual activity until marriage, Siya reflexively positions herself as a sexually active subject because the sexually abstinent subject is impractical, seen in the statement, "you don't have to put a ring". In response to my paraphrasing that she

condones sexual activity before marriage, she invokes the set of meanings on sexual readiness to implicitly resist the sexually irresponsible subject position. As a result, she reflexively positions herself as sexually responsible, in turn resisting the sexually abstinent position with the possibility of becoming a sexually active subject "when [she is] ready, at some stage". As a young woman, her positioning indicates that she accords herself more sexual choice compared to Rosella.

The two extracts below are from an interview with Thami, a male learner.

> Extract 1.40
> Most of us we experiment, we say that we experiment because we say that we're not gonna diverge so it's better to listen up right now, just go with the flow, have fun. But just don't take it too far. Like end up in bed with six guys or seven guys. That's taking it way too far! At the end of the day you're gonna go around saying that you were raped by that guy and that other guy.

> Extract 1.41
> There's, for guys when it comes to sex they can't wait! They can't wait! But you do find those guys who will tell you straight: "No, I'm not ready and maybe some of them you might see them as gay." If a guy starts to say that 'I'm not ready' then you must have, we always have those doubts.

In Extract 1.40, and with regard to being sexually active, Thami draws on the set of meanings concerning the incitement to abstain, to thwart the idea that adolescents do not "experiment" with sex, to reflexively position himself as a sexually active subject. However, he maintains there are exceptions to having "fun", such as the risk of young girls being "raped" if she "end[s] up in bed with six guys or seven guys", which he considers is "taking it way too far" His comments invoke the set of meanings on risky behaviours and outcomes to interactively position young women as at-risk subjects, who also need to be sexually responsible. This exempts young men from being sexually responsible because they are not as at-risk as young women, which also implicitly positions young men as more likely to be sexually active than young women. In Extract 1.41, Thami invokes the set of meanings concerning sexual readiness to interactively position young men who are "not ready" for sex as gay, whilst young men who "can't wait" to have sex are presumably straight. The implication here is that the sexually active subject position reflects a marker of heteronormative masculinity.

The last extract is from an interview with Bongani, a male learner.

Extract 1.42

Sexually active! (1) [Sighs] It's a cool thing!

Ok.

Ja, live fast, die young [Says this very softly]

Say again?

Live fast, die young!

Live fast = Ja, take risks! = **Take risks, ok.**

What's seen as ok for girls to do sexually?

I don't judge. (2)

So it doesn't matter to you?

Ja, it doesn't matter.

Ok. It doesn't matter? And what about boys?

Same!

From the above extract, Bongani does not place limitations on sexual behaviour for girls and boys when he remarks "I don't judge". This indicates that he is aware of the shame that girls, especially, may experience if they are sexually experimental, so he reflexively positions himself as liberal in a way that is encouraging of the sexually active subject position. He also invokes the set of meanings with respect to risky behaviour, and outcomes associated with being sexually active, only to subvert this rhetoric on delaying sex because of the related dangers. For Bongani, risk is the reason to be sexually active because of the romanticised notions he invokes on "liv[ing] fast and d[ying] young." In this way, he resists positioning himself and other learners, especially girls, as at-risk subjects, in favour of taking up a sexually risk-taking position that encourages the sexually active subject position from both genders.

4) Cynthia's conscious and unconscious investment in a saviour position

A close look at an interview with Cynthia Mazibuko, (referred to earlier in this chapter as 'Mrs Mazibuko') an educator from Rylands West School, illustrates how she invests in a saviour subject position, which could also be seen from classroom extracts which I discussed earlier in this chapter. The saviour subject position is constructed by a religious discourse that dovetails with the responsible sexuality, risk and choice discourses. In this section, I look at the reasons for why Cynthia invests in the saviour subject position by conducting a fine-grained reading of a particular extract.

4.1) Brief personal background

Cynthia resides in Rylands West, a small farming and rural community. She is the principal of the only school in this area. She lives in a hostel with a few of her colleagues but on weekends travels 150km to her house which is situated in a bigger town. She is married and her husband, Peter, works and looks after the house whilst she is away at Rylands West during the week. She also has two daughters in their 30s; they are financially independent and live on their own. As a child, Cynthia was raised by her grandparents, because her mother fell pregnant out of wedlock and moved to a city faraway in order to find work. Furthermore, her father was not fit enough to care for her because he had a drinking problem. Cynthia reported that she was brought up in a strong Christian home; her grandmother, in particular, was a "very religious, strict and critical woman", whilst her grandfather was a "kind and loving man". Cynthia was not allowed to have boyfriends, nor was the subject of boys, dating or relationships tolerated by her grandmother. When Cynthia fell pregnant by her husband – her friend at the time – at the age of 15, her grandmother was very upset and demanded that she leave the house. Cynthia mentioned that she felt very ashamed by this incident, and vowed she would make her grandmother proud of her by studying further. With the support of the father of her child, whom she eventually married, she went back to school and obtained a degree in teaching. She has been an educator for 21 years since 1994, and took up the post as principal at Rylands West School in 2008, where she started teaching Life Orientation for the first time.

Even though Life Orientation was introduced as a formal subject around the early 2000s, Cynthia "started teaching 1994 Life Orientation." This indicates, firstly, her long-standing history with previous teaching areas such as Guidance, Bible Studies and Life Skills that were the foundations of, and collapsed into, Life Orientation. Secondly, referring to 'Life Orientation' even before it was formally introduced reflects the level of investment that she has in the subject. This is echoed in her comment, "I ended up loving it. I just love Life Orientation." She describes her "love" for the subject as stemming from the "parent-child relationship" that it allows her to foster with her learners, which she did not have when she was younger. As she explains, "my mother was not there for me. I only saw my mother in 1970… This was my first time to see my mother." Her father "couldn't take responsibility" because he was "not a serious person"; "he was a nobody" and "was not working." When she first "went through the books of Life Orientation" it spoke of "self-esteem" and "believing in yourself."; "it brought memories" of "[her] upbringing", and allowed her to see "[her] mistakes… because there was nobody there for [her]". Life Orientation "opened doors for [her]" in order "to share information with the learners" based on "the mistakes that [she] made". Life

Orientation allowed her to "come up with an approach that is going to save them (learners)… not to do the mistakes I did." Cynthia's words are highly evocative of her investment in the Life Orientation teaching programme, emphasising that it carries a lot of personal meaning for her, based on past experiences.

Similarly to the Life Orientation manuals, Cynthia draws on the responsible sexuality discourse. She lauds the role that Life Orientation played in helping her understand the challenges in her personal life, and now she is going to use it to "save" learners in the same way it has saved her. She also draws on a religious discourse based on her Christian upbringing that positions her as a saviour to the learners. Her reflexive positioning as a saviour dovetails with the responsible sexuality discourse that she frequently draws upon when teaching sexuality education.

The extract below is from a part of the interview when Cynthia recalls being a little girl and meeting her biological mother for the first time. However, her mother's identity was kept a secret, and in the extract below she tells the story of how she discovered who her mother was. The extract was selected because it provides us with an important historical event that took place in her life, which point to her conscious and unconscious reasons for investing in the saviour subject position.

Extract 1.43

1. Ermmm, you could see that she wanted to, to, to, to embrace me or... but because of
2. the husband … the husband is there, *mos*, and when I get the whole story now, the
3. husband knew nothing about us. That's another story. = /*Mm, mm, mm*/ = Because
4. when I was old enough, I approached the husband, Paul. He was Paulson Nkosi. I
5. asked him, but, *Boet* Paul, this is our mother. Did you know about us? He said,
6. Cynthia, I did not know that your mother had children. When I met her she did not
7. tell me about you.
8. **OK. So your mom kept it a secret from everyone?**
9. So who's to blame now? Can I blame… must I blame the husband? Because he did
10. not know; he's claiming he did not know about us.
11. **Was he a nice man to you?**
12. He was.
13. **Did he come across as a nice man?**
14. He was, because he was a priest. He was very nice.
15. **So a very respected man too.**
16. Very respected man.
17. **Did you ever manage to talk to your mother about this issue?**
18. Yes. Now, we are on good terms now. We're in very good terms now.

19. **What did she have to say, or what was her explanation when you wanted the**
20. **answers explained to you?**
21. The explanation that she's giving me was that, Cynthia, I could not stay with
22. uJeff. Jeff, that was my father's name.
23. **Your father?**
24. Yes. Because he was a drunkard, not working, and I was young… when I got
25. pregnant. So there was no way out. I had to go and look for work… and I could
26. not take you with me, especially uMalusi, your young brother. So I could not
27. take you with me. So I had to be on my own. But unfortunately the husband
28. passed away and now...
29. **Your mom is still alive?**
30. Yes, she is still alive. Very beautiful lady. She's now in Cape Town with one of
31. the daughters I'm telling you about, that she... her two daughters from this
32. marriage. The other one passed away and the young one is now a grown up. So
33. she's staying with her. So I always visit her in Cape Town. Even now, for the
34. holiday, I'll be going to Cape Town.
35. **It sounds like you have a lovely relationship with her.**
36. Yes. As I am saying, I managed to <u>forgive</u> her.
37. **I'm interested in, how come you were able to forgive her, but your brother**
38. **wasn't able to forgive her? How do you explain that?**
39. That's, that's the most difficult part because really, really, really I tried to put
40. sense to my brother. That no, man, just let go. Just forgive her. No, no, no, I won't.
41. **He didn't want to.**
42. He didn't want to.
43. **Why did he keep on talking about that?**
44. Because the problem is this. If you are a female… it's easy for you to, to grow up
45. and do some things, *nê*, on your own, and learn from other people.
46. **Are you talking about being a female in your culture?**
47. In my culture. But if you are a male, there's a period where you need to go for
48. initiation. That's where you need your parents; your mother. She's got a role to
49. play, nê. She has got to be there for you. See to it that you are now a man. My
50. mother was never there for my brother. I had to go and work, buy him those
51. clothes, those casual things. I had to do everything. I had to go and work very
52. young. Then, another time, there was a time for him to take a wife. That's a
53. mother's job. I had to do it for him. See to it that he has got a wife, then when they
54. got their first child, I had to see to it that the layette…. I had to do everything.
55. That's my mother's responsibility.
56. **Mm. So he was angry about that?**
57. Exactly.
58. **That you were put in that position?**

59. Eh. I mean, even with me, I had a child at 15 years. 1975. Why is that? It was
60. because there was nobody to guide me. Can you see now? There's nobody to say,
61. no, this is wrong, this is right. The grandparents are grandparents. They cannot do
62. everything for you but the mother, the role of the mother, is different from the role
63. of the grandmother. But because of Life Orientation, I managed to see the reasons
64. why she did this to me. Why I got pregnant. That's why even when I talk of a
65. child pregnancy, *nê*, I am talking from experience.
66. **It's from experience. OK.**
67. It's not something that I learned from the book. The pain of growing without a
68. mother, it's from my experience. So that's why I love Life Orientation.

4.2) Content

In Extract 1.43, Cynthia draws on a responsible sexuality and parenting discourse, and a religious discourse. The first discourse constructs a set of meanings on responsible parenting that positions her mother, in particular, and father as irresponsible parents. She talks about a "mother's responsibility" (l. 55) because "she's got a role to play" (l. 48 - 49) and "has got to be there for you" (l. 49). However, her mother "was never there" (l.50) so she "had to do everything" (51- 54), "to go and work very young" (l. 51 - 52). With regard to her father, "he was a drunkard" and "not working" (l. 24). Even though she was raised by her grandparents, she remarks that grandparents "cannot do everything for you but the mother, the role of a mother is different from the role of a grandmother" (l. 62 - 63). As a result, Cynthia remarks: "there was nobody to guide me" (l. 60). She also positions her parents as 'guides' who should say to their children, "this is wrong, this is right," (l. 61) which she did not have. Accordingly, she reflexively positions herself as an abandoned child who fell pregnant as a teenager, i.e., a sexually irresponsible subject position. The second discourse constructs a set of meanings on the righteous subject, positioning Cynthia as forgiving - as opposed to blaming her parents for abandoning her - which she invests in as the reason for her pregnancy.

4.3) Structure

The two discourses that Cynthia draws upon complement each other in that they construct subject positions that establish a sense of what is right and wrong. This adds to her storytelling, where the characters take up these positions and contribute to the unfolding plot. The opening sequence (l. 1 to 7) sets the scene for 'the whole story' (l. 2) narrative she tells from competing sources on why her mother was not there for her as a child. These sources involve her stepfather, brother and mother, who become embroiled in who is held accountable and responsible for her mother's

absence. The sources attribute blame to others for the mother's absence, in turn depicting each one of these individuals as right or wrong. This is reflected when she says "who's to blame now?" Cynthia's narrative shows that she is searching for the truth in that she confronts her stepfather and eventually her mother. The listener is invited to feel sorry for her for the "pain" she experienced "of growing [up] without a mother" (l. 67 - 68). When Cynthia eventually pieces together "the whole story" she is able to "forgive" her mother, whilst her brother is unable to do so. The listener is left wondering exactly how she managed to forgive her mother, as she does not provide an explanation for how or why she arrived at this point. This is heightened when she makes the startling revelation at the end; she gave birth to a child when she was 15 because she did not have "a mother" to "guide her". The inclusion of this information right at the end suggests that it may be difficult for her to talk about her unplanned pregnancy, given her strict Christian upbringing, as this event draws attention to her premarital sexuality, particularly as a sexually desiring subject. It may also serve to place blame for her pregnancy on her mother's absence as her mother was not there to offer guidance.

4.4) Interruptions

There is evidence in this extract of two interruptions that point to a more motivated storytelling. The first interruption occurs when Cynthia talks about being "on good terms" with her mother, which she repeats soon afterwards; "very good terms now" (l. 18). Again, one wonders how she is able to forgive her mother, especially when her stepfather mentions that "when I met her [the mother] she did not tell me about you" (l. 6 - 7). Afterwards, she asks, "must I blame the husband?" (l. 9) because "he's claiming he did not know about us" (l. 10). She invokes the blameworthy subject position to show that she wants to know who is responsible for her mother's absence when she was a child. This suggests it was her mother's decision not to reach out to Cynthia, which makes the mother the blameworthy subject. However, when Cynthia shifts her story from the likelihood of positioning her mother as blameworthy to saying she is on "very good terms now" with her, she seems to gloss over feelings of anger towards her mother for being absent. Minimising anger can be interpreted as unconscious feelings that she is having difficulty expressing, which shore up when she invokes the blameworthy subject position.

The blameworthy position, however, is counterpoised by the forgiving and saviour subject positions that Cynthia invokes in order to reflexively position herself. In this way, she can save learners from having unplanned pregnancies by teaching them to be sexually responsible, which is consistent with the 'responsible sexuality' discourse that is found in the Life Orientation sexuality education

material. The blameworthy position interrupts Cynthia's investment in the savior and forgiving positions as it points to possible feelings of anger, related to her mother's abandonment that positioned her as a pregnant teenager. This latter position draws attention to Cynthia as a sexually desiring subject as a teenager, which her religion and the Life Orientation's sexual abstinence-promoting stance would frown upon, as this is considered sexually immoral and irresponsible.

The second interruption occurs in this extract when she positions herself as forgiving – "I managed to forgive her" [the mother] (l. 36). In response to this, I asked how she was able to do so (l. 37). However, she avoids this question and instead says that, "the most difficult part" (1. 39) for her was that she "really, really, really tried to put sense into [her] brother" to "just let go" and "forgive [their mother]" (l. 39 - 40). However, "he didn't want to" (l. 42). Again, I argue that her response glosses over how she was able to overcome blaming her mother for being absent. In this way she is able to position her brother as the one who blames the mother and is unforgiving, which implies that he harbours anger and bitterness. Positioning her brother as blameworthy allows Cynthia to avoid feelings of anger related to this position so that she can take up the complimentary forgiving subject position, which resonates with her Christian beliefs and the saviour position. In this way, Cynthia projects her anger onto her brother in that *he* is angry with the mother. This allows her to deny conscious feelings of anger towards her mother, which she links to falling pregnant as a teenager, in turn reflexively positioning herself as sexually irresponsible. Both interruptions suggest that the motivation behind Cynthia's storytelling is to reflexively position herself as forgiving of her mother's abandonment, which minimises feelings of anger towards her mother. Cynthia's unconscious anger is suggestive of how difficult it is for her to take ownership of the sexual desires that she experienced as a teenager - part of the reason she fell pregnant - which in turn positions her in a negative light within her family and community. Avoiding her sexuality and its consequences allows her to keep the focus on forgiving her mother for abandoning her as a child.

4.5) Linguistic devices

It is evident in the extract that Cynthia relies on linguistic devices - further evidence that points to her glossing over feelings of anger, which she defends against. Firstly, she uses rhetorical questions such as, "who's to blame now?" (l. 9) and, "must I blame the husband?" (l. 9) These questions invite the listener to understand the position that she was placed in as a child, searching for answers about her mother's absence and how this conjures up a natural inclination to blame another. However, the questions allow Cynthia to resist the blameworthy subject position in favour of reflexively positioning herself as forgiving, by using these questions to suggest that it would not be

right to blame someone. This constructs the former position as the wrong and undesired response and the latter as the right and desired response, which Cynthia takes up, especially as a Christian and her desire to be a saviour to her learners.

She also incorporates actual dialogue of past conversations with her stepfather (l. 4 - 7) and mother (l. 21 - 27) during the interview. This allows her to reenact past events that illustrate how she made sense of her mother's absence. For the listener, it has the effect of bringing to life the "pain" (l. 67) a young girl experiences without the support of a mother. This justifies, again, why one would take up a blameworthy position; because of the felt anger accompanying this position, which Cynthia avoids, as aforementioned. Furthermore, lines 50 to 54 contain frequent references Cynthia makes about taking responsibility or performing the role of a 'guide'/ 'mother' to her brother, where she states, "I had to go and work", (l. 50) "I had to do everything", (l. 51) "I had to go and work very young", (l. 51 - 52) "I had to do it for him", (l. 53) "I had to see to it that the layette", (l. 54) and "I had to do everything" (l. 54). The repetition of "I had to" reflects the tiresome task of Cynthia being a saviour to her brother by caring for him because her mother was absent. After the series of "I had to[s]", she remarks, "I had a child at 15 years" (l. 59). This suggests that she also needed a saviour, like her brother did.

Cynthia's language in the extract is designed to depict her as forgiving, and her brother as resentful. Moreover, her language suggests, as touched upon earlier, that she invests in the forgiving subject position to avoid feeling angry with her mother, which she projects onto her brother. For Cynthia, feeling angry brings up her need for a saviour in her life, because it talks to her unplanned pregnancy, which points to the role her sexuality and sexual desire played in falling pregnant. Therefore, Cynthia's language deflects attention from being a sexually desiring subject as a teenager in a community where this is frowned upon. Instead, her language emphasises that she forgives her mother's abandonment, which depicts her in a positive light, which is also the reason she wants to be a saviour to other learners, because of the saviour she never had i.e. her mother whom she has forgiven. Her reflexive subject positioning as a savior might also be to override the disappointment and scandal she caused her family by falling pregnant at a young age and out of wedlock.

4.6) Reflexivity

Thus far, I argued that Cynthia narrates a story in which she fell pregnant as a teenager due to an absent mother. This story allows her to deny her own sexual agency and sexual desire so that she

cannot be blamed for falling pregnant. Similarly, investing in the saviour subject position for her learners works to ignore their sexual subjectivities and desires. This is just like how her story downplays her sexual desire in order to tell a story about her mother's lack of parenting and holding her responsible for her unplanned pregnancy.

In addition to Cynthia unconsciously defending against feelings of anger towards her mother for abandoning her, which draws attention to her sexual agency and sexual desire and leads her to investment in the saviour subject position, she also defended against unpleasant feelings with me during our interviews. For instance, I was very struck by how she minimised difficulties in her life, such as assuming responsibility for several people and/or duties in life, like her brother. Other examples of this, which were not part of the extract but arose during the course of the interview, included caring for her father, brother and aunt just before they passed away, then organising and arranging their funerals, as well as those of her grandmother and grandfather and taking on multiple roles at her school such as the principal, and teaching History, Life Orientation, and isiXhosa to the senior grades. I wondered about my position as a student from university, researching sexuality education, and if she felt that I was critical of, and evaluating, her as a principal and educator. There were times when she avoided and delayed our interview; it took a long time to schedule an appointment to interview her. However, I was mindful that she was incredibly busy. The following extract is from my field notes on the day of our interview.

> Extract 1.44
>
> It took a long time to actually interview Mrs Mazibuko. I recall her asking at some point, "So have you come to do what it is you wanted?" I was very puzzled by this and replied that I was waiting for her – for over half an hour. I also said that I would be alright to continue to wait for her because I could see that she was very busy. However, she remarked that if I was waiting for her then she "will just cut out everyone else" and sit with me. I was left wondering, then, why I had waited so long.

I sensed she felt anxious to be interviewed and this may have influenced how she positioned herself as responsible for so many people in her life during the interview. Cynthia is also much older than me, old enough to be my mother. This invoked my fantasies around a mother figure as maternal, caring, protective and loving. In many ways, she has also been this figure for many people in her life. However, there was something controlling about the way she cared for people. I felt her control in the interview; her responses were measured and well thought-out.

Earlier in the interview, I felt sorry her; she looked vulnerable and helpless, especially as she had

avoided the interview on a couple of occasions. I wondered if she felt powerless and vulnerable with me, like she did without having a mother when she was younger, especially after having a child at the age of 15. Her control during the interview gradually diminished, however; she went on to share a great deal of personal information about the struggles that she went through. She spoke about these struggles with a sense of pride and accomplishment. She was able to turn whatever sense of helplessness or vulnerability she felt with me into a situation that affirmed and recognised all the struggles she had been through. Similarly, she turned her helplessness and vulnerability into taking responsibility and being a saviour to her little brother. This allowed her to portray herself in a positive light in that she positions herself, as aforementioned, as forgiving and her brother as blaming of her mother's absence. Turning feelings that are unpleasant and bad into pleasant and good ones can be traced to reaction formation as a defence mechanism. Reaction formation is a defensive process where anxiety-provoking emotions and impulses, that are perceived to be undesirable, are instead converted into desirable feeling states (McWilliams, 2004).

My reflexivity in this interview process as a whole is further evidence that Cynthia is defending against falling pregnant at the age of 15. My sense was that it must have been incredibly difficult to disclose this information with me, especially as she felt evaluated by me. It makes sense, then, that she would tell a story that points to her mother's absence, in light of falling pregnant, because it scratches out her own sexual agency and desire. This in turn emphasises that she forgave her mother, and instead wants to be a saviour to her learners.

In summary, Cynthia drew upon the responsible sexuality and a religious discourse in order to construct the saviour subject position (sexually responsible) and the sexually active and pregnant teenager subject positions (sexually irresponsible). She used these positions in order to tell a story about her mother abandoning her as a child; she fell pregnant as a teenager, and forgave, rather than blame, her mother. This is why she wants to be a saviour to female learners in her class - so they will not make the same mistake that she did as a teenager, but it importantly allows Cynthia to deny her own sexual subjectivity and desire, as well as those of her female learners. There were interruptions in her story that suggested that she unconsciously harboured feelings of anger towards her mother. Furthermore, the language that she used in order to construct her story placed emphasis on how she was a mother to her needy younger brother when she, in fact, needed a mother, too, because she was also needy as a child. During the interview, she turned this encounter into one in which she felt powerless (because she felt evaluated as an educator by me) into one that depicted her in positive light, by talking about surmounting various challenges in her life. This was similar

to turning her mother's abandonment, and Cynthia resultantly falling pregnant as teenager, into a positive situation by assuming responsibility for her brother and forgiving her mother, depicting her as a saviour. In this way, it appears that Cynthia unconsciously invests in the saviour subject position by relying on reaction formation. This protects her from taking ownership of the role her sexuality and sexual desire played in falling pregnant, in order to control her associated anger by being a saviour to learners, which makes her feel good.

5) Conclusion

In this chapter, I have argued, firstly, that there are four discourses inciting learners to manage their sexuality responsibly, which featured across the data set. These discourses are particularly pronounced in the Life Orientation sexuality education manuals, whilst being absent from the music. The first discourse, responsible sexuality, constructs learners as decision-making subjects involved in making right or wrong choices that positions them as either sexually responsible or irresponsible. Moreover, learners are constructed as knowledgeable subjects who should be sexually prepared as a marker of being sexually responsible, which entails saying no to sex. However, constructions of gender are woven into these positions; girls are constructed as sexually uncertain whilst boys are constructed as sexually reckless. This constructs boys as sexually irresponsible whilst girls are sexually responsible. The second discourse, sexual risk, constructs the sexually risk-taking subject position which is intended to inform learners on how to be knowledgeable and make the correct decisions with regard to sex, which also constructs them as managers of sexual risk. The third discourse, choice, constructs the sexually active subject and the sexually abstinent subject; the latter represents the irresponsible choice, whilst the former represents the responsible choice. The final discourse, rights, constructs the rights-bearing subject, which is a responsible subject who exercises his or her rights in being ready for sex and in saying no to sex if they are not. However, girls are constructed as rights-bearing subjects more than boys. This position anticipates that girls should exercise more responsibility with regard to sex than boys, which places limits on their sexual agency.

Secondly, I demonstrated how the four discourses made available three sets of subject positions that educators and learners reflexively took up and/or interactively positioned others. The first set of positions – the maternal and saviour subject positions – were reflexively drawn upon by the two educators during individual-based interviews, whilst they interactively positioned learners in the complimentary subject positions as children and at-risk subjects, respectively. These positions encouraged learners to be sexually responsible by avoiding the subject of sex in order to dissuade

them from having sex by emphasising the risks associated with sex. The second position – the moral authority subject position – was reflexively invoked by educators during sexuality education lessons in order to establish what is considered right and wrong with regard to being sexually active. The third set of positions – the sexually active and sexually abstinent subject position – were reflexively taken up by learners during individual-based interviews. A female learner reflexively took up the sexually abstinent subject position, and interactively positioned boys as sexually active subjects, whilst a male learner followed suit but vice versa. However, one female and one male learner resisted such gendered subject positionings by positioning girls as sexually active subjects as much as boys. This had implications for according girls with as much sexual agency as boys. There was another male learner who positively positioned himself as the sexually risky subject.

Finally, Mrs Cynthia Mazibuko, the educator from Rylands West High School, drew upon the responsible sexuality discourse in order to reflexively position herself as a saviour to her learners. Cynthia's personal background highlighted that she had and has assumed responsibility for many people throughout her life, particularly her younger brother, for whom she cared and to whom she was a saviour in light of their mother's absence when they were children. When Cynthia fell pregnant at the age of 15, she felt as though this would not have happened had her mother been present when she was a child. This indicated that she felt angry towards her mother. However, by positioning herself as forgiving, and her brother contrastingly as unforgiving of their mother's abandonment, she pushes away her anger. Her anger points to feelings of vulnerability and helplessness which she felt when she was pregnant. However, she transforms these feelings into positive feelings by assuming responsibility, caring for, and saving everyone around her, such as her brother and learners. I argued that this is an unconscious defensive strategy of turning unpleasant feelings into pleasant ones, referred to as reaction formation. Similarly, she turned the interview with me from a negative situation – where she felt out of control, criticised and helpless – into a positive one. She was able to talk about herself as a saviour to female learners and people like her. Having addressed the discourses of responsible sexuality, sexual risk, choice and rights arising in the Life Orientation manuals, the one-on-one interviews and the classroom observations, in this chapter, the following chapter will examine the discourses related to three forms of pleasure i.e. sexual, romantic pleasure, and dating and/or relationship pleasure that also arose in the data.

Chapter 8 Sexual, Romantic, Dating and/or Relationship Pleasure

1) Introduction

In this chapter, I analyse three types of pleasure discourses as a major theme that emerged across the data set: (1) sexual pleasure featured in '*Where Have you Been?*', performed by Rihanna, and also, albeit minimally, in one of the Life Orientation sexuality education manuals; (2) the pleasure of romantic love featured in *Climax*, performed by Usher; and, (3) dating and/or relationship pleasure, featured profusely in the individual-based learner interviews and briefly in one of the Life Orientation sexuality education manuals. It is also significant to mention that the three types of pleasure discourses were entirely absent from the classroom interactions and individual-based educator interviews. I divide the chapter into three broad sections that analyse: (1) the three types of pleasure discourses; (2) the interactive and reflexive subject positions that these pleasure discourses make available that are taken up and/or resisted; and (3) Thami, a male learner's conscious and unconscious investment in one such speaking position about pleasure

In the first section, I identify three discourses: a sexual pleasure discourse, a romantic love discourse and a dating pleasure and/or relationship pleasure discourse. Each discourse respectively constructs coherent sets of meanings, concerning the sexually-desiring, and sexually desirable subject, articulated in the lyrics and music video for *Where Have you Been?* and the Life Orientation manuals; the loss of romantic love, taken up in the lyrics and music video for *Climax*; and, initiators and receivers of dating and/or relationships, invoked by learners during individual interviews and the Life Orientation manuals. In the second section, I discuss a set of subject positions with respect to the initiators and receivers of sexual pleasure the sexual pleasure discourse made available, which learners reflexively took up, and/or resisted, whilst interactively positioning other learners, during the individual interviews. In the third section, I analyse Thami's conscious and unconscious investment in a serial dater subject position, made available by the dating pleasure and/or relationship pleasure discourse that he drew upon though his talk during an individual interview.

2) Discourses

2.1) Sexual pleasure discourse

According to Seidman, (1989) a sexual pleasure discourse affirms the view of sex as a site of pleasurable expression which is not restricted to the confines of love and/or procreation. In this section, I analyse how the sexual pleasure discourse is articulated through the music video and lyrical

content of *Where Have you Been?* and the Life Orientation manuals. The discourse constructs a set of coherent meanings on the sexually-desiring and sexually desirable subject. Extract 2.1 features the first verse of the song, which I unpacked below.

Extract 2.1
I've been everywhere, man
Looking for someone
Someone who can please me
Love me all night long
I've been everywhere, man
Looking for you, babe (repeated 3 times)

In the opening verse, Rihanna declares that she has been pursuing "someone" who "can please" her "all night long". At first glance, "please me" indicates that she is seeking some kind of pleasure, suggestive of sexual pleasure. The following line "Love me all night long" confirms the sexual innuendo of "please me", but it also dramatises her need for sexual pleasure as being insatiable. Furthermore, there is much emphasis placed on going "everywhere", "looking" and "searching" for her "babe". These lines heighten her need for sexual pleasure in that she is actively attempting to seek someone out to address this need. Accordingly, Rihanna is constructed as a sexually-desiring subject. She is able to articulate a need for sexual pleasure which is ongoing in that she continuously searches for sexual satisfaction. The first verse is followed by the bridge, as seen in Extract 2.2, below:

Extract 2.2
Where have you been?
Cause I never see you out
Are you hiding from me, yeah?
Somewhere in the crowd

The bridge establishes that Rihanna has been actively searching for "you", the gender of which is never specified but, presumably, and arguably so, represents 'him' or a 'man' as she markets herself as a heterosexual singer and has been noted to only have engaged in relationships with men. Whilst the first verse shows that she is capable of recognising and articulating her sexual needs, the bridge indicates that the recipient of her need is absent or in "hiding". Her need for sexual pleasure, then, can only be fulfilled or satisfied by the presence of another. Thus, 'his' absence means that Rihanna's need for sexual pleasure is withheld. As a sexually-desiring subject whose need is withheld, she is also constructed as yearning and longing. The bridge is followed by the chorus, below.

Extract 2.3
Where have you been?
All my life, all my life
Where have you been, all my life? (repeated 4 times)

In the chorus, Rihanna repeats the title of the song, "[w]here have you been?" In addition to this, she sings these lines in a high-pitched voice, dramatising and exaggerating her search for sexual pleasure, which has not only been withheld but has been absent her entire life. In this way, her sense of yearning and longing is reinforced through the chorus. At the same time, she is unsatisfied because she is a sexually-desiring subject who is aware of her sexual needs.

The first verse, bridge and chorus are depicted in an accompanying music video through five scenes involved in constructing Rihanna as a specific sexually-desiring subject. The first scene depicts a swamp-like setting, with Rihanna wading through the water in a crocodile-like fashion. She looks into the camera broodingly; she is wearing heavy black eye make-up and has a look of yearning, longing and danger in her eyes. She is gradually shot emerging from the water, wearing black leather pants and a skimpy bikini top which reveals her lean torso. In the second scene, Rihanna is shot in a desert-like surrounding; she looks into the camera mysteriously; she is wearing an African inspired headdress, red, oversized flowing pants, a zebra-printed top and matching gloves that cover her arms. She looks like a Nomadic warrior of the desert. The third scene takes place inside an African-inspired hut. Rihanna is lying face down on a zebra skin carpet; she is wearing a black lace see-through dress that covers her arms and extends to her upper thighs, and a variety of African-themed bangles, big loop earrings and she has wild and curly hair. She dances amidst a group of female dancers, and whilst dancing, she circles her hand around her crotch and then pats it with her fingers. In the fourth scene, she is alone in a forest and perched on the roots of a big tree. The branches of the tree are covered with pink blossoms that hang around her. She sings dramatically whilst caressing her body suggestively and is wearing a poison-ivy inspired two-piece bikini that depicts her as a Mother Nature-like character. Her hair is long and falls down on her shoulders. In the final scene, Rihanna appears alone amidst a backdrop of rocks. She is depicted as a goddess-like figure similar to a Hindu deity; she is wearing a shiny purple outfit that covers her body and has pink eye make-up, with bindi-inspired print on her forehead. She looks into the camera mysteriously and sings dramatically.

The scenes above elaborate on how Rihanna exercises sexual pleasure as a sexually-desiring subject. Firstly, they draw attention to her body through the poses that she assumes such as swimming, dancing provocatively and singing. Secondly, these poses are depicted through settings such as a swamp, the desert, an African hut and a forest, which are locations far removed from Western, industrialised society. These are designed to objectify Rihanna in exotic ways that pander to the audiences' desire to live vicariously through her as a form of escapism. Thirdly, Rihanna invites the audience to gaze upon her as mysterious, brooding, and yearning, which is heightened as she is has been filmed not interacting with anyone in the video but rather looking into the camera. These poses, settings and gazes end up constituting Rihanna as a particular sexualised object: animalistic, a warrior, an African queen, Mother Nature and a goddess. This affords Rihanna a particular way of articulating sexual pleasure as a sexually-desiring subject that also constructs her as an object of sexual pleasure or a sexually desirable subject. Furthermore, this reflects a sexually passive subject position, rather than a sexually active one. In this way, Rihanna is positioned as sexually-desiring and desirable; an object. In the lyrical content, Rihanna is constructed in pursuit of sexual pleasure, but in the video she represents the object that is to be pursued for sexual pleasure. These positions reflect sexually active and passive positions, respectively. These show how Rihanna can recognise and exercise a type of sexual pleasure that is simultaneously in pursuit of, whilst being pursued by, another for sex – a desiring and desirable subject.

The set of meanings of the sexually-desiring and desirable subject is also taken up, albeit rarely, in the Life Orientation manuals, but in a way that reflects a gendered character to articulating sexual pleasure. See Figure 2.1 below, which appears in one of the Life Orientation manuals.

Figure 2.1

[Doubell et al., 2011, p. 110]

In the figure above, the young woman poses in a way that invites the gaze of a young man who is standing away from her. She strategically draws attention to her body; one hand courses through her hair whilst the other hand is firmly placed on her hips. Added to this, she is wearing a polka-dot dress that hugs and accentuates her body in that her cleavage, tiny waist and voluptuous hips are displayed. She also has a smouldering and smug look on her face, and big pouting lips that permeates sex appeal. The young man, in turn, is overly smitten by the sight of the young woman; his body language indicates that his movements have come to a complete halt because he is overwhelmed by her appearance. He is wearing a shirt and pants and closed shoes which gives him a formal appearance and around him are hearts and exclamation marks to show how he feels towards the woman.

Based on this illustration, the young woman and man both derive sexual pleasure from the sight of each other. However, the young woman derives pleasure from fixing the man's gaze onto her appearance, whilst the young man derives pleasure from fixing his gaze onto the young woman; she derives sexual pleasure from being watched whilst he does from watching. In this way, articulating sexual pleasure takes on different forms for both of them, related to sexually passive and active positions in relation to each other. The young woman draws attention to her body and invites the sexual gaze of the young man and in this way she is constructed as a sexually desirable subject, a sexual object, just like Rihanna in the video. The young man, however, is not a sexual object; he is constructed as the sexually-desiring subject. Accordingly, articulating sexual pleasure thus takes on a gendered form; women are constructed as objects of sexual pleasure to be pursued and men as pursuing objects of sexual pleasure.

2.2) Romantic love discourse

According to Giddens, (1992) romantic love constructs individuals as autonomous and free to love another, based on the principles of equality and democracy in a relationship. Love is thus no longer understood as eternal but is contingent on the capacity of the relationship to generate continuous forms of intimacy. One can even talk of the 'demise' of a relationship when love fades away. In relation to this, I identify the romantic love discourse in the video and lyrical content of *Climax* by Usher, and the Life Orientation manuals. This discourse constructs a set of meanings on the loss of romantic love seen in *Climax* by Usher. The song, unconventionally, begins with the chorus.

Extract 2.4
Going nowhere fast
We've reached a climax
We're together, now we're undone
Won't commit so we chose to
Run away
Do we separate?
Don't wanna give in so we both gave up
Can't take it back, it's too late, we've reached a climax
Climax

The chorus outlines the awareness of a relationship between two people that has "reached a climax" or ended, because both "won't commit" to each other. This indicates that a relationship requires commitment. Furthermore, the word "climax" has a double meaning in the song; it denotes two types of pleasure: (1) sexual pleasure – the uncontrollable force of "going nowhere fast", and (2) romantic pleasure – a sustained pleasure that commitment makes possible, without which one must forego the relationship and experience a loss. Accordingly, one can know that sexual pleasure threatens commitment, which is generally considered a prerequisite for romantic pleasure. Sexual pleasure represents recklessness, whilst romantic pleasure is about the consideration of loving another. These sets of coherent meanings talk about the loss of love that constructs Usher as sexually-desiring but also a loving subject. Furthermore, a loving subject is also a committed subject, which Usher and his partner resist, because articulating sexual pleasure overrides the commitment that love requires. The first verse, below, follows and it constructs Usher as a sensitive subject.

Extract 2.5
I've fallen somehow
Feet off the ground

Love is the cloud
That keeps raining down
Where are you now,
When I need you around?
I'm on my knees but it seems we're…

In this verse, Usher emphasises, dramatically so, that he is pained by the loss of love – "fallen"; "love is the cloud that keeps raining down" – whilst begging for love to return. The set of meanings of the loss of romantic love not only constructs Usher as loving, but also as a lovelorn and sensitive subject. This is followed by the chorus again and afterwards the second verse, as seen below:

Extract 2.6
I gave my best, it wasn't enough
You get upset, we argue too much
We made a mess of what used to be love
So why do I care, I care at all?

In this verse, there is a sense that romantic love coexisted along with sexual pleasure in the relationship, but their capacity to be loving and committed subjects was challenging. This culminates in Usher singing "why do I care… at all" in a high register, expressing his frustration for the loss of romantic love which positions him, yet again, as lovelorn. This is followed by the bridge or pre-chorus, below:

Extract 2.7
You say it's better if we
Love each separately
I just need you one more time
I can't get what we had out of our mind
Where are you now,
When I need you around?
I'm on my knees
But it seems we're going…

The bridge builds to a crescendo where Usher dramatises the loss of romantic love, singing in his highest vocal register yet. His desperation for love is clear – "I can't get what we had out of our mind" – and its absence pains him tremendously and he begs for his lover to return – "I'm on my knees" – which indicates that he yearns for romantic love and the loss of this pleasure causes him much distress.

The video goes on to dramatise Usher's position as a loving and lovelorn subject; he repeatedly imagines how he would react to his ex-lover, and her new boyfriend. This is discussed in terms of the video unfolding over three broad sequences of events.

In the first sequence, Usher looks pensive whilst driving, where he is eventually seen reluctantly walking to the door of a house. He is greeted by an attractive woman, his ex-girlfriend; she looks worried and shocked. He grabs her forcefully and they are filmed in various positions having sex until another car arrives at the house. A man, the new boyfriend, steps out of the car and walks towards the house. In the second sequence, Usher is inside his car; he looks contemplative and confused. From seated inside the car, his attention is drawn to two figures that appear in the window of the house; his ex and her new boyfriend are having a conversation. Usher's attention shifts to a compartment below the radio that contains a gun, which he grabs and hastily makes his way into the house. He looks determined, menacing and angry. Eventually, a bright light flashes, seen from outside the house, which seems to indicate that he fired his gun and shot his ex's new boyfriend. In the third sequence, Usher escorts his ex into his car with her suitcase. Afterwards, his car is filmed speeding along a narrow road through a forest of tall bare trees. However, a few meters on, the new boyfriend's car approaches from the opposite direction. It seems as though the cars are bound to collide with each other as the width of the road can only accommodate one car at a time. Just before the collision, previous climatic scenes such as the sexual encounter and the firing of the gun from the first and second sequence respectively are interspersed here and shown in rapid succession. The music video ends here.

The three sequences tell a story about Usher expressing the loss of romantic love as a loving, lovelorn and sensitive subject. Firstly, the sequences draw attention to the settings: the car, the pathway to the house, the house itself and, finally, the narrow road. Secondly, in these settings, Usher is depicted in a variety of poses: driving, singing, thinking, imagining, kissing, having sex and shooting. Thirdly, through these poses, the audience is invited to gaze upon Usher as hurt, confused, sexually aroused, assertive, angry and violent. According to the settings, poses and gazes, Usher becomes an object of love, specifically related to the loss of love; he is objectified as the sensitive, possessive, jealous and virile lover. This is in relation to his ex-girlfriend, who is objectified as the docile and receptive lover. Based on the lyrical content and video for *Climax*, Usher is constructed as a loving, lovelorn and sensitive subject – the modern man; he is simultaneously constructed as possessive, jealous and virile – the traditional man. Therefore, the romantic love discourse constructs a set of coherent meanings concerning the loss of romantic love that in turn position Usher in complex and contradictory ways with regard to modern versus traditional notions of masculinity.

2.3) Dating and/or relationship pleasure discourse

In continuing the discussion of discourse arising in the data collection material, a dating and/or relationship pleasure discourse briefly appeared in one of the Life Orientation manuals. It constructs a set of coherent meanings concerning initiators and receivers of dating and/or relationships. Figure 2.2, below, contains three illustrations of adolescent boys and girls, either initiating or receiving requests to date or be in a relationship, whilst Extract 2.8 contains the text for the speech bubbles in each frame.

Figure 2.2

Extract

2.8

Frame 1's speech bubble: "I can't believe she said 'Yes!' She even said she had hoped I would phone her"

Frame 2's speech bubble: "Gloria's fine. She certainly looks good. But I'm waiting for someone better to come my way!"

Frame 3's speech bubble: "I know you think he's great but you'll just have to wait and see if he phones you." [Attwell et al, 2011, p. 104]

In Frame 1, a boy is depicted expressing his excitement about a girl saying "yes!" towards an advance he made to her, particularly as "she had hoped [he] would phone her." However, it is not clear as to what the girl said yes to. In the second frame, two boys are having a conversation; one of the boys remarks that "Gloria's fine" and "looks good" but he is "waiting for someone better to come [his] way". Again, it is not entirely clear what kind of girl he is waiting for. In the third frame, two girls are chatting; one girl casts doubt over the other's knowledge about a guy she thinks is "great" by cautioning her to "wait and see if he phones". Once again, it is not clear what message the boy must give the girl. It seems as though all three frames refer to the initiating of, and waiting for, a message that will confirm a date or a relationship. These frames are involved in the construction of knowledge, based on a set of statements articulating dating and/or relationship pleasure, where boys are positioned as initiators of dating and/or relationships whilst girls are receivers of these practices. In this way,

dating and/or relationship pleasure can be understood as gendered, in the sense that boys are constructed as exercising choice about whom they want to date, especially as they are responsible for initiating this, whilst girls are expected to wait for this opportunity. One can talk, then, about the pleasure that boys experience about initiating a date or a relationship, whilst girls experience pleasure from receiving it.

3.) Reflexive and interactive subject positions: the initiator and receiver of sexual pleasure subject position

It is important to note that the sexual pleasure discourse was primarily invoked by all the learners during their individual interviews. Each learner reflexively took up and/or resisted a set of gendered subject positionings related to initiating and receiving sexual pleasure, whilst interactively positioning others along these lines. In the analysis here, I look at the subject positions that female learners invoked, followed by a focus on the subject positions that the male learners drew on. The first set of extracts is from an interview with Rosella, a learner from Clarins Hill High who I mentioned in the previous chapter.

> Extract 2.9
> [Giggles and breathes heavily]. Girls can't tell a guy, 'go and do this'. Or, 'I want to date you'. A guy should do that.

> Extract 2.10
> /Mmm/, and (1) basically (.) it's for me unnatural for a girl to tell a boy 'hey let's go and French kiss'. That's like unnatural! A boy should tell a girl that.

> Extract 2.11
> A guy can cheat on a girl, but not the girl. If a girl does it she's a bitch, she's not right, she's slutty!

> Extract 2.12
> I just told him that… I don't even think about that. I don't even think about intimacy and that kind of stuff.

> Extract 2.13
> I'll keep the virgin [my virginity] for the guy that I'm getting married to.

In Extract 2.9, Rosella interactively positions boys as initiators and girls as receivers of dating pleasure, by restricting girls from telling boys, "I want to date you" because "a guy should do that". In Extract 2.10, she reasons that it is "unnatural" for girls to initiate pleasure like "French kiss[ing]", for

instance; rather, “a boy” should suggest pleasure-seeking behaviour or “tell a girl that”. Moreover, in Extract 2.11, Rosella interactively positions girls as “bitches” or “slutty”, if they “cheat”, presumably whilst in a relationship, simply because it is “not right” or acceptable for a girl to do so, but a it is acceptable that a “guy can cheat on a girl”. Not only does this normalise “guy[s]” being unfaithful, it affirms boys as initiators and girls as receivers of pleasure, by according boys with more agency in exercising sexual, romantic and dating and/or relationship pleasure. In Extract 2.12, Rosella reflexively resists positioning herself as initiating pleasure, and by default avoids the “bitch” or “slutty” subject position, because she “[does not] even think about intimacy and that kind of stuff.” Instead, she reflexively, yet implicitly, positions herself as a receiver of pleasure, a hallmark of the virgin – a position that she reflexively takes up in Extract 2.13 because she will “keep [her virginity] for the guy” that she will get “married to.” Rosella’s talk, then, works to interactively position girls as either initiators of pleasure who she considers undesirable and whorish, or receivers of pleasure, who she considers desirable and virginal. It is the latter position she invokes.

In the extracts below, Thuli, a female learner from Rylands West School invokes the same gendered subject positionings as Rosella, but does so by emphasising sexual rights.

> Extract 2.14
> (6) /Mmm/ if you’re in a relationship if you both want to carry on do things maybe to have sex, no, it’s fine but you have to agree to each other.
>
> Extract 2.15
> The girl, if the boy ask you, ask the girl for having sex the girl have to, if the girl says ‘no’ then the boy must <u>understand</u> it’s a no. If it’s a yes they have to (understand) each other that it’s a yes.
>
> Extract 2.16
> If, if your boyfriend loves you he can’t say ‘lets do sex if you love me.’

In Extract 2.14, Thuli interactively positions “both” girls and boys as consensual subjects, capable of initiating sex “in a relationship” - which is “fine” as along as “both… agree [with] each other” on this decision. In Extract 2.15, however, Thuli’s emphasis on giving consent to have sex takes aim at “the boy ask[ing] the girl for having sex”, and the girl’s ability to “say no” or “yes”, which “the boy must understand”. In this way, Thuli also interactively positions boys as initiators and girls as receivers of sexual pleasure. The consensual subject positions presuppose that girls and boys can initiate sex, but, upon closer inspection, Thuli accords girls with sexual rights to say no precisely because girls are

merely receptive to the sexual advances of boys. In this way, sexual pleasure benefits boys more than it does girls, who are in need of protection from boys' pleasure-seeking behaviour. This logic is taken further in Extract 2.16, when Thuli positions boys as manipulators of "love" in return for "sex" from girls. This reinforces the position of boys as initiators of sexual pleasure and girls as merely receivers of this. Like Rosella, Thuli invokes a gendered set of subject positions that accords boys with more agency in exercising sexual pleasure than girls.

Siya, however, who also featured in the previous chapter, elevates sexual pleasure for girls, in the extracts below.

Extract 2.17

I've seen that there are some girls talking about dating one person that really don't mind dating one guy, even though they are sharing. So they're quite chilled about it.

Extract 2.18

Can you tell me where you stand with regards to your thoughts about being sexually active?

I think it's a choice that you have. It's not what people tell you. At the end of the day it's how you take it. So you pretty much have to do… you have to know what happens and the things that you're going to come across and the consequences, like the emotional exchanges, and stuff like that. So it's what you have to (?)… because you're going to experience it alone, so you have to know what's going on, not listen to what most people are telling you what to do.

Extract 2.19

If you're in a relationship with a guy and you and him find that, OK, now we're both ready to have sex. I mean, how does that play out in terms of, like, the discussion that you and him will have, or…?

I think you just have to discuss wherever it has to go; then you start kissing.

So it sounds like you're not shy if you're dating a guy, and if you've been dating him long enough, to actually go to him and say, well, I've been thinking about having sex. And then you wait to hear what he has to say. So you're not shy about that?

No, I'm not shy.

In Extract 2.17, Siya interactively positions girls as serial daters because she has "seen… some girls" who "really don't mind dating one guy". The implication here is that girls are involved in multiple relationships, which underscore their agency in exercising pleasure, based on dating several "guys". Accordingly, Siya's positioning of girls as serial daters also positions them as initiators of pleasure, with regard to "dating", for instance. In Extract 2.18, Siya reflexively positions herself as a neo-liberal subject by invoking the ideas of "choice" and "consequences" on the subject of her stance with regard

to sexual activity. This stance informs her position with respect to having sex, as seen in Extract 2.19, when she remarks that she is "not shy" about initiating sex with her boyfriend. In this way, she reflexively positions herself as an initiator of sexual pleasure, especially when she articulates some of the pleasures related to having sex, such as "kissing", in a non-shy manner. Unlike Rosella and Thuli, Siya accords girls with sexual agency. This is by virtue of their capacity to exercise choice concerning whether or not they want to have sex, in order to derive sexual pleasure. Similarly, Lorraine, a female learner from Rylands West School, talks about her need for sexual pleasure, whilst foregrounding the power relations on initiating and receiving sexual pleasure in a relationship.

Extract 2.20

Ok (.) when it comes to sex = /***mhh***/ = we get together during weekends. During weekends it's when we take each other out, go to places and have fun, romance and then that's when the sex happens. = /***Mhh, ok***/ = He likes it over weekends, and myself too; I prefer it during weekends, during the week I focus on school work and he focuses on his job = /***mhh***/

Extract 2.21

They have things they use as collateral to keeping the relationship = ***girls or =*** yes girls do things for and with their boyfriends, because they do not want their boyfriends to break up with them. For instance, if a girl's been given money by their parents to spend on themselves, they sacrifice it for the boyfriend so that the boyfriend does not break up with them. They also have sex with them; for instance, the boyfriend will ask the girlfriend to do something or if they can have sex. If the girl does not want, he leaves her and finds another girlfriend. That is why it's so easy for girls to say yes to sex when a guy asks.

In Extract 2.20, Lorraine reflexively positions herself, and interactively positions her boyfriend, as neither initiators nor receivers of sexual pleasure; instead, her words – "he likes it" and "I prefer it" – position both him and her as pleasure-seeking subjects. This position implies that either Lorraine or her boyfriend can flexibly and freely draw on the positions of an initiator or receiver of sexual pleasure, and that it may be too simplistic to take up a singular position. In this way, both parties in the relationship are accorded with an equal sense of sexual agency, with regard to exercising sexual pleasure. Furthermore, Lorraine reflexively invokes the disciplined subject position, capable of exercising restraint on initiating or receiving sexual pleasure, in order to focus on other tasks such as her "school work". In Extract 2.21, however, within Lorraine's community and school, she interactively positions boys as initiators and girls as receivers of sexual pleasure. Boys are in a position to ask and girls are expected to give, seen in her statement that girls are supposed to "say yes to sex when a guy asks". The consequence being that if she declines, "he leaves her and finds another girlfriend". There are unequal power relations at play here that talk to boys having more sexual agency

than girls in exercising pleasure. However, sexual pleasure is prioritised over relationship and/or dating pleasure. Boys prefer the former whilst the latter resonates with girls. Even though girls' need for pleasure in preserving the relationship is subordinate to the boys' need, it represents an area that enables them to be agents in exercising pleasure.

I now look at the way in which male learners reflexively and interactively take up and/or resist the initiator and receiver of pleasure subject positions. The extracts below are from an interview with Thami, a male learner from Clarins Hill High who also featured in the previous chapter.

> Extract 2.22
> /Umm/ most, most of them know that ok I'm dating you. You have your boyfriend, although … I'm dating you sometimes you know that I have girl too but we choose, … for us this dating is just a fling = **O::k** = It's nothing serious. We're just having fun.

> Extract 2.23
> I'm still too young to commit to a girl so I got a whole bright future that's still waiting for me. So let me do things that everyone is doing like have fu::n. Lets say, 'that's my girlfriend and I'm so in love with her'. I'm still young. Life goes on.

In Extract 2.22, Thami reflexively positions himself and interactively positions both girls and boys as serial daters; this position obscures the division between initiator and receiver; boys and girls freely date one another and many people at once because "dating is just a fling"; it is "fun", and is "nothing serious". In this way, both boys and girls are accorded with an equal sense of agency in exercising pleasure, where the initiator and receiver of pleasure is not a concern. In Extract 2.23, Thami's justification for reflexively and interactively drawing on the serial dater subject position is in response to resisting the committed subject position. He invokes a set of statements of being "too young" as he has "a whole bright future that's still waiting for" him, that shrugs off "commit[ment]" but celebrates "fun". Even though Thami's view challenges the initiator and receiver of pleasure binary subject position, one wonders about sentiments such as "too young", "fling", "fun" and "nothing serious". These echo a permissive discourse that Hollway (1989) argues celebrates a liberal sexual ideology, serving the sexual interests of men by freeing up the sexual desires of women. This obfuscates real unequal power relations at play between men and women where sex and sexuality are concerned.

Like Thami, in the extract below, Bongani, a male learner from Clarins Hill High who was also introduced in the previous chapter, emphasises sexual pleasure without constraints.

Extract 2.24

I'd say that I don't like relationships much, /yoh!/ /Uh uh!/

You don't like relationships?

/Uh uh!/ /Yoh!/

So you don't want to commit = /Yoh/, commitment! /Uh uh!/ You know relationships? It's like being married!

How come?

When you are married you only have one 'gyna!' [Appears to be a colloquialism for 'vagina'] One gyna!

Extract 2.25

That's why there's this saying: love is like a what (1), love is like a chapter to guys and to girls it's the whole book. Cause a girl if she loves you like love you, love you, love you, she wouldn't be going around and having some other guys, *ja*.

In Extract 2.24, Bongani reflexively resists positioning himself as a committed subject in favour of remaining open to continuously experiencing sexual pleasure. This is because "commitment" is "like being married", as "you only have [access to] one gyna". The initiator and receiver binary subject position is omitted here, suggesting the flexibility and freedom to take up and/or resist either position. However, in Extract 2.25, Bongani interactively positions girls as loving subjects by relying on the analogy that, "love is like a chapter to guys" but to "girls it's the whole book". By default, then, he interactively positions boys as sexual subjects. Furthermore, and based on these gendered subject positions, he interactively positions girls as receivers and boys as initiators of sexual pleasure because a girl's love inhibits her from "going around and having some other guys". In this way, boys are again endowed with initiating sexual pleasure whilst girls are initiators of romantic pleasure.

Similarly, David, a male learner from Rylands West School, also positions boys as initiators and girls as receivers of pleasure but uses a different route to arrive at this positioning. Consider the two extracts from his interview, below.

Extract 2.26

I prefer dating one girl at a time = /***mhh***/ = then if she hurts me I can just move on with my life.

Extract 2.27

/Mhh,/ (.) the way I see it, it's wrong both ways, whether it's a girls having multiple partners or a guys have multiple partners. But it's even worse when it comes to girls because = ***why =*** [laughs] because, for instance, (.) when it comes to sex = /***mhh***/ = they get easily infected with HIV as compared to guys.

> For us guys, we do not easily get infected = /***mhh***/ = so when it comes to girls having multiple partners, it does not settle well with me. I do not think it's a big deal for guys even though I wouldn't do [it].

In Extract 2.26, David reflexively positions himself as monogamous when it comes to "dating". This suggests that he enjoys the pleasure associated with dating one person, even though there is the likelihood that he could get "hurt". Moreover, in Extract 2.27, he interactively positions girls and boys as bad if they practice "having multiple partners", and, by default, good if they exercise monogamy. However, for girls in particular, David interactively positions them as sexually at-risk subjects because "they get easily infected with HIV", which is evidence for why girls "having multiple partners… does not settle well with [him]". However, he "does not think it's a big deal for guys" to have multiple partners, as it is not as easy for them to become infected with HIV, which means that he interactively and implicitly positions boys as sexual subjects. The implication of this gendered subject positioning is that girls are indirectly granted less sexual agency in exercising sexual pleasure than boys, and it inadvertently positions boys as initiators, and girls as the receivers, of sexual pleasure.

Like David, Saul, a male learner from Rylands West School, also does not prefer girls who keep multiple partners, which influences the extent to which girls can be initiators of sexual pleasure versus boys. This can be seen in the extracts below.

> Extract 2.28
> I like a girl who is not into multiple partners, a girl who values and respects herself, = /***mhh***/ = who knows that when they have a boyfriend she will be faithful to that one boyfriend.

> Extract 2.29
> Yes, I do not think it's wrong for a girl to initiate that conversation, … I think as a guy I should be the one initiating it = /***mhh***/ = but I really don't have a problem with her initiating the conversation.

In Extract 2.28, Saul interactively positions girls as self-valuing and self-respectable; a set of expectations that he feels that girls should exude that will prevent them from having "multiple partners" - a quality he dislikes. Furthermore, he goes on to interactively position girls as "faithful", a quality that they should "know [about]" and exercise "when they have a boyfriend". In Extract 2.29, he goes on to invoke a sense of what is considered right and wrong – moralistic subject positions – in order to interactively position, and lend support to, girls as initiators of sexual pleasure. This is because he thinks that it is not "wrong" for girls "to initiate that conversation". His positioning thus appeals to a sense of fairness and equality. The veneer and lip-service of this position is soon exposed,

however, with "but" as he thinks that, as a "guy", he should be "the one initiating it". In this way, Saul reflexively positions himself, whilst implicitly and interactively positioning boys, as the rightful initiators of sexual pleasure. This view holds true, especially when he qualified, in Extract 2.28, that girls should be self-valuing, self-respecting and faithful. This in turn limits girls' sexual agency, and resultantly implicitly retains the position of girls as the likely recipients of sexual pleasure, rather than initiators.

4) Thami's conscious and unconscious investment in a serial dater position

In this section, I take a close look at an interview with Thami, a male learner from Clarins Hill High, as aforementioned, and I argue that he invests in a serial dater subject position made available by the dating and/or relationship pleasure discourse.

4.1) Brief personal background

Thami is 18 years old and lives alone most of the time in his mother's house, situated in a working-class area that surrounds his school. His mother, Lillian, is a traditional healer and spends lengthy periods of time away from home healing families in different towns. His mother returns home on major holidays but has to leave for work again soon afterwards. Thami has a brother, Dumisani, who is 33 and lives in a neighbouring town. Thami and Dumisani have different biological fathers. Lillian was never married and she is currently single. Thami receives financial support from money that Lillian and Dumisani send to him. There is a domestic worker who comes around once in a while to assist Thami with cleaning the house. Thami's biological father, David, passed away a few years ago in hospital from an illness. According to Thami, he only saw his father once, when he was 7 or 8 years old; he recalls his father waving to him, seated in a car some distance away, but as he ran to the car, it drove off. He has never seen his father since, except for a few photographs that his mother keeps. Lillian had a brief relationship with David while he was married, which is how Thami was conceived. This appears to be the reason why David did not keep in touch with Thami. However, Lillian told Thami that his father used to send them money when he was growing up. Thami has only ever lived with Lillian and Dumisani, who have been his primary caregivers. It is not very clear how long Thami has been living by himself, but he reports that his mother started working away from home about 16 to 17 years ago. The extract below is from Thami's interview and it illustrates some of his thoughts on dating and relationships at his school.

Extract 2.31

> It's like this /umm/ if you doing that, sometimes you want other people, you want to settle down but you don't know if ok I'm dating this girl, I'm only dating this one girl if she breaks my heart then I won't have the guts to go out again like date this other girl so let me, let me do this ok date this girlfriend and I'm gonna see from there where I can settle down.

The gist of Extract 2.31 is the uncertainty of Thami "dating" and "settl[ing] down" with "one girl", which carries the risk she may "break [his] heart". This is the reason he keeps his options open, dating other girls, as can be seen when he states, "sometimes you want other people". In this way, he draws on the dating pleasure discourse in order to reflexively position himself as a serial dater. For Thami, as he shared in an earlier extract, he is "still too young to commit to a girl"; dating is considered "just a fling", "it's nothing serious" and it is "fun". In this way, the pleasure of serial dating affords Thami the ability to thwart commitment because he is "young" and has "a bright future waiting for [him]". He went on to say that "I will never be committed to a girl at this school". In this way, Thami draws on the dating pleasure discourse to position himself as a serial dater, which affords him maximum agency with regard to dating one girl after another without feeling constrained. However, one has to ask why is it that he draws on this discourse and invests in this specific subject position. Having "one girl… break [his] heart", from Extract 2.31, is perhaps a small clue for his investment in this position. This is taken up further in the extract below, from a different point in Thami's interview, where he talks about a girl he dated and "settle[d] down" with for a while. The extract provides a deeper look at some of the conscious and unconscious reasons he invests in the serial dating subject position.

Extract 2.32

1. /Umm/ ok look, I was dating this girl, she's, she's also popular. For me, the
2. challenging, the challenging thing for me that I was on radio and at the same time I
3. was still like trying to make a name for myself in the, in the media industry. And
4. then like people <u>know</u> me and then even though we have these kind of topics at the
5. radio about sex, they were like: "Ok we heard Thami! Thami is this type of person,
6. he likes a girl to be that, he likes a girl to be that" So if you're not that type of person
7. and then sometimes she will be <u>listening</u> = **o::k** = although that I have to please the
8. fans, they are listening, though I'm not that type of person. I have to <u>please</u> my
9. audience. It must be happy in everything that I say.
10. **So you were dating a popular girl from this school at some point?**
11. We became more popular because we were together
12. **So were a lot of people talking about you, about the both of you as a couple?**
13. Yeah they were because in some time there was this Ms Clarins Hill High [a
14. pageant for girls at the school]. I was asked by the school to like host a event, and
15. then at the same time they asked me if I know anyone that would like to be, so I

16. tried to get people like, I tried to interview them since some of them they can't
17. even like talk in front of the people. So for me, I tried and tried and tried so I came
18. out to her. Then I find out she's good, she can do this. So now when the people
19. start saw us at the stage they were like 'wow!' 'They are popular at this school and
20. still they are dating and they are hosting a show together'
21. **So people were very impressed, and admired the both of you?**
22. Ja, I admired it! And then after that in time /err/ things started to change. (.) And
23. people started to be: "Yoo, Thami! You kind cool" So I think I got to that thing
24. cause now I see myself as, ok now I made a name for myself now at this school
25. and (.) for us, we started to have that thingy like (1). I don't know how to say it to
26. you (.) /Umm/ a distance! We started to have that distance because I was more like
27. on the like friends side. I couldn't even like make time sometimes to see her. Like
28. people would start talking: "We told you! Don't date him and de de de and that and
29. that and that". And then like even though I have friends that I like girls (.) even that
30. I really talk to but sometimes come, sometimes they come over and like: "Yoo,
31. Thami! We saw you doing that and that and that and that and that and that."Maybe
32. sometimes she's gonna be walking to the toilet and maybe saw me, I'm the only
33. one besides the bunch of girls that say among seven or five like smiling and
34. giggling with them, then she's gonna 'oh, it is true what people are saying"
35. **Ok, alright. So that caused a lot of problems for the relationship?**
36. J::a!
37. **How long did you guys date for?**
38. /Umm/ we dated for a ye::ar and three mo::nths, I think.

4.2) Content

In the above extract, Thami draws on the dating and/or relationship pleasure discourse. The discourse positions Thami and his girlfriend as a "popular" dating couple (l. 1, 11 and 19). In Thami's case, he works at the local radio station as a DJ after school, (l. 2) which earned him a reputation amongst his peers at school and the locals in his community, for hosting events (l. 13-15). Thami suggests that his girlfriend was also very popular before their courtship, so when they started dating it seemed like the meeting of two people who were very popular in their own right. In essence, they became a "popular" dating couple about whom everyone talked and marvelled (l. 18-20). Furthermore, the discourse also positions Thami and his girlfriend as a committed couple and as boyfriend and girlfriend whose relationship lasted for "a year and three months" (l. 38). Their commitment to each other during this time defies the serial dating pattern mentioned earlier. As much as the discourse positions Thami and his girlfriend as committed and a popular dating couple, it also positions them as a former or ex-couple, as he uses the term "friends" (l. 27) to denote the break-up of their relationship.

Interwoven with the discourse on dating and/or relationship pleasure, Thami also draws on a heteronormative discourse that constructs a set of meanings concerning the social roles available to young men at his school. One of these roles is the radio DJ subject position, which Thami reflexively draws on. This subject position seems to interfere with the committed boyfriend subject position; he appeared to be caught between these two positions. The DJ subject position garnered him the attention of other girls (l. 5-8, 32-34) whilst the committed boyfriend subject position enabled him to maintain his relationship with his girlfriend. Therefore, both discourses position Thami in dual ways i.e., a committed boyfriend and a radio DJ, which have implications for his identity as a young man. These positions also seem to have negatively impacted his relationship with his girlfriend; from being positioned as a committed couple to "friends" (l. 27), which signalled the end of their relationship.

4.3) Structure

The dating and/or relationship pleasure discourse that Thami invokes constructs subject positions that cast him as the boyfriend initially and subsequently a friend, to his ex-/girlfriend. These positions talk to the "Don't date him" (l. 28-29) story that he constructs; the plot and characters involve a popular dating couple who received positive and negative attention from other learners at the school, which caused their relationship to end. Thami invites us, the listeners, to see how "challenging" (l. 2) it was for him, as a radio DJ, to date a popular girl at school. Some of the challenges included the attention that he garnered from other girls as a radio DJ; he remarks he must "please the fans" (l. 7-8) or "my audience", (l. 8-9) which may have angered or upset his girlfriend who could have heard it on the radio (l. 7). This gives listeners the impression of the tight rope he had to walk with regard to pleasing his "fans" or "audience" and his "girlfriend", which makes us sympathise with him. Furthermore, he uses the term "popular" (l. 1, 11 & 19) to describe his relationship, especially amidst other learners, who were amazed at, but also envied, their relationship (l. 17-20). This creates the impression that they were a sought-after couple, and justifies why other learners would enviously disrupt their relationship by telling his girlfriend "[not to] date him" (l. 28-29). As listeners, we end up likening Thami's relationship to a celebrity couple hounded by the paparazzi – the learners – scouring for information to end their relationship. In essence, Thami's story reads as a popular boy and girl whose popularity grew when they dated - until learners intruded upon their relationship to a point that caused them to break up. As listeners, we feel sorry for Thami because others ruined his relationship, especially as other learners encouraged his girlfriend to break up with him. His story tells us that he was wronged and hurt by other learners who encouraged his girlfriend to break up with him.

4.4) Interruptions

From lines 1 to 20, Thami talks about others admiring his relationship. However, this narrative is interrupted in line 22 when he remarks that "things started to change", in response to my reflection (l. 21) suggesting that he continue talking about how others "admired" his relationship. This interruption is taken up again, three lines later, (l. 26) when he talks about a "distance" between him and his girlfriend that led to them eventually being "friends" (l. 27). In other words, they broke up. These interruptions possibly point to feelings about the loss of a relationship, for Thami, which he avoids talking about. Instead, he talks about accountability for the relationship ending; in particular, he seems to blame himself for not making enough time to see her (l. 27), and being seen by his girlfriend and others "smiling and giggling" (l. 33-34) as "the only [boy]" (l. 32-33) with "a bunch of girls" (l. 33). It seems as though he feels responsible for giving onlookers the impression that he was unfaithful to his girlfriend, which caused them to tell her: "We told you so! Don't date him" (l. 28). Furthermore, it also seems as though Thami tried to present his behaviour to me as understandable, given his role as a DJ, which points to him avoiding possible feelings of guilt. There is evidence from elsewhere in Thami's interview suggesting that he may unconsciously defend against feeling angry towards his girlfriend for "trying to hustle, to be in the media industry". As a result, Thami "had her come in once or twice on his show." This suggests tht his girlfriend may have knowingly or unknowingly used Thami's position as a radio DJ and the relationship to further an interest she had in radio and/or music. Nonetheless, the interruptions show that Thami avoids complex feelings related to the break-up, which he internalises and for which he blames himself. Thami's avoidance of such feelings brings us a step closer to understanding the reasons that he invests in a serial dater position, as opposed to a committed subject position.

4.5) Linguistic devices

Thami also relies on linguistic devices, which provide further evidence to support my claims that he unconsciously defends against complex feelings. Firstly, he constantly repeats words and phrases: "he likes a girl to be that, he likes a girl to be that" (l. 6); "this/that type person" (l. 5, 7 & 8); "I tried and tried and tried" (l. 17); "Don't date him and de de de and that and that and that" (l. 28-29); and, "We saw you doing that and that and that and that and that and that" (l. 31). The repetition of such words and phrases contributes to the circumstantial way that Thami relates his story. In each instance, he talks about his relationship without actually saying much, but rather creates the illusion that alot is happening. The linguistic devices that Thami uses are circumstantial at best, and construct a hustle and bustle surrounding a couple whose popularity became their Achille's heel. The devices obscure what actually happened that led to the break-up, which talks to Thami's avoidance of feelings possibly

related to guilt, regarding his role as a DJ, and anger towards his girlfriend for breaking up with him, or using the relationship to further her interest in radio and/or music.

The second device he uses is the inclusion of dialogue from a series of onlookers who marvelled at, and interfered in, his relationship. This can be seen in lines 5 to 6, 19 to 20, 23, 28 to 29, 30 to 31 and 34. These devices lend credibility to Thami's narrative, making it come to life by including the 'actual' voices of others. In doing so, they deflect attention away from how the break-up affected him, as it places the focus rather on the hullabaloo of the popularity surrounding his relationship. Collectively, the linguistic conventions that Thami uses compensate for unconscious feelings of sadness and anger over the break-up, which render him weak in order to feel stronger by emphasising the popularity of his relationship. His words depict him in a positive and stronger light by minimising the hurt of losing a relationship that lasted for over a year. Thami's break-up, along with losing the love and support of his father, mother and brother, which arose at a different stage in the interview, reflect significant losses and point to possible motivations for why he invests in the serial dater subject position.

4.6) Reflexivity

My subjective experience of Thami was further evidence of why he compensates for the loss of supportive and nurturing relationships that make him feel weak by investing in an identity position that avoids commitment, making him feel good about himself. My initial contact with him was at a mixed focus group interview. I was struck by how comfortable he was, evidenced by the ease and length at which he spoke. He was the most vocal of all of the participants and I recall that he contributed to every question. I liked him for his chatty and gregarious demeanour, and his ability to put the other members in the group at ease. He was one of two boys and six girls in the group and I also thought about his need to be heard in the company of six girls, especially as the other boy was awkwardly quiet and painfully shy. I felt like he overcompensated for, and performed aspects of, his masculinity for the girls, deriving pleasure from talking about sex and dating which depicted him as experienced and as teaching everyone in the group. He often smiled when he talked, whilst he assuming a stretched position whilst seated. However, during the individual interview, he struggled to express himself compared to the group interview.

I wondered what had changed. Whilst he may have wanted to have pleased or charmed the girls in the group, he may have felt pressure to come across as a serious and responsible young man, in relation to my position as a slightly older man from a university. My sense was that he may have compensated

for his pleasure-seeking position, which he possibly interpreted as undermining attempts to be mature and responsible, in the interview. Being responsible is important for Thami as he "lives alone" in his mother's house and has to be "responsible for everything". I felt proud of Thami for striving to be responsible, whilst being honest about the pleasure he derives from serial dating, flirting and having fun with girls. Upon discovering that he lived alone, I was shocked and felt sorry for him and wondered what it must feel like as a young man to "clean and cook" for himself whilst still "seeing to [his] schoolwork". He admitted during the interview that it is "challenging" to be "on my own" and that he feels "lonely". My sense was that Thami unconsciously avoided talking about underlying feelings of sadness related to his mother, father and brother's absence. He overcompensated for these feelings of loss by talking about his likability and popularity as a DJ, especially amongst the girls at school, whilst also emphasising his ability to be a responsible young man with me.

In summary, Thami draws upon the dating and/or relationship pleasure discourse in order to construct the popular and committed dating couple position that runs the risk of breaking up. It is against this subject position that he reflexively positions himself as a serial dater, in order to avoid commitment. He constructs these positions so as to tell a story about the pressure and scrutiny from other learners that caused a popular and committed dating couple to break up. However, there are interruptions in his story, which point to complex feelings related to the break-up with his girlfriend - about which he avoids talking. Instead, he emphasises that their popularity as a couple, particularly his popularity as a radio DJ, is what caused the break-up. Furthermore, Thami uses circumstantial language, such as repetitive words and phrases that obfuscate what actually happened. He also includes the dialogue of other learners in order to tell his story. This kind of language adds to the popularity surrounding his relationship, which caused the break-up, more than it talks to how he was hurt by the loss of this relationship. Therefore, in order to avoid losing any more close relationships – his mother, father, brother and girlfriend – he invests in the serial dater subject position so as to unconsciously compensate for the loneliness and hurt that commitment and a long term relationship may produce. Thami's need to compensate for feeling lonely, hurt and let down by significant others in his life also talks to his masculine identity that points to his role as a DJ, which depicts him as likable and popular amongst girls and peers. In other words, his investment in the serial dater subject position is linked to particular forms of masculine identity, related to being a DJ, and a responsible young man who lives alone in his mother's house and must take care of himself and the household. These positions suggests that he invests in roles available to young men that depict him in a positive and strong light, rather than feeling sad or lonely, which would depict him as weak.

5) Conclusion

In this chapter, I argued, firstly, that three discourses detailing three types of pleasure – sexual, romantic, and dating and/or relationship pleasure – were featured across the data set. However, the music and learner-based individual interviews invoked these discourses more than the Life Orientation sexuality education manuals. *Where Have you Been?* by Rihanna articulated the sexual pleasure discourse in ways that constructed her as both, a sexually-desiring and sexually desirable subject. In one instance, one of the Life Orientation manuals also invoked this discourse by constructing men as sexually-desiring and women as sexually desirable subjects. Accordingly, sexually-desiring and being sexually desirable took on a gendered form. This meant that women were typically sexually objectified, whilst men continue to sexually objectify women. One of the other songs which I analysed, *Climax*, by Usher, relied on a romantic love discourse that constructed him, in relation to a set of meanings on the loss of love, as a loving, lovelorn and sensitive man but also as virile, possessive and jealous. These positions show that Usher is constructed in complex and competing ways, which frustrates the dichotomy of the modern versus the traditional man. One of the Life Orientation manuals also drew on the dating and/or relationship pleasure discourse, but did so in order to construct a set of gendered expectations with regard to boys initiating dates or relationships, whilst girls were merely receivers of such advances. This places limitations on the agency of girls compared to boys when exercising pleasure related to dating and/or relationships. In essence, the three pleasure discourses can either challenge or reinforce traditional or unitary constructions of gender, whilst also enabling or constraining the agency of young men and women in articulating sexual, romantic and dating and/or relationship pleasure.

Secondly, the sexual pleasure discourse constructed a set of gendered subject positions related to initiating and receiving pleasure, which all eight of the learners involved in my research reflexively drew upon and/or resisted, whilst interactively positioning other learners. Two of the female learners reflexively positioned themselves as receivers of sexual pleasure, whilst interactively positioning boys as initiating sexual pleasure. For another two of the female learners it was important to have as much freedom as possible in exercising sexual pleasure. Therefore, they positioned themselves as both initiators and receivers of sexual pleasure. With regard to the male learners, all four of them covertly or overtly reflexively positioned themselves and interactively positioned other young men as initiators of sexual pleasure, whilst interactively positioning young women as receivers of sexual pleasure. In the positioning analysis on the set of gendered expectations, attached to initiating and receiving sexual pleasure, I show that such assumptions can be challenged whilst also being reinforced. This has

implications for the extent to which young men are typically afforded more agency in exercising sexual pleasure compared to young women.

Finally, Thami drew on the dating and/or relationship pleasure discourse in order to reflexively position himself as a serial dater. Drawing on Thami's personal background, I have argued that he unconsciously compensates for feelings of sadness and anger about the loss of a relationship that lasted for a year and a few months, by dating as many girls as possible in order to rule out the likelihood that he will get hurt again. Furthermore, Thami's personal history also shows that he has not been given the love and support by significant others such as his mother, father and brother which he should have, and suggests that he feels sad and alone. His lack of a support system also contributes to the serial dating position he takes up as it protects him from losing another emotionally significant relationship. He also displayed a tendency, during his interviews, to compensate for feelings that portray him as not attractive, serious or responsible enough, which would have depicted him in a weak and vulnerable light. In this way, Thami constantly compensates for feeling weak in order to invest in a pleasurable subject position, such as a serial dater. Having explored the discourses of sexual pleasure, romantic pleasure, dating and/or relationship pleasure that arose in the data, in the next chapter I examine the theme of the transitioning heteronormative adolescent.

Chapter 9 The Transitioning Heteronormative Adolescent

I) Introduction

In this chapter, I identify the transitioning adolescent as a major theme that emerged in the data set, particularly in the Life Orientation sexuality education manuals, the classroom lessons and educator-based interviews, but which did not emerge in the music videos. Heteronormativity emerged as supplementary theme to the transitioning adolescent as it featured across the data set. In terms of the structure of this chapter, I organise it into three sections that analyse: (i) the discourses involved in the construction of the transitioning heteronormative adolescent that made available (ii) subject positions that were taken up and resisted by learners and educators during classroom lessons, and (iii) one learner's conscious and unconscious investments in one such speaking position.

In the first section, I identify two discourses: the adolescent-as-transition discourse and a heteronormative discourse. The first discourse coheres around three broad sets of meaning, featured in the Life Orientation manuals, classroom observations and educator-based interviews: the physical, emotional and social changes related to adolescence. The second discourse partners with the first discourse to produce a set of meanings concerning the social roles and demands related to adolescence that emerged in the Life Orientation manuals. In the second section, I analyse transitioning heteronormative adolescent subject positions that the discourses make available; specifically, the typical emotionally unstable adolescent subject position and heteronormative subject positions. In the third and final section I analyse a learner's conscious and unconscious investments in the 'playa' subject position. This position represents the transition that he is going through as a young man, as he identifies as neither a boy nor a man but calls himself 'a matured boy', which he defines as a 'playa'.

2) Discourses

2.1) The adolescence-as-transition discourse

A key discourse that informs the transitioning heterosexual adolescent is what Macleod (2011) terms the adolescence-as-transition discourse, which describes "adolescence as a time of restlessness, experimentation, searching [and] testing the boundaries of existence and turmoil" (p. 27). This discourse featured prominently in the Life Orientation manuals, the classroom observations and the educator-based interviews, and it coheres around two broad sets of meanings; (i) the physical changes; (ii) the emotional changes; and (iii) the social changes related to adolescence as a time of transition. These will be explored in turn below.

(i) The physical changes related to adolescence

Elia (2005) and Moran (2000) have noted biological-scientific views and physical hygiene as coherent sets of meaning involved in the construction of the physical changes accompanying adolescence, which in turn serve to inform school-based sexuality education. This can be seen, initially, in the extracts below from the Life Orientation sexuality education manuals.

> Extract 3.1
> The first step in becoming an adult is the start of puberty. The purpose of puberty is to make our bodies ready for reproduction [Attwell et al., 2011, p. 99].

> Extract 3.2
> You may not realise it but you are an expert on puberty. It is a time when a child's body begins to mature to become a sexually mature adult. Becoming sexually mature is a biological term and does not mean that a person is an emotionally mature adult [Doubell et al., 2011, p. 108].

> Extract 3.3
> The internal changes during puberty, such as ovulation, menstruation and the production of sperm cells, are called primary sexual characteristics. Outward changes, such as the growth of body hair on the face, armpits and genital areas, widening of hips and development of breasts in girls, voice breaking in boys and growth of the genitals, are called secondary sexual characteristics [Attwell et al., 2011, p. 99].

> Extract 3.4
> Being sexually mature does not mean a person is ready for sex. It means that the reproductive organs are developed [Doubell et al., 2011, p. 108)].

In Extract 3.1, learners are told that "puberty" is a process that prepares their "bodies for … reproduction" which is "[t]he first step in becoming an adult". Furthermore, Extract 3.2 informs learners that they are "expert[s]" on puberty", which is "a time when a child's body begins to mature to become a sexually mature adult." Puberty, then, represents knowledge that allows learners to connect to the subjective experience of their changing body. Moreover, Extract 3.2 informs learners that "becoming sexually mature is a biological term". This sensitises learners, specifically, to physical changes related to their bodies. Furthermore, Extract 3.2 cautions learners that reaching sexual maturity does not mean they are "emotionally mature adult[s]". Sexual maturity as a physical/biological process is distinguished from emotional maturity to demarcate adulthood from childhood. Learners, then, are sexually mature but not emotionally mature, unlike adults, who are mature in both spheres. Extract 3.3 specifies the biological processes accompanying sexual maturity by

differentiating between “primary” and “secondary sexual characteristics”. The former are “internal changes”: “ovulation, menstruation and the production of sperm cells” whilst the latter are “outward changes”: “widening of hips and development of breasts in girls” and the “growth of genitals” and “voice breaking in boys”. Here, learners are differentiated even further, based on sexual changes associated with boys versus girls. Lastly, Extract 3.4 stipulates, whilst “[b]eing sexually mature” indicates that learners’ “reproductive organs are developed” this does not mean that they are emotionally “ready for sex.” This is connected to the distinction between emotional and sexual maturity, seen in Extract 3.2, which is the reason why learners are not ready for sex because they lack the former but embody the latter, like adults.

The above extracts draw on biological-scientific meanings that construct physical changes as facts concerning sex, sexuality, and human reproduction that learners should know upon reaching sexual maturity. These changes construct learners as neither children nor adults, but somewhere in between; they have the sexual characteristics of an adult but they are still children emotionally. This can be understood as the sexually mature adolescent subject. Learners, then, can speak as sexually mature adolescent subjects, based on physical transitions related to reaching sexual maturity. This subject position can also be understood as positioning learners as either the sexually mature male or female adolescent subject. Through this position, then, learners are paradoxically distinguished as neither adults (emotionally immature) nor children, (physically mature) but are simultaneously also adults (physically mature) and children (emotionally immature). Therefore, the adolescent is a sexually mature subject not ‘ready’ for sexual intercourse because it is reserved for adults, who are emotionally mature whilst children are not.

The construction of the sexually mature adolescent subject position can be seen below in the extract from a classroom observation.

> Extract 3.5
>
> The teacher asks, “How are we developing as adolescents?” She asks about learners reaching an intellectual stage where they become aware of their physical appearance, especially feeling shy about being naked. She asks them to turn to the page number in their textbooks of the exercise, and draws their attention to a picture by saying it may be hard and anxiety-provoking for them to look at it. The picture is about developmental changes that girls and boys go through. [Classroom observation taken from Rylands West School]

In this extract, the educator draws on the physical transitions accompanying adolescence as a developmental stage in order to construct learners as developing adolescent subjects. She relies more on physical development than emphasising sexual maturity, as the manuals do, i.e., that of the sexually mature adolescent subject. Both positions, however, underscore a transitional phase that learners go through: a physical/biological process preparing them for sexual maturity.

The next set of extracts, taken from the Life Orientation manuals, depicts a gendered character underlying the developing adolescent subject and the sexually mature adolescent subject, which in turn talks to adolescents being constructed according to traditional gender roles.

Extract 3.6

As your body changes, some of your body's needs change too. To cope with the different needs, you have to change some of the things you do [Attwell et al., 2011, p. 100].

Figure 3.1

[Attwell et al., 2011, p. 100]

Figure 3.2

Ravi

I am 16 and in Grade 10. I grew 12 cm in the last six months. I am as tall as my dad now. My voice has got really deep, which is better than the squeaky voice I had before. I love samoosas, but I've stopped eating so many because I think the oil gives me pimples.

Joy

I am 15 years old. I remember I got my first bra when I was 13. It was really exciting. I started growing hair in places where I never had hair before. Now I shave my legs and armpits. I do not like being hairy and it's more hygienic for when you sweat. I weigh about 5 kg more than I used to but now I do not look like a skinny kid anymore [Attwell et al., 2011, p. 100].

Extract 3.6 orients learners to their "body's needs" as their "body changes", which requires them to "change some of the things [that they] do" in order "to cope with the[se] different needs". Figure 3.1 provides examples of what learner's needs may look like, through an illustration of six young people talking about their "body's needs". It is interesting to note that all the girls draw upon physical hygiene in order to talk about their bodily needs in response to physical changes. The boys also draw on physical hygiene with the exception of one boy talking about increasing his intake of food as a physical need. The difference is subtle, but the manuals depict girls as preoccupied with physical hygiene whilst provision is made for boys to focus on building up strength and energy. Figure 3.2 is further evidence for this difference; it depicts two characters "Ravi", a young man, and "Joy", a young woman, talking of their changing bodily needs. Joy is constructed as making more changes in response to her bodily needs than Ravi, related to using a "bra", "shav[ing her] arms and legs" because it is "more hygienic", whilst also noticing she "weighs about 5kg more" whilst the only change that Ravi makes in terms of physical hygiene is eating less samoosas in order to avoid getting pimples. As found by Martin (2004), the above extracts draw on a set of meanings related to physical hygiene that constructs learners' bodies as unpredictable and requiring management. When prescribing changing bodily needs for learners this takes on a gendered character in that it emphasises the physical hygiene and grooming of girls more than boys, especially their outward appearance. This can also be seen in the extracts below from an interview with Mrs Buckley, the educator from Clarins Hill High who featured earlier in the anaylsis chapters.

> Extract 3.7
>
> When we do Phys Ed they are supposed to be wearing a shorts or anything else that they feel comfortable in. I tell them not tight jeans and all that. I don't know where to put my head in = **okay** = the girls will jump. Every single thing [underwear] will be outside [showing] and it's nothing, you know, and they're not uncomfortable with their bodies and what's happening, all shapes and sizes. I am sometimes so embarrassed and I think, 'I'm an adult here, you know! Everything is open! Underwear, underwear, underwear' [looking shocked and whispers this] And the boys are there. [Interview with Mrs Buckley]

In the extract above, the educator emphasises female learners' developing bodies when she talks of teaching the Physical Education component of Life Orientation. The educator constructs female

learners as developing adolescent subjects who should be aware of their developing or changing bodily needs. She does this by drawing attention to their bodies, presumably parts of the body associated with sexual maturity. It seems that more attention is placed on the bodies of female learners as sexually mature adolescent subjects than on boys. She suggests that female learners should be more conscious of their changing bodily needs than the male learners. This is in order to manage their bodily needs accordingly so that they do not draw too much attention to their sexual maturity from the male learners. In this way, talking about female learners as sexually mature subjects is about controlling their sexuality by pointing out or specifying their changing bodily needs.

(ii) The emotional changes related to adolescence

Dubas, Miller, and Petersen (2003), Kett (2003), and Koops and Zuckerman (2003) illustrate how G. Stanley Hall's model of adolescence contributes to a set of meanings that depict emotional changes related to adolescence. Hall's model describes a period of inward normative emotional turmoil characterised by 'oscillations' and 'oppositions'. This set of meanings also featured in the data set, mostly in the Life Orientation manuals. The extracts below depict these emotional changes accompanying adolescence.

> Extract 3.8
>
> The same hormones that cause the physical changes of puberty also cause emotional changes. These changes make us think and feel differently about ourselves, our families, friends, school and our lives in general. Teenagers want and need to take control of their lives, to make their own decisions, choose their own friends, plan their activities and have their own dreams for their lives [Attwell et al., 2011, p. 101].

> Extract 3.9
>
> Typical emotional changes in teenagers
>
> Moodiness: You feel on top of the world one moment and the next moment you feel miserable.
>
> Sulking: When things do not go your way and you find that you cannot or do not want to talk about it but you still feel upset.
>
> Privacy: You need your own space so that you can be yourself and not have to live up to everyone's expectations of you.
>
> Short temper: You blow up at your parents and brothers and sisters for no apparent reason, except that you do not feel good about things at the time. It's easier to lose your temper with those closest to you than with friends.
>
> Criticism: You find your parents irritating and are very critical of them and the things they do.
>
> Insecurity: You are more aware of yourself and think that everyone is criticising you, so you do not take part in activities you enjoyed before, such as swimming or going to a youth group [Attwell et al., 2011, p. 109].

Extract 3.10

Girls – Changing hormone levels can cause irritability, tearfulness and euphoria (extreme happiness). Depression may also occur [Doubell et al., 2011, p. 108].

Extract 3.11

Boys – Changing hormone levels may lead to increased irritability and aggression. Teenagers may also suffer from depression [Doubell et al., 2011, p. 109].

Extract 3.8 invokes the biological processes accompanying adolescence, such as "hormones", to normalise and justify the "emotional changes" that cause "teenagers" to "think and feel differently". Furthermore, this extract appeals to the neo-liberal subject when it talks about emotional changes deepening teenagers' capacity to "choose", "plan", "make their own decisions" and "take control", which all assume that teenagers have the resources, autonomy and freedom in order to make their own choices. Extract 3.9 normalises the emotional changes accompanying adolescence further by specifying the "typical emotional changes in teenagers" such as "moodiness", "sulking", the need for "privacy", having a "short temper", being "critical" and experiencing the feeling of "insecurity". These "typical emotional changes in teenagers" affirm the 'storm and stress' view associated with adolescence that constructs the typical emotionally unstable adolescent subject position. This subject lends credibility to the argument that the Life Orientation manuals put forth about adolescents not being ready for sex because they are emotionally immature. It becomes possible, then, to also speak about the moody, sulky, private, short-tempered, critical and/or insecure adolescent subject. There is also a gendered character which underlies the typical emotionally unstable adolescent. In Extracts 3.10 and 3.11, the manual differentiates between "girls" and "boys" becoming emotionally unstable subjects in that "changing hormone levels" induces "tearfulness" in the former and "aggression" in the latter. Therefore, girls are constructed as tearful and boys as aggressive, which serves to reinforce heteronormative and stereotypical gendered conceptions of young men and women.

The above extracts on the emotional changes related to adolescence are involved in the construction of the thinking, feeling, wanting and needing adolescent subject. This has implications for emphasising adolescents as individuals. This is heightened when the manuals normalise emotions through physical changes, such as hormones, which implicitly retains a biological view of feelings. Broadly then, the construction of the typical emotionally unstable adolescent subject, and the construction of girls as 'tearful' and boys as 'aggressive' become tied to the view that these feeling states are intrinsic, in turn obscuring the role of the socio-political context.

(iii) Social changes related to adolescence

Elia (2005) and Thorogood (2000) talk about patterns of social behaviour that sexuality education instils, particularly 'deviant' or 'normal' social values that adolescents may assume. These social values represent social changes that typically speak of conforming to, or rebelling against, culturally-preferred expressions of sexuality. In the extracts below, I show how this set of meanings on the social changes accompanying adolescence is constructed.

> Extract 3.12
> Now that you know about the physical and emotional changes caused by puberty, let's look at what this means for you in the world. Many teenagers find this a frustrating time of their lives. Most of you are not yet legally old enough to vote or drive a car, but you may be working in a part-time job or may be the head of your household [Doubell et al., 2011, p. 112].

> Extract 3.13
> Peer group pressure mounts during this stage. Your main aim is to conform with the group, in the clothes you wear, where you go, what you say and what you think. Young adolescents tend to see parents and peers as opposing forces. This is a stage where you may start to rebel [Attwell et al., 2011, p. 102].

> Extract 3.14
> peer: someone in your age and social group
> rebel: someone who does not accept authority and the way things are done [Attwell et al., 2011, p. 102].

> Extract 3.15
> Late adolescents do not want to be seen as being exactly the same as everyone else — you want to make an individual statement [Attwell et al., 2011, p. 102].

Extract 3.12 emphasises that learners' awareness of the physical and emotional changes caused by puberty will coincide with social demands and roles that they will be expected to take on. As a result, and according to Extract 3.13, "pressure mounts", particularly around "peer groups", and adolescents will either "conform" to or "rebel" against the roles and demands of society that represent the social changes that they will face. Furthermore, Extract 3.14 talks to adolescents "accept[ing] authority and the way things are done", or not, by including definitions of "peer" and "rebel". These extracts orient learners to the demands that the world places on them, i.e., the social changes that they are expected to negotiate. The manuals seem to be preoccupied with constructing the social changes related to adolescence as a time of conforming to, or rebelling against, social authority or what society deems appropriate. Accordingly, the manuals anticipate that social changes will produce the compliant versus

the rebellious adolescent subject. This subject will thus be required to familiarise him/herself with what is socially acceptable versus unacceptable. However, in Extract 3.15, the manual counters the binary subject position that it constructs on either conforming or rebelling by acknowledging that "adolescents… want to make an individual statement" instead of "being exactly the same as everyone else" - which could be interpreted as a form of rebellion in itself. This is consistent with the neo-liberal subject that the manuals evoke that emphasises learners' freedom to exercise choice. Learners, then, should not simply conform without "mak[ing] an individual statement". More so, the developing adolescent subject is held accountable as an individual capable of making a statement in accordance with being a conforming and/or rebelling subject. This, in turn, has the effect of turning social ideas and expectations into an individual and personal management of the developing adolescent subject.

2.2) Heteronormative discourse

Partnering with the adolescence-as-transition discourse, the heteronormative discourse is one that Moran (2000) argues is an instrumental goal of sex and sexuality education. This discourse featured in the Life Orientation manuals and educator-based interviews. It supplements the adolescence-as-transition discourse and coheres around a set of meanings on the heteronormative social roles related to sexuality education. The following extracts are from the Life Orientation manuals depicting these roles:

Extract 3.16

Same-sex friends are a great source of comfort and security. But one of the most important social changes to happen in adolescence is dating [Attwell et al., 2011, p. 104].

Extract 3.17

At this stage of your life you may find a partner and marry [Attwell et al., 2011, p. 103].

Figure 3.3

[Attwell et al., 2011, p. 103]

In Extract 3.16, the manual emphasises that whilst "[s]ame sex friends are a great source of comfort and security… one of the most important social changes to happen in adolescence is dating." Dating is flagged as a key social change accompanying adolescence but it will occur against the backdrop of same-sex friends. What is implicit here is that dating will occur with the opposite sex. Moreover, Extract 3.17 tells learners that they may "find a partner" "at this stage of [their] li[ves]" that they may eventually want to "marry". Accompanying Extract 3.17 in the manual is an image of a bride and groom posing at their wedding, seen in Figure 3.3. The manual seems to prescribe heterosexual relationships, dating and marriage as "one of the most important social changes" that adolescents should aspire towards as conforming adolescent subjects rather than rebelling subjects. Accordingly, it becomes possible to talk about the heterosexual adolescent subject - as opposed to the homosexual adolescent subject, who is not mentioned. Therefore, the heterosexual adolescent subject becomes an important social change of adolescence and a mark of conformity. In the extracts below, taken from interviews with Mrs Buckley and Mrs Mazibuko, educators from Clarins Hill High and Rylands West School respectively, delve into the subject of gay and lesbian identity.

Extract 3.18

I was very shocked the other day… we had a band of coloured girls that were, what do you call them? **= lesbians? =** Lesbians. No hiding away. They came out. The whole school was like this [rubs her hands together to indicate things were very messy or chaotic] because these group of girls just arrived, you know. They were all over the place. And we were uncomfortable. We also didn't know how to deal with it and you know I just thought we must just accept them as they are. We didn't talk about it. We didn't make issues. I didn't make issues. But just some of the girls used to tell me that that girl looks at her like that and she don't like it. But the leader, that child was terrible. Then I told her 'no, man, you must be respectful against, towards the others. Don't intimidate them, you know'. But they didn't last too long. [Interview with Mrs Buckley]

Extract 3.19

And I think our school as in our whole school has come a long way in accepting /umm/ homosexuals. Like this one. I don't know if you met him at school, they call him (Tottos!) It's a (2) he's totally gay but we just told him the other day 'no, man, make your hair a bit nice when you come to school and dress nicely.' [Interview with Mrs Buckley]

Extract 3.20

Have you spoken to your learners about same-sex attraction or relationships?

> I don't know how to tackle that because I've never experienced that, *mos*, at school, and I would not even know how to tackle that. I mean, if a boy is attracted to a boy… or a girl with a girl, *yoh*, I wouldn't know…
>
> **I think you're also saying because it hasn't come up in the community or school, that's why you haven't addressed it?**
>
> Yes.
>
> **But if it does come up, then you will address it?**
>
> I'm thinking now, how would I address it? How would I address it? Because I don't know how I feel about it. = /*Mmm, mm, mm*/ = I don't say I hate it or I love it. I don't know how I feel about it, because it's strange *mos*, to me. [Interview with Mrs Mazibuko]

Extract 3.18 tells of Mrs Buckley's shock about "lesbians" at the school. There is a tone of disdain when she speaks about the audacity of "these girls'" openness regarding their sexuality. She even reprimanded "the leader" – "a terrible child" – of the "lesbians" for "intimidating" other girls. Her concluding remarks are that "they didn't last too long," which indicates that their sexuality represented a problem for the school's implicit, assumed and taken-for-granted heterosexual culture and that they felt uncomfortable and left. In Extract 3.19, Mrs Buckley repeats the sentiment with regard to a "totally gay" and "very flamboyant" (from another part of her interview not included here) boy at school. She also mentions that "we just told him the other day" to "make your hair a bit nice" and "dress nicely". It seems that, only on the basis of this boy's attendance at their school, that Mrs Buckley finds proof on the school's acceptance of gay and lesbian learners - especially as she mentions that his appearance was corrected in the same sentence. This does the opposite of proving the school's acceptance of same-sex attraction; rather it expresses the school's discomfort with learners who are not masculine or feminine enough, which is construed as gay and lesbian identification. The taken-for-granted and assumed heterosexual identification of learners can be seen again, in Extract 3.20, at Rylands West School. Here, Mrs Mazibuko mentions that she "would not even know how to tackle" same-sex attraction because she has "never experienced that *mos* at school". Furthermore, she "doesn't know how [to] feel about it"; she neither "hate[s]" nor "love[s]" it but instead she feels that it is "strange".

Against the heterosexual adolescent subject as the conforming subject, put forth in the manuals as an important social change related to adolescence, both Life Orientation educators construct the gay and lesbian adolescent subject as an anomaly. In this way, the gay and lesbian adolescent subject is the rebellious subject in response to an implicit, assumed and taken-for-granted heterosexual culture, which represents the norm. This also has implications for the heterosexual adolescent subject

constructing particular heteronormative understandings of masculinity and femininity, as they are disciplined about it through their educators. This echoes Thorogood's (2000) analysis on sexuality education, drawing on a liberal humanist framework that produces normal 'hetero-masculinity' and 'hetero-femininity' as core categories that are involved in the regulation of social sexuality roles. As a result, talk about not being masculine or feminine enough emerges, which is automatically assumed to be gay and lesbian identification. Accordingly, the social changes that learners face as developing adolescent subjects entail conforming to, or rebelling against, heterosexuality as a prescribed social practice or gay and lesbian identity as a societal anomaly.

3) Transitioning heterosnormative adolescent subject positions

In this section, I look at the subject positions made available by the adolescent-as-transition and heteronormative discourses discussed above during the classroom observations, broadly termed 'transitioning heterosexual adolescent subject positions'. However, there were two key subject positions that emerged, which were taken up and resisted by the educators and learners during the lessons on sexuality education; the typical emotionally unstable adolescent subject position, and heteronormative subject positions.

3.1) The typical emotionally unstable adolescent subject position

I discuss the subject position of the typical emotionally unstable adolescent. The extract below is from a classroom observation, in which we see the subject positions that are produced during an educator facilitating a discussion on puberty.

> Extract 3.21
> She then says, "let's break the ice" and asks the learners how they felt when they went through this (puberty). One boy says he thought there was something wrong with him, another says he felts very shy, whilst another boy says that he told his mother and she said he must not be afraid and that it was a part of growing up. A girl also raises her hand and says that when she went through physical changes she also felt shy about it. The teacher then says, "this is the feeling, feeling awkward, shy, scared and self-blame." She focuses on learners talking about 'these changes' with their parents and what makes it difficult to do this. [Rylands West School Classroom Observation]

In Extract 3.21, the educator uses the words "let's break the ice" to facilitate the classroom discussion because she wants to know "how [learners] felt when they went through" puberty. Her words imply that learners may feel "awkward" in talking about the "physical changes" that they experience/d. Accordingly, she implicitly invokes the typical emotionally unstable adolescent subject position that

supports the developing adolescent subject position, in order to interactively positions learners as such. Learners, then, reflexively take up the former position; it constructs them as subjects who feel "shy", "afraid" and think there is "something wrong", in terms of concerning the physical changes accompanying adolescence. In turn, the educator remarks that "this is the feeling" as a way of affirming learners' comments. As the authority figure in the class, she legitimates learners' feelings by formally constructing them as "awkward", "shy", "afraid" and "self-blaming" subjects. In this way, she makes it known to learners that she takes their feelings seriously, which they should also do in order to overcome how "difficult" it is to "talk about these physical changes". This works to normalise not only adolescence as a time of transition but also emotional responses to the physical changes that learners will go through. In this way, it appears as though the learners feel comfortable to share their feelings with her, as she welcomes their suggestions and legitimates them in her discussion. Therefore, learners can identify as developing adolescent subjects through the "awkward" feelings they experience as typical emotionally unstable adolescent subjects. By default, then, the educator and learners' parents, as developed and emotionally stable subjects, occupy the position of people to whom learners should report their awkward feelings. This can be seen when the educator asks learners "how they felt" and "focuses on learners talking about these changes with their parents." These positions reinforce the adolescence-as-transition discourse as a stage of development in-between childhood and adulthood.

In the extract below, taken from the same classroom observation, the typical emotionally unstable adolescent as a developing subject takes on a gendered tone.

> Extract 3.22
> She asks them to turn to the page number in their textbooks of the exercise, and draws their attention to a picture on that page by saying that it may be hard and anxiety-provoking for them to look at it. The picture is about developmental changes that girls and boys go through. She focuses on the body of females and begins to talk about what girls go through during puberty; she focuses on the function of ovaries and the process of menstruation. She goes on to talk about the physical changes boys goes through and says that "they will notice something in their pants and they will know they are ready." She asks questions to facilitate discussion but the class sits in silence for a while before she moves on with the lesson. [Rylands West School Classroom Observation]

Once again, in Extract 3.22, the educator invokes the typical emotionally unstable adolescent subject position in order to interactively position learners as anxious. Positioning learners as feeling subjects appears to be a rationale for focusing on "the physical changes" that girls and boys "go through …

during puberty". Accordingly, she interactively positions learners as developing adolescent subjects; she spends more time "talk[ing] about what girls go through during puberty" such as "the function of ovaries and the process of menstruation" than boys. For the boys, she mentions that "they will notice something in their pants and they will know they are ready." In this way, the educator focuses on the sexual and reproductive health of girls rather than boys, which positions girls as reproductive subjects. The implications of this position are that female learners are neither girls nor women but somewhere in-between; they have the sexual characteristics of adult women but are not emotionally ready to have sex. Male learners are merely told to "notice" what happens "in their pants" and they will be "ready", which works to position them as sexual subjects. Furthermore, the learners' "silence" on this topic suggests that they are complicit in accepting how the educator interactively positions them, or they may find it difficult to openly resist such subject positions, coupled with the possibility that they may feel shy or awkward or that they lack the knowledge to contribute to, or challenge, the discussion. Therefore, the classroom discussion constructs social positions that reflect a gendered character, where the male learners are positioned as sexually desiring subjects and the female learners as reproductive beings.

3.2) Heteronormative subject positions

In the following extract, I look at the gendered subject positions that the heteronormative discourse makes available on the social changes accompanying adolescence. These positions were found during a sexuality education lesson at Clarins Hill High.

> Extract 3.23
>
> The educator reads two stories from the textbook, to illustrate the idea of a life role. The story is about a young girl who has a baby; she comes from a very poor family and the father of the child, her boyfriend, is uninvolved. The second story is about a boy who lives with his mother and sisters, his father is absent so he is forced to be the man of the house. She asks the class to identify life roles in the story. A girl says that the young girl is both a parent and a learner, in the first story. Another girl refers to the second story and says the boy acts as a learner and worker. Another girl responds to the first story by saying the girl is caring because she is a helper at home. The teacher asks the class what choices the girl made that changed her life forever. A girl says plainly the instant she got pregnant it changed her life. The teacher adds that the girl cannot go out with her friends like all the young people her age do and that her boyfriend has rejected her. A girl says if you are a young parent nothing has to change; a girl can be both a learner and a parent. Another girl says nothing should change; she should be able to do all the things she used to do. [Clarins Hill High classroom observation]

In Extract 3.23, the stories read in class talk to "life roles" that learners can expect to assume, particularly challenges that arise, which reflect the social changes accompanying adolescence. The stories construct subject positions that interactively position learners as "father", "mother", "[ex]boyfriend" and ex-girlfriend. These positions are "life roles" in that they reflect a heterosexual matrix of social arrangements such as dating relationships and the family. For instance, the first story tells of a "young girl who has a baby" and her ex-"boyfriend", "the father", "is uninvolved"; the second tells of "a boy who lives with his mother and sisters… is forced to be the man of the house" as "his father is absent". Against the heterosexual backdrop of social changes or "life roles" related to adolescence, two female learners position the "young girl" in the first story as a "parent", "learner", "caring" and domestic as "she is a helper at home" and another female learner positions "the boy" in the second story as a "learner" and "worker". These learners take up the gendered positionings that the stories make available on the social changes accompanying adolescence. Within a context of heterosexual relationships, these positions construct young women as occupied with parenthood and domesticity, and young men as occupied with the world of work. Interestingly, the educator focuses on positioning the girl in the first story as an agentic subject, one who "can be both a learner and a parent" but only to undermine these "choices [she] made that changed her life forever." In response to this, a female learner positions the girl as a "pregnant" teenager as this "instant[ly]… changed her life." Thereafter, the educator takes up the pregnant teenager position in order to position the girl further as a social outcast, by adding that the girl "cannot go out… like all the young people her age do" and "that her boyfriend has rejected her." However, two female learners resist positioning the girl as a social outcast; they affirm her agentic position by remarking "a girl can be both a learner and a parent" and that "nothing should change".

4) Bongani's conscious and unconscious investment in a 'playa' position

Bongani, a male learner from Clarins Hill High, who has also featured in the previous analysis chapters, draws on the heteronormative discourse to reflexively position himself as a 'playa'. This subject position is based on a set of meanings regarding the heteronormative social roles available to young men. The playa subject position, in particular, represents a peer group-based social role for young men within Bongani's school and community.

4.1) Brief personal background

Bongani, who featured in an earlier chapter, is 16 years old and resides with his mother, (Patricia) father, (Zakes) twin sister, Kaya, and two younger siblings, also twins. Bongani's maternal grandmother cared for him since birth but passed away when he was 8 years old. Her death had a big

impact on him as she assumed primary care for him whilst he was growing up as his mother and father had to work. He remarks that he has always been close to his mother and father growing up even though they were not able to spend much time with him. However, ever since entering high school, he remarks that his relationship with his father has been a source of tension. Bongani describes his father as strict, which has created distance between them. Conversely, he often talks to his mother about school and his life in general. According to Bongani, his father has been very unhappy ever since Kaya, his twin sister, left home to attend high school in another town. Zakes refused to let Kaya go but Patricia persuaded him to allow her to go because of the high schools in their immediate area having a bad reputation and negative influence on those who attended it. Bongani says he misses Kaya very much, although they see each other over school holidays. Bongani refused to go with Kaya because he favoured being closer to his friends and family over going to a 'better' school in another town. At present, he dislikes his high school because it is constantly understaffed, which hinders teaching and learning.

In his interview, Bongani draws on the discourse of heteronormativity. This is in order to talk about tensions he experiences with regard to a set of meanings concerning the social roles and/or demands of young men in his school and broader community. He does this by constructing multiple positions for young men in his school based on sexual prowess, related to power and respectability as a marker of masculinity. According to Bongani, these positions include the "boys", "men", "matured boys", the "playas" and "nerds". When talking about being a young man at his school, he said that "because there are men in this school, being a boy feels embarrassing." Bongani's embarrassment has to do with his cultural background; it is only once an isiXhosa-speaking male has gone through initiation[7] that he is considered a man. Therefore, male learners who have gone through initiation are considered men, while those who have not are considered boys, even though they are in the same school and in the same grade. Currently, Bongani has yet to go for initiation, and therefore he is still considered a boy, according to his culture. It is not clear, however, why he has not been sent for initiation by his family. Even though he has not yet been initiated, Bongani states, "it's more cooler to be a man than a boy… in our culture" because "it's like you become rich, everything comes to you… girls run after you, at home you get everything you want". However, Bongani identified as neither a man nor a boy but as a

[7] According to Vincent (2008), "[m]ale initiation is a highly significant isiXhosa rite of passage; it acts as the instrument for the transition from boyhood (*ubukhwenkwe* in Xhosa) to manhood (*ubudoda*). In isiXhosa custom, the ritual is performed most commonly on boys ranging between the ages of 15 and 25" (p. 79). The initiation involves a circumcision ritual.

"matured boy"; "for a matured boy you would have to be a playa", which is a boy that "[does] not like commitment and relationships" and who is a "risk-taker" with regard to being "sexually active".

Upon researching hegemonic forms of masculinity amongst adolescent males, Hyde, Drennan, and Howlett (2008) describe the player, or 'playa', as it used here, as a term used for a male who conquers many females for sex. Even though Bongani remarks, "I describe myself as a playa", he is aware that this position is frowned upon by his father, in particular. His father once "went through [his] things" and "saw condoms". He "confronted [Bongani]", saying that "[he] must be a child" and "mustn't do things that grown up people do." Bongani reiterates that he hardly talks to his father and vice versa, and that his father does not take an interest in his life. Bongani remarks that once he goes for initiation, he believes that his relationship with his father will improve, because his father will be able to relate to him more easily as a man or grown-up, than a boy or a child. Nonetheless, Bongani invokes the heteronormative discourse in order to position himself as a playa amidst competing subject positions. The extract below, taken from Bongani's interview, is read for the discourses that he invokes that construct the playa subject position, amidst competing ones, in order to look at the conscious and unconscious reasons that he invests in this particular subject position.

Extract 3.24

1. There are men in this school, *ja*, guys who are men, (2) being a boy (1) feels (.)
2. embarrassing.
3. **Where do you see yourself?**
4. A matured boy!
5. **How's that different to a boy?**
6. You know, to us boys in terms of being matured you have to be a playa.
7. *Ja*. I'd say if you aren't a matured boy you'll be a nerd. Because you know *mos*
8. nerds don't care much about girls. It's always school work and, *ja*.
9. **You're saying that you're a playa?**
10. [Laughs] *J::a*! I'd say that. I don't like relationships much, /*yoh*!/ /Uh uh!/
11. **You don't like relationships?**
12. /Uh huh!/ /*Yoh*!/ You know, relationships; it's like being married!
13. **How so?**
14. When you are married you only have one 'gyna!' [Appears to be a colloquialism
15. for 'vagina'] One gyna! There's this other comedian, this Indian comedian = **One**
16. **gyna as in one vagina?** = he's also a playa, he was confessing that he was a playa.
17. He said that your parents will complain that: "Son, you're getting older now! You
18. have to get married." And then he's like telling his parents: "No, like when I'm
19. married it's like I'm only gonna have one gyna when there are plenty of gynas in

20. this world I can have" *Ja*. So when that guy was saying that it's also like that to me.
21. **To put it in the language you used, you don't want one gyna you want many**
22. **gynas at the moment?**
23. [Laughs] *Ja*!.
24. **And then what about the men in this school, are they playas as well?**
25. [Clicks his tongue] /*Haa*/ *suka*! [isiZulu/isiXhosa word for 'move' but used in this instance as
26. 'get out of here' or 'get real'] /Haa/ *suka*! [Laughs] (2) Come, let me think. There
27. are some (2) in Grade 12, not in Grade 10 and Grade 11. These guys are in
28. committed relationships and all that. /*Aiy*/ it's boring! (2) It's better, I think it's
29. better that you be a playa than being what /err/ a committed guy.
30. **So you want to be a playa right now?**
31. *Ja*, forever!
32. **How does that fit in at this school, to be a playa?**
33. *Ja*, there are many girls here who like boys. *Ja*, they like that, some of them. It
34. depends on how you persuade them. [Laughs] You know, I get surprised
35. sometimes when I see, you know there's this time when I was just standing at my
36. house, /*nê*/. And I saw this girl, pretty girl, going up the street. *Ja*. and then I
37. thought let me go and talk to her, and I spoke to her. And I was surprised she
38. knows my name. I was like 'how do you know my name?', and all that. And then I
39. asked her 'where are you schooling?' She never answered. Then I said 'is it
40. Norton?' She never answered. 'Is it Ntombi?' Then I thought, I called all the high
41. schools that are here in the location. And then I was like if it's not then it's
42. obvious, it's Clarins Hill. And then she laughed. And then I was like, 'how do you
43. know my name?' So I'd say *j::a*, I am popular, not in a way that everyone knows
44. me, okay, as that guy whose been to that girl and that girl and girl. *Ja*, in a way that
45. people know me whereas I don't, I never spoke to them but they know my name.

4.2) Content

In the extract above, Bongani invokes the discourse of heteronormativity in order to construct multiple subject positions available to young men based on how they appeal to the opposite sex. There are two subject positions in the opening line of the extract Bongani draws on in order to interactively position male learners in his school: the "men" (l. 1) versus the "boys" (l. 1). According to him, the 'men' are in "committed relationships" (l. 28), whilst being a boy is "embarrassing" (l. 2). The implication here is that amidst the social roles available to male learners, the man subject position is seen as more culturally desirable by the opposite sex than the boy subject position, based on Bongani's cultural context of initiation as an entrance into manhood. He also constructs the "nerd" (l. 7) subject position so as to interactively position some male learners as uninterested in heterosexual relationships because their focus is "always school work" (l. 8) and that they "don't care much about girls" (l. 8). Bongani

resists all of these subject positions to reflexively position himself as a "playa" (l. 6). He defines a playa as a "matured boy" (l. 4 and 6) who is interested in multiple sexual relationships with members of the opposite sex, which he puts as wanting "plenty of gynas" (l. 19-23) whilst not being restricted to "one gyna" (l. 14-23). In this way, Bongani also interactively positions girls as sexual objects who represent sexual conquests to him. Towards the end of the extract and based on the playa subject position, he constructs this position as a "popular" (l. 43) social role amidst male and female learners. In summary, then, Bongani invokes multiple subject positions for male learners based on the extent to which they depict learners in relation to the opposite sex. According to Bongani, the most popular social role is the playa subject position he reflexively draws on, whilst he interactively positions other male learners as men who are in committed relationships, boys and nerds, which are not popular social roles.

4.3) Structure

The discourses that Bongani draws upon, and the subject positions that he constructs for himself and other male learners, contribute to the "I am popular" (l. 43) story that he tells. The plot and characters tell of a male learner who identifies multiple social roles for male learners at his school (namely, playas, men, boys and nerds) and that he identifies with the most popular role as seen by other learners, especially female learners, which is the playa subject position that he constructs for himself. The other social roles he identifies for other male learners occupy a peripheral one in terms of popularity.

In the first sequence, Bongani distinguishes between two social roles for young men – the man and boy subject position. He constructs the latter position as "embarrassing" (l. 2) and inferior to the former, because at school, men are seemingly more attractive to female learners than boys. However, he resists reflexively positioning himself as both a man and a boy but rather interactively positions other male learners this way. It is also important to note that the man position is not culturally open to him as he has not yet gone through the process of initiation. He does not mention this cultural exclusion, but rather sets up an alternate position that allows him to eschew the boy position while not fundamentally questioning the role of initiation. This has the effect of evoking curiosity with regard to where he stands in relation to these positions, especially when he devalues the boy position and idealises the man position. This shifts to the second sequence of the story, where he reflexively positions himself as a playa amidst the polarising views of male learners that he constructs. Again, this has the effect of evoking my curiosity, as the listener, as to why he positions himself as a playa over the man subject position, and how a playa is different to a man. He goes on to devalue the man subject

position because men are in committed relationships, which he remarks is “boring” (l. 28). On the other hand, being a playa is “better” (l. 29) than being a man because playas do not have to contend with commitment which feels like “being married” (l. 12). As listeners, we see that the playa subject position permits him power and respectability, as markers of heteronormative masculinity in that it allows him to stand out from other male learners at school.

In the final sequence, he tells a story of a girl with whom he was flirting; he had met this girl for the first time whilst she was walking in his neighbourhood but she happened to know his name which “surprised” (l. 37) him. The first two sequences position him as different to other male learners - at the expense of devaluing their social roles whilst elevating his. The final sequence appears to bolster his social role as a playa even more with regard to being unique and popular, which he may hope causes causes the listener to be in awe of him. Therefore, the structure of Bongani’s story is designed to identify the social roles that the boys in his school identify with and he organises it according to a hierarchy in terms of the most socially desirable to the least. He does so by identifying the lower-ranking social roles such as the boys, nerds and men, and finally he talks about his role, the playa, which he considers to be the best social role.

4.4) Interruptions

There are two major interruptions in Bongani’s “I am popular” narrative, pointing to a motivated story-telling which suggests motivations, conscious and unconscious, for his investment in the playa subject position. The first interruption occurs when he mentions that “men [at] this school” (l. 1) make “being a boy feel embarrassing” (l. 1-2). In this way, he introduces a dichotomy between men and boys at school where the former appears to be more socially desirable than the latter. The sense is that he would identify as a man in order to distance himself from the boy subject position. However, he interrupts the dichotomy when he identifies himself as a “matured boy” and a “playa” (l. 4, 6). This indicates that he wishes to distance himself from both the man and boy subject position. It also points to his acute awareness of the distinction between boys and men at his school, with respect to the social roles available to him - especially as he identifies with neither position. The playa subject position, however, offers some refuge for him; it interrupts the man-boy dichotomy and is designed to distinguish him from the men and boys at school so that he stands out - but it also serves to deflect attention away from not yet having gone through the process of initiation. This is consistent with the story he tells about being popular, especially with the opposite sex.

The second interruption occurs when he interrupts the socially desirable role of the man subject position, especially within his culture. He remarks that men are "boring" (l. 28) because they are in "committed relationships" (l. 28) and that being a "playa" is "better" (l. 29) and thus more socially desirable as it affords him "plenty gynas" (l. 19). Interrupting the cultural significance of being a man means that he is able to devalue this social role. This is important when one considers that, according to his culture, he is not yet a man because he has not yet participated in the initiation ritual in order to become a man. In this way, the interruptions allow him to identify with the playa position because he is not yet a man culturally, which means that he is a boy by default. He is able then to thwart feelings of embarrassment for being a boy, according to his culture. He does this by overcompensating for not being a man by constructing the playa subject position for himself. The interruptions, then, help Bongani to mask feelings of embarrassment related to not being a man, as yet, by devaluing boyhood and manhood in order to construct a unique yet idealised speaking position for him – the playa.

4.5) Linguistic devices

The linguistic devices that Bongani uses also lend credibility to his story; to dissuade listeners from questioning his investment in the playa subject position. Firstly, he uses emotionally evocative words such as "embarrassing", (l. 2) "boring", (l. 28) "*yoh*" (l. 10 and 12) and "*suka*" (l. 25 and 26). These words devalue the boy and man subject position in that "being a boy feels embarrassing"; (l. 2-3) men "are in committed relationships" (l. 27-28) which is "boring"; (l. 28) "*suka*", an isiZulu/isiXhosa word for 'get out of here', is used to rule out the likelihood that men are playas too; "*yoh*" precedes "I don't like relationships" (l. 10) and "you know, relationships". (l. 12) respectively, emphasises his dislike for a practice that playas do not partake in but men do. These devaluing linguistic devices convince listeners that being a boy or a man has little value, which depicts Bongani's 'playa' position as preferable.

Secondly, he uses the phrase, "you know" several times; (l. 6, 7, 12, 34, 35 and 38) examples of which include, "[y]ou know, to us boys in terms of being matured you have to be a playa"; (l. 6); "you know *mos*, nerds don't care about girls" (l. 7-8) and, "[y]ou know, relationships; it's like being married" (l. 12). In each instance, "you know" qualifies the statement that follows by assuming that the listener shares his sentiments. This makes it hard to question the claims he makes about nerds and relationships, which are designed to devalue boys and men, and idealise playas.

In lines 34 and 35, Bongani's use of "you know" unintentionally produces its own meaning to contradict his original intention. Here, "you know" draws attention to a "pretty girl" (l. 36) who

"surprised" (l. 37) him; she "kn[e]w [his] name" (l. 38) even though he had "never spoke[n]" (l. 45) to her. Although he wanted to know from her "how do you know my name?", repeated twice in lines 38 and 42 to 43, he deduces that she knows it from attending the same school as he does. It is interesting to note the change from "you know" to "how do you know?" This begs the question, should he feel surprised that she knew his name, given that he is a playa, which according to him, comes with being "popular"?, (l. 43). Furthermore, he continuously feels "surprised", because "people know me whereas I don't [know them]; I [have] never spoke[n] to them but they know my name" (l. 45). In this way, the shift in his language from "you know" to "how do you know?" undermines his position as a playa in that it points to feelings of uncertainty related to his position as a playa. His language, along with the interruptions in his story, suggests that he unconsciously defends against feeling embarrassed by devaluing boys and men and idealising the playa.

4.6) Reflexivity

I met Bongani in an all-boy focus group interview and I was struck by his peripheral position as the other boys interacted with one another. However, he was the most vocal during the focus group interview and he disclosed, as noted earlier, the time his father found condoms in his room. I wondered about this, suggesting that he is sexually active and intended to depict him less as a boy and more as a man in front of all the other boys. During the individual interview, I also reflected on my position as a slighter older man from a university and the impact that this may have on him, as not yet a man. My sense was that he used our first interview as a platform so that his masculinity could be recognised. He regaled me with several stories about his sexual prowess which constructed him as a playa. He spoke in a standoffish tone, devoid of emotional expressiveness. I felt annoyed by his need to overcompensate for feeling like a boy rather than a man, which tapped into the idea of the alpha male that I felt uncomfortable with and shied away from when I was growing up. The second interview however, was very different.

At the outset, he felt "surprised [that] [I] [had] made time to take note of everything [he] had to say about [his] life", based on the first interview. As a side note, the extract included here is from Thami's first interview. He was less invested in rehashing the playa bravado in the second interview but talked of "feel[ing] loved[in that] it doesn't matter if you're a playa, everybody needs that feeling." I noticed a softer and more vulnerable side of him coming through in the second interview. I experienced him at that point as a young man, searching for an older male that could support him during a phase of his life where he was coming to terms with becoming a man. My subjective experience of Bongani suggests that he overcompensates for the softer and more vulnerable side of him, which, as I noted, became

apparent during the second interview. The playa and masculine bravado that he performed in the first interview suggests that he may feel vulnerable with regard to not being classified as a man, according to his culture, because he had not yet gone through his initiation process. His need to overcompensate for not being a man becomes apparent, especially when he is in the company of other young men, such as myself, but also with his peers, and even more so with his father. The company of men seems to provoke much anxiety in Bongani to prove that he is man enough through his investment in the playa position, which represents, in some ways, a sexually exaggerated version of what it means to be a man.

In summary, Bongani invokes the discourse of heteronormativity in order to construct multiple subject positions that are available to male learners; the 'categories' that he creates for them which he feels that they fall under. He relies on these subject positions in order to tell a story that talks to the role of a playa as more popular, especially amongst the opposite sex, than other roles that male learners assume. I also argued that the interruptions and linguistic devices within the extract suggest that he does this in order to overcompensate for feeling embarrassed that he is still perceived and classified a boy, according to his culture. This is why he inflates and idealises the playa position - to the extent that he devalues other male learners who are boys and men - in order to feel less anxious about this. His anxiety was evident when he devalued me during the first interview; he felt threatened talking to a young man (me) about what it feels like to be a male learner in his school. This prompted him to invest in a playa position as a way of protecting himself from the boy and man subject position which makes him feel weak and less of a man, especially in relation to the opposite sex.

5) Conclusion

In this chapter, I firstly argued that the adolescence-as-transition discourse and the discourse of heteronormativity inform how one can talk about the transitioning heteronormative adolescent. Both discourses construct three broad sets of meaning concerning the physical, emotional and social changes related to adolescence. The physical changes emphasise biological and 'scientific' views about sex that serve to construct learners as developing and/or sexually mature adolescent subjects who are neither children nor adults and not ready for sex. The physical changes also prescribe physical hygiene practices, which construct female learners as preoccupied with physical grooming whilst male learners focus on enhancing their physical and muscular strength. The emotional changes invoke the 'storm and stress' view of adolescence that normalises and constructs the emotionally unstable adolescent subject; in particular, female learners are constructed as tearful whilst male learners are aggressive. Lastly, I discussed the social changes that construct the conforming and rebellious

adolescent subject, in relation to the heterosexual adolescent subject as the norm and the gay and lesbian adolescent subject as the anomaly.

Secondly, as noted in the classroom observations, the discourses made available transitioning heterosexual adolescent-based subject positions, specifically the emotionally unstable adolescent subject position and heteronormative subject positions. Female learners were positioned as more emotionally unstable and anxious than male learners. Furthermore, female learners were positioned according to heteronormative roles that are more constricting and open to scrutiny than male learners. In particular, girls/young women were positioned as domestic-based and skilled, and boys/young men as employed and as breadwinners.

Thirdly, and lastly, Bongani, a male learner, drew on the discourse of heteronormativity that served to construct a set of meanings concerning the heterosexual social roles available to young men. He positioned himself as a playa, an outcrop of the man and boy subject position, as social roles that he claims that male learners at his school assume. According to his culture, he will be a man once he has undergone the initiation process, but until then he remains a boy in the eyes of his culture. This has implications for Bongani's investment in particular forms of masculinity which are considered acceptable and desirable in his community, where the playa position seems to exaggerate sexual prowess and sexual conquest over the opposite sex as a marker of masculine respectability. A fine-grained analysis of an extract from his interview suggests that he unconsciously devalues the subject position of a boy and man, and in turn idealises the subject position of a playa. This allowed him to overcompensate for feeling embarrassed that he is still a boy and not yet a man, by investing in the playa subject position, which is a desirable position amid transitioning from a boy to a man.

Chapter 10 Gendered Power Relations, Roles and Raunch Culture

1) Introduction

Gendered power relations and roles were a major theme that emerged in the Life Orientation manuals, the classroom observations and an interview with a female learner, Siya. This theme is interwoven with the practice of raunch culture that appeared in the lyrics and video to *Beez in the Trap*, a song by Nicki Minaj which was one of the three most popular songs voted by learners in their questionnaires (mentioned in the methodology chapter). I discuss three broad sections herein that talk to: (1) the discourses on gendered power relations, gender roles and raunch culture; (2) the interactive and reflexive subject positions these discourses make available, and, (3) Siya's conscious and unconscious investment in a particular subject position, amidst multiple positions that she reflexively drew upon.

In the first section I identify three discourses: a gendered power relations discourse, a traditional versus a progressive gender roles discourse, and a raunch culture discourse. The first discourse is organised around two coherent sets of meanings featured in the Life Orientation manuals that include, (i) relations characterised by the intersection of gender and power and (ii) the influence of gender inequality on relationships. The second discourse also features in the manuals and the lyrics and video to Nicki Minaj's song, and it coheres around two sets of meanings, including, (i) the traditional and progressive gender roles, and (ii) the powerful and threatening woman, respectively. The third discourse features solely in the music video and is based on a set of meanings that talk to the sexually explicit woman. In the second section I identify two sets of interactive and reflexive subject positionings that the discourses made available in the Life Orientation sexuality education lessons, which learners and educators took up and/or resisted. These include, (i) the discriminating man and the discriminated-against woman, and (ii) the rapist and sexual victim. In the third, and final, section I analyse Siya's conscious and unconscious investment in the mean girl subject position, which is made available from the progressive and traditional gender roles discourse that she invokes in her talk during her one-on-one interview with me.

2) Discourses

2.1) A gendered power relations discourse

The extracts below are from the Life Orientation manuals. They invoke a gendered power relations discourse that specifies two coherent sets of meanings; that of (i) relations characterised by the intersection of gender and power and (ii) the influence of gender inequality on relationships.

(i) Relations characterised by the intersection of gender and power

> Extract 4.1
> Power relations: a relationship where one person has power over the other person or persons [Attwell et al., 2011, p 12].
>
> Extract 4.2
> In a balanced relationship people have equal power. In an unbalanced relationship one person has power over the other. The more power a person has, the more she/he is able to dominate others. If one person has more power and is in charge, the person with less power has less freedom [Doubell et al., 2011, p. 8].
>
> Extract 4.3
> Gender: being male or female
> Masculine: being male
> Feminine: being female [Attwell et al., 2011, p.13].
>
> Extract 4.4
> [P]ower is distributed according to gender [Doubell et al., 2011, p. 9].
>
> Extract 4.5
> Men have much more power than women in most societies [Attwell et al., 2011, p. 13].

According to Extract 4.1, power relations are defined according to a juridico-discursive view of power, one that Foucault (1980; 1982) argues is a commonly-held misconception. This is an all-or-nothing view of power where power is "a relationship" characterised by "one person" having "power over the other person". Extract 4.2 elaborates on this power relation. It juxtaposes the words "balanced" and "unbalanced relationships" in order to denote relationships that are characterised by "equal power" versus relationships where the power of one is used to "dominate" and diminish the "freedom" of another. Both of these extracts thus construct a binary subject positioning, based on the powerful subject versus the powerless subject. Building on Extracts 4.1 and 4.2, Extract 4.3 provides a

definition of gender that is essentialist and steeped in biology. Gender and being masculine and feminine is defined as "being male" or "being female". This view neglects the role that society or culture plays in the construction of gender and rather sees gender as being influenced by intrinsic differences. This essentialist take on gender is then described in Extract 4.4 as a site where "power is distributed" and Extract 4.5 observes that "men have much more power than women in most societies." Collectively, these extracts put forth an innateness that constitutes and contributes to men having more power than women, coupled by invoking a juridico-discursive view of power. In this way, the above extracts position men as innately powerful subjects whilst women are innately powerless subjects.

(ii) The influence of gender inequality on relationships

The binary gendered subject positioning, in relation to power, is taken up further in the extracts from the Life Orientation manuals below, in order to reflect relationships characterised by gender-based inequalities.

> Extract 4.6
> At the end of last year, Avril and Freddy married. Over the past three months, Freddy locked Avril up in their flat. During this time she was tied to a chain where her husband kicked her, hit her with a broomstick, ripped her scalp from her head and poured boiling hot water over her body. The septum of her nose was destroyed. She lost several teeth. Freddy left her to starve. Neighbours reported their concerns to the caretaker of the building. They heard the constant weeping and begging coming from Avril, but the caretaker said it's a police matter. Finally, someone reported it to the police and after being battered for three months, Avril was finally saved from her living hell. Freddy is held in custody and an investigation of attempted murder is investigated. [Avril's] children say they realized their mother was very naïve about Freddy. She easily fell for his charms and empty promises [Doubell et al., 2011, p. 12].

> Extract 4.7
> Gender-based violence is violence against women based on what is often considered to be women's lower status in society. It includes any act or threat by men or male dominated institutions that cause physical, sexual and psychological harm [Attwell et al., 2011, p 18]

> Extract 4.8
> Girls and women are often victims of sexual abuse [Attwell et al., 2011, p 17].

Extract 4.6 is an insert of a true life story from one of the Life Orientation manuals. In this instance, marriage is used to illustrate how gender inequality permeates relationships characterised by unequal

power relations. The story positions women as docile and masochistic whilst men are positioned as violent and sadistic. Furthermore, in Extract 4.7, gender inequality takes on the form of "gender-based violence" which "is violence against women" and it "includes any act or threat by men". Here, women are positioned as victims of violence whilst men are perpetrators of this. Extract 4.8 also positions "girls and women [as] … victims of sexual abuse", which implicitly positions boys and men as perpetrators of sexual abuse. In this way, the extracts construct gendered subject positions as permutations of unequal power relations that characterise gender-based inequalities. These gendered positions also reflect the distribution of power within heterosexual relationships in ways that do not capture the more subtle and complex forms of gendered power relations, such as men positioned as sexual victims or violence within same-sex relationships.

2.2) A traditional and progressive gendered roles discourse

The gendered subject positionings, in relation to power relations, cohere around a set of meanings on traditional and progressive gender roles which are supported by a traditional and progressive gender roles discourse. Sunderland (2004) identifies such discourses as part of a broader feminist discourse, propagated during the 1970s and bent on uncovering patriarchal systems of domination that privilege the interests of men whilst subjugating those of women. The following extracts depict the construction of these gender roles as implicated in power relations.

Extract 4.9

> Men have power for a number of reasons. One of these reasons is traditional gender roles. These rules hold that being masculine means being dominant, whilst being feminine means being submissive. In some families gender power roles are still perpetuated. For example, girls must tidy their brothers' rooms and do the household chores, while boys do not have to do anything in the house. Boys can also tell their sisters what to do [Attwell et al., 2011, p. 13].

Extract 4.10

> In the past, to be considered masculine, a man had to be powerful and dominant. It was thought that real men should be in charge of their wives and children and be the breadwinners. They would focus on education and their careers. Femininity for women meant accepting that they were less powerful than men. A feminine woman was nurturing, soft and caring. She wanted to stay at home and look after the children. She was happy to do all the cooking and housework and to make herself physically appealing to men. Old ideas of masculinity and femininity are now outdated and power should be equally shared between people regardless of their sex or gender. Men and women are free to choose their roles in society. Today, men and women should have balanced relationships without either person dominating the other [Doubell et al., 2011, p. 11].

Extract 4.9 establishes that “traditional gender roles” are the “reasons “that “[m]en have power”, based on the subject positions that these roles construct for men (as “dominant”) and women (as “submissive”). The extract also shows how traditional gendered subject positions unfold within family structures so as to perpetuate gendered power relations, such as, “girls must tidy their brothers’ rooms and do the household chores, while boys do not have to do anything in the house”. Extract 4.10 draws on the traditional and progressive gender roles discourse in order to compare and contrast “[o]ld ideas” with “today[‘s]” ideas of “masculinity” and “femininity”. The traditional discourse is invoked to position men as “powerful”, “dominant” and “breadwinners”, and women as “nurturing”, “soft” and “caring” “in the past”. Thereafter, the progressive discourse is invoked to show that, based on worry, men and women conformed to traditional roles to be seen as “masculine or feminine enough”. Currently, they are “free to choose their roles in society”, which draws on a neo-liberal discourse. Comparing and contrasting traditional and progressive gender roles shows that unequal gendered power relations thrive because of the former, when “it was thought that real men should be in charge of their wives and children”. The logic follows that traditional gender roles must be left in the past because they harbour unequal gendered power relations. The interlocking relationship between the gendered power relations discourse, and the progressive and traditional discourse constructs acceptable and unacceptable subject positions that are simplistic and reductionist – the modern man and woman versus the traditional man and woman, respectively.

The progressive discourse is drawn on in the lyrical content of the song, *Beez in the Trap*, by Nicki Minaj. The lyrics centre on Nicki asserting herself within the hip hop music industry where competition for the top spot amongst female musicians is fierce. Woldu (2006) observes that hip hop is a genre dominated by men; however, this has not stopped women from competing, which has represented a challenge to unequal gendered power relations. The lyrics to *Beez in the Trap* communicate a set of meanings on *the powerful and threatening woman*. The song begins with the chorus, below.

Extract 4.11
Bitches ain’t shit and they ain’t sayin’ nothing
A hundred motherfuckers can’t tell me nothing
I beez in the trap, bee beez in the trap [repeated twice]

In these lines, Nicki constructs herself as a powerful and self-entitled woman, in relation to "bitches" (women) who "ain't shit" and "ain't sayin' nothing", whilst "a hundred motherfuckers can't tell [her] nothing". She positions herself as a "bee" to indicate she is threatening; she conflates the double meaning of 'bee', the noun, with 'be', the verb, which translates as "beez". In this way, she "beez in the trap"; 'trap' is hip hop vernacular for a place where the wealth is situated. Thus, she is saying that she is a dangerous woman who is in possession of a lot of wealth and power. The first verse follows this, as seen below.

Extract 4.12
Man I been did that, man I been popped off
And if she ain't trying to give it up she get dropped off
Let me bust that U-ie, bitch bust that open
Might spend a couple thou' just to bust that open
Rip it off no jokin' like your name Hulk Hogan
Nigga's move weight in the South but live in Hoboken
Bitch, I spit that crack like I'm in that trap
So if you need a hit then I'm with that bat

From the first verse Nicki talks about how she "beez" or, performs, the role of a powerful and threatening woman "in the trap". She talks about working hard to establish herself as a rapper/musician ("I been did that") and how it included being rejected by music executives ("I been popped off"). However, she persevered ("might spend a couple thou") and eventually got a contract which lead to wealth ("bust that open"). Now that she has success ("I spit that crack like I'm in that trap") she is watchful and protective over the success of other female musicians overshadowing hers ("if you need a hit then I'm with that bat"). Nicki also uses very explicit language, a commonplace amongst rappers, in order to express themselves in ways considered tough and masculine. In this way, her language disrupts traditional notions of femininity. From this verse, she is positioned as protective, in addition to being powerful, determined and threatening. This is followed by Nicki rapping to the final verse seen below.

Extract 4.13
Man, I'm out in Texas. Man, I'm out in A-town
Then I'm up in Chi-town or Miami shuttin' it down
It's that New Orleans, it's L.A or The Bay
It's New York, Philly and the whole DMV
I'm a Detroit Player, man it's North-South Cack

Ohio, Pittsburgh, got St Louis on deck
It's Delaware, Connecticut, it's New Jersey got hella bricks
It's Queens, Brooklyn, and yeah, they're wildin'
Bronx, Harlem and Staten Island

In the above verse, Nicki boasts about all the places she has been since becoming a successful rapper ("Texas", "Miami", "New Orleans", "New York", "Ohio", "Delaware", "New Jersey" and others). Performing in all these places positions Nicki as a veteran in the music industry, which is further evidence that she has worked hard to be where she is. Collectively, the lyrics position Nicki as powerful, threatening, protective and a veteran or professional. These subject positionings are suggestive of the progressive discourse, constructing a coherent set of meanings on the modern, assertive and competitive woman. In many ways, Nicki represents the kind of progressive woman or set of gender roles that the Life Orientation manuals put forth (seen in Extract 4.10) on striving for equitable gendered practices and relations. The idea of the modern or progressive woman seems to be consistent in both sets of data. However, Nicki may represent an extreme version - or unintended consequence - of the Life Orientation manuals, drawing on a progressive gender roles discourse so as to address gender inequality. This effect of Nicki representing an extreme version of the progressive woman that the Life Orientation manuals argue for becomes clearer in the raunch culture discourse that takes the sexuality of woman into account. I examine this below.

2.3) Raunch culture discourse

The traditional and progressive gender roles discourse intersects in complex ways with the raunch culture discourse, also found in *Beez in the Trap* and particularly in the music video that accompanies the song. The music video constructs a coherent set of meanings on the sexually explicit woman. According to Levy, (2005) a discourse on raunch culture measures the freedom and empowerment of women in the twenty-first century, according to the power she wields as an explicit sexually desirable and desiring subject. The music video for *Beez in the Trap* takes up the set of meanings on the powerful and threatening woman found in the lyrics further to include sexuality.

The video to *Beez in the Trap* is filmed entirely inside a night club, and empty rooms dimly lit, presumably, as extensions of the club. In the night club, Nicki is seen with several scantily clad women surrounding her and she dances and interacts with them suggestively. These women take up a submissive position to Nicki as she is positioned, literally, as centre of the interaction. However, the men in the club do not have access to Nicki as the women do. Instead the men are positioned as distant

to her. Over the course of the video, Nicki is clad in three outfits: firstly, a pink leotard, yellow high heels, platinum blonde hair and bright blue eye shadow; secondly, a psychedelic printed two-piece bikini, thick gold necklaces, green hair and green eye shadow; and thirdly, a figure-hugging leopard print jump suit, black and red high heels, black hair and blue eye shadow. These outfits objectify Nicki in sexually explicit ways that would be construed as whorish and vulgar - rather than virginal and demure - which are traditional and conventional ways that women are expected to dress. Furthermore, she assumes four poses, in terms of her overall demeanour, throughout the video. Firstly, she is stand-offish; she has a vacant facial expression when she looks into the camera and engages with women and men in the club. Secondly, she is sexualised in her attire and how she caresses her body, the women around her, and the way she dances. Thirdly, she is aggressive and hostile when she raps that shows in her body language whilst contorting her face to convey attitude. Lastly, she exaggerates her face in comical ways, suggestive of a mad woman. As the audience, our gaze fixes on Nicki as a powerful woman who overtly sexualises herself in threatening, hostile yet comical and ridiculous ways, and she is depicted as in control of the women and men around her.

Based on the settings, objects, poses and gaze within the video, Nicki is positioned as a powerful woman which intersects with how she is also positioned as a sexually desirable and desiring subject. She wields power through her sexuality so as to establish control of the people surrounding her. Furthermore, the sexually desirable and desiring position is interwoven with subject positions, made available by the traditional gender roles discourse, that position Nicki as girly and Barbie doll-like. The video invokes this discourse by exaggerating a set of meanings on feminine softness, related to the objects and poses. For the objects, Nicki's clothing, hair and make-up are over-the-top, garish and border on ridiculous, which inform, whilst juxtaposing, the girly and comical poses she assumes. The exaggerated set of meanings on feminine softness positions Nicki as girly and Barbie doll-like in an ironic way. The multiple subject positionings of Nicki are offset even further when she is also positioned as a gangsta, or hoodlum, involved in everyday hustling – a practice rappers draw on to fashion a hip hop aesthetic that communicates physical aggressiveness and mental toughness. In this way, the traditional and progressive gender roles discourse overlaps with the raunch culture discourse so as to position Nicki in multiple, complex yet contradictory ways. Moreover, the irony on the girly and Barbie doll positions challenge the sexually-desiring and desirable subject. They do so by re-enacting unequal power relations that talk to misogynistic portrayals of women, in turn ridiculing constructions of femininity.

In summary, the Life Orientation manuals invoke the gendered power relations discourse so as to construct a set of meanings of men as powerful and women as powerless – a juridico-discursive view of power. Furthermore, the manuals draw on the traditional-versus-progressive gender roles discourse in order to construct a set of meanings on progressive gender roles, especially for women. These serve to challenge traditional gender roles as a way of achieving gender equality and addressing unequal gendered power relations. The set of meanings on progressive gender roles is taken up further in Nicki Minaj's *Beez in the Trap* that positions her as the powerful and threatening woman. However, *Beez in the Trap* also draws on a raunch culture discourse so as to position Nicki as a sexually explicit, desiring and desired subject. This discourse challenges the gendered power relations discourse because it accords women with power, in particular, sexual forms of power. The raunch culture discourse complicates the juridico-discursive view of power by constructing women not as sexually desired but also sexually desiring, as one way that women are capable of wielding power for their benefit and pleasure. Moreover, the raunch culture discourse in *Beez in the Trap* ironically constructs multiple feminine subject positions in ways that disrupt the binary between traditional and progressive feminine roles.

3) Interactive and reflexive subject positions

In the following section, I look at two sets of interactive and reflexive subject positionings that learners and the educators take up and/or resist. Each one was made available during a classroom observation at Clarins Hill High and Rylands West School. The first set is on the discriminating man and the discriminated-against women subject position. The second set talks to the rapist and sexual victim subject positions where men are positioned as the former and women as the latter.

3.1) The discriminating man and discriminated-against woman subject position

The set of extracts below are from a classroom observation at Clarins Hill High that depict a set of subject positions that are based on the discriminating man and the discriminated-against woman, taken up, and/or resisted by, Mrs Buckley (the educator, introduced in an earlier analysis chapter) and the learners. These positions are an outcrop of the powerful man and powerless woman subject positions made available by the gendered power relations discourse.

Extract 4.14

The teacher continues to ask the class if there is gender discrimination in South Africa. They all reply 'yes'. The teacher proceeds to ask leading questions regarding isiXhosa culture and how men discriminate against women. Learners are very preoccupied with talking to each other. A group of female learners

respond that men think that women cannot rule the world and occupy powerful positions. Male learners are laughing while female learners are responding to the teachers.

Extract 4.15

The teacher seems to take the discussion further by asking male learners to put themselves in a situation where they have wives and how would they feel. They engage with this in a humorous way; making jokes about marrying a rich women and having her take care of him while he does nothing. Male learners comment that women should be in the house cooking and cleaning. A girl responds saying that she will marry a rich man, and his salary must come to her because she "gives him everything he wants whenever he asks". It seems like she is referring to sex, especially the tone in which she conveys this. She has a naughty grin on her face and seems to be very proud of what she has said. Immediately after she says this the entire class erupts into laughter.

Extract 4.16

The teacher goes to another girl. This girl tells of how her aunt's husband cooks all the time, and she says that it is good for men to be in the kitchen. Everyone claps furiously in response to this comment, including the teacher. However, a boy and girl make comments about how they feel that this is not right; men should not be in the kitchen and cook as women must do this.

Extract 4.17

The teacher, then gender discrimination when girls wear mini-skirts at taxi ranks; girls cannot wear mini-skirts here because they are discriminated against. The teacher responds that men make women feel uncomfortable in [about] their clothes., refocuses the discussion by asking her original question about whether there gender discrimination in South Africa. Some learners respond saying 'too much'. A female learner replies that there is

In Extract 4.14, Mrs Buckley implicitly and interactively positions male learners and female learners as discriminating men and discriminated-against women, respectively, by asking "leading questions" on how "men discriminate against women". The learners, initially, acquiesce to Mrs Buckley's questions, and by implication take up these subject positionings. This spurs a "group of female learners" to reflexively position themselves as "powerful", in response to feeling discriminated against as women, because "men think that women cannot rule the world and occupy powerful positions." At the same time, they also interactively position male learners as supporters of men who discriminate against women. The male learners respond to these comments by "laughing", which makes them appear complicit, and in turn positions them, by default, as discriminating men who do not welcome the empowerment of women.

In Extract 4.15, Mrs Buckley continues to interactively position male learners as discriminating men based on their complicity; she appeals to how they would "feel" if they "have wives" in order to invoke feelings of guilt by contextualising this position within intimate relationships. In response, they actively resist this by humorously invoking the powerful woman subject position so as to position themselves as benefactors of "marrying a rich woman" who "will take care of him while he does nothing." In this way, they mock Mrs Buckley, and the female learners, for positioning them as discriminating men. They may also be calling attention to women who are benefactors of rich men. This prompts some male learners to go on the offensive by invoking a set of sexist meanings, which interactively positions female learners, and women in general, as domestic subjects who "should be in the house cooking and cleaning." In turn, a female learner humorously responds to the domestic subject position. She does so by reflexively positioning herself as a benefactor of the domestic subject and as a sexually desirable subject who "will marry a rich man" whose "salary must come to her" because she will "give him everything he wants whenever he asks." This learner draws on a set of meanings concerning sexually powerful women so as to resist the idea that domesticity means having less power and is a site of domination. This is in light of male learners invoking domesticity in order to make female learners feel less powerful within the classroom context. In this way, male learners resist the discriminating man and discriminated-against woman subject position.

As the classroom discussion continues in Extract 4.16, another female learner invokes the progressive gender roles discourse in order to interactively position male learners as modern men who should "be in the kitchen" because it is "good for [them]". She invokes this position as a solution to men discriminating against women. The logic follows that if men assume roles that women traditionally do, it will sensitise them to the inequalities that women suffer based on these roles, which would prevent men from discriminating against women. Despite "everyone clap[ping] furiously" in response to this comment", "including the teacher", a male and female learner resist the progressive gender roles based subject position. Both learners draw on the traditional gender roles discourse in order to resist positioning men as domestic whilst re-positioning women as domestic because "men should not be in a kitchen and cook"; rather, "women must do this." Collectively, learners' comments are aimed more at the contested nature of gender roles that underpin the discriminating man and discriminated-against woman subject positions. Learners call attention to traditional-versus-progressive gender roles that construct multiple power relations in which men and women are implicated. These, in turn, position them rigidly as discriminating and discriminated against, respectively.

In Extract 4.17, Mrs Buckley "refocuses the discussion" after this disruption, and reconstructs the gender-based discrimination subject positions when she asks, again, "is there gender discrimination in South Africa?" Learners take up these positionings as some respond to Mrs Buckley by saying "too much!" There seems to be a consensus amongst the entire classroom about the incidence of gender discrimination and that something must be done to address it. However, it conjures up the power relations related to gender roles that interactively position men as discriminating and women as discriminated against. In Extract 4.17, this can be seen when a female learner vehemently constructs men as discriminating subjects, in instances "when girls wear mini-skirts at taxi ranks". She is referring to the media highlighting incidents of women who wear mini-skirts being harassed at taxi ranks. Presumably, the men at taxi-ranks make overtly sexual comments. It seems that this learner is drawing attention to how gender discrimination constrains the sexual freedom of women, using a real-life, generally-known example. This concerns the progressive gender roles discourse and brings light to the discrimination that women experience based on their sexuality. In response to this learner, Mrs Buckley affirms the position of men as discriminating subjects when she says that "men make women feel uncomfortable in [about] their clothes."

3.2) The men-as-rapists and women-as-sexual-victims subject positions

The next extract is taken from a classroom observation at Rylands West School that illustrates a set of subject positions that construct young men as rapists and young women as sexual victims. This is based on a classroom discussion on gendered power relations that makes use of a case study on rape that was found in the Life Orientation sexuality manual.

Extract 4.18

[The teacher] alerts the class to a case study in the textbook. The story is told from the perspective of Mary, and she starts her story by saying the students must learn from what she went through. Mary was at a party and she met [David] who buys her a few drinks during the evening. The guy then takes her home and he forces himself on her, and he tells Mary that she was "asking for it." [The teacher] goes on to ask: was it Mary's fault? The boys all say no. A boy says that she went there just to enjoy herself. The teacher then asks, would Mary have been raped if she wore different clothes? A boy then says that she was raped because of the clothes she was wearing. The teacher then asks what do clothing have to do with the rape? Another boy then says that it has nothing to do with the rape. The teacher appears to flag this more for the boys. Then, she asks, does this mean David is a rapist? The boys reply, saying no; particularly one boy says that David is not a rapist because he fixed Mary's clothes afterwards and dusted her off. Then, in response to this comment, the teacher says David did not even feel guilty. Then, the teacher says that she feels Mary should have gone to the police, and that they must assist her. And they should take her to the hospital so that the "damage" can be seen and can be "assessed." The teacher places emphasis on "the evidence" that

> must be taken to the police and that "David cannot be set free." Then, she asks, what should happen to David? The boys say that he must be taught a lesson. The teacher asks a follow up question: was there a relationship between Mary and David, and if so did this mean that he had the right to rape her? The entire class says no.

In Extract 4.18, Mrs Mazibuko reads out "a case study" to the class which positions the protagonist of the story, "Mary", as the sexual victim and the boy she met at a party, David, as the rapist. These positions are based on a series of actions that David performs: he "buys her a few drinks during the evening", "takes her home", "forces himself on her" and then says "she was asking for it." On the other hand, the only action Mary performs is that "she was at a party". These actions presuppose that Mary was simply raped by David, without showing any signs of resistance. In these positions, the former is constructed as helpless and is denied agency, whilst the latter is constructed as powerful and agentic. Furthermore, Mrs Mazibuko's's rationale for telling Mary's story, by saying that "students must learn from her story" invites learners in the classroom to take up and/or resist the subject positions that it makes available.

Thereafter, Mrs Mazibuko facilitates a discussion based on the case study. She takes up the sexual victim subject position further so as to position Mary as a potentially blameworthy subject for the rape when she asks the class "was it Mary's fault?" Positioning Mary as blameworthy is the antithesis of how she is positioned in the case study, especially in relation to David. Mrs Mazibuko's remarks are intended to emphasise that the person really at "fault" at the expense of naming the incorrect person in this instance. In this way, the question she poses to the class is a leading one; she anticipates that learners will respond in a particular way by taking up, rather than resisting, the subject positions that the case study makes available. The positions reflect unequal gendered power relations at play, regarding David, the rapist, and Mary, the sexual victim, which Mrs Mazibuko wants the learners to be aware of.

In response to Mrs Mazibuko's question, the male learners, in particular, reflexively resist positioning Mary as the blameworthy subject by saying "no" in unison. In this way, the male learners accept that Mary is the victim of David, the rapist, which also works to position them in a favourable light to Mrs Mazibuko - especially as she anticipates that they will concur with the subject positions offered in the case study. Interestingly, a male learner goes on to position Mary as a pleasure-seeking subject, when he mentions that "she went there just to enjoy herself". This position accords Mary with agency, which is the opposite of how she is portrayed in the case study as a helpless subject, consistent with the

position of a victim. However, the pleasure-seeking subject position implies that Mary is in some way responsible for what happened to her, especially when David says “she was asking for it”. Moreover, the pleasure-seeking position complicates the sexual victim position, by challenging assumptions that victims are helpless, to include that they are agentic, too. This speaks to the progressive gender roles discourse and the raunch culture discourse. They construct a set of meanings related to the pleasure-seeking woman that challenges the subject positions that constrict the sexuality of women.

Mrs Mazibuko senses the implications of positioning Mary as pleasure-seeking, so she repositions Mary as potentially blameworthy by asking the class, “would Mary have been raped if she wore different clothes?” It appears that Mrs Mazibuko positions Mary as potentially blameworthy, based on her “clothes”, so as to suggest that she may have gained pleasure from objectifying herself sexually, which contributed to her being “raped”. Another male learner reflexively takes up the blameworthy subject position, and positions Mary as such, by replying to Mrs Mazibuko when he says that Mary “was raped because of the clothes she was wearing”. In turn, Mrs Mazibuko reflexively resists positioning Mary as blameworthy by emphatically remarking, “what do[es] clothing have to do with the rape?” Mrs Mazibuko’s reply to the male learner’s comment is a strong indication of what she feels is the right and wrong thing to say, which depicts him in an unfavourable light to her.

Mrs Mazibuko’s scorn sets a precedent for the way in which she expects learners to position Mary and David. Accordingly, and in a similar fashion, another male learner quickly dismisses Mary as a blameworthy subject. In an effort to test that learners know who is blameworthy for the rape, Mrs Mazibuko positions David as possibly a rapist when she asks the class “does this mean [he] is a rapist?” Yet another male learner responds to her question by resisting that David is a rapist, because “he fixed Mary’s clothes afterwards and dusted her off.” In response to this comment, Mrs Mazibuko positions David as unremorseful when she says “he did not even feel guilty” This position suggests that she feels that he is to be blamed for what occurred, which, by implication, makes him a rapist. Mrs Mazibuko goes on to position Mary, unknowingly, as blameworthy, but also as the victim, when she says that Mary “should have gone to the police” and “to the hospital”. She also uses words such as “evidence”, “damage” and “assessed”, which are related to practices that the “police” and “hospital” administer, affirming the victim subject position. This strengthens how Mrs Mazibuko positions Mary as a sexual victim, and David as the rapist. Summoning the services of the police, she then positions David as a suspect who “must be taken to the police” and “cannot be set free”. She sets this position up for the class, even though she asks them afterwards, “what should happen to David?” This spurs a group of male learners to say that David “should be taught a lesson”, although they do not explain

exactly what form this should take, which implicitly positions David as blameworthy and a rapist. As a final way of solidifying the blameworthy position, Mrs Mazibuko positions Mary and David as potentially girlfriend and boyfriend "in a relationship" and whether "this [would] mean[] [that] [David] had the right to rape [Mary]?" The entire class implicitly affirms that David is blameworthy and a rapist by saying "no" to Mrs Mazibuko's question.

Throughout this extract, the sense that one gets is that, with the aid of the case study, Mrs Mazibuko continuously gathers "evidence", like the police, in order to position David as a rapist and Mary as the sexual victim. These subject positionings incite male learners to engage in the classroom discussion, compared to a virtually silent female learner contingent. This may reflect that there is more at stake for male learners as young men to be interactively positioned as rapists, due to them either defending the 'David is a rapist' subject position or arguing against it. The set of subject positions made available here, in addition to the discriminating man and discriminated-against woman subject position, are speaking positions that the gendered power relations discourse constructs. Underlying these positions are a set of meanings concerning the powerful man and powerless woman, which is consistent with a juridico-discursive view of power.

4) Siya's conscious and unconscious investment in the mean girl subject position

Siya, a-16 year-old female learner from Clarins Hill High, who appeared in earlier analysis chapter, draws on the progressive and traditional gender roles discourse so as to reflexively position herself in multiple ways. These include the 'nice girl', the 'attractive girl', the 'modern girl' and also the 'assertive' girl, or what she refers to as, the 'mean girl'. She invokes these positions in order to talk about how she sees herself in relation to her peers at school. In this section, I look at why Siya invests in a mean girl subject position, despite claims that she is also a nice girl.

4.1) Brief personal background

Siya currently resides with her 78-year-old maternal grandmother, (her primary care giver), 7-year-old brother and 5-year-old cousin. Since birth, her biological parents (Joseph and Doris) have been separated and thus she was raised by her grandmother. However, for about 4 years, Doris (Siya's mother) used to live with them, but eventually moved out as she said that she "needed her space". Siya appears to be very indifferent towards her parents, who have been distant. With regard to Joseph, he lives in a neighbouring town some distance away. Siya only sees him during the holidays and says that she "can spend a year without seeing him". According to Siya, Doris is an alcoholic, which is the reason for her parents' strained relationship. When Siya was 11, she confronted Doris about her

drinking. In response, Doris told Siya that she herself was old enough to make her own decisions and that Siya should not tell her what to do. For Siya, this event has contributed to an underlying hostility between the two. Siya is repeating Grade 10, which she attributes to a group of four girls whose company she kept the previous year. On one occasion, they attended a disciplinary hearing at school for bringing "vodka" to school and being drunk on the premises. At the start of this year, she gave herself an ultimatum; she remarked that she had made a conscious choice to change her behaviour and that "nobody told me to change".

During the interview, Siya repeatedly invoked the traditional-versus-progressive gender roles discourse in her talk, which intersected, at times, with the gendered power relations discourse. In doing so, she drew upon a set of meanings related to the modern and assertive woman which is in contrast to the traditional and unassertive woman. She remarked in her interview that "teachers never check the boys' uniforms but they always check us girls"; for example, and "we have to wear skirts even if it's cold, it's so unfair." Her observations point to the real ways in which adolescents at school are policed, according to gendered expectations regarding clothing. Moreover, she shares that her grandmother and mother always say that " girls from the old days had respect" and "cleaned houses" but " [you] modern girls, [you] don't want to do anything; [you]'re always on [y]our phone and watching T.V; [you] don't want to cook because [you] want to look beautiful". In response to this, Siya constructs herself as this modern girl by stating, "I don't have to cook forever" because "I have a microwave so I can put food in there", and "I can wash my clothes in the washing machine". For Siya, domestic activities such as "cleaning are like 'argh'" as she "want[s] to be out there and do [her] thing, work and get paid."

She also constructed herself as sexually assertive by invoking the progressive gender roles discourse on the subject of sexual activity. As was noted in her extract in an earlier analysis chapter, she mentioned, "it's a choice you have; it's not what people tell you." On the subject of abstinence, rhetorically, she reasoned "what if you don't get married?" According to her, "you can have sex when you are ready at some stage", and that "you don't have to put a ring". When it comes to initiating sex with her boyfriend, she said, "I'm not shy", but that "if he's not ready then I'm not ready, too". Furthermore, Siya warned that "if I'm dating you, if you're going to play me, I might play you, too". (The term, "play" here refers to cheating with someone else whilst in a relationship.) She added, "I don't like to be told what to do, so controlling kind of guys don't work for me". Her comments point to a set of meanings related to the progressive and/or modern woman that positions her as a modern, assertive and sexually liberal young woman. The extract below is from Siya's interview. It looks

specifically at her investment in the mean girl position, amidst also reflexively taking up the nice girl subject position, which are subject positions the traditional and progressive gender roles discourse make available.

Extract 4.19

1. Like me, you're talking about /umm/ at school being a girl is quite much. Everyone
2. gives me attention and sometimes I feel so uncomfortable because all the boys want
3. to touch me or want to kiss me, or do any something like that. So it's a bit
4. uncomfortable and I have to be, like, mean most of the time.
5. **You have to be mean?**
6. I don't like attention.
7. **Is that what all girls at this school face or is just you personally?**
8. I think most of the attractive girls do face that
9. **Can you tell me what is seen as the ideal girl at this school or the perfect girl**?
10. I think /err/ a great face or personality or something like that.
11. **Where are you in relation to this idea of how girls should be at this school?**
12. Maybe because of how I look like, cause most of it if I look like a model maybe
13. they just want to touch me.
14. **How does that make you feel?**
15. /Umm/ I don't like being given that much attention like from people that I don't
16. know so I'll be like 'don't touch me or, like, I'll slap you' or something like that. I,
17. like, kind of get aggressive sometimes.
18. **How come you get all that attention?**
19. Because I'm nice.
20. **And is that how girls are expected to be at this school?**
21. *Ja*, they are expected to be that way. They are expected to be quiet, nice and stuff
22. like that. We are not expected to be aggressive or fight or that sorts of stuff.
23. **Can you tell me more about that, about how girls are expected to be?**
24. I think just be friendly to everyone. Pretend like everything is okay
25. **Okay, alright.**
26. Like there's no problems or stuff like that.
27. **So to be nice, to pretend everything is okay, to not be aggressive. Anything else**
28. **you can think of in terms of how a girl should behave?**
29. Pretty much you have to do your work. You have to be an example for the Grade
30. 8s, because basically they always look at the bigger learners and they just do what
31. we do, so they [you] have to be an example for the younger ones.
32. **Where do you stand in relation to how girls are expected to be at this school?**
33. From my own idea I'm very much outspoken. So if maybe if a teacher tells me
34. you should do a certain thing, and I totally don't agree with that I'm going to tell

35. her ‘no that doesn’t make me feel comfortable, I would like things to go in a
36. certain way.’ Then that’s why teachers from this school always say that I have an
37. attitude because of how I am.
38. **It sounds like you fit the role of a nice girl but you also don’t as you mentioned**
39. **you are quite opinionated. Is it like that?**
40. Yes, I have to do what pleases me, what feels good to me. So I’m not going to do
41. something because someone told me to do that thing to please them If it doesn’t
42. please me, then I’m not doing it.
43. **So what pleases you about being a girl? That you like doing.?**
44. Pretty much being respected and actually being listened to, because most of the
45. time people won’t listen to females, so if you listen to me then you gonna be good.
46. **Okay**
47. If you listen to me!
48. **What are some of the things you don’t like about being a girl at this school?**
49. /U::mm/ (.) pretty much, being me, a girl, will be basically people like to think that
50. I’m scared of them basically when it comes to conflict cause I don’t fight, so
51. people take advantage of that and they cause conflict.

4.2) Content

From the extract, Siya draws on the traditional gender roles discourse in order to construct particular speaking positions based on how girls at her school are expected to behave. This includes the “quiet” girl (l. 21), “nice” girl (l. 21), and “friendly” girl (l. 24) who all “[p]retend like everything is okay” (l. 24). On the other hand, she draws on the progressive gender roles discourse so as to reflexively position herself as a “mean”, (1. 4) “outspoken”, (l. 33), and “aggressive” (l. 17) girl, which represent characteristics that “[girls] are not expected to be” (l. 22). In this way, Siya represents the modern young woman in that she does not identify with how girls are expected to behave at school, as this prescribed behaviour reflects traditional gender roles. Siya also reflexively positions herself as an “attractive” (l. 8) girl and/or a “model”, (l. 12) based on a set of meanings on feminine beauty that a heteronormative discourse on femininity constructs. This discourse overlaps with traditional and progressive roles that women and/or girls assume. The “attractive girls” (l. 8) are the ones that “everyone gives … attention”, to and that “all the boys want to touch” (l. 2-3) or “want to kiss” (l. 3). However, the “attention” (l. 2, 6 and 15) makes Siya “feel so uncomfortable” (l. 2), and so she says “I have to be, like, mean most of the time”, (l. 4) in order to resist the attention. Accordingly, she positions herself as a mean girl and explains this by saying that she is outspoken and aggressive, based on the attention that she gets as one of the attractive girls at her school

4.3) Structure

Siya reflexively takes up multiple subject positions, based on traditional and progressive gender roles, in order to tell the "being a girl is quite much" (l. 1) story. The plot talks to what it feels like to be a girl at her school, particularly how female learners are expected to behave at school and the way that she adopts various roles in response to this. In the opening sequence, she constructs herself as an assertive and attractive young woman who thwarts the advances of male learners as their behaviour borders on sexual harassment, "all the boys want to touch … or kiss me". However, she conceptualises her assertiveness as needing to be "mean" (l. 4) and "aggressive" (l. 17) so as to fend off their sexual advances. I felt admiration for how Siya stands up for herself in this way. Mid-way through her story, she also reflexively positions herself as a "nice" girl, (l. 19) which male learners exploit so that they can make sexual advances towards her, being an attractive girl. In this way, she combats being nice with being mean. I was inclined, again, to admire her for being both soft, but also hard and assertive when necessary. Siya also talks about the soft, compliant, obedient and friendly characteristics that female learners are expected to embody at school, versus being "outspoken", (l. 33) "mean" and "aggressive". Towards the end of her story, she remarks that "people won't listen to females", (l. 45) but she feels that it is important for her to be "respected" and "listened to" as a young woman. Her story talks to the multiple roles that she embodies, without being positioned as either the nice or the mean girl, but how she can be both. However, both of these positions serve a purpose for her: the nice girl is in response to social expectations at school and the mean girl is in response to unwanted attention from boys because she is a nice girl. I was inclined to feel sorry for Siya, as her story talks to a double-bind that she occupies: if she is mean and outspoken then she is perceived as having an "attitude" (l. 37) but if she is nice then she is taken advantage of. In this way, her story invokes the very idea that "being a girl is much" indeed (l. 1) which is meant to indicate that it can be challenging being a girl. This is in light of the dual positions that she occupies as nice and mean.

4.4) Interruptions

There are instances from Siya's extract that interrupt the flow and coherence of her story, about being damned if she is nice or damned if she is mean. This is a double-bind position that can be understood, psychoanalytically, as a source of conflict for Siya, which expresses itself through the interruptions in her story. The first of such instances appears in line 6, in Siya's response, "I don't like attention", to my reflection, "You have to be mean?" (l. 5) which is intended for her to excuse her behaviour without providing more detail. She avoids talking about being a mean girl but rather rationalises the way in which it helps her to deflect unwanted attention from the boys at school. Even though Siya indirectly admits, in lines 8 to 12, that she is an attractive girl, when male learners position her as a sexual object

she feels uncomfortable. Consciously, she understands their (the male learners') behaviour as part of a system, such as her school where "people won't listen to females" (l. 45). It is important for Siya, as a female, to be "respected" and "listened to", as noted earlier, which male learners infringe upon when they objectify her sexually. Whilst she may derive pleasure from being an attractive girl, the extent that this is taken up by male learners to signify that she is a sexual object appears to be a source of conflict for her. The conflict she experiences can be seen when she indicates that she becomes aggressive, (l. 17) in response to how the unwanted attention makes her feel. Therefore, I am arguing that when Siya is constructed as a sexual object by male learners, it causes her much anxiety, related to strong feelings of anger, which she rationalises as simply not liking attention, when these feelings, in fact, talk to her position as a sexual object.

The second interruption builds on the first one in line 12. Siya does not answer my question on where she stands in relation to the idea of the perfect girl at school, which she qualifies earlier is a "great face or personality" (l. 10). Instead, she indirectly positions herself as a model by comparing herself to one as an example of a girl who attracts much attention. This suggest that Siya is tentative about claiming that she is an attractive girl, as it means that she is aware to some degree of her sexuality, which the male learners draw overt attention to. She may also want to be modest about her looks. Nonetheless, her comments emerge after she qualifies that "attractive girls" (l. 8) deal with attention, which means that she positions herself implicitly as an attractive girl. This is further evidence to suggest that Siya derives pleasure from being an attractive girl, but when this is taken up by male learners in a sexual context it appears to be a source of conflict for her. Siya's tentative reply interrupts my question, which I asked in order to clarify if she considers herself the perfect girl at school because it draws attention to how she is sexually objectified for being attractive, which makes her feel "uncomfortable", and makes her become "mean" and "aggressive". In this way, Siya avoids talking about angry feelings associated with being sexually objectified by male learners. This carries through in the last interruption when I ask her about the reasons why she attracts attention (l. 18) to which she plainly replies, "[b]ecause I'm nice" (l. 19). Therefore, I am arguing that each interruption works to rationalise Siya's anger for being a mean girl in favour of emphasising how nice she is, which male learners take advantage of through sexually objectifying her. The interruptions also point to Siya avoiding my questions on the unwanted attention that she receives for being an attractive girl, which resultantly positions her as both a mean and a nice girl.

4.5) Linguistic devices

The language that Siya uses sheds light as to why she reflexively takes up both the nice girl and mean girl subject position. Consistent with the claim that she is "outspoken" (l. 33) is her use of "I" and "me" as pronouns in her story: "I have to" (l. 4 and 40), "I don't like" (l. 6 & 15), "I think" (l. 8, 10 & 24), "I feel" (l. 2 & 35) , "I totally don't agree" (l. 34), "I would like", (l. 35) "what pleases me" and "what feels good to me" (l. 40). The "I" and "me" accord Siya a way of talking that enables her to assert herself, particularly in relation to what she likes and dislikes, and her thoughts and feelings. This converges with her comment in line 44, about her desire to "b[e] respected" and "actually b[e] listened to" in response to my question on what pleases her about being a girl (l. 43). Therefore, Siya derives pleasure from asserting herself within contexts, such as her school. This can be seen again when she almost warns me that "if you listen to me then you gonna be good", (l. 45) which she repeats in line 47. Whilst it is a common practice to use "I" and "me" when talking, for Siya it crucially talks to a dominant discourse on traditional gender roles that pervades her school context, where the power of boys exceed that of girls.

Siya's use of "I" and "me" also serve to reflect a rationalised way of dealing with feelings of anger, related to being sexually objectified by male learners. Siya's ability to rationalise her anger allows her to be assertive in a context riddled with unequal gendered power relations. Her anger can be seen in lines 1 to 17, when she is "mean" and "aggressive" towards male learners for sexualising her, angering her to the point where she may "slap" them because they make her feel "uncomfortable". Moreover, the reason why she receives unwanted attention is because she is "nice" (l. 19). This minimises, or undoes, at most, the extent to which she becomes mean and aggressive; her response to male learners' incessant sexual advances as a way of asserting herself. In this way, Siya's use of "I" and "me" does the opposite of constructing her as nice; rather she comes across as outspoken and susceptible to confrontation with others. Therefore, Siya rationalises her mean and aggressive behaviour towards male learners because they sexually objectify her in coercive and inappropriate ways. This change from nice girl to mean girl can also be seen when she talks about educators positioning her as a girl with "attitude" (l. 37). She seems to concur with this view when she talks about saying "no" (l. 35) to educators because their instructions make her feel "uncomfortable" (l. 35). She goes on to say that "I would like things to go in a certain way", (l. 35-36) based on "what pleases" (l. 40) and "feels good" (l. 40) to her. However, rationalising her anger allows Siya to be assertive, not only with male learners, but others, like educators that shores up in the linguistic devices that she uses. Therefore, I am arguing that Siya's language is suggestive of her need to control those around her, which is heightened when male learners draw attention to her sexuality. Her language suggests that

having control is important, especially where her sexuality is concerned, as it may point to feeling vulnerable, taken advantage of and being hurt. In other words, Siya's language reflects a strong need to be assertive, verging on being self-entitled, that represents an unconscious defence to protect herself from being hurt, and taken advantage of, especially with regard to her sexuality.

4.6) Reflexivity

My first encounter with Siya was at a mixed focus group. I was struck by how opinionated she came across, which influenced why I selected her as a participant individual interviews. Based on all the focus groups, she was the only learner who challenged or disagreed with others. However, she did so in a manner that was very poised. During the individual interviews, she was very articulate, spoke confidently and was concise to a point where I had to work hard in order to elicit detailed information from her. As a result, I experienced her as stand-offish, distant and guarded. I wondered if this was to be expected, given that I represented a slightly older man, but not too much older than the young men at her school, of whom she is suspicious when given attention. I wondered if her suspiciousness towards people entering her life had to do with feeling let down and disappointed by her biological parents. I thus felt pressured not to antagonise her to a point that provoked hostility or meanness.

At one point during our interview, I asked her if she was angry with me for enquiring about her mother, especially when she qualified beforehand; "I don't like talking about her." This was an instance of the way that she controlled the interview. Similarly, she controls the interaction with her parents by avoiding conversation with them - because she is suspicious when they reach out to her. It seems that when anyone – like me, her parents, and male learners – takes an interest in her, she becomes very anxious and defended, based on childhood experiences of an alcoholic mother and a distant father. She thus controls interactional encounters through assertiveness and self-entitlement, in order to do and say as she feels, and if she is challenged she becomes a mean girl. I argue that when her control during the interview with me, and others, is challenged, it spurs her to be mean, which she rationalises as a response to protecting herself from being taken advantage of because she is, in fact, a nice girl. However, her control is an unconscious defence from actually feeling that harm may come to her, possibly related to when she was a child, which is heightened even more when male learners draw too much attention to her sexuality.

In summary, Siya invokes the traditional-versus-progressive gender roles discourse in order to reflexively take up dual and contradictory roles, such as the nice girl versus the mean girl subject position. These discourses and subject positions assist Siya in telling listeners a story about two roles

that place her in a double-bind; if she is nice, male learners take advantage of her and if she is mean then she is perceived as having an attitude and is not liked by others. However, there are instances in her story when she rationalises becoming mean instead of being a nice girl, which male learners exploit, in order to deflect attention away from her sexuality. Furthermore, she unconsciously draws on language that demonstrates that she is assertive and self-entitled, and, when challenged, spurs her to be mean and aggressive. Finally, she controlled the interview with me in order to avoid talking about painful past events related to her biological parents. Accordingly, Siya invests consciously and unconsciously in the mean girl subject position in order to control others, such as me, her parents, male learners and educators bringing harm to her. Furthermore, she rationalises being a mean girl because she is a nice girl, which male learners take advantage of by sexualising her. This in turn makes her feel vulnerable, and is possibly the reason why she controls interpersonal encounters, to the point of becoming aggressive or hostile.

5) Conclusion

Firstly, I argued that the Life Orientation sexuality education curriculum invokes the gendered power relations discourse that is involved in the construction of the powerful and powerless subject said to characterise relationships. That is, men are typically positioned as the former whilst women are the latter. However, this discourse is also invoked in order to talk about structural gender-based inequalities that construct men as violent, sadistic and perpetrators of sexual violence, whilst women are constructed as docile, masochistic and victims of this violence. Moreover, this discourse intersects with the traditional-versus-progressive gender roles discourse that constructs a set of desirable and undesirable subject positions. The traditional man (dominant and the breadwinner) or woman (soft and nurturing) is depicted as reinforcing unequal gendered power relations, whilst the modern man or woman represents a challenge to this. The set of meanings with respect to the modern woman is taken up further in *Beez in the Trap* by Nicki Minaj and is involved in the construction of the powerful and threatening woman. However, this representation is juxtaposed with a set of meanings, concerning the sexually explicit woman that the raunch culture discourse makes available, that also ironically draws on a set of meanings related to the traditional woman. The kind of female subject constructed in Nicki Minaj's song is thus varied, contradictory and subversive.

Secondly, the gendered power relations discourse was invoked during the Life Orientation sexuality education classroom observations that constructed two sets of reflexive and interactive subject positions. The first set was the discriminating man and discriminated-against woman subject position,

repeatedly drawn on by the educator. Learners responded in various ways by taking up and/or resisting these positions. They simultaneously invoked subject positions related to the modern and/or traditional man and woman that supported and/or challenged the discriminating man and discriminated-against woman subject position. The sense was that traditional and progressive gender roles are fraught with tensions, producing a myriad of power relations that were enacted between male and female learners. The second set was the men-as-rapists and women-as-sexual victim subject positions upon which the educator insistently drew. This spurred male learners, in particular, to acquiesce with the educator to resist, by implication, positioning themselves as rapists. Some male learners argued against the men-as-rapist subject position, which did not sit well with the educator.

Thirdly, and lastly, Siya consciously and unconsciously invests in a mean girl subject position made available by the traditional-versus-progressive discourse on gender roles. In terms of context, her personal background revealed that her biological parents were emotionally unavailable during her upbringing. She avoided talking about these events during the interview, which was her way of controlling the encounter so that she did not have to speak about not feeling protected or cared for by her parents. Similarly, she controls situations when male learners make sexual advances towards her because they construct her as a sexually object, which makes her feel out of control. This ultimately makes Siya vulnerable to being exploited and talks to her investment in the nice girl subject position. However, she also invests consciously and unconsciously in the mean girl subject position in order to rationalise feeling angry towards male learners for positioning her as a sexual object, which makes her feel vulnerable and points to why she controls interpersonal encounters so much.

Chapter 11 Conclusion

I have organised this chapter according to the three-tiered approach used in the analysis chapters, not only to summarise the discussion of the findings, but also to simplify and synthesise multiple sources of data that respond to the research questions. The findings reflect the integrated theoretical and methodological approach – Foucauldian, feminist poststructural and psychosocial psychoanalytic perspectives – I adopted for investigating gendered sexualities across five sources of data. I organise the discussion of the findings according to **six** sections that detail the discourses, subject positions and conscious and unconscious investments that respond to the four major themes identified across the data set. These are; (1) responsible sexuality, sexual risk, choice and rights; (2) sexual, romantic, and dating and/or relationship pleasure; (3) the heteronormative transitioning adolescent, and (4) gendered power relations, roles and raunch culture. In the **first** section I discuss the dominant gendered discourses found in the Life Orientation sexuality education manuals (formal content) and popular music: the songs which were voted most popular by the learners via a survey (informal content). I divide this section into four subsections that elaborate on the four clusters of discourses that I identified in the analysis chapters and involved in the construction of a coherent set of meanings on the fixed versus the contested nature of gender. In the **second** section I discuss the gendered subject positions produced in sexuality education classroom lessons and one-on-one interviews that learners and educators took up and/or resisted. There are four sets of subject positions that I discuss, corresponding to the four clusters of discourses involved in the construction of socially desirable and undesirable gendered subject positions. In the **third** section I discuss learners' and an educator's conscious and unconscious investments in gendered subject positions during one-on-one interviews. Four participants' – three learners and an educator – investments are based on the four clusters of discourses and the four sets of subject positions involved in the construction of unique gendered subject positions. In the **fourth** section I summarise the three analytic components – discourses, subject positions and conscious and unconscious investments – and how they talk to each other in relation to the overarching argument of the research. In the **fifth** section I look at the major limitations of the research as well as recommendations for future research. Finally, in the **sixth** section I talk through some of the implications of the research findings.

1) Dominant gendered discourses

1.1) Responsible sexuality, sexual risk, choice and rights

Four discourses – (i) the responsible sexuality, (ii) sexual risk, (iii) choice, and (iv) rights discourse – collectively constructs a set of meanings on the sexually responsible and the sexually irresponsible

subject. These subjects take on a gendered character when female learners are positioned as the former and male learners as the latter. This suggests that female learners are held more sexually responsible than male learners. Accordingly and implicitly, female learners were constructed as managers of sexual risk, sexually abstinent and as rights-bearing subjects and male learners as sexually risk-taking and sexually active subjects. The construction of the sexually responsible and irresponsible subject as gendered has implications for policing young women's sexuality. In this way, responsible sexuality restricts young women's sexual agency, whilst young men are accorded more agency. Importantly, all four discourses featured predominantly in the Life Orientation sexuality education manuals, the classroom observations, the educator interviews, and, to a lesser extent, in the learner interviews, but not in the music.

All four discourses are part of a sexually liberal framework, implicit in sexuality education pedagogy that surfaced in the 1960s (Irvine, 2002; Jones, 2009; Moran, 2000). This framework represents key tenets of comprehensive sexuality education initiatives which inform Life Orientation sexuality education. In South Africa, these interlocking discourses can be traced back to post-1994, (Rhodes & Roux, 2004) when the Department of Education (2002; 2008) conceptualised learners as authorities, and as having the freedom to make responsible sexual choices. These discourses were mobilised through the institutional support of the state, healthcare and education that advocated for comprehensive sexuality education (Ngwena, 2003). In this way, learners' sexual and reproductive health is regulated by, healthcare, education and the state through their freedom to make sexual choices and in this way learners subject themselves to exercising responsible sexuality as free-thinking individual subjects. Learners, then, are to blame for sexual risks because of their inability to act responsibly as free-thinking individual subjects. Accordingly, the institutional supports for providing public and social support for the learners' sexual and reproductive health are not held accountable for learners' wellbeing. Moreover, the findings here show that the four discourses within Life Orientation sexuality education are deeply gendered, in that they hold young women more sexually responsible than young men and diminish the sexual agency of young women

1.2) Sexual, romantic and dating and/or relationship pleasure

The three pleasure discourses that arose in the data set – (i) a sexual, (ii) romantic love and (iii) dating and/or relationship pleasure discourse – constructed a set of meanings that depicted pleasure according to active (masculine) and passive (feminine) ways of expressing pleasure. Within the music, this dual and gendered expression of sexual and romantic pleasure is simultaneously drawn upon by Rihanna and Usher in multiple and contradictory ways. Rihanna is objectified sexually as the (passive) sexually

desired subject, and the (active) sexually-desiring subject. Similarly, Usher is constructed as lovelorn and sensitive, (passive) and simultaneously possessive and virile (active) that invokes the modern and traditional man. However, in the Life Orientation sexuality education manuals the binary and gendered expression of pleasure is maintained: young women passively wait to be courted by young men, whilst young men actively court young women. In this way, the music takes up the binary on expressing pleasure so as to position men and women in multiple and contradictory ways. Conversely, the Life Orientation sexuality education manuals maintain the binary in that young women and men are constructed as passive and active pleasure- seeking subjects, respectively.

The three pleasure discourses can be traced to the sexual revolution of the 1960s in the USA. During this time, a proliferation of permissive discourses, led by liberal movements, articulated a need for erotic freedom and pluralism (Giddens, 1992; Seidman, 1989; Weeks, 2011). Warr (2001) observes that pleasure discourses legitimate heteronormative, middle-class and neo-liberal ideologies that support the family and marriage as social institutions, confining women to roles associated with motherhood and domesticity. Furthermore, pleasure discourses related to romantic love, for instance, are mostly consumed by women because it forges links between emotional qualities and sexual experiences. Romantic forms of pleasure also extend and enrich women's capacity to experience pleasure, whilst resisting phallocentric conceptions of sexual pleasure (Holland, Ramazanoglu, Sharpe, & Thomson, 1994). The three pleasure discourses analysed here additionally show that the sexual pleasure discourse enables young women to express pleasure as either (passive) sexually-desired and/or (active) sexually-desiring subjects. Conversely, a romantic pleasure discourse enables young men to express passive forms of pleasure that resist traditional constructions of masculinity associated with virility. In other words, the three pleasure discourses construct multiple and contradictory gendered positions that enable and constrain the way in which young men and women express pleasure, which featured in the music. The Life Orientation sexuality education manuals, however, tended to produce rigid and binary gendered positions.

1.3) The transitioning heteronormative adolescent

Collectively, the adolescent as transition and heteronormative discourse constructs a set of meanings on the gendered and heteronormative changes accompanying adolescence. On gender, the adolescent-as-transition discourse constructs the developing adolescent subject that orients female learners more than male learners to the management of their personal hygiene, physical grooming and overall appearance of their bodies. Furthermore, this discourse constructs the typically unstable emotional adolescent subject, with female learners prone to tearfulness and male learners to aggressiveness. With

regard to heteronormative expectations, both discourses collectively construct the heterosexual adolescent as a mark of conformity and the gay and lesbian adolescent as an act of rebellion. Therefore, both discourses construct young women's bodies as a site of management and same-sex attraction as an anomaly. These discourses featured predominantly in the Life Orientation sexuality education manuals, classroom observations and educator interviews but were markedly absent from the learners' interviews and the music. The data, then, point to the regulation and policing of adolescent female learners' sexuality more than male learners, as well as the encouragement of heterosexuality and the denigration of same-sex relationships.

The heteronormative discourse is generally assumed to have always been in existence, but it was actually invented and referred to during the mid-nineteenth century. The discourse on adolescence has its roots in the invention of adolescence and the social hygiene movement during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. These events sought to counteract the surge of STDs and prostitution, which were threatening the moral fabric of society, and created a shift in thinking about adolescent sexuality and the need for sexuality education (Kett, 2003). This culminated in liberal approaches to sexuality education, emphasising puberty as a phase that prepares the body for sexual reproduction (Elia, 2005). These approaches promote heteronormative and scientific ideologies that support heterosexuality as an institution which serve to police adolescents' sexuality (Moran, 2000). The analysis of the Life Orientation sexuality education manuals confirms that heterosexuality is indeed a preferred form of sexual preference and outcome for the developing adolescent. The analysis also showed that both discourses construct gender-related changes that accompany the developing heterosexual adolescent, especially for female learners. The adolescent-as-transition and heteronormative discourse constructs a set of meanings that concern adolescent learners conforming to two ideals related to sexuality and gender. Firstly, heterosexuality is a social achievement that learners should strive towards, whilst same-sex attraction is an anomaly that they should avoid. Secondly, female learners are incited to manage their developing bodies by observing their overall physical appearance with regard to grooming and physical hygiene.

1.4) Gendered power relations, gender roles and raunch culture

The gendered power relations, traditional-versus-progressive gender roles and raunch culture discourses construct a coherent set of meanings centring on the fixed character of gender versus the contested nature gender. The former is articulated through the Life Orientation sexuality education manuals, whilst the latter is taken up in the lyrics and video to Nicki Minaj's *Beez in the Trap*. This means that gender is much more contested in the music than it is in the manuals. The first two

discourses fall within what Jones (2011) refers to as a 'liberal feminist' discourse. This commonly informs comprehensive sexuality education programmes and constructs men as powerful and women as powerless. The third discourse forms part of the shift in sexuality education approaches for the inclusion of what Allen (2001) refers to as a discourse of erotics. This discourse is premised on Michelle Fine's (1989) thesis on the 'missing discourse of desire' in sexuality education programmes, which stifles the sexual agency and desires of young women in particular. However, whilst the raunch culture discourse encourages the sexual desires of young women, like Nicki Minaj in her music video, it has also been identified by Levy (2005) as pandering to the sexual interests of men where women become 'female chauvinist pigs' rather than men. The raunch culture discourse, then, forms part of what Hollway (1989) identifies as 'permissive' discourses.

Collectively, the Life Orientation sexuality education manuals and popular music invoke three interrelated yet competing discourses that reinforce, resist and rework binary constructions of gender. These constructions reflect complex and contradictory sets of meaning concerning masculinity and femininity that simultaneously draw upon progressive and traditional gender roles. These roles activate a myriad of power relations that accord young women, in particular, opportunities to articulate forms of sexual agency. However, the gender roles and forms of power available to young women, to assist them in resisting or subverting traditional roles and forms of power, are steeped within heteronormatively masculine-driven accounts of sexuality. In this way, the sexuality of young women is gendered in ways that refers back to the binary construction of gender. This should not take away from young women's capacity to resist or rework gendered power relations and gender roles when they draw upon practices consistent with raunch culture that enables and constrains their sexuality.

In summary, the four clusters of intersecting discourses point to an underlying gendered character. As mentioned in the fourth cluster, all four clusters construct a dual set of meanings on the fixed character of gender versus the contested nature of gender. Both sets of meanings express a binary character, rooted in the meanings concerning masculinity and femininity that gender constructs. This can thus be understood as a binary construction of gender. However, this construction is taken up by the four clusters of discourses that reproduce the binary on gender as either fixed or contested meanings.

The clusters of discourses on the incitement to responsible sexuality and the transitioning heteronormative adolescent construct coherent sets of meanings that rigidly position adolescent learners according to their gender. These two clusters featured in the Life Orientation sexuality education manuals, classroom observations and interviews with the educators. Alternatively, the

cluster of discourses on the three types of pleasure and gendered power relations, roles and raunch culture construct coherent sets of meanings that have implications for positioning adolescent learners in multiple and contradictory ways not limited to their gender. However, the Life Orientation sexuality education manuals reproduced the discourses featured in the music in rigid and binary ways. Therefore, the Life Orientation sexuality education manuals, classroom observations and interviews with the educators construct gender as a fixed and stable construct, whilst the interviews with the learners and the music lyrics and videos construct gender as contested. Both have implications for positioning adolescent learners in ways that reinforce gender-based asymmetries that benefit male but disadvantage female learners, or continuously challenge the fixed nature of gender.

2) Gendered reflexive and interactive subject positions

2.1) The sexually abstinent and sexually active subject position

The four discourses on the incitement to responsible sexuality constructed the sexually abstinent female learner and sexually active male learner subject positions that learners reflexively and interactively took up and/or resisted during their individual-based interviews. Rosella, a female learner, reflexively positioned herself and interactively positioned other female learners as sexually abstinent. She also interactively positioned male learners as sexually active. For Rosella, it is socially acceptable for female learners to be sexually abstinent and male learners to be sexually active. Conversely, Siya, another female learner, reflexively positioned herself, and interactively positioned male and other female learners, as both, sexually active and sexually abstinent. Thami, a male learner, reflexively positioned himself, and interactively positioned other male and female learners, as sexually active, which he deemed socially desirable and acceptable. He also interactively positioned female learners as more sexually at-risk subjects than male learners. Moreover, Thami interactively positioned sexually inactive or abstinent male learners as gay – a position that he implicitly resisted and which reflexively worked to position him as straight because he is sexually active. Finally, Bongani, another male learner, reflexively positioned himself, and interactively positioned other male and female learners, as sexually active and sexually-risk taking in ways that he deems socially desirable and acceptable.

Despite the fixed character of gender in relation to the sexually abstinent female learner and the sexually active male learner found in the Life Orientation sexuality education manuals, learners resisted, reworked and reinforced these positions. These findings are important amidst many researchers commenting on the need for more learner-centred approaches to sexuality education that take the sexual knowledge of learners as a starting point for teaching and learning (Allen, 2001;

Epstein & Johnson, 1998; Holland, Ramazanoglu, Sharpe, & Thomson, 1998; Measor, 2004). The evidence here suggests that even without learner friendly sexuality education approaches, learners are capable of actively resisting the fixed character of gendered meanings in the Life Orientation sexuality education manuals. They reflexively positioned themselves, and interactively positioned other learners, in multiple ways that accorded young women, in particular, the opportunity to be both sexually abstinent and sexual active, thus increasing their sexual agency. However, learners also reinforced female learners as sexual abstinent and male learners as sexually active, as a marker of heteronormative masculinity. Therefore, learners reflexively and interactively took up, reworked and resisted the fixed character of gender on the sexually abstinent female learner and sexually active male learner subject position. This reinforced and challenged the view that female learners should be more sexually responsible, which serves to constrict their sexual agency more than male learners.

2.2) The initiators and receivers of sexual pleasure subject position

The sexual pleasure discourse constructed the initiator and receiver of pleasure subject position that learners took up and/or resisted during individual-based interviews. In relation to the findings mentioned in the previous section, two female learners, Rosella and Thuli, interactively positioned young women as receivers, and young men as initiators, of sexual pleasure. Siya and Lorraine also shared this but also interactively positioned young women as initiators, and young men as receivers, of sexual pleasure in that they felt that both parties should equally give and take and be able to negotiate their sexual desires. They based this on learners' ability to exercise choice. Thami, a male learner, also implicitly and interactively positioned male and female learners as both initiators and receivers of sexual pleasure. Bongani interactively positioned male learners as most likely to initiate sexual pleasure because female learners prefer romantic more than sexual pleasure. David and Saul inadvertently and interactively positioned male learners as initiators, and female learners as receivers, of sexual pleasure based on what felt right, morally, and due to young women being sexually at-risk.

Rasmussen, Rofes, and Talburt (2004) however, are skeptical of the inclusion of pleasure discourses in sexuality education curriculum as they argue that these discourses promote heteronormative masculine sexual interests. Furthermore, Rasmussen (2010) argues that such interests are politically motivated and underpin so-called 'progressive' sexuality education initiatives, where they do, in fact, partner with conservative and religious discourses. The findings here suggest that, even though the pleasure discourses construct dual positions on receiving and initiating pleasure that correspond to passive/feminine and active/masculine aims, some female learners resisted this dualism and positioned themselves as initiators of pleasure. The implications are that the pleasure discourses afford female

learners the opportunity to articulate pleasure in ways that foster sexual agency. However, some female learners positioned young women as receivers of pleasure, which suggests that they derive more pleasure from being recipients than initiators. In this way, female learners position themselves in multiple ways that reinforce and challenge gendered ways of expressing pleasure. The discourses also benefit male learners as they take up the initiator position, and resist the receiver position, by positioning young women as such - except for one male learner. This is evidence that the three types of pleasures are driven by heteronormative masculine interests, but they also construct a set of meanings that point to the contested nature of gender.

2.3) The developing adolescent and heteronormative subject positions

The two discourses on the transitioning heteronormative adolescent constructed the developing adolescent and heteronormative subject positions that educators and learners reflexively and interactively took up and/or resisted during the classroom observations. At Rylands West School, the educator interactively positioned female learners as reproductive subjects and male learners as sexual subjects. At Rylands West School, again, the educator invoked a matrix of heteronormative social arrangements such as dating and relationships and the family in order to interactively position learners as mothers, fathers, boyfriends and girlfriends. Learners reflexively took up these heteronormative and gendered subject positions so as to construct women as pregnant teenagers and domestically-situated and men as breadwinners, which implicitly and interactively positioned learners accordingly. The educator also constructed the pregnant teenager subject position as a social outcast. However, two female learners resisted the social outcast subject position when they constructed the pregnant teenager as an agentic subject with the capacity to straddle the learner and parent subject position as a way of integrating back into social life.

The subject positions produced during classroom lessons confirm Elia's (2005) observation that sexuality education approaches emphasising learners' sexual development are heterosexist and essentialist. However, the findings above suggest that the discourses on the transitioning heteronormative adolescent construct subject positions which some female learners are capable of resisting. These subject positions were an inroad for talking about the social roles that are available to young women, especially when they reach sexual maturity, and within communities like Rylands West where teenage pregnancy is a likely outcome. The classroom lessons indicate that female learners are capable of positioning themselves as agentic subjects. This is in order to resist gendered subject positions that position them as reproductive subjects, with the likelihood of becoming pregnant teenagers, and then mothers confined to a life of domesticity. Moreover, their rejection of these

positions suggests that pregnant teenagers negate being social outcasts, as the teacher implies. Instead, they can be both mothers and learners, which indicate a commitment to educating themselves rather than being confined to a life of domesticity. In this way, the gendered subject positions taken up and resisted in the classroom contest the set of meanings on the fixed character of gender that the discourses on the transitioning heteronormative adolescent construct.

2.4) The discriminating man, discriminated-against woman, men-as-rapist and women-as-sexual-victims subject positions

The gendered power relations, and traditional-versus-progressive gender roles discourse constructed the discriminating man, discriminated-against woman, men-as-rapists and women-as-sexual-victims subject positions that were taken up and/or resisted during two classroom observations. At Clarins Hill High, the educator implicitly and interactively positioned male and female learners as discriminating men and discriminated-against women, respectively. However, a group of female learners resisted taking up the discriminated-against woman subject position, but rather reflexively positioned themselves as powerful, in turn interactively positioning male learners as supporters of the discriminating man subject position. As such, male learners ironically and reflexively positioned themselves as discriminating men in order to poke fun at the educator and female learners. Some male learners invoked a set of sexist meanings and interactively positioned female learners as domestic subjects. This ignited a tussle between female and male learners, who interactively positioned each other as either traditional and/or modern men or women. At Rylands West High, the educator constructed the men as rapists and women as sexual victims subject positions, in order to implicitly and interactively position male and female learners as such. Furthermore, the educator used this set of subject positions so as to incite male learners to construct a blameworthy subject position and assign this to the men-as-rapists subject position. Some male learners concurred, and some rejected, the view that men who rape are blameworthy subjects. In this way, they resisted being implicitly and interactively positioned as guilty by the educator.

The subject positions produced in these classroom observations reflect liberal feminist values drawn upon in comprehensive-based sexuality education programmes (Moran, 2000). Hoff Sommers (2008) and Hekman (1999) have criticised such values for stereotyping young men, and promoting the ‘myth of disadvantaged girls’, which causes educational disadvantage for boys. The findings above suggest the opposite; female learners are capable of exercising power in the classroom - especially when they resist the discriminated-against woman subject position - implying a powerless and helpless position. Nonetheless, female learners still face some forms of gender-based discrimination when they

reflexively position themselves in powerful and progressive ways as some male learners resorted to positioning them in sexist ways. Furthermore, male learners were capable of resisting sweeping generalisations, such as, that all young men discriminate against young women, by making fun of the educator and female learners for implying this. This could also be seen when male learners avoided associations that they were potentially rapists, and like men who are guilty of rape, based on their gender. Therefore, the gendered subject positions taken up and resisted in the classroom confirm the set of meanings on the contested nature of gender that the gendered power relations, and traditional and progressive gender roles discourse, construct.

In summary, across the interviews with the learners and classroom observations, learners and educators reflexively and interactively took up and/or resisted a confluence of gendered subject positions. These positions confirmed the set of meanings on the contested nature of gender in ways that indicated that the speaking positions made available for male and female learners are multiple but also contradictory. As such, male learners were reflexively and/or interactively positioned according to a matrix of heteronormatively configured relationships where they are likely to misuse their power with the opposite sex. Therefore, I argue that male learners are positioned in ways that reveal tensions associated with being young men. Whilst being sexually active and assuming heteronormative roles such as fathers, boyfriends and breadwinners are praised positions, they are simultaneously, and respectively, vilified as rapists, sexually irresponsible and discriminating men. Similarly, female learners were also reflexively and/or interactively positioned within heteronormative relationships where they are likely to be overpowered by boys and/or men. I argue that female learners are positioned based on tensions related to being young women. Whilst it is preferred that female learners are sexually abstinent and take on heteronormative roles such as mothers, girlfriends and being domestically-based, they are simultaneously vulnerable to being discriminated-against women and sexual victims. Therefore, the gendered subject positions that are reflexively and interactively taken up and/or resisted by learners and educators produce simultaneous socially desirable and undesirable gendered meanings. This means that when a single gendered subject position is taken up or resisted, it is counterpoised by other gendered subject positions that serve to produce a set of conflicting and intersecting gendered meanings.

3) Conscious and unconscious investments in gendered subject positions

3.1) Cynthia's investment in the saviour subject position

Mrs Cynthia Mazibuko, an educator from Rylands West School, drew upon the responsible sexuality discourse. This constructed a coherent set of meanings on responsible roles that adults should assume

on the subject of sex and sexuality. These meanings constructed the saviour subject position, which she reflexively drew upon based on the story that she told about doing the right thing: forgiving her mother for abandoning her as a child, which led to her falling pregnant as a teenager and having no support. The saviour subject position allowed her to talk about saving female learners from making the same mistake that she made as a pregnant teenager. However, I argue that a closer look at her story suggests that she harbours unconscious feelings of anger towards her mother's abandonment and for constructing her as a sexually irresponsible teenager. Cynthia glossed over feeling angry, in order to deflect attention from her own sexuality and sexual desire as a teenager and those of her learners, so as to emphasise being a saviour to them, and to tell a story of forgiving her mother for abandoning her as a child.

During the interview, I sensed that Cynthia felt I was evaluating her performance as an educator, based on my position as a researcher. As a result, I sensed that she felt powerless and vulnerable with me, similar to how she probably felt when she was pregnant. With me, she turned the unpleasantness of feeling evaluated and powerless into a heroic account of surmounting various challenges in her life that depicted her as victorious. With her mother, she turned unpleasant feelings of anger into forgiveness and becoming a saviour to female learners. In this way, Cynthia's ability to turn unpleasant feelings into pleasant ones point to reaction formation – an unconscious defensive mechanism that she used in order to protect herself from feeling anxious with regard to being a sexually active and desiring teenager, which allowed her to invest in a saviour subject position.

As can be seen, the responsible sexuality discourse constructs gendered subject positions where young women are expected to exercise more sexual responsibility than young men by securing their sexual abstinence. Cynthia invoked this discourse in order to position herself as a saviour to female learners because she does not want them to become sexually irresponsible as she was: a sexually active and pregnant teenager. Furthermore, her conscious and unconscious investment in the saviour subject position suggests underlying feelings of anger towards her mother for abandoning her, leaving her feeling unsupported as a teenager. Her anger towards her mother suggests that she blames herself for being positioned in socially undesirable ways, i.e., a pregnant teenager and sexually active in light of her mother's abandonment. Therefore, Cynthia's unconscious anger is about being constructed as sexually irresponsible. Her anger regarding her mother's abandonment represents an emotional conflict, which is reason behind her investment in the saviour subject position.

3.2) Thami's investment in a serial dater subject position

Thami, a male learner from Clarins Hill High, drew on a dating pleasure discourse in order to reflexively position himself as a serial dater. During his interview, he told a story about a girl he had dated at school for a year but that their relationship had ended because his popularity as a radio DJ attracted the attention of other girls. Therefore, he reflexively positioned himself as a serial dater, in accordance with his position as a DJ, that garners him attention from female learners so as to avoid the commitment of dating one person for a long time. His life story suggests that he has unconscious feelings of sadness and anger towards people who have constantly left him, such as his girlfriend. Other people include his father, whom Thami has never met, his mother and older brother, who have left Thami to live alone in the family's house whilst they work in neighbouring towns. Thami avoided talking about the loss of these relationships but rather emphasised his popularity as a DJ, to also excuse or explain the attention he receives from girls. This deflected attention from him feeling vulnerable and weak. During the interview, Thami depicted himself as a responsible young man, so that I would take him seriously based on my position as a slightly older man from a university. With me, he avoided talking about feelings concerning his family neglecting him, rather choosing to emphasise that he is a responsible young man capable of looking after himself. Thami invests in a serial dater subject position because it allows him to compensate for feeling weak, as a young man, concerning the loss of nurturing relationships by emphasising his popularity as a DJ.

The dating pleasure discourse, then, constructs multiple, yet contradictory, gendered subject positions that enable and constrain how young men and women experience dating pleasure. Thami drew on this discourse in order to reflexively position himself as a serial dater so as to avoid dating one person for a long time, based on the relationship with his ex-girlfriend who broke up with him after one year of dating. Moreover, his conscious and unconscious investment in the serial dater subject position suggests that he compensates for the loss of a loving and nurturing relationship, which makes him feel vulnerable and weak. Thami's need to compensate for people like his girlfriend, parents and brother, who do not feature in his life, positions him in socially desirable ways, i.e., a popular and well-supported DJ. This position talks to a particular form of masculinity that depicts Thami in a positive light. This is because it enables him to experience the pleasure of serial dating, as opposed to being a committed boyfriend in a long-term relationship where there is the risk of having his heart broken again. Therefore, Thami's unconscious need to compensate for the committed boyfriend subject position constructs him as a serial dater. His need to compensate for the loss of loving and nurturing relationships is an emotional difficulty he experiences, and the reason for why he invests in the serial dater subject position.

3.3) Bongani's investment in a playa subject position

Bongani, a male learner from Clarins Hill High, invoked the heteronormative discourse so as to reflexively position himself as a playa. During the interview, he told a story about the social roles available to male learners at school, based on their sexual prowess. He reflexively positioned himself as a playa in order to set himself apart from the men and boys: the playas are preoccupied with their sexual prowess and attracting girls sexually; the men are in committed relationships, whilst the boys are not in demand by the opposite sex as they are focused on their schoolwork. His life story indicated that, according to his culture, he is not yet a man but still a boy because he has not yet gone for initiation, a position which he finds embarrassing. Bongani avoided the embarrassment of positioning himself as a boy by emphasising his sexual prowess that is associated with being a playa. During the interview with me, he depicted himself initially as a playa, in relation to my position as a man, in a way that put him on an equal footing with me. As the interview progressed, he talked about the difficulties he faces as a young man coming to terms with his sexuality. However, at school, he maintains the position of a playa, and does not talk to anyone about his cultural shortcoming of being a boy. Bongani devalued the men and boys subject positions and he idealised, and invested in, the playa subject position because it allowed him to unconsciously defend against, and overcompensate for, feeling humiliated and weak.

It can be seen then that the heteronormative discourse constructs a coherent set of meanings on the social roles available to young men at Bongani's school. He relied on this discourse in order to reflexively position himself as a playa and distinguish himself from other male learners at his school, whom he interactively positions as either boys or men, positions which he deems as inferior to the one of a playa. With regard to why he reflexively positioned himself as a playa, his conscious and unconscious investment in this position suggests that he devalues male learners at his school, who identify as boys and men, in order to overcompensate for his culture dictating that he is not yet a man because he has not yet gone for initiation. Rather, he is still a boy, a position he feels is an embarrassment. Bongani's need to overcompensate for not being a man but still a boy, according to his culture, positions him in socially desirable ways as a male learner who is considered popular, especially amongst fellow male learners and many female learners. This position talks to a particular form of masculinity that idealises sexual prowess, in terms of constructing girls and young women as sexual conquests. The playa position allows Bongani to gain respectability and popularity amongst his peers in order to avoid the embarrassment for being a boy. Therefore, Bongani's unconscious need to

overcompensate constructs him as a playa. Overcompensating for not being a man but still a boy is a point of emotional conflict for Bongani and the reason why he invests in the playa subject position.

3.4) Siya's investment in a mean girl subject position

Siya, a female learner from Clarins Hill High, drew on the traditional-versus-progressive gender roles discourse in order to reflexively position herself as a mean girl. During her interview, she talked of conflicting roles for female learners at her school, drawing on her own experiences; when she is nice, male learners make sexual advances to the point of harassing her, and when she is assertive, she is labelled as having an attitude. Siya reflexively positioned herself as a mean girl in response to these sexual advances of some of the male learners at her school.She rationalised being a mean girl to male learners because they take advantage of how nice she is, in order to unconsciously defend against the way she is interactively positioned as a sexual object. Her life story suggests an estranged relationship with her biological parents and unconscious feelings of anger towards them for not being emotionally available for her. During the interview, she was guarded and kept her responses to a minimum; her way of exercising control, in relation to my position as a young man, similar to the male learners of whom she is suspicious. At school, she rationalised her need to control, and only follow, instructions that please her, based on the lack of respect for women from male learners at her school - respect to which she felt entitled. I argue that Siya rationalises her investment in the mean girl subject position for being too nice and taken advantage of, to unconsciously defend against feeling sexualised by male learners, who challenge her need for control and self-entitlement during interpersonal encounters.

In this way, it can be seen that the traditional-versus-progressive gender roles discourse constructs a coherent set of meanings on the traditional-versus-progressive roles for young women. Siya invoked this discourse in order to reflexively position herself as a mean girl who needs to be assertive when it comes to male learners, who make sexually inappropriate advances at her, because they take advantage of her reputation as a nice girl. According to Siya, nice girls are pleasant, friendly and obedient, which is how girls are expected to behave in her community. Her conscious and unconscious reasons for investing in the mean girl subject position suggests that she rationalises being aggressive towards male learners for sexually harassing her, as a defence against drawing attention to herself as a sexually-desiring subject. Siya's need to rationalise instances when she becomes mean positions her in conflicting ways: if she is mean and assertive then she is regarded as having an attitude, and if she is nice then male learners take advantage of her. The mean girl subject position talks to the way in which young women can be nice and compliant, yet assertive and aggressive, in ways that comply with, and challenge, traditional constructions of femininity. The mean girl subject position also allows Siya to

deflect attention away from her sexuality, as her sexuality makes her feel vulnerable. Therefore, Siya's unconscious need to avoid the subject of her sexuality constructs her as a mean girl. Rationalising aggressive behaviour towards male learners who overtly draw attention to Siya's sexuality is a source of emotional conflict and is the reason why she invests in the mean girl subject position.

In summary, it can be seen that participants consciously and unconsciously invested in unique gendered subject positions, based on their individual psychic 'make-up' and as analysed through their personal biographies, their talk and their interactions with me as the interviewer. Each participant's investment in a particular gendered subject position illuminated emotional conflicts related to highly personalised past experiences, events or memories that caused them to feel anxious during the interview with me. Their anxieties were in response to the interview prompting them to reflect on their gendered positions. For all four participants, their investment in specific gendered subject positions evoked simultaneous, multiple and contradictory gendered subject positions that they unconsciously defended against.

For Cynthia and Siya, I argue that their investments show that they experience anxiety with regard to taking up the sexually-desiring subject position. Moreover, their emotional conflicts deepen the analysis on the multiple, yet contradictory, constructions on femininity. This points to women minimising the extent to which they are sexually active and sexually desiring through the saviour and mean girl subject position. Similarly for Thami and Bongani, I argue that their investments suggests that they experience anxiety with regard to taking up one contradictory subject position, related to gendered sexuality, over another as it constructs them in ways that are considered socially undesirable for young men. Moreover, an analysis of their emotional conflicts takes the multiple yet contradictory constructions on masculinity further, in order to suggest that young men feel pressured to assert their sexuality by exaggerating their need for dating and sexual pleasure through the serial dater and playa subject positions. Both sets of the multiple, yet contradictory, gendered meanings for young men and women point to the emotional conflicts that they experience, which suggest that young women shy away from sexuality, whilst young men play up their sexuality.

Reygan and Francis (2015) explore the role of educators' emotions with respect to teaching sexual and gender diversity, and found that teachers experienced feelings of discomfort, disapproval and fear whilst engaging with these topics with their learners in the classroom. Furthermore, the authors argue that the teachers' emotions reflect a history of inherited knowledge that carries prejudice, denial and a silencing of non-normative sexual and gender identities, such as same-sex attaction, which was noted

in one of the analysis chapters. In this instance, educators' emotional knowledge represents a significant barrier to teaching sexual and gender diversity. The findings here on learners' and an educator's conscious and unconscious investments in unique identity positions add to Reygan and Francis' (2015) underscoring of the importance of exploring emotions, as an interpretive lens, that deepens how an analysis of historically unequal gendered and sexual ideological meanings continue to thrive. They do so by exploring feeling states, as indicative of emotional attachments, to normative and dominant systems of knowledge. However, the emotions that I explore show the conscious and unconscious reasons as to why learners and an educator invest in particular identity positions. This is in order to defend against anxiety, based on highly personalised experiences that were invoked during ther interviews with me. The interview can thus be seen as an intersubjective encounter where dominant gendered discourses are invoked by learners and educators that afford them particular identity positions. They invest in these positions for defensive purposes, that underscore emotional conflict that they experience, with regard to dominant discourses positioning them in anxiety-provoking ways, based on past events in their lives and the interview with me. In this way, it becomes possible to speak about learners and educators consciously and unconsciously perpetuating gendered sexualities that afford young men more sexual agency than young women.

4) Summary

With regard to the research questions concerning; (i) dominant gendered discourses, (iii) gendered subject positions, and (iii) conscious and unconscious investments in these positions, I argue that these questions respond to an overarching and coherent set of meanings on the fixed versus the contested nature of gender which was found across the data set. Both sets of meanings stem from the binary construction of gender. Furthermore, each set expresses itself differently across the five sources of data, with either the fixed or contested gendered meanings dominating more than the other. The gendered meanings found in the data have implications for comparing Life Orientation sexuality education manuals and popular music as formal and informal mediums of sexual socialisation in the lives of Grade 10 adolescent learners. I summarise the central argument here according to the discourses, subject positions and conscious and unconscious investments that engage with gendered meanings, taken up in both mediums of sexual socialisation.

The dominant gendered discourses found in the Life Orientation sexuality education manuals constructed coherent sets of meaning predominantly on the fixed character of gender. Female learners were incited to manage their sexuality through responsible and developmental techniques such as abstinence, attending to their physical hygiene, grooming and outward appearance. On the other hand,

male learners were incited to manage their sexuality through inadvertent irresponsible techniques associated with sexual activity and sexually risk-taking behaviours. Female learners were also incited to manage their sexuality through pleasure-related techniques that encouraged them to be receivers, and male learners as thus the initiators, of dating and relationships. Moreover, the gendered management of learners' sexuality was also articulated against a backdrop of unequal gendered power relations that constructed female learners as powerless and victims of gender-based violence, and male learners as powerful and perpetrators of this violence, on the other hand. These unequal relations, in turn, incite learners to adopt progressive gender roles that pose a challenge to these traditional roles, which are responsible for gender-based inequalities.

The dominant gendered discourses found in the music constructed coherent sets of meaning, predominantly on the contested nature of gender. Rihanna and Usher managed their sexuality by drawing upon active and passive techniques that were related to exercising sexual and romantic forms of pleasure. As a young woman, Rihanna was sexually objectified in ways that allowed her to be a sexually desirable (passive) and sexually-desiring (active) subject. As a young man, Usher was simultaneously objectified as sensitive and lovelorn, yet virile and possessive, which constructed him as a modern and traditional man. Nicki Minaj managed her sexuality by drawing on techniques related to raunch culture. She was objectified in sexually explicit ways as a sexually powerful and threatening woman, which juxtaposed constructions of her as ironically girlish and a Barbie doll, and also as a stripper and hoodlum.

The dominant gendered discourses on the fixed and contested gendered meanings were taken up through classroom observations and one-on-one interviews. The classroom practices produced socially desirable subject positions for young women and men. The female learners were positioned as sexually abstinent and as the receivers of sexual pleasure and the male learners were positioned as being sexually active and as the initiators of sexual pleasure. Some female learners reflexively positioned themselves in socially-desirable subject positions for young men; i.e., sexually active and initiators of sexual pleasure. Conversely, some female learners consistently reflexively positioned themselves in the socially-desirable subject positions for young women; i.e., sexually abstinent and receivers of sexual pleasure. All the male learners reflexively positioned themselves in the socially desirable subject positions for young men - male learners interactively positioned female learners according to both the socially-desirable positions for young men and women. The classroom practices also produced socially undesirable subject positions for young women and men: for the former; the pregnant teenager, mother, the domesticated woman, the discriminated-against woman and sexual

victim subject positions; for the latter: the father, breadwinner, discriminating men and rapist subject positions. Educators also interactively positioned male and female learners according to these positions. However, male and female learners took up, and/or resisted, these positions, whilst interactively positioning the opposite sex in multiple and complex ways that re-enacted, (ironically) reinforced and defied the positions for young women and men. Therefore, the classroom practices produce desirable and undesirable gendered subject positions that were taken up and/or resisted by male and female learners. The confluence of these positionings point to multiple, complementary, and, yet, opposing, constructions of masculinity and femininity, which serves to position male and female learners in simultaneously desirable and undesirable ways that represent points of ongoing tension.

I developed the ongoing tensions related to the confluence of gendered subject positions further, that surfaced in the interviews, to show how these tensions are mediated through the personal experiences of four participants. One of the participants, Cynthia, unconsciously defended against feeling angry towards her mother for abandoning her as a pregnant teenager, by investing in the saviour subject position, which she adopted in order to save her female learners from the same fate that she suffered. Her emotional conflict was based on tensions between the sexually active and sexual abstinent subject position. Siya, a female learner, unconsciously defended against feeling vulnerable to, and hurt by, male learners' sexual advances that verge on harassment, and her parents' emotional unavailability as a child, by investing in the mean girl subject position. Her emotional conflict stemmed from the tensions that she experienced between being an assertive (mean girl) and passive (nice girl) subject position. Thami, a male learner, unconsciously defended against feeling lovelorn and weak, based on a break-up with a girl he had dated for over a year, and on being left alone to care for himself by his parents and older brother, which lead him to invest in the serial dater subject position. His emotional conflict centred on tensions between the sensitive and virile subject position. Bongani, another male learner, unconsciously defended against feeling embarrassed that he is still a boy, and not yet a man, according to his culture, by investing in the playa subject position. His emotional conflict emphasised the tensions between the powerful and powerless subject positions, associated with manhood and boyhood, respectively.

I argue that participants' personal biographies, through their talk with me during the interviews, along with my reflexive notes, highlighted their emotional conflicts that influence why they invested in unique subject positions. Furthermore, employing a psychosocial analysis to in-depth, one-on-one interviews represents how the gendered subject positions are taken up in more deeply subjective and personalised ways. These are analysed through the emotional conflicts or anxieties that arise for

participants, during a specific intersubjective encounter with me, as the interviewer. In other words, the analysis of the four in-depth case studies shows not only how different gendered subject positions become available to these participants, but also why they may take up unique positions. The way in which learners and educators take up particular gendered subject positions is mediated through their personal histories, via their talk, during the interview, as an intersubjective encounter. This produces anxious feelings that they defend against by investing in a particular position.

In summary, as formal and informal mediums of sexual socialisation in adolescent learners' lives, Life Orientation sexuality education manuals and popular music produce dominant gendered discourses that construct a coherent set of meanings on the fixed versus the contested nature of gender. The fixed meanings expressed themselves predominantly through the formal sexuality education content, and depicted male and female learners according to rigid and binary constructions of masculinity and femininity. These meanings accorded male learners with more sexual agency and power and placed fewer restrictions on their sexuality than female learners. The contested meanings featured more strongly in the informal music content and depicted Rihanna, Usher and Nicki Minaj in multiple and contradictory ways that disturbed binary constructions of masculinity and femininity. These meanings represented young women with as much sexual agency, power and unrestrained sexuality as young men are accorded. The fixed and the contested gendered meanings also showed up, respectively, in the socially desirable and undesirable gendered subject positions that were taken up and/or resisted by educators and learners during sexuality education classroom observations and one-on-one interviews. This supports my argument concerning the contested nature of gender as reflecting multiple, complementary, yet contradictory, gendered subject positions that represented points of tension for male and female learners' gendered positioning/s. These tensions, with regard to the confluence of gendered subject positions, could also be seen in highly personalised events in the learners and an educator's lives. This produced emotional conflicts for them that they defended against, in order to invest in particular gendered subject positions. Therefore, participants' conscious and unconscious investments in unique gendered subject positions points to the deeply personal nature of taking up, and/or, resisting discourses, which is not simply a matter of drawing on multiple subject positions, according to Hollway and Jefferson (2012). Instead, investing in particular subject positions takes up the tensions regarding socially desirable and undesirable constructions of masculinity and femininity further, in order to show how they represent emotional conflicts for participants based on their personal biographies. Again, gender is highly contested when one considers it in light of personalised biographies that produce emotional conflicts for participants.

Therefore, the dominant gendered discourses, gendered subject positions, and conscious and unconscious investments in these positions call into question the extent to which the gendered meanings that underpin adolescent learners' sexuality are stable and fixed. The gendered discourses in the formal content (Life Orientation sexuality education manuals) showed that gender is expressed in accordance with rigid binaries that privilege masculine more than feminine sexuality. However, the gendered discourses within the informal content (popular music) contested these rigid binaries and served to produce fluid and equitable masculine and feminine sexualities. The classroom practices, which I noted in the observations, continued to depict multiple and more equitable gendered sexualities, but also heightened just how contested gender is. This was seen in that female learners resisted taking up traditional and conventional feminine positions, whilst male learners tended to ridicule the extent to which they were vilified by educators and female learners for their socially- and culturally-privileged status as young men. Finally, the personal biographies of three learners and an educator illustrated how masculine and feminine sexualities produce emotional conflicts that they defended against in order to invest in unique gendered subject positions. In this way, conceptualising learners and educators as psychosocial subjects means taking into account how multiple and conflicting masculine and feminine sexualities are mediated through their personal lives, which are a source of significant emotional conflict for them.

5) Limitations and recommendations for future research

Moving now to considering the limitations of this research, as much as I have argued for an integrated conceptual and methodological framework in order to explore gendered sexualities in sexuality education and popular music, this is also one of the major limitations of the research. This has to do with the compatibility of using two seemingly contradictory schools of thought, i.e., Foucauldian and psychoanalytic theory, in order to understand the subject of sexuality. For now, I do not wish to go through the points at which both theories dovetail and differ, as I highlighted these debates in Chapters Five and Six. However, I do want to briefly draw attention to the way in which relying on both of these approaches may have obscured a thorough reading of gendered sexualities found in the two mediums of sexual socialisation. This is in light of fundamental differences between both theories. For instance, psychoanalysis conceptualises sexuality according to a life-span and developmental approach, and as unconscious factors that come from within an individual. Conversely, Foucault understood sexuality as an historical concept, and constructed by several discourses, that comes from outside the individual in order to shape them from within. The point is that both approaches produce complex and sophisticated accounts of sexuality. Therefore, attempts made to draw on Foucauldian theory and psychoanalysis may produce watered-down versions of both approaches, in attempts to reconcile the tensions between

the two. In other words, the result of combining both approaches may undermine the effectiveness of investigating gendered sexualities in sexuality education and popular music. The ambitious task of drawing on two seemingly contradictory approaches to more clearly understand the way in which sexuality is understood may, in fact, be counter-productive to the rigour involved in investigating either the discourses, or the role of the unconscious at work in the production of gendered sexualities. Put simply, 'doing too much' has the tendency to inhibit a fuller, richer and comprehensive analysis of gendered sexualities that would benefit from drawing solely on either Foucauldian or psychoanalytic theory.

Another limitation, also related to both Foucauldian and psychoanalytic theory, but on the similarities between them, is the interpretivist stance of both approaches. This stems from the fact that the integrated approach that I have drawn on is a qualitative framework where the task of analysing discourses, subject positions and conscious and unconscious investments is a highly subjective and interpretive process, which is subject to the researchers' bias. For example, Parker and Burman (1993) have argued that discourse analysis can feel like one is simply waiting for discourses to emerge. There is also the matter of the researcher privileging particular discourses from emerging over others, which can impose meanings on the text and thus foreclosing the analysis. Moreover, the interpretive process of analysing conscious and unconscious investments relies heavily on the researcher's subjectivity, which plays a crucial role for enriching and triangulating the analysis. However, this can be problematic when psychoanalytic terms, such as, 'transference' and 'defence mechanisms' can work against the researcher's subjectivity, in turn drawing out the participants experience by positioning them within interpretive grids that only end up pathologising and individualising their responses (Georgaca, 2005). The in-depth and interpretive processes of the qualitative approaches that I have drawn upon do not lend themselves to making broad empirical claims and generalisations. This has implications for researching sexuality education in terms of influencing formal sexuality education initiatives in that the findings here could be easily interpreted as unscientific and idealistic. This is in light of school-based sexuality education initiatives in South Africa, which have been conceptualised as a response to providing learners with scientific and accurate information in order to protect themselves from the dangers of HIV and STDs. It seems that there is pressure on sexuality education research to prove how scientifically sound and effective their findings are in reducing the incidence of adolescent sexual and reproductive health difficulties. In this way, quantitative research seems to have an advantage over qualitative research methods at influencing formal sexuality education initiatives at the level of policy, due to the larger numbers of participants they are able to include and a wider range of data they are able to capture.

The decision taken to include popular music as an informal medium of sexual socialisation amongst adolescent learners, and comparing it to the Life Orientation sexuality education manuals as a formal medium, is also another possible limitation of this research. This is in light of what counts as informal sexual socialisation content in adolescent learners' lives, especially if one seriously considers the context within which young people are embedded and the kinds of social and cultural practices they participate in, where sexual and gendered messages run rife. Whilst popular music is an important social and psychological marker of adolescence in the promotion of gendered and sexual identities, for some learners, other informal sexual socialisation mediums, such as peer groups, movies, social networking platforms, magazines, books and family relations may have a more prominent socialising role than music. Therefore, focusing solely on popular music as one informal medium amidst several other possible mediums, especially when one considers the social location of learners, privileges the role that music plays in adolescent learners' lives and simultaneously assumes that all learners listen to music. Popular music intersects with peer groups, movies, social networking and magazines, so it seems that one cannot focus on popular music in isolation, but that one should rather look at its relationship with other mediums and the way in which these are used to communicate gendered and sexual messages. In relation to this, at the same time, this is also an opportunity for future research to examine how music intersects with other social and cultural practices in which adolescent learners are immersed, as a way of looking at how gendered and sexual messages are communicated and taken up by learners.

Finally, whilst I have considered multiple ways in which school-based sexuality education is implemented, by examining data drawn from the Life Orientation sexuality education curriculum, classroom observations, as well as learners' and educators' views about Life Orientation, I have not taken into consideration the views of learners' parents. Research shows that one of the major barriers to implementing school-based sexuality education in South Africa is the parents of learners who hold Christian and moralistic views about sex and sexuality (Helleve et al., 2009). In turn, this has put pressure on educators to collude with parents' views, which has resulted in large sections of the sexuality education curriculum being omitted from classroom lessons, in favour of teaching abstinence models (Helleve et al., 2009). The role that parents play in shaping the views of learners with regard to gender and sexuality cannot be overestimated. For future research, it would be important to include the views of learners' parents, in terms of exploring the extent to which their views may present real barriers for teaching sexuality education, especially with regard to issues on gender and sexuality.

6) Implications of the research findings

In considering the implications of the research, the findings here suggest that policymakers, stakeholders, heads of departments, school governing bodies, principals and educators need to be more attentive to informal mediums of sexual socialisation in adolescent learners' lives, such as popular music, when drafting the Life Orientation sexuality education curriculum. The gendered and sexual meanings found in the music were contested in the curriculum content of the Life Orientation lessons which I observed, thus affording young women, in particular, and young men more equitable sexual socialisation practices related to exercising sexual agency and sexual pleasure. On the other hand, the Life Orientation sexuality education manuals produced sexual socialisation practices that privileged the gendered sexualities of young men more than young women. In this way, Life Orientation sexuality education initiatives, especially as a formal medium of sexual socialisation, should consider the role that popular music plays, in terms of understanding the social and cultural practices of adolescents, where constructions of gender and sexuality run rife in ways that enable and constrain their subjectivities related to their gendered sexualities. Popular music, as aforementioned, is but one informal medium of sexual socialisation in adolescents' lives that presents an opportunity for formal, school-based sexuality education initiatives in South Africa to draw on the knowledge of adolescents, rather than the knowledge of sex and sexuality representing solely those of the experts. In this way, sexuality education becomes about adolescents actively shaping and defining the curriculum, according to sexual and reproductive issues that are most pressing and relevant to them, in collaboration with the educators as facilitators in this process.

There are also implications of using a psychosocial-psychoanalytic perspective, in order to understand gendered sexualities in sexuality education programmes, for educators to consider their own emotional lives and the ones of their learners. Learners enter sexuality education lessons with personal histories that have shaped their understanding of gendered sexualities, which may dovetail and/or differ to the ones found in the sexuality education curriculum. Moreover, there are also implications for research on sexuality education, in terms of relying on theoretical and methodological frameworks, to consider not only the socio-historical processes and political and economic forces involved in the construction of adolescent learners' subjectivities related to gendered sexualities but also the learners' and educators' personal biographies. Researchers need to take into account the personal biographies of learners and educators, and the emotional conflicts that these create for them, when taking up and/or resisting gendered sexualities found in the Life Orientation sexuality education curriculum. Accordingly, research conducted on sexuality education needs to give serious consideration to the social and

psychological factors that play a role in shaping the subjectivities of adolescent learners and educators, related to gendered sexualities. In this research, I have argued that combining Foucauldian feminist poststructuralism and psychosocial psychoanalytic perspectives that employ a discourse, positioning and psychosocial analysis, can attend to the role of the social and psychological in shaping gendered sexualities.

It appears, then, that research with respect to young people's sexual socialisation, as a way of taking their sexuality into serious consideration, is not a straightforward process. Researching young people's sexuality, particularly their sexual socialisation, requires an integrated and complex theoretical and methodological approach that challenges the epistemological assumptions of what is considered sexual socialisation. There is also the temptation of privileging the role that school-based sexuality education plays in young people's lives as a formal medium of sexual socialisation. This carries the risk of getting caught up in debates, for instance, on the merits of one sexuality education approach over another – discussed in Chapter Two. This can limit the way that researchers consider particular systems of knowledge, and the discourses inherent therein, that encourages a particular rhetoric around sexual socialisation and includes and excludes what counts as legitimate talking points. In relation to this, as I have shown in Chapter Four, of the role of popular music in young people's lives, this informal medium of sexual socialisation represents one way of taking young people's social location into account. Contextualising adolescent learners' sexuality is important, especially as Chapter Three showed that school-based sexuality education in the South African context has omitted discussions on sexual and gender diversity. In this way, researchers need to be cognisant of learners' social location, in terms of the social and cultural practices within which they are embedded, and the kinds of gendered and sexual messages circulated therein, especially when formal sexual socialisation content silence such messages. Part of the theoretical framework, I discussed in Chapter Five, emphasises the conditions of possibility where gendered and sexual messages become normative and tend to dominate over others. This means that investigating sexual socialisation content in adolescent learners' lives, where gendered and sexual meanings thrive, needs to be contextualised. In relation to this, in Chapter Six, I outlined multiple sources of data that I collected. This was in order to contextualise school-based sexuality education as formal sexual socialisation by comparing it with the popular music to which adolescent learners listen as informal content. Furthermore, I relied upon classroom observations and one-on-one interviews with learner and educator as interactional contexts where sexual socialisation content is actively taken up.

Challenging the epistemological assumptions of what counts as sexual socialisation content also has implications for researching the gendered sexualities available to adolescent learners therein, especially at an ontological level. In Chapters Seven, Eight, Nine and Ten, I drew upon a social constructionist and psychosocial psychoanalytic theoretical framework in order to analyse the gendered sexualities found in sexual socialisation content and practices. These analysis chapters demonstrate that gendered sexualities are constituted by dominant intersecting discourses. These, in turn, construct learners and educators, according to multiple and competing gendered subject positions, within which they consciously and unconsciously invest in unique identity positions. The analysis thus has implications for the socio-historical, political and economic processes that are involved in mediating learners' and educators' gendered and sexual subjectivity. This is particularly with regard to their emotional investments in certain gendered sexualities, that serve to reflect unequal gendered and sexual power relations between men and women. Accordingly, the socio-political and –discursive, along with the socio-emotional factors, are important processes that researchers, policymakers, principals and educators need to bear in mind when thinking about adolescent learners' sexuality, in relation to the role of formal and informal mediums of sexual socialisation. This has implications for developing sexuality education programmes that promote equitable and diverse gendered sexualities by taking into account the informal social and cultural practices within which learners are immersed. Therefore, sexuality education initiatives need to focus on developing a pedagogy that is politically, socially and emotionally relevant to adolescent learners' lives. This is so that they may adequately and appropriately address the continuous power imbalances at play in these spheres that are related to gender and sexual identities.

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Appendix A

Survey of Grade ten learners most popular songs

In the table provided below please list 10 of your favourite songs currently in no particular order. This may be a video that you like, or words to a song you really enjoy, or simply a song that you like listening to. Please try and provide the name of the artist along with the name or the song as well as where did you see or hear the song e.g. on the radio, mp3, MTV, internet etc.

Name of Artist	**Name of Song**	**Source (where did you see or hear the song?)**
1.		
2.		
3.		
4.		
5.		
6.		
7.		
8.		
9.		
10.		

Thank you for your cooperation.

Appendix B

Note: The sub-headings underneath each question points to the focus areas of the research.

Interview with Learners

Issues related to gender

1. Can you tell me what it means for you to be a girl or boy in this school?
2. Can you tell me about the way you have been brought up at home that makes you think about yourself as a boy/girl (ask according to the gender of the learner)?

Issues related to relationships and sex/sexuality

3. Can you tell me what it means for you to be in a relationship or dating someone since the time you have come to this school?
4. Can you tell me about things that took place in your life that made you think about relationships or dating?
5. Can you tell me about what you know about sex based on things that have happened in your life and your upbringing?

School/community issues around sex, sexuality and reproduction

6. Can you tell me of the positive and negative things about sex from what you have witnessed in your life and since you have been in this school?

The role of Life Orientation in relation to sex, sexuality and reproduction

7. Can you tell me about how Life Orientation sexuality education relates to what has taken place in your life so far?

Popular music

8. Based on the music video you watched, can you tell me how this video fits in with being a boy/girl at this school, and your upbringing as a boy/girl at home (ask according to the gender of the learner)?

Appendix C

Note: The sub-headings underneath each question points to the focus areas of the research.

Interview with Educators

The personal and local context of teaching sexuality education

1. Can you tell me what happened in your life that brought you to this point of teaching Life Orientation sex education in this school?
2. Can you think about the time when you were in high school and the challenges learners experienced regarding sex and sexuality, and how this compares with learners in this school?

Approach to teaching sexuality education

3. Can you tell me what has taken place in your life that has affected how you currently teach learners about sex and sexuality?

Perceived outcomes of sexuality education in Life Orientation

4. Can you tell me how effective you think Life Orientation sexuality education is at addressing sex and sexuality related difficulties of learners, when you compare this to approaches you were exposed to as a learner?

Personal and systemic issues related to teaching sexuality education in Life Orientation

5. Can you tell me about your upbringing and how this impacted on the way you feel about teaching about sex and sexuality?
6. Can you tell me what has been the reaction of the principal, other educators, and the parents of learners about teaching sex education since you came to this school?

Popular Music

7. Based on the music video you watched, can you tell me how it compares to ones you watched when you were a learner and as you got older?

Appendix D

Transcription Conventions

1. Where doubts arise about the accuracy of material, put this in round brackets (like this);
2. when material is omitted from the transcript, use a pair of empty square brackets eg. [ ];
3. when clarifying something, use square brackets like this [to help the reader];
4. when there are noises, words of assents and others, put this in slashes eg. /hmm/,like this/yes/;
5. indicate the absence of a gap between one speaker and another with = at the end of one and beginning of the next utterance;
6. indicate pauses in speech with seconds in round brackets, eg. (2) for two seconds, and a full stop for pauses less than a second (.)

7. indicate an extended sound with colon marks, ye::s;
8. indicate emphasis in speech by underlining those parts of the text.

Adapted from Parker (1992)

Appendix E

31 August 2012

Dear Learner

REQUEST FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION IN A RESEARCH PROJECT

Rhodes University, the University of the Western Cape, Stellenbosch University and the University of Fort Hare are conducting a research project in which the sexuality education that takes place in Life Orientation will be investigated. The overall aim of the project is to study sexuality education in light of such issues as coerced sex, unwanted pregnancy, the transmission of HIV and other sexually transmitted diseases.

The research is funded by the South African Netherlands Research Programme on Alternatives in Development (SANPAD) and will be conducted by a team of senior researchers, junior researchers and Doctoral and Master's students. The senior researchers are:

- Prof Catriona Macleod, Professor, Psychology Department, Rhodes University [principal investigator];
- Prof Jean Baxen, Associate Professor and Deputy Dean of Research (Education Faculty), Department of Education, Rhodes University;
- Prof Lou-Marié Kruger, Associate Professor, Department of Psychology, Stellenbosch University
- Prof Tamara Shefer, Professor and Director of Women's and Gender Studies, University of the Western Cape
- Prof Louise Vincent, Associate Professor, Department of Political and International Studies; Rhodes University
- Prof AnnemiekRichters, Emeritus Professor of Culture, Health and Illness, Department of Public Health and Primary Care, Leiden University Medical Centre.

In this letter we request that you participate in this research. A number of other schools in the Eastern Cape and Western Cape will be approached to participate in this study. Permission to approach schools to request that they participate in the research has been obtained from Dr. Annetia Heckroodt in the Strategic Planning, Policy, Research and Secretariat Services of the Department of Education of the Eastern Cape. This specific component of the research is being conducted by Dale Moodley under the supervision of Prof Catriona Macleod. Dale Moodley can be contacted on 073 159 0404 or alternatively on dalemoodley@hotmail.com; Prof Catriona Macleod can be contacted on 046 603 8500 or alternatively on c.macleod@ru.ac.za

Your participation entails:

- Being part of a group that discusses Life Orientation sexuality education;

- The possibility of being chosen as one of four learners who will be a part of an interview that discusses Life Orientation sexuality education and music;
- Being in a sexuality education class that will be observed by a researcher;
- Taking part in a survey that asks Grade ten learners to list their top ten favourite songs.

The purpose of this letter is to inform you of your rights, should you decide to participate in this study. Please note that an ethical clearance for this project was obtained from the Rhodes University Ethics Committee on 20 April 2011, and that permission to conduct the research has been obtained from Dr Annetia Heckroodt in Strategic Planning, Policy, Research and Secretariat Services of the Department of Education of the Eastern Cape and from the principal of Mary Waters High School.

Your involvement in this study would be entirely voluntary. This means that you do not have to participate and if you have reason to remove yourself from the study, you are free to do so. Please be aware that this study is not an assessment of your performance at school and your decision to participate (or not participate) will in no way affect your relationship with the school or the educators. The interviews and classroom interactions will be tape-recorded. However, no recording will take place unless everyone involved feels comfortable with being recorded and gives their consent. You will not be expected to share any information that you feel is too personal, or that would make you feel uncomfortable.

Please note that any information you share through the interview will not be shared with others involved (such as principals, educators, other learners). Your name will not appear on any written reports and no identifying features will be provided, in order to protect your identity. All of the data collected will be stored in a locked cabinet for a period of five years, and only the researchers involved in this project will have access to it.

In addition, please note that:

- The name of the school will not appear in any publications or research reports
- In the feedback meetings, the results from all the schools will be presented together in such a way as to not make it possible to identify a particular school, educator or set of learners.
- If you are younger than 18 years, then your parent/guardian need to grant permission for you to participate in the research. A separate letter and consent form will be sent to them.

Once the stages of data collection and analysis have taken place, the researchers will conduct feedback meetings with all of the stakeholders and participants (learners, educators, principals and parents). In addition, we will organise feedback meetings with district officials from the Department of Education in both provinces where the research would take place. The key findings will be presented in newspaper articles, with the aim of reaching a wide audience. Furthermore, a policy briefing will be held with the Department of Health and the Department of Education both in the Eastern Cape and the Western Cape, as well as with relevant non-governmental organisations.

We formally request that you participate in the research. Please see the attached consent form which we shall ask you to sign should you agree to participate. Please do not hesitate to ask any further questions regarding this project.

Yours sincerely,

Supervisor

Student

Appendix F:

AGREEMENT BETWEEN LEARNER AND RESEARCHER

I, _____, agree to participate in the research project of Dale Moodley which involves a study of Life Orientation sexuality programmes. I have read the information letter which outlines the broad aim of the research.

I understand that:

* The researcher is a student conducting research as part of the university requirements for a PhD in the Psychology department and is supervised by Prof Catriona Macleod;
* The research is about Life Orientation sexuality programmes;
* The research is not an assessment of my academic performance in Life Orientation, and my participation will no way change the my relationship with the school or the educators;
* I should not volunteer to be part of the project if this topic would cause me any psychological distress;
* My participation will involve being part of an interview;
* Being part of a groups discussion;
* Being in a class which the researcher observes;
* Participating in a survey of Grade ten learners top ten favourite songs;
* The interviews and observations will be tape-recorded; I grant permission for this with the understanding that only the researchers will have access to these recordings and that the tapes will be stored in a safe, locked cabinet;
* I am invited to express any concerns that I have with regard to my participation to the researcher and to have them addressed to my satisfaction;
* I am free to withdraw from the project at any time. However, I will commit myself to full participation unless some unusual circumstances occur or I have concerns about my participation that I did not originally anticipate;
* I understand that my identity will be protected, and that details of the interview and observation period will only be used for the purpose of the project;
* The data from my participation will not be shared with the principal, educators, other parents or learners;

- The name of the school will not appear in any reports and it will not be possible to identify my school or my identity;
- All data collected during the study will be kept in a safe, locked cabinet and will be available for re-use only for the researchers involved in this project;
- All data will be stored for the next five years and then destroyed.

Signature of Participant:

Date:

Signature of Researcher:

Appendix G

31 August 2012

Dear Sir/Madam

REQUEST FOR YOUR CHILD'S PARTICIPATION IN A RESEARCH PROJECT

Rhodes University, the University of the Western Cape, Stellenbosch University and the University of Fort Hare are conducting a research project in which the sexuality education that takes place in Life Orientation will be investigated. The overall aim of the project is to study sexuality education in light of such issues as coerced sex, unwanted pregnancy, the transmission of HIV and other sexually transmitted diseases.

The research is funded by the South African Netherlands Research Programme on Alternatives in Development (SANPAD) and will be conducted by a team of senior researchers, junior researchers and Doctoral and Master's students. The senior researchers are:

- Prof Catriona Macleod, Professor, Psychology Department, Rhodes University [principal investigator];
- Prof Jean Baxen, Associate Professor and Deputy Dean of Research (Education Faculty), Department of Education, Rhodes University;
- Prof Lou-Marié Kruger, Associate Professor, Department of Psychology, Stellenbosch University
- Prof Tamara Shefer, Professor and Director of Women's and Gender Studies, University of the Western Cape
- Prof Louise Vincent, Associate Professor, Department of Political and International Studies, Rhodes University
- Prof Annemiek Richters, Emeritus Professor of Culture, Health and Illness, Department of Public Health and Primary Care, Leiden University Medical Centre.

In this letter we request that you allow your daughter/child to participate in this research. A number of other schools in the Eastern Cape and Western Cape will be approached to participate in this study. Permission to approach schools to request that they participate in the research has been obtained from Dr Annetia Heckroodt in the Strategic Planning, Policy, Research and Secretariat Services of the Department of Education of the Eastern Cape. This specific component of the research is being conducted by Dale Moodley under the supervision of Prof Catriona Macleod. Dale Moodley can be contacted on 073 159 0404 or alternatively on dalemoodley@hotmail.com; Prof Catriona Macleod can be contacted on 046 603 8500 or alternatively on c.macleod@ru.ac.za
Your daughter's/ child's participation entails:

- The possibility of being chosen as one of four learners who will be a part of an interview that discusses Life Orientation sexuality education and music;
- Being part of a group discussion on Life Orientation sexuality education;
- Being in a sexuality education class that will be observed by a researcher;
- Taking part in a survey that asks Grade ten learners to list their top ten favourite songs.

The purpose of this letter is to inform you of your daughter's/child's rights, should you decide to allow her to participate in this study. Please note that an ethical clearance for this project was obtained from the Rhodes University Ethics Committee on 20 April 2011, and that permission to conduct the research has been obtained from Dr Annetia Heckroodt in Strategic Planning, Policy, Research and Secretariat Services at the Department of Education of the Eastern Cape and from the principal of Mary Waters High School.

Your daughter's/child's involvement in this study would be entirely voluntary. This means that she does not have to participate and if she or you have reason to remove her from the study, she or you are free to do so. Please be aware that this study is not an assessment of your daughter's/child's performance at school and your or her to decision to participate (or not participate) will in no way affect her relationship with the school or the educators. The interviews and classroom interactions will be tape-recorded. However, no recording will take place unless everyone involved feels comfortable with being recorded and gives their consent. Your daughter/child will not be expected to share any information that she feels is too personal, or that would make her feel uncomfortable. The researcher involved in the project has experience in conducting research in school settings, and, therefore, would be able to deal with any difficulties or problems, should they arise.
Please note that any information your daughter/child shares through the interview will not be shared with others involved (such as principals, educators or yourself). Your daughter's/child's name will not appear on any written reports and no identifying features will be provided, in order to protect her identity. All of the data collected will be stored in a locked cabinet for a period of five years, and only the researchers involved in this project will have access to it.

In addition, please note that:

- The name of the school will not appear in any publications or research reports
- In the feedback meetings, the results from all the schools will be presented together in such a way as to not make it possible to identify a particular school, educator or set of learners.
- Your granting permission for your daughter/child to participate will be followed by our seeking permission from her, whose consent to participate is also required.

Once the stages of data collection and analysis have taken place, the researchers will conduct feedback meetings with all of the stakeholders and participants (learners, educators, principals and parents). In addition, we will organise feedback meetings with district officials from the Department of Education in both provinces where the research would take place. The key findings will be presented in newspaper articles, with the aim of reaching a wide audience. Furthermore, a policy briefing will be held with the Department of Health and the Department of Education both in the Eastern Cape and the Western Cape, as well as with relevant non-governmental organisations.

We formally request that you grant permission for your daughter/child to participate in the research. Please see the attached consent form which we shall ask you to sign should you agree to this. Please do not hesitate to ask any further questions regarding this project.

Yours sincerely,

Supervisor

Student

Appendix H:

AGREEMENT BETWEEN LEARNER'S PARENT/GUARDIAN AND RESEARCHER

I, _____, agree to allow my daughter/son_____ to participate in the research project of Dale Moodley which involves a study of Life Orientation sexuality programmes. I have read the information letter which outlines the broad aim of the research.

I understand that:

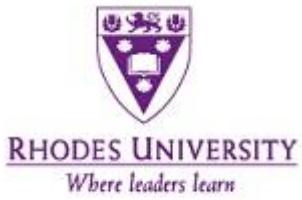
* The researcher is a student conducting research as part of the university requirements for a PhD in the Psychology department and is supervised by Prof Catriona Macleod;
* The research is about Life Orientation sexuality programmes;
* The research is not an assessment of my daughter's/son's academic performance in Life Orientation, and his/her participation will no way change the her relationship with the school or the educators;
* My daughter/son should not volunteer to be part of the project if this topic would cause her/him any psychological distress;
* My daughter's/son's participation will involve being part of an interview;
* Being in a group discussion;
* Being in a class which the researcher observes;
* Participating in a survey of Grade ten learners top ten favourite songs;
* The interviews and observations will be tape-recorded; I grant permission for this with the understanding that only the researchers will have access to these recordings and that the tapes will be stored in a safe, locked cabinet;
* I am invited to express any concerns that I have with regard to my daughter's/son's participation to the researcher and to have them addressed to my satisfaction;
* My daughter/son is free to withdraw from the project at any time. However, s/he will commit her/himself to full participation unless some unusual circumstances occur or s/he or I have concerns about her/his participation that s/he or I did not originally anticipate;
* I understand that my daughter's/son's identity will be protected, and that details of the interview and observation period will only be used for the purpose of the project;
* The data from my daughter's/son's participation will not be shared with the principal, educators, other parents or learners;
* The name of the school will not appear in any reports and it will not be possible to identify either the school or my daughter/son;
* All data collected during the study will be kept in a safe, locked cabinet and will be available for re-use only for the researchers involved in this project;
* All data will be stored for the next five years and then destroyed.

Signature of Participant:

Date:

Signature of Researcher:

Appendix I:



31 August 2012

Dear Educator

REQUEST FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION IN A RESEARCH PROJECT

Rhodes University, the University of the Western Cape, Stellenbosch University and the University of Fort Hare are conducting a research project in which the sexuality education that takes place in Life Orientation will be investigated. The overall aim of the project is to study sexuality education in light of such issues as coerced sex, unwanted pregnancy, the transmission of HIV and other sexually transmitted diseases.

The research is funded by the South African Netherlands Research Programme on Alternatives in Development (SANPAD) and will be conducted by a team of senior researchers, junior researchers and Doctoral and Master's students. The senior researchers are:

- Prof Catriona Macleod, Professor, Psychology Department, Rhodes University [principal investigator];
- Prof Jean Baxen, Associate Professor and Deputy Dean of Research (Education Faculty), Department of Education, Rhodes University;
- Prof Lou-Marié Kruger, Associate Professor, Department of Psychology, Stellenbosch University
- Prof Tamara Shefer, Professor and Director of Women's and Gender Studies, University of the Western Cape
- Prof Louise Vincent, Associate Professor, Department of Political and International Studies, Rhodes University
- Prof Annemiek Richters, Emeritus Professor of Culture, Health and Illness, Department of Public Health and Primary Care, Leiden University Medical Centre.

In this letter we request that your participation in this research. A number of other schools in the Eastern Cape and Western Cape will be approached to participate in this study. Permission to approach schools to request that they participate in the research has been obtained from Dr Annetia Heckroodt in the Strategic Planning, Policy, Research and Secretariat Services of the Department of Education of the Eastern Cape. This specific component of the research is being conducted by Dale Moodley under the supervision of Prof Catriona Macleod. Dale Moodley can be contacted on 073 159 0404 or alternatively on dalemoodley@hotmail.com; Prof Catriona Macleod can be contacted on 046 603 8500 or alternatively on c.macleod@ru.ac.za

Your participation entails:

- Being interviewed on Life Orientation sexuality education and music;
- Having your sexuality education class observed by a researcher;

The purpose of this letter is to inform you of your rights, should you decide to participate in this study. Please note that an ethical clearance for this project was obtained from the Rhodes University Ethics Committee on 20 April 2011, and that permission to conduct the research has been obtained from Dr Annetia Heckroodt in Strategic Planning, Policy, Research and Secretariat Services at the Department of Education of the Eastern Cape and from the principal of Mary Waters High School.

Your involvement in this study would be entirely voluntary. This means that you do not have to participate and you have reason to remove yourself from the study, you are free to do so. Please be aware that this study is not an assessment of your performance as an educator at school and your decision to participate (or not participate) will in no way affect your relationship with the school or other educators. The interviews and classroom interactions will be tape-recorded. However, no recording will take place unless everyone involved feels comfortable with being recorded and gives their consent. You will not be expected to share any information that you feel is too personal, or that would make you feel uncomfortable. The researcher involved in the project has experience in conducting research in school settings, and, therefore, would be able to deal with any difficulties or problems, should they arise. Please note that any information your share through the interview will not be shared with others involved (such as principals and educators). Your name will not appear on any written reports and no identifying features will be provided, in order to protect your identity. All of the data collected will be stored in a locked cabinet for a period of five years, and only the researchers involved in this project will have access to it.

In addition, please note that:

- The name of the school will not appear in any publications or research reports
- In the feedback meetings, the results from all the schools will be presented together in such a way as to not make it possible to identify a particular school, educator or set of learners.
- Giving your permission to participate will be followed by obtaining your informed consent to participate.

Once the stages of data collection and analysis have taken place, the researchers will conduct feedback meetings with all of the stakeholders and participants (learners, educators, principals and parents). In addition, we will organise feedback meetings with district officials from the Department of Education in both provinces where the research would take place. The key findings will be presented in newspaper articles, with the aim of reaching a wide audience. Furthermore, a policy briefing will be held with the Department of Health and the Department of Education both in the Eastern Cape and the Western Cape, as well as with relevant non-governmental organisations.

We formally request ask for your permission to participate in the research. Please see the attached consent form which we shall ask you to sign should you agree to this. Please do not hesitate to ask any further questions regarding this project.

Yours sincerely,

Supervisor

Student

Appendix J:

AGREEMENT BETWEEN EDUCATOR AND RESEARCHER

I, _____, agree to participate in the research project of Dale Moodley which involves a study of Life Orientation sexuality programmes. I have read the information letter which outlines the broad aim of the research.

I understand that:

* The researcher is a student conducting research as part of the university requirements for a PhD in the Psychology department and is supervised by Prof Catriona Macleod;
* The research is about Life Orientation sexuality programmes;
* The research is not an assessment of my performance as Life Orientation educator, and my participation will no way change the my relationship with the school or the educators;
* I should not volunteer to be part of the project if this topic would cause me any psychological distress;
* My participation will involve being part of an interview and having my sexuality education classroom lessons observed;
* The interviews and observations will be tape-recorded; I grant permission for this with the understanding that only the researchers will have access to these recordings and that the tapes will be stored in a safe, locked cabinet;
* I am invited to express any concerns that I have with regard to my participation to the researcher and to have them addressed to my satisfaction;
* I am free to withdraw from the project at any time. However, I will commit myself to full participation unless some unusual circumstances occur or I have concerns about my participation that I did not originally anticipate;
* I understand that my identity will be protected, and that details of the interview and observation period will only be used for the purpose of the project;
* The data from my participation will not be shared with the principal and other educators;
* The name of the school will not appear in any reports and it will not be possible to identify my school or my identity;
* All data collected during the study will be kept in a safe, locked cabinet and will be available for re-use only for the researchers involved in this project;

* All data will be stored for the next five years and then destroyed.

Signature of Participant:

Date:

Signature of Researcher: