Adolescents' perceptions on relationships and sexual behaviour within the cultural and socio-economic context of Kampala, Uganda. Proposing a theoretical framework.

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Preface

In November 2007, my supervisor Inge Hutter put me in touch with the Dutch organisation World Population Foundation (WPF). I aimed to do a study on sexuality education for my Master's thesis, and she knew WPF had designed and implemented a sexuality education programme at secondary schools in different countries around the world.

This programme, the World Starts With Me (WSWM), had been implemented since 2003, and WPF was preparing an evaluation of the programme. They planned a case-control study, which would consist of a baseline and an outcome survey, to measure whether WSWM could be proved to be an effective programme. The evaluation would take place in four countries, i.e. Kenya, Uganda, Thailand, and Indonesia.

I was appointed to perform the baseline evaluation in Uganda in collaboration with Allen Nansubuga of SchoolNet Uganda, the organisation that implements WSWM for WPF in Uganda. We would administer 2000 surveys at 48 schools in different districts within Uganda. In addition, I would perform in-depth interviews and Focus Group Discussions to collect complementary data that could not be measured with the surveys and to obtain a better understanding of the results of the surveys.

February 5th, I came to Uganda for four months. I worked on the baseline evaluation and the qualitative part of the study for three months. The last three weeks, I travelled around Uganda. The results of the baseline evaluation are described in 'Determinants of safe sex behaviour of young people in Uganda' by Rijsdijk et al. (forthcoming). This study will focus on the qualitative part of the study.

Living in Uganda made me fall in love with the 'Pearl of Africa'. I hope you will enjoy reading this study and that you will be able to sense my enthusiasm about Uganda, the people, and the resulting study.

Billie de Haas

Summary

BACKGROUND: Uganda used to be the first country with a decreasing HIV prevalence. However, current policies in Uganda are suggested to be harming the sexual and reproductive health and rights of Ugandan adolescents. Better understandings of adolescents' perceptions on relationships and sexual behaviours within the Ugandan context seem necessary in order to combat HIV/AIDS, other STIs, and unwanted pregnancies, thereby improving their sexual and reproductive health and rights.

OBJECTIVES: This qualitative study has three objectives. First of all, it studies adolescents' perceptions on relationships and sexual behaviour and how they are embedded within the socio-economic and cultural context of Kampala, Uganda. Secondly, based on these results, this study proposes a substantive, theoretical framework for studying adolescents' relationships and sexual behaviour. Thirdly, the results of this qualitative study are used to provide in-depth understandings of the results of a previous study, a quantitative outcome evaluation of World Starts With Me, a sexuality education programme for secondary schools in Uganda.

THEORIES: The main theories used in this study are Ajzen and Fishbein's (1980, 1991) Theory of Planned Behaviour, i.e. attitudes, subjective norms, and perceived behavioural control, and Bandura's (1982) concept of self-efficacy. These theories were used in the previous outcome evaluation study as well, and are given special attention in this study in order to link up with the quantitative survey of that study. However, this study applied the theories using qualitative methods instead of quantitative methods in order to study relationships and sexual behaviours.

METHODOLOGY: The data collection consisted of ten in-depth interviews and six Focus Group Discussions with adolescent boys and girls in the ages 15-19 years at a mixed secondary day school in Kampala, Uganda's capital city. The transcribed data were analysed using the method of Grounded Theory.

RESULTS: The adolescents' attitudes, subjective norms, and perceived behavioural control, including self-efficacy, were qualitatively studied on the following topics: the adolescents' perceptions on relationships, i.e. desired qualities of the partner in a relationship, intra-generational relationships, and cross-generational relationships, and the adolescents' perceptions on sexual behaviours, i.e. kissing and other 'safe' behaviours in intra-generational relationships; condom and other contraceptive use; virginity, abstinence and sexual intercourse; HIV/AIDS; and the fear of pregnancy compared to the fear of HIV/AIDS. The adolescents' perceptions were mostly found to be embedded in cultural and socio-economic contextual aspects. For instance, their perceptions were clearly embedded in the cultural meaning system of the Ugandan society, such as existing gender roles, and the cultural meaning system of the school. To illustrate, teachers and health counsellors visiting the school seemed to use fear as an educational tool to impel the students to abstain until marriage. The students' perceptions on relationships and sexual behaviour seemed to be surrounded by fear based on their teachers' messages as well. Regarding socio-economic contextual aspects, the adolescents' financial capital and the financial capital of their family appeared to be important, for instance. In addition, the adolescents seemed to use Western media, such as Western high school movies and pornography, as examples of how to have sex and to handle their relationships. Furthermore, the adolescents' perceptions were found to be embedded in political aspects: the adolescents' were convinced that abstinence until marriage was the only way to keep them safe from HIV/AIDS and pregnancies, and boys feared to have sex with girls of their age because of an Ugandan law which

dictates that men who have sex with minor girls are sent to prison. Finally, the adolescents' perceptions appeared to be embedded in their future expectations, especially regarding life at University, and their knowledge of sexual and reproductive health and rights.

CONCLUSION: Based on the results of this study, an inductive, substantive, theoretical framework is proposed for studying adolescents' relationships and sexual behaviours. It shows how the adolescents' perceptions on relationships and sexual behaviours are embedded in contextual aspects at the macro, meso, and micro level. Importantly, most of the background characteristics at the micro level are found important because of their relation to contextual aspects at the meso and macro level. For instance, an individual's financial capital was found to be important because of gender roles at the macro level, e.g. boys should be paying for girls, and the cultural meaning system of the school at the meso level, e.g. the opposite sex will show interest when one has money to spend in the school canteen. Furthermore, the different contextual aspects at the macro, meso, and micro level were found to be shaping the adolescents' perceptions through limited knowledge regarding sexuality and high risk perceptions, i.e. Simon's (1957) bounded rationality. In addition, inductive meanings were provided for deductive derived concepts, such as the concepts within the Theory of Planned Behaviour. Lastly, new concepts and theories were added to the theoretical framework. For instance, the concept of self-control was added because it appeared that the participants were very much concerned about their self-control which should prevent them from having sexual intercourse.

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Abbreviations

A-level	-	Advanced level, last two years of secondary school
ABC strategy	-	Abstinence, Being faithful, and Condom use
ART	-	Anti-retroviral therapy
DHS	-	Demographic and Health Survey
FGD	-	Focus Group Discussion, a qualitative research method
HIV/AIDS	-	Human Immunodeficiency Virus/ Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
IDI	-	In-depth interview, a qualitative research method
MoES	-	Ugandan Ministry of Education and Sports
NACP	-	National AIDS Control Programme
O-level	-	Ordinary level, first four years of secondary school
PEPFAR	-	U.S. President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief
PIASCY	-	Presidential Initiative on AIDS Strategy for Communication to Youth
S1-S6	-	Senior 1 – Senior 6, the different forms, i.e. classes, in secondary school
STDs	-	Sexually Transmitted Diseases
STIs	-	Sexually Transmitted Infections
UAC	-	Uganda AIDS Commission
UNAIDS	-	Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS
UPE	-	Universal Primary Education programme
US	-	United States of America
WPF	-	World Population Foundation, a Dutch organisation
WSWM	-	WPF's sexuality education programme 'World Starts With Me'

1. Introduction

Unwanted pregnancies and the spread of HIV/AIDS and other STIs are two important social problems in the world. Although the magnitude of these issues is hard to measure, a report of the United Nations Development Programme states that one out of four pregnancies is unwanted or mistimed (UNDP 2005). In addition, 33 million people in the world were estimated to be living with HIV in 2007, of which two third were living in Sub-Saharan Africa (UNAIDS 2008a).

1.1 Background of the study: combating HIV/AIDS in Uganda

In 1992, Uganda became famous as the first country in Sub-Saharan Africa that registered a drop in the adult national HIV prevalence. This drop was linked to a substantial behaviour change that was observed at the same time and that inhibited the spread of HIV (UNAIDS 2008b). This substantial behaviour change is often assigned to governmental policies initiated by the Ugandan president Museveni and his wife (e.g. Okware et al. 2005, Blum 2004). In 1986, they established a National AIDS Control Programme (NACP). NACP promoted openness on HIV/AIDS, strong political commitment, and active involvement of the community, including school health programmes, cultural leaders, and faith based organisations. NACP focused on three main pillars that would later become known as the ABC strategy: Abstinence, Being faithful, and Condom use (Okware et al. 2005). According to Cohen (2003), the relationship between behaviour change and a decline in HIV rates cannot only be appointed to abstinence, being faithful, and condom use. Other factors, such as the presence of other sexually transmitted infections (STIs) and male circumcision, should be taken into account as well. According to her, the decline in HIV rates in Uganda between the late 1980s and mid-1990s were in a specific time and place and under specific circumstances, and cannot be simplified to a simple ABC model that can be applied in other counties. However, Cohen (2003) states that research has shown positive behavioural changes at these three spheres in Uganda in that time period, such as later onset of first sexual intercourse, increasing levels of monogamy, and increasing condom use among unmarried sexually active men and women. Figure 1.1 shows how the HIV prevalence among adults in the ages 15-49 years has been declining since 1992.
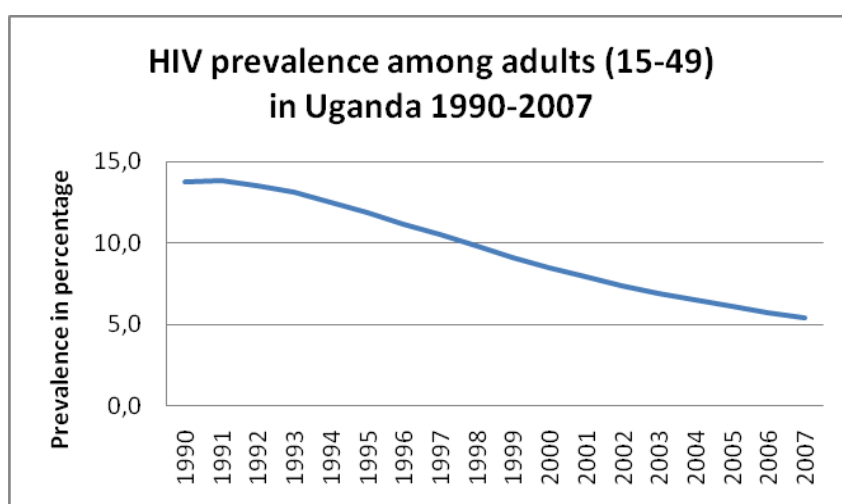
Figure 1.1 HIV prevalence among adults in the ages 15-49 in Uganda in 1990-2007 (UNAIDS 2008a).

Furthermore, data for adolescents in the ages 15-24 years in Uganda are estimated to still be declining as well. Among young women, 3.9 percent were estimated to be living with HIV in 2007. Among young men, it was estimated to be 1.3 percent (UNAIDS 2008a).

Contrary to these data, a UNAIDS report of 2008 states that the Ugandan success did not last. It describes that the decline in HIV prevalence stabilised in the early 2000s and is concerned that the epidemic could be growing again at this moment. The report mentions different studies at urban and rural surveillance sites in Uganda in 2006 indicating an overall levelling of the prevalence among both men and women. It fears a growing number of people living with HIV, due to a combination of a rapidly growing population, an apparent increase of people having sex with a non-regular partner, a lack of progress in promoting safer sex, i.e. condom use, in recent years, and a potential for transmission within couples (UNAIDS 2008b).

Furthermore, the ABC strategy has been receiving more and more critiques in recent years. For instance, after the United States of America (US) had adopted the ABC strategy, critics mentioned that social conservatives in the US were using Uganda's ABC strategy as 'an excuse and justification to promote their long-standing agenda regarding people's sexual behaviour and the kind of sex education they should receive, i.e. A for unmarried people, bolstered by advocacy of B, but for most people, "anything but C".' (Cohen 2003, p.132).

In 2001, the Ugandan government implemented HIV prevention education at all primary and secondary schools in Uganda. This programme was funded by the US and provided mainly abstinence-until-marriage messages. It became known as PIASCY, the Presidential Initiative on AIDS Strategy for Communication to Youth (Human Rights Watch 2005). In 2005, Human Rights Watch warned abstinence-until-marriage programmes had proved 'to be ineffective at changing young people's sexual behaviours and to cause potential harm by discouraging the use of contraception' (Human Rights Watch 2005, p.1). They warned that the PIASCY programme contained 'unproven and potentially life-threatening messages, impeding the realization of the human right to information, the human right to the highest attainable standard of health, and the human right to life' (Human Rights Watch 2005, p.1).

Human Rights Watch's warnings on abstinence-only programmes have been supported by research as well. For instance, Kirby (2007) concludes that, at present, there does not exist any strong evidence that any abstinence programme, which encourage and expect young people to remain abstinent, delays the initiation of sex, hastens the return to abstinence, or reduces the number of sexual partners. According to Kirby (2007), particular abstinence-only programmes should only be disseminated more widely when strong evidence demonstrates that these programmes are effective.

Uganda used to be a model for other countries in the fight of HIV/AIDS but the alarming warnings on abstinence-only programmes by organisations, such as Human Rights Watch, and the contradiction of data and report within UNAIDS, make one wonder whether this is still true (AVERT 2009). In a context in which the government is putting all efforts in fighting stigma on HIV/AIDS on the one hand but seems to be stigmatising sexual intercourse among adolescents on the other hand by promoting abstinence-only and discouraging condom use, the question arises whether these, to the outsider's view conflicting, policies are affecting adolescents' sexual behaviours. It makes one wonder whether the present Ugandan policies still contribute to positive sexual behavioural changes among their adolescents in order to fight HIV/AIDS (e.g. Tuncalp 2005).

1.1.1 Adolescents and their sexual and reproductive health and rights in Uganda

To fight HIV/AIDS, other STIs, and unwanted pregnancies, adolescents and their sexual and reproductive health and rights have been identified as an important target, especially in sub-Saharan Africa (UNFPA 2003). In Uganda, different sexual behaviour patterns have been identified to be unsafe for adolescents' sexual and reproductive health and rights.

First of all, some authors state that it is seen as prestigious for both adolescent boys and girls to have multiple partners at the same time, and that there is a high peer pressure to lose virginity at an early age (Nyanzi et al. 2005, Nyanzi et al. 2001). However, these findings seem to be contradictory to the preliminary results of a quantitative study, which found that many secondary students in Uganda plan to abstain from sexual intercourse until marriage (Rijsdijk et al. forthcoming). The contradictory pressure to have sex and to abstain, by peers, family, culture, and religion, has earlier been addressed in a study in Senegal (Van Eerdewijk 2007).

A second risk for adolescents' sexual and reproductive health and rights in Uganda seems to be money, as it plays an important role in their negotiation of sexual relationships. Cross-generational sex is a money-related example. Among Ugandan young women in the ages 15-19 years, cross-generational sex is estimated to be seven percent. This percentage varies between groups, e.g. it seems to be less among young women who live in urban areas, have a higher education, and know a source to buy condoms (Uganda Bureau of Statistics and Macro International Inc 2007). According to Nyanzi et al. (2001), girls can be showing off with their sugar daddies but boys are not always telling their peers about their sugar mommies. They state that sugar mommies are regularly widows of whom the husband died of AIDS. Boys usually do not tell their peers about dating these older women and will often be seeing other girls at the same time (Nyanzi et al. 2001). Although the sexual health risks of adolescent girls dating older men have often been addressed in the literature (e.g. Luke and Kurz 2002), it is less studied whether sexual relationships with sugar mommies are practiced safely, and their possible related sexual health risks. Money and gifts are used to negotiate sexual relationships with people within the same age generation as well. Boys claimed it is hard to get into a relationship with a girl without the use of money, and that it can be bitter to find out that a girl will choose a sugar daddy over them because of money (Nyanzi et al 2001). Literature has not paid much attention to the ways boys deal with this.

A difference in background characteristics can lead to different sexual behaviour patterns among adolescents as the Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) of Uganda shows. For instance, young men and women in the ages 15-24 years are more likely to have comprehensive knowledge of HIV/AIDS, HIV/AIDS transmission, and prevention methods, when: they have never been married before; did have sex before; live in urban areas, Kampala particularly; have a higher education; and live in a higher wealth quintile. Furthermore, women in urban areas and women with a higher education have a lower chance to have sex at an early age. For men it seems to be opposite.

Among young adults, premarital sexual activity is more common when they are higher educated and live in urban areas. However, they are more likely to have used a condom at their first and last sexual activity too (Uganda Bureau of Statistics and Macro International Inc 2007). Nyanzi et al (2001) suggest geographical differences in sexual behaviour patterns among adolescents as well. According to them, girls in rural Uganda are not supposed to suggest sex to a boy but town girls, who have been

exposed to western culture and who are seen as sophisticated and modern, are allowed to take the initiative.

The contradictory pressure to have sex and to abstain, by peers, family, culture, and religion, the possible related sexual health risks of adolescent boys having sexual relationships with sugar mommies, and a lack of information on the ways boys deal with rejections from girls when they are short of money are all examples of sexual behaviour patterns that could be harmful to the sexual and reproductive health and rights of adolescents in Uganda and that demand further exploration and understanding.

Apparently, differences in background characteristics lead to different sexual behaviour patterns. This could imply that the socio-economic and cultural context in which adolescents live could be important in constructing their sexual behaviour patterns. Given this, the question arises: how are adolescents' sexual behaviours embedded in their context?

These problems and questions were not the only reason to perform this study. Another reason was the evaluation of a sexuality education programme in Uganda. The following section will explain more about this.

1.1.2   Evaluation of sexuality education programme 'World Starts With Me'

Sexuality education is assumed to increase safe sexual behaviour, which is, as mentioned before, one of the reasons of the successful decline in HIV prevalence in Uganda (WPF 2007, Guttmacher Institute 2007, AVERT 2009). Adolescents are a high-risk group when it comes to unsafe sexual behaviour. Therefore, sexuality education for adolescents could be an effective way to increase safe sexual behaviour, thereby preventing the spread of HIV/AIDS and other problems, such as unwanted pregnancies (Guttmacher Institute 2007, Evelyn and Osafu 1999, Olukoya 2004).

In 2002-2003, the Dutch organisation World Population Foundation (WPF), in cooperation with Butterfly Works/Netherlands and SchoolNet Uganda, developed the sexuality education programme 'World Starts With Me' (WSWM). Subsequently, they implemented the programme in several countries around the world. The programme is specially designed for adolescents at secondary schools. It is a computer-based teaching package, meant to develop computer skills among the students, and focuses mainly on sexual and reproductive health and rights. Every academic year, a new generation of adolescents follows the fourteen-lessons-lasting programme. Local partner organisations ensure the programme is appropriate to the social, cultural, and religious context within the country and ensure the programme meets a genuine local need. More information about the WSWM programme can be found on www.theworldstarts.org.

After the programme had been active for a few years, WPF evaluated the programme in four countries, i.e. Thailand, Indonesia, Kenya, and Uganda, in 2008. They measured into what extent the programme's objectives were being reached by performing outcome and programme evaluations in each country.

To perform the outcome evaluations, WPF designed a self-administered survey to measure the students' sexual behaviours. The survey, which is enclosed in the appendices of this study, focused on three sexual behaviours, i.e. delay of first sexual intercourse, condom use, and sexual harassment and abuse. Two main theories were applied to measure these behaviours, i.e. Ajzen and Fishbein's

(1980, 1991) Theory of Planned Behaviour, which will be further explained in the following chapter, and the Health Belief Model (Rosenstock et al. 1988, Janz et al. 2002). The Health Belief Model was only partly applied in the survey, using the following concepts: perceived susceptibility, i.e. one's opinion of chances of getting a condition; perceived severity, i.e. one's opinion of how serious a condition and its consequences are; and self-efficacy, i.e. how well a person judges himself to perform a certain action required to deal with prospective situations (Janz et al. 2002, Bandura 1982, p.122; de Bruijn 1999).

The outcome evaluation is a quantitative study with a socio-psychological focus. Social psychological studies try to explain behaviour mainly through individual internal factors and attach less attention to the contextual factors (De Bruijn 1999). If they are addressed, it is often a traditional analysis using standard indicators, such as urbanisation levels and religion. However, to grasp the role of context, de Bruijn emphasises the need for 'a more imaginative situational analysis with more concern for socio-cultural specificity and interaction of different facts of the social fabric' (de Bruijn 1999, p.121).

In contrast to quantitative studies, qualitative studies often grasp the role of context and are therefore able to obtain better understandings of specific situations. They study emic points of view, i.e. the insider's point of view, whereas quantitative research methods usually study etic points of view, i.e. the outsider's point of view (Harris 1980; D'Andrade 1995). For instance, the survey of the WPF outcome evaluation used indicators to address contextual aspects but these were mostly standard indicators, as explained by de Bruijn. Most questions in the survey were closed questions with limited answer options. While the respondents were Ugandan adolescents, the closed questions were designed, the answer options were chosen, and the results were interpreted, within the cultural schemas, i.e. internal representations that a person forms of his or her environment, of Western researchers (Hutter et al. 2006, D'Andrade 1992). This means that the subsequent results of the WPF survey are a result of etic points of view. Qualitative research methods, however, would have interpreted the results from the points of view of the Ugandan adolescents in the study.

Providing a better understanding of the embeddedness of sexual behavioural patterns in the socio-economic and cultural context could clarify some of the results from the quantitative study. For instance, it could provide answers that were not included within the limited options of the closed survey, and it could help to interpret and understand the results using an emic instead of an etic point of view. These points could be studied in an additional qualitative study.

I was involved in the outcome evaluation in Uganda, amongst others during data collection, which helped to apply the gained experiences during the evaluation to this complementary qualitative study.

1.2 Aim of the study

As described in this chapter, Uganda is an interesting case when it comes to the fight of HIV/AIDS. Warnings on abstinence-only programmes and reports fearing an increase in HIV prevalence suggest that current policies in Uganda could be harmful to the sexual and reproductive health and rights of the Ugandan population. To combat HIV/AIDS, other STIs, and unwanted pregnancies, more insights into adolescents' sexual behaviour patterns seem necessary, in particular the ones discussed in this chapter. Apparently, differences in background characteristics lead to different sexual behaviours. Therefore, this study aims to obtain a better understanding of the embeddedness of sexual behavioural patterns in the socio-economic and cultural context.

In addition, this study aims to complement to the WPF outcome evaluation of their sexuality education programme WSWM. First of all, it aims to complement to the evaluation through acquiring answers that were not obtained using the survey and by acquiring interpretations and understandings of the results using an emic instead of an etic point of view. Secondly, it aims to complement to the quantitative WPF survey through using mainly the same theories that were used in the WPF survey, i.e. Theory of Planned Behaviour and the concept of self-efficacy, and through focusing, at least, on the same sexual behaviours, i.e. delay of first sexual intercourse, condom use, and sexual harassment and abuse. Finally, it aims to complement to the evaluation through studying sexual behaviour patterns of adolescents in secondary schools, since WPF's evaluation was performed at secondary schools in Uganda as well.

Thus, this study aims to explore, describe, and 'verstehen' (Weber 1978 cited by de Bruijn 1999) the different sexual behaviour patterns of adolescents in secondary schools, the different socio-economic and cultural aspects within the Ugandan context in which their sexual behaviours are embedded, and how the behaviours are embedded in the context. Because the study is about exploring and understanding, and aims to be complementary to a quantitative study, a qualitative study will be performed.

Possibly, it will not always be feasible to study actual behaviours, e.g. when participants are anxious to tell the truth or when they have never experienced any sexual behaviours. Therefore, this study will mainly focus on their intentions to perform these behaviours. Intentions to behaviours and actual behaviours are both part of the Theory of Planned Behaviour and were both used in the WPF survey to measure behaviour change (Ajzen and Fishbein 1980, Ajzen 1991). Thus, although mainly adolescents' intentions will be studied, instead of their actual behaviours, the study will still be complementary to the WPF survey.

Furthermore, Bandura's concept of self-efficacy has been known to be important in changing people's behaviour (Bandura 1982, p.122; de Bruijn 1999). However, literature has concluded that a better understanding of the concept is needed within the socio-cultural context in which people live (WHO 2006). Therefore, this study aims to pay extra attention to the concept of self-efficacy and how it is embedded in the socio-cultural context.

To conclude, this study has three objectives. The thematic objective is to study adolescents' perceptions on relationships and sexual behaviour, and how they are embedded within the socio-economic and cultural context of Kampala, Uganda. In particular, the perceptions of adolescents in secondary school will be studied, as they are the study population of the WSWM outcome evaluation. The theoretical objective is to propose a substantive, theoretical framework for studying adolescents' relationships and sexual behaviour. Lastly, the action-research objective is to provide emic perspectives on the results of the outcome evaluation of the WSWM programme in Uganda, which could serve as input for programme improvements as well.

1.2.1 Research questions

The discussed aims of this study lead to the following research questions:

1. What are the attitudes, subjective norms, and perceived behavioural control, which form the intentions to have relationships and perform sexual behaviour of the adolescents under study?
2. Which role does self-efficacy play in shaping their intentions?

3. Which aspects can be identified in the context in which the adolescents' intentions to have relationships and perform sexual behaviour are embedded?
4. How are the adolescents' attitudes, subjective norms, perceived behavioural control, and intentions embedded in this context?
5. Which emic perspectives can be provided on the results of the outcome evaluation of World Starts With Me, a sexuality education programme for secondary schools in Uganda?

As becomes evident, the different concepts within the Theory of Planned Behaviour will be studied, as they were studied in the WPF survey. However, in this study they will be studied using qualitative research methods because it will make it possible to obtain a better understanding of the results of the WPF survey through obtaining emic points of view and through embedding the quantitative results of the WPF survey in the socio-economic and cultural context.

1.2.2   Societal and scientific relevance

The intention to improve the available knowledge regarding adolescents' sexuality, especially of adolescents in secondary school in Uganda, and to increase the safe sexual behaviour of secondary students in Uganda by serving as input for improvements for the WSWM programme, makes this study relevant for society.

There are different reasons that make this study scientifically relevant. First of all, it adds to an increasing understanding of how intentions of adolescents to have relationships and perform sexual behaviour are embedded in the socio-economic and cultural context in which they live, especially the context of adolescents attending secondary school in Uganda. Secondly, it will provide more insights in the linking of theories from different research areas, e.g. anthropology, demography, and social psychology. Thirdly, it will show how qualitative methods can be used to study adolescents' sexual behaviour, thereby providing information that could not have been obtained using quantitative methods. And finally, it will strive to give more meaning to the concept of self-efficacy, in respect of intentions to have relationships and perform sexual behaviour, and its embeddedness in the socio-cultural context.

1.3   What will be discussed in this study

This study is subdivided into seven chapters. This first chapter describes the aim and research questions of this study. The following chapter discusses the different theories that were used to design the study and the conceptual model. The conceptual model includes, amongst others, the Theory of Planned Behaviour by Ajzen and Fishbein (1980, 1991) to study the construction of adolescents' intentions. It includes a conceptual framework proposed by Djamba (1997) to distinguish the different aspects generating the Ugandan context in which adolescents' intentions are embedded. Furthermore, it includes D'Andrade's (1984, 1992) concepts of cultural meaning system and cultural schema's to study the cultural context in a more general way than proposed by Djamba (1997), who only used the concepts of religion and religiosity.

The third chapter discusses the methodology of the study. It discusses how qualitative data were collected at a mixed secondary day school in Kampala, the capital of Uganda. In-depth interviews and Focus Group Discussions were conducted with adolescent girls and boys in the ages 15-19 years. Subsequently, the data were transcribed and analysed using the method of Grounded Theory as described by Strauss and Corbin (1990).

Chapters 4, 5, and 6 discuss the results of the study. Based on the data, important contextual aspects were identified in which the adolescents' intentions to have relationships and perform sexual behaviour are embedded. Chapter 4 elaborates on a few of these aspects, i.e. the Ugandan education system, Ugandan laws and policies, and media, because they were considered to be needing further explanation in order to provide a better understanding of the other results, which are discussed in chapter 5 and 6.

Chapter 5 discusses the participants' perceptions, intentions, and experiences with regard to relationships. It discusses the desired qualities of the partner in a relationship, intra-generational relationships, and cross-generational relationships, i.e. relationships with sugar daddies and sugar mommies.

Chapter 6 discusses the participants' perceptions, intentions, and experiences with regard to sexual behaviours. First, it discusses how certain behaviours, such as hugging, are accepted within the Ugandan culture, while other behaviours, such as pecking and kissing, are less accepted. Secondly, it discusses the use of condoms and other contraceptives. Thirdly, it discusses virginity, abstinence, and sexual intercourse. Fourthly, it elaborates on the participants' perceptions on HIV/AIDS. Finally, it discusses what the participants fear more: a pregnancy or HIV/AIDS.

Finally, chapter 7 discusses the conclusions of the study. It answers the research questions and proposes a substantive theoretical framework for studying adolescents' perceptions on relationships and sexual behaviour in Kampala, Uganda. The chapter finishes with a discussion on the results of the study and recommendations for further research.

2. Theoretical framework and conceptual model

This chapter tries to give meaning to the different concepts, and describes the different theories, used in this study based on available literature on adolescents' sexual behaviour in countries such as Uganda. However, although these theories and concepts will be used to design the discussion and interview guides for the data collection, the data collection itself will be open to new concepts and theories. It will be explorative, and qualitative, and therefore have a more inductive character.

2.1 Studying adolescents' intentions

The objective is to study adolescents' intentions to have relationships and to perform sexual behaviour and the different aspects within the context in which these intentions are embedded. First of all, the theories that will be used to study adolescents' intentions are discussed.

2.1.1 Theory of Reasoned Action – Ajzen and Fishbein (1980)

Ajzen and Fishbein have conceptualised the intention towards certain behaviour, in this case to have relationships and perform sexual behaviour, in their 'Theory of Reasoned Action'. This theory aims to explain individual's behaviour by different determinants. It argues that individual behaviour is immediately caused by behavioural intention, i.e. the intention to perform certain behaviour. Subsequently, behavioural intention is determined by two variables: 'attitude toward the behaviour' and 'subjective norm' (Ajzen and Fishbein 1980).

'Attitude toward the behaviour' can be defined as 'a person's judgment that performing the behaviour is good, or bad, that he is in favour of or against performing the behaviour' or 'the sum of expectancy x value products' (Ajzen and Fishbein 1980, p.6; Bohner and Wänke 2002, p.233). This means that a person can have different expectations about the products, i.e. consequences, of a behaviour. For example, in the case of having sex, 'If I have sex, I will get pregnant', and, 'If I have sex, I will have a good time'. The subjective value attached to each expectancy multiplied by the subjective likelihood that each consequence will happen, will predict the overall attitude towards the behaviour. In this example, if the person values having a good time and getting pregnant equally, and the person is sure that he or she will have a good time but regards the likelihood to get pregnant very small, than the person will probably have a positive attitude towards having sex. But if the person regards the likelihood to get pregnant as high as having a good time when having sex, and he or she values getting pregnant as more important than having a good time, the person will probably have a negative attitude towards having sex. Figure 2.1 visualises these two examples.

Subjective value (range −1 +1)		
-1	0	1
negative	neutral	positive

	Subjective value	Likelyhood it will happen
Getting pregnant	-1	0,2
Having a good time	1	1

Attitude = Sum expectancy x value products

So 'Attitude towards having sex' is positive, namely (−1*0,2) + (1*1) = 0,8

	Subjective value	Likelyhood it will happen
Getting pregnant	-1	0,5
Having a good time	0,4	0,5

Attitude = Sum expectancy x value products

So 'Attitude towards having sex' is negative, namely (−1*0,5) + (0,4*0,5) = −0,3

Figure 2.1 Two examples of 'Attitude towards having sex'

'Subjective norm' can be defined as 'a person's perception that most people who are important to that person think he or she should or should not perform the behaviour in question' or 'a sum of products, each product consisting of the belief that a significant "referent", i.e. another person or group, thinks one should perform the behaviour, and the motivation to comply with this referent' (Ajzen and Fishbein 1980, p.57; Bohner and Wänke 2002, p.234). For example, again in the case of having sex, 'My father does not want me to have sex but the chance he will find out is little' and 'My friends will look up to me if I have sex and I talk to them every day.' In this case, the motivation to comply with the friends is probably higher than the motivation to comply with the father, which could lead to a positive subjective norm towards having sex, as visualised in Figure 2.2.

Subjective norm (range –1 +1)		
-1	0	1
negative	neutral	positive

	Opinion	Motivation to comply
My father	-1	0,3
My friends	1	0,9

Subjective norm = Sum belief opinion other person x motivation to comply

So 'Subjective norm to have sex' is positive, namely (–1*0,3) + (1*0,9) = 0,6

Figure 2.2. Example 'Subjective norm to have sex'

2.1.2 Self-efficacy – Bandura (1982)

Later on, Ajzen added the determinant 'perceived behavioural control' to be influencing 'behavioural intention'. Perceived behavioural control refers to a person's perception of the ease or difficulty of performing certain behaviour (Ajzen 1991, p.183). The concept of 'perceived behavioural control' was adopted from Bandura's concept of 'perceived self-efficacy', i.e. how well a person judges himself to perform a certain action required to deal with prospective situations (Bandura 1982, p.122; de Bruijn 1999). Bandura's concept of perceived self-efficacy is known to be important in changing people's behaviour. However, it is less studied how self-efficacy is embedded in the socio-cultural context in which people live and therefore extra attention will be paid to this concept in this study (WHO 2006).

2.1.3 Locus of control – Rotter (1966)

Rotter, who has often been cited as one of the first main theorists in the field of decision making theories, developed the concept 'locus of control' (de Bruijn 1999, p.115). According to Ajzen (1991), the concept of perceived behavioural control differs greatly from Rotter's locus of control. Rotter (1966) suggested a difference between internal and external locus of control. He argues a person will be motivated to perform certain behaviour dependent on the extent they feel this behaviour is causally related to the following reward (Rotter 1966). In case of an internal locus of control, a person will feel there is a causal relation between his or her behaviour or his own relatively permanent characteristics and the following reward. In case of an external locus of control, the person will feel there is no causal relation. For instance, if a person feels using a condom will prevent her from getting pregnant, she will use a condom, i.e. internal locus of control. But if a person feels using a condom will not prevent her from getting pregnant because getting pregnant is dependent on luck, she will not use a condom, i.e. external locus of control. In the case of external locus of control, the person perceives the outcome as a result of, e.g. 'luck, chance, fate, as under the control of powerful others, or as unpredictable because of the great complexity of the forces surrounding him' or her (Rotter 1966, p.1). The concept of locus of control is different from self-efficacy because

self-efficacy is more concerned with the confidence a person has to perform the behaviour (de Bruijn 1999). For instance, a person may feel a condom can prevent her from getting pregnant, i.e. internal locus of control, but she does not feel she has the self-efficacy to buy the condom or to discuss with her partner whether to use it.

2.1.4   Theory of Planned Behaviour – Ajzen (1991)

Ajzen named this adjusted model, with the added determinant 'perceived behavioural control', the 'Theory of Planned Behaviour', which is shown in Figure 2.3. This study will use the 'Theory of Planned Behaviour' to study the intention to have relationships and to perform sexual behaviour because the theory gives a clear overview of the different concepts that construct individuals' intentions to perform certain behaviours. Furthermore, the WPF survey used the Theory of Planned Behaviour as well to measure these concepts, and using the same theory will make it easier to complement this study to the WPF evaluation.

This study will research the three determinants 'attitudes toward having relationships and performing sexual behaviour (1)', 'subjective norm (2)', and 'perceived behavioural control (3)' that constitute the intention to have relationships and to perform sexual behaviour. In addition, Rotter's concept of 'locus of control' will be taken into account as well because it is expected to be of additional influence as a part of perceived behavioural control on adolescents' intentions to have relationships and to perform sexual activities.

It was decided to focus on intentions instead of actual behaviour because students may be hesitated to discuss their actual behaviour or they may not have experienced any sexual behaviours yet. However, discussing their attitudes, subjective norms, perceived behavioural control and intentions to perform certain behaviour may be easier and, therefore, could reveal more information concerning these topics. Moreover, as shown by the Theory of Planned Behaviour, these determinants should be good predictors of their actual, future, behaviours.
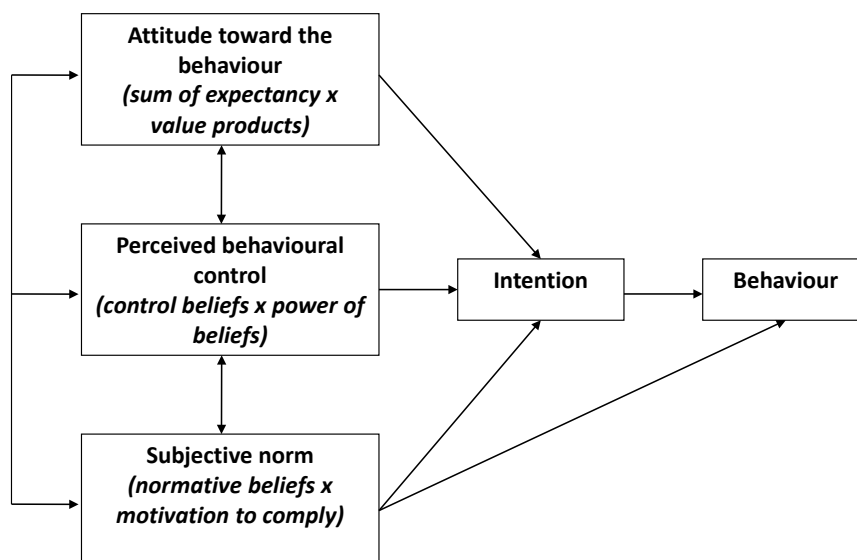
Figure 2.3 Theory of Planned Behaviour by Ajzen & Fishbein 1980, Ajzen 1991 (Bohner and Wänke 2002).

2.2 Studying the socio-economic and cultural context

In the introduction of this study, adolescents' sexual behaviour patterns appeared to be dependent on differences in background characteristics. In this study, individual background characteristics will be considered to be aspects of the socio-economic and cultural context at the micro level in which a person lives.

2.2.1 Context at the micro level: DHS (2007) and D'Andrade (1992)

In Uganda's Demographic and Health Survey (DHS), the following background characteristics are taken into account when studying Ugandan adolescents' sexual behaviour: sex, age, marital status, educational level, wealth quintile, living in an urban or rural area, and the region they live in (Uganda Bureau of Statistics and Macro International Inc 2007). Since these background characteristics were measured in WPF's survey, these characteristics will be taken into account in this study as well. In addition, Clark (2004) emphasizes marital status to be an important aspect because, although married girls are less likely than single girls to have multiple partners, they are at risk via unprotected sex with their partners who have higher rates of infection. Another micro-level aspect that will be taken into account in this study is 'knowledge regarding sexuality' because sexuality education programmes, such as 'World Starts With Me', are believed to increase 'knowledge regarding sexuality', which is assumed to be positively related to safe sexual behaviour (Guttmacher Institute 2007).

This study will try to identify which background characteristics of adolescents seem important when defining the aspects within the socio-economic and cultural context in which adolescents' intentions to have relationships and to perform sexual behaviour are embedded. For the design of the interview and discussion guide, the discussed background characteristics will be taken into account.

2.2.1.1 Cultural schema's – D'Andrade (1992)

At the micro level, cultural aspects will be studied using individuals' cultural schemas, which are internal representations that a person forms of his or her environment (Hutter et al. 2006, D'Andrade 1992). In addition, cultural characteristics, such as religion, and religiosity, will be taken into account as well (Djamba 1997).

2.2.2 Context at the meso level: Djamba (1997) and Coleman (1988)

Individual backgrounds do not only appear to be influencing individual behaviour at the micro-level but at the meso and macro level as well. At the meso level, which refers to the circle of acquaintances, such as parents, siblings, and peers, different aspects are assumed to be influencing individual's sexual behaviour. Figure 2.4 shows a framework proposed by Djamba (1997) to predict the sexual behaviour of African women.
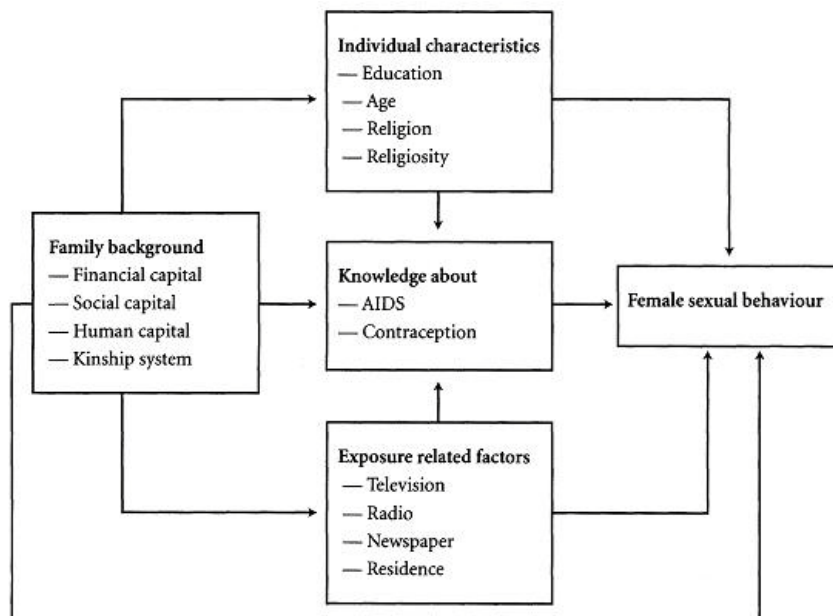
Figure 2.4 Conceptual framework for the study of female sexual behaviour in Africa as proposed by Djamba (1997)

Djamba's framework includes, amongst others, Coleman's Model of Social Capital. In the Model of Social Capital, Coleman (1988) assumes that individuals' behaviour is determined by, at least, three components in the family background of the individual, i.e. financial capital, human capital, and social capital. In the African context, Djamba (1997) reasons financial capital should be conceptualised as household amenities or physical capital, and is hypothesised to be negatively associated with the initiation of sexual activity. He conceptualises human capital as the educational attainment of all adults in the household, thus not sole biological parents. The third component is social capital, i.e. 'the different resources that are available in the family and the community that are useful for the cognitive or social development of young people' (Djamba, 1997, p.73). According to Djamba, social capital predicts young women's sexual behaviour best by using the indicator 'number of siblings', i.e. all children living under the authority of the same head of the household. Djamba expects social capital to be positively related to the likelihood of engaging in sexual activity. In other words, the more siblings a young African woman has, the earlier the onset of sexual activity. Djamba (1997) argues another factor influencing African women's sexual behaviour at the meso level is their kinship system. According to him, whether the individual lives in a patrilineal or matrilineal society affects the severity of sanctions against female (non-marital) sexual behaviour. Other aspects Djamba (1997) includes are exposure related factors, such as media and place of residence. He assumes these are positively associated with female sexual activity because, according to the social disorganisation theory, it is assumed that 'urbanisation' and 'mass media' are related to the loosening of traditional social controls. Assuming the place of residence of the participants in this study is decided by their family, place of residence could be assumed to be an exposure related factor at the meso level. However, it is perhaps more appropriate to consider the exposure related factor media to be a macro level aspect, which is discussed in the next section.

In addition to Djamba's proposed framework, a study among South African adolescents showed that for some adolescents, males in particular, peer disapproval and peer pressure can result in lower

condom use and higher levels of sexual activity (MacPhail and Campbell 2001). Therefore, peers will be included as a contextual aspect at the meso level as well.

2.2.3 Context at the macro level: Djamba (1997) and D'Andrade (1984)

As discussed, Djamba considers media, an exposure related factor at the macro level, to be positively associated with female sexual activity (Djamba 1997). Another aspect to be considered at the macro level is the cultural meaning system.

2.2.3.1   Cultural meaning system – D'Andrade (1984)

As discussed before, the embeddedness of self-efficacy in the socio-cultural context in which people live is less studied. Therefore, the socio-cultural context will be studied by including some cultural aspects in the conceptual model of this study. Willekens (1992) states people typically behave on incomplete information that they derive from the context in which they live. This context consists of different components, of which the cultural context is one. Hutter et al. (2006) describe the cultural context as a cultural meaning system, i.e. 'the (social) status ascribed to a person, the roles he or she is expected to play, the actions that are considered to be proper, and the type of relationships he or she can establish, which are reinforced by norms and rules in the society.' (Hutter et al. 2006, p.39) According to D'Andrade (1984), cultural meaning systems guide individuals' reactions and behaviour. The cultural meaning system appears to be important when studying behaviours or intentions to perform behaviour. Therefore, the cultural meaning system will be added to the conceptual model as well.

2.3   Conceptual framework for design of the study

It is assumed that adolescents' intentions to have relationships and to perform sexual behaviour is indirectly embedded in the discussed contextual aspects at the micro, meso, and macro level through the individual's attitudes, subjective norms, and perceived behavioural control. It is not possible to include all potential contextual aspects, as can be found in the literature, in this conceptual framework. However, it has been strived to include the apparently most important contextual aspects in which the intentions of adolescents in Sub-Saharan Africa are embedded to have relationships and to perform sexual behaviour. In addition, some cultural aspects have been included because this study aims to further understand the importance of these factors when studying the role of self-efficacy in determining intentions to have relationships and to perform sexual behaviour.

Figure 2.5 Conceptual model primarily based on Ajzen (1991) and Djamba (1997)Figure 2.5 shows the conceptual model resulting from the discussed theories. It illustrates how the intentions to have relationships and to perform sexual behaviour of the Ugandan adolescents under study are embedded in contextual aspects at the micro, meso and macro level. The intentions are embedded in the contextual aspects through the determinants attitudes, subjective norms, and perceived behavioural control, as theorised by the Theory of Planned Behaviour. This conceptual model will be used to design the qualitative study with the objective to show whether, and how, adolescents' intentions to have relationships and perform sexual behaviour are embedded in the discussed contextual aspects, which were mainly derived from quantitative studies. Based on the results, the qualitative study may conclude that other theories and contextual aspects, which are not conceptualised in this framework, are important as well in understanding these intentions. In the concluding chapter of this study, this conceptual model will be adjusted by removing less important

theories and concepts and by adding new important theories and concepts based on the results of this qualitative study.
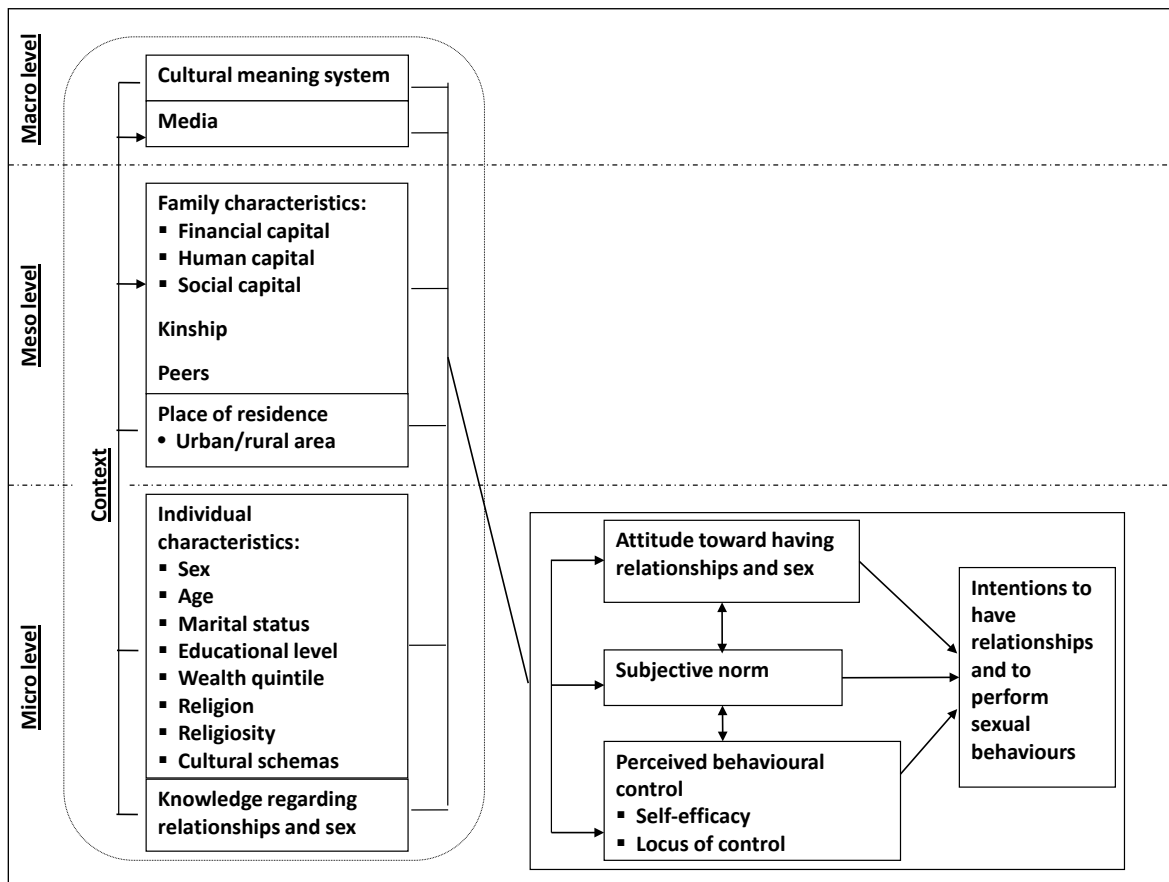
Figure 2.5 Conceptual model primarily based on Ajzen (1991) and Djamba (1997)

2.4 Definition of concepts

Different concepts are used in this study. The ones that were not defined yet are further explained in this section. One of these concepts is religiosity, which 'measures the level of belief and practice, indicating the strength of socio-psychological bonds to conventional social systems' (Djamba 1997, p.70).

The introduction of this study showed that the following behavioural patterns are important among adolescents in Uganda: cross-generational and intra-generational relations, multiple relations, and transactional sex. Cross-generational relations refer to relations of adolescents with older adults, and intra-generational relations refer to relations between adolescents (Luke and Kurz 2002). Transactional sex refers to sex in return for money, gifts, or other economic incentives (Nyanzi et al. 2005). The objective of this study is to obtain a better understanding of the different aspects within the context in which adolescents in secondary school live, which constitute their intentions to have relationships and to perform sexual behaviour. In this respect, 'the adolescents' intentions to have relationships' will explore the meanings of intra- and cross-generational relationships for the adolescents under study within the Ugandan context. Furthermore, it will explore the meaning of transactional sex and multiple relations within these relationships.

'The adolescents' intentions to perform sexual behaviour' will be studied as well. However, 'sexual behaviour' is a broad concept, which can be interpreted in different ways. In WPF's WSWM

evaluation, students' sexual behaviour is measured by three behaviours: delay of first sexual intercourse, condom use, and sexual harassment and abuse (Rijsdijk et al. forthcoming). Since this study is linked to that evaluation, it will try to explore the meaning of those concepts within the Ugandan context. In addition to the definitions provided for 'relationships' and 'sexual behaviour', the study will strive to explore how the adolescents under study perceive these concepts to obtain complete definitions of these concepts from emic points of view.

3. Methodology

This chapter describes the methodologies used for this qualitative study. It discusses the process of data design, data collection, and data analysis.

3.1   Using qualitative research methods

This research aims to understand *which* intentions Ugandan adolescents have when it comes to having relationships and performing sexual behaviour, in *which* contextual aspects these intentions are embedded, and *how* their intentions are embedded in those contextual aspects. This makes it an *explorative, descriptive,* and *explanative* study because it aims to explore and describe the different intentions and contextual aspects and it aims to explain how their intentions are embedded in the contextual aspects (Babbie 2006).

Deductive theories have given input for indicating the contextual aspects in which the adolescents' intentions to have relationships and perform sexual behaviour in Uganda could assumable be embedded. Qualitative research can be useful for exploring additional, not indicated, aspects. Furthermore, qualitative research methods are useful to *verstehen* the different aspects within the context both obtained from deductive theories and during this study (Weber 1978 cited by de Bruijn 1999). In other words, using qualitative research methods will help to obtain an interpretive understanding of different contextual aspects from an emic, or insiders, point of view (Harris 1980; D'Andrade 1995).

In short, to answer the research questions of this study, qualitative research methods are more appropriate than quantitative research methods. Since this study was designed to complement to the evaluation of a sexuality education programme at secondary schools in Uganda, it was aimed to study students at secondary schools. Therefore, cross-sectional case studies at secondary schools in Uganda could be an appropriate research design.

Because the objective of this study is to understand and verstehen how adolescents' intentions are embedded in contextual aspects, in-depth interviews (IDIs) and Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) would be good qualitative methods. It was decided to perform both IDIs and FGDs because these two research methods are complementary to each other. Whereas IDIs provide more information regarding personal experiences, i.e. get more in-depth into a person's perceptions regarding a topic, FGDs provide a range of different perceptions on one topic. In addition, it was decided to use both methods in order to strive for methodological triangulation. The two research methods can verify each other's results, thereby obtaining more valid and reliable results (Flick 2006). Although no third method was used, as aimed at in methodological triangulation, observations at the school helped to verify some of the collected data, e.g. participants' judgements regarding their teachers and the school.

3.2   The case study: a mixed secondary day school in Kampala, Uganda

In the introduction of this chapter, it was mentioned that the Dutch organisation WPF has evaluated her sexuality education programme the WSWM, which has been implemented at secondary schools in Uganda. Because this study aims to complement to that evaluation, it was chosen to perform a case study at a secondary school in Uganda as well.

In the literature, the importance of a school as location in itself has been addressed several times when it comes to adolescents' sexual and reproductive health and rights. Mirembe and Davies (2001) discuss that health education programmes are often implemented at schools but that schools in itself can be unhealthy environments. They report a huge gender imbalance and sexual harassments of male teachers at a mixed school in Uganda. Others have reported teachers functioning as sugar daddies, transactional sex between students and teachers, for example to upgrade grades, and sexual abuse of teachers as well (Nyanzi et al. 2001, Finger 2004, Barthelemy Kuate-Defo 2004).

At the start of this study, the objective was to perform two case studies: one at a secondary school in a rural area and one at a secondary school in an urban area. Due to time constraints, i.e. an unanticipated school holiday, only one case study could be performed. The decision for the case study was made through theoretical sampling, i.e. a process whereby the case study is selected according to its expected level of new insights for the developing theory (Flick 2006). In this case, it meant choosing a school where it was expected to find as many contextual aspects as possible.

To decide on the case study, it was first of all desired to choose a school located in an urban area. On the one hand, literature has mentioned adolescents in urban areas are less engaged in cross-generational sex, use condoms more often, and have more knowledge of HIV/AIDS and prevention methods (Uganda Bureau of Statistics and Macro International Inc. 2007). But on the other hand, the HIV prevalence in urban areas is estimated to be almost twice as high compared to rural areas in Uganda (UNAIDS 2008b). Furthermore, premarital sex is more common, and although the opposite seems to be true for young women, young men have an earlier onset of sexual intercourse in urban areas compared to rural areas (Uganda Bureau of Statistics and Macro International Inc. 2007). Additionally, town girls, who have been exposed to western culture and who are seen as sophisticated and modern, are allowed to take the initiative, in contrast to girls in rural areas (Nyanzi et al. 2001). Finally, Djamba (1997) mentions living in an urban area and exposure to mass media are expected to be positively associated to female's sexual behaviour. Concluding, adolescents in urban areas seem to have more sexual activity compared to their peers in rural areas. Furthermore, it seems less research has been done on the contextual aspects in which adolescents living in urban areas are embedded, such as the influence of Western culture and mass media, which makes it an interesting case. In addition, the interaction of town girls being able to take the initiative and having a later onset of first sexual intercourse is, in regard to the study of self-efficacy, interesting as well. Secondly, it was desired to choose a mixed school, with boys and girls going to the same school. This makes it possible to study the interaction between both sexes. Thirdly, it was desired to choose a day-school. Uganda has many boarding schools, and this study assumes students in boarding school are less influenced by life outside the school. Lastly, it was decided to choose a school where they did not have the WSWM programme, to have some sort of 'baseline' study population. Consequently, the collected data, such as knowledge and attitudes of the students, would not be influenced by the sexuality education programme. These conditions led to the decision to choose for a mixed day school where they did not teach the WSWM programme within Kampala, the capital of Uganda.

3.2.1 Study population

In Uganda, secondary schools know six forms, i.e. classes. They go from Senior 1 to Senior 6. In short, they are often denoted as S1, S2, S3, S4, S5, and S6. At this school, it was decided to study students in S4, S5, and S6 only. It was assumed that students in the last three years of secondary school have more experience with relationships and sexual activities than in the first three years. This meant the

study population would be boys and girls within the ages 15-19 at that particular school. Table 3.1 and Table 3.2 show the participants' characteristics, i.e. sex, form, and age, for each IDI and FGD.

In-depth interview	Sex	Form	Age
IDI B1	boy	S5	18
IDI B2	boy	S5	19
IDI B3	boy	S5	18
IDI B4	boy	S6	19
IDI B5	boy	S4	17
IDI B6	boy	S5	17
IDI G1	girl	S6	19
IDI G2	girl	S5	16
IDI G3	girl	S4	15
IDI G4	girl	S6	18

Table 3.1. Characteristics interviewees for each in-depth interview

Focus Group Discussion	Sex	Form	Age
FGD G1	girls	S5-6	17-19
FGD G2	girls	S5-6	17-18
FGD B1	boys	S5	16-18
FGD B2	boys	S5	16-18
FGD M1	boys and girls	S4	16-17
FGD M2	boys and girls	S5	16-19

Table 3.2 Characteristics participants for each Focus Group Discussion

3.3 Instrument-development

A literature study was performed to examine the available knowledge on adolescents' intentions to have relationships and to perform sexual behaviour in Uganda. The examined literature was used to contextualise the study and to create a conceptual framework. Based on the literature study and the corresponding conceptual framework, two guides were designed: one for the IDIs and one for the FGDs. Both guides are enclosed in the appendices.

3.3.1 Piloting the interview and discussion guides

SchoolNet Uganda arranged a mixed day school just outside the centre of Kampala to test the interview and discussion guides. It was a school that teaches the WSWM programme. The guide for the IDIs was piloted with a girl at the school. She was a peer educator for WSWM and she probably knew the study was linked to WSWM because, during the interview, she kept on giving probably socially desired answers. For instance, she would emphasise how WSWM had made her confident to abstain from sex. However, besides that, the interview went well and the guide appeared okay. The guide for the FGD was piloted with four boys and four girls during a mixed FGD. The participants seemed enthusiastic, the discussion went well, and the guide for the FGDs appeared okay.

Although the interview and discussion guides appeared okay, it was experienced to be difficult to collect data on certain topics, e.g. individual experiences on sexual activities, sexual harassment and abuse, and cross-generational relationships, during the data collection. In addition, insecurity appeared difficult to talk about: most of the participants declared not to be insecure when it comes to having relationships and performing sexual behaviour. This made it difficult to collect data on self-efficacy. However, more data were collected on how their intentions to have relationships and to perform sexual behaviours were embedded within the context of a mixed day school.

3.3.2   Other instruments

In addition to the two guides, a health referral list was established. In case the topics would be too sensitive to the participants, or if they would have questions or a problem relating to the topics discussed, they could be referred to health centres in Kampala. Tissues and water were available as well. In practice, the tissues, water, and health referral lists were not needful.

After each IDI, the interviewees were asked to complete the first ten questions of the WPF survey to collect some standardized background information about them. Since it was felt unnecessary to ask the participants in the FGDs the same number of questions, they were only asked to write down the following information: form, e.g. S4; age; place of residence; and religion. In addition, they were asked to write down their name and phone number in case they would like to have an additional IDI during the school holiday. Although they were told it was voluntarily, most participants wrote down their names, telephone numbers, and even e-mail addresses.

3.3.3   A retrospective of the data design

A qualitative study, using both IDIs and FGDs, appeared a good choice to collect the data needed to answer the research questions of this study. The theoretical sampling resulted in a mixed secondary day school in Kampala. The school under study, i.e. the principal, teachers, and students, turned out to be very hospitable and cooperative, which eased the data collection Although the results collected at the school under study were very useful, a curiosity remains to what the results would have been if the data collection had been collected in another mixed secondary day school in Kampala, or if the data collection had been in a rural setting, on a boarding school, or on a single sex school. Therefore, it would be advised to go more in-depth in this topic by performing qualitative studies at other secondary schools with other school characteristics. Consequently, the results of those studies could be verified using quantitative methods, such as surveys.

3.4   Data collection

SchoolNet Uganda arranged a school that satisfied the set conditions to collect the data, i.e. a mixed day school in Kampala, where they did not teach the WSWM programme. They wrote a letter for the principal of the school to introduce me. After the principal had given consent to perform the study at their school, the data could be collected.

A teacher in charge randomly selected and collected the participants for the IDIs and FGDs. For the IDIs, she was asked to select three girls and five boys in alternation. To let emerging results guide the collection of further data, it was chosen to alternate the forms and sexes in the IDIs. For the girls, she was requested to invite a girl from every form, i.e. one from S4, one from S5, and one from S6. For the boys, she was requested to invite one boy from S4, one boy from S6, and three boys from S5. On an average, more boys from S5 were asked in order to have some average in the ages of the target study population. For the FGDs, the teacher in charge was asked to gather eight students for each FGD. She was asked to differentiate in forms, i.e. S4, S5, and S6, between the FGDs and to gather two times only girls, two times only boys, and two times four boys and four girls. To let emerging results guide the collection of further data, it was chosen to alternate in the FGDs: the boys' FGD was performed first, followed by a girls' FGD and a mixed FGD. Consequently, this order was repeated. For both the IDIs and FGDs, the teacher in charge considered the students' time tables in order to prevent them from missing lessons. Furthermore, she was asked to select different types of boys and girls. For instance, she was asked to not only select boys and girls who were doing well in school or

who were prefects, i.e. 'older students who are given some authority and help to control the younger students' (Cambridge Dictionary 2008).

The teacher in charge helped me out during my stay at the school. She and another teacher, who took over after a few days because the first teacher had to take off for some days, both received an allowance for their help of about Ush 20,000 (Ugandan shillings), which is about 8 Euros. They received it at the end of the data collection at the school, and they had not been informed about this incentive at forehand. During the week, they were very kind and helpful to me.

The eight IDIs and six FGDs had to be collected within five school days. Two IDIs were planned for the first day, and three IDIs or FGDs for each other day. In between interviews and discussion, I waited in the staff room, and I had my lunch there as well. Although it worried me on forehand, I did not feel my staying at the staff room influenced my data collection. On the one hand, teachers did not ask me about the contents of the research, and on the other hand, I did not notice the participants were less open to me because they had seen me there. It seemed there was a good atmosphere between the teachers and the students, perhaps the students being allowed to enter the staff room at any time contributed to this.

3.4.1   In-depth interviews

At first, it was intended to have IDIs with four boys and four girls. After studying the topics for the guide, I expected the interviews with boys would provide more information than the interviews with girls because boys in urban areas have an earlier onset of first sexual intercourse and their relationships with older women have less been studied. Therefore, I decided to have three IDIs with girls and five IDIs with boys. All IDIs were performed by me in a small office at the school. At times, the interviews were interrupted by teachers coming in to get files. At those moments, the interviews were paused and continued after the teacher had left.

Later on, during the school holidays, I contacted a boy and a girl who had been in one of the FGDs to have an additional IDI. The reason to have two additional interviews was to collect more data for analysis. The IDI with the girl was, at her request, performed at her home. The IDI with the boy was performed at the office of SchoolNet Uganda, which is in the centre of Kampala. Although at times people would come in, e.g. an aunt to offer us some tea, no other people were present during both interviews. To conclude, ten IDIs were performed, of which six with boys and four with girls.

3.4.2   Focus Group Discussions

It was decided to perform six FGDs: two with only boys, two with only girls, and two mixed with both boys and girls. It was decided to use both mixed and single groups to see whether the composition of the group would affect the answers of the participants.

Each FGD consisted of approximately eight participants, a note taker, and me to ask the questions and guide the discussion. Often, the teacher in charge selected participants who already knew each other, such as students who were in the same class, to be in one discussion. I think this made participants less shy to speak openly because they knew each other and had shared knowledge and experiences.

At the start of the FGDs with the girls, it was discussed that the male note taker would leave whenever they wanted to, in case they would not feel comfortable discussing sensitive issues with a Ugandan male present. But both groups agreed to keep him present during the discussions. In

practice, it turned out the first group responded very well to his presence, using him as a 'prototype Ugandan male' in their stories and examples. For instance, during the FGD, one of the girls states it is better not to have a boyfriend in the same class because the boyfriend will get jealous when he sees his girlfriend talking to other boys. Consequently, another girl gives an example of this, thereby pretending the note taker is her boyfriend:

She says: *'Okay, okay, if you were in my class, and I'm pushing out with you, and like I spend more time probably talking to your friends... more than you... Okay, we talk like for a long time. …'*. The note taker responds *'I can talk to you every time I want to talk to you.'* After which she says *'Not if it's not the right time!' -some laughing-* (FGD G1 G1, FGD G1 K).

She says to the note taker that if he was her boyfriend, and they would be in the same class, he would not have the right to forbid her to talk to other boys in her class. However, the girls in the second FGD appeared shyer than the girls in the first discussion. Looking back, this last group may have been less shy if the note taker had been a female.

It was difficult to find a quiet space within the school that was big enough to have a FGD as well. The best option was a premise used for manual labour on the compound of the school. It was big enough but the students could be distracted by people walking outside the premise, although that did not seem to happen often. Once in a while, a student would come in to get something from the room.

The first five of the six FGDs were performed after the eight IDIs in the week before the school holidays. However, the students' time tables and the festivities at the school made it impossible to have the sixth FGD before the start of the holidays. Therefore, the second mixed FGD was performed in the week after the holidays, even though it was planned to have finished the data collection at that time. This sixth FGD was performed in the same premise as the five prior discussions.

3.4.2.1   The note taker

The note taker was an Ugandan male of 22 years old. As a young Ugandan man, who had finished secondary school in Kampala a few years ago, he was able to understand the stories of the participants, to read between the lines, and to judge into what extent their stories were true. During the FGDs, he would sometimes ask the participants questions that I did not think of. After the FGDs, he would clarify certain situations and expressions to me, and he would indicate whether their stories were a good reflection of the situation as he knows it.

At the start of the FGDs, I had known the note taker for two months. I thought of him as a social and trustworthy person. Furthermore, he was able to talk openly to me about topics such as having sex, using condoms, and the fears of getting HIV and other STIs in a good, sensible, way. Although he did not have previous experiences as a note taker, I decided these skills made him eligible for the job. The note taker was paid 4,000, which is about 1.60 Euros, per hour. In total, he earned about Ush 60,000, which is about 24 Euros.

3.4.3   A retrospective of the data collection

English is the official language in Uganda and it is spoken at the secondary schools. Therefore, the IDIs and FGDs could be performed in English. Both the FGDs and IDIs took about one hour and fifteen minutes. Sometimes it would have been interesting to continue the interview or discussion but the students' time tables often limited the available time. After each interview or discussion, the

students would receive a soda and a snack. The girl and the boy, who gave an additional IDI in the school holiday, were offered a soda and a snack as incentive as well, and the boy received an allowance of Ush 5,000, which is about 2 Euros, for the travel and phone call costs he had made. The participants in the study were informed about the incentive after hearing the introduction talk and giving consent.

The students were asked not to talk to other students that week about what we had discussed to prevent students entering the IDIs and FGDs with foreknowledge. One boy attended both the first boys FGD and the second mixed FGD. Since the participants in the second FGD appeared a bit shy, the presence of the boy seemed to help in keeping the discussion running, e.g. he would come up with examples or ask questions to others. I think his presence had a positive influence on the course of the discussion.

The students seemed to be comfortable during the IDIs and FGDs. Only the girls in the last girls' FGD seemed less involved in the discussion. This was probably due to the festivities that were taking place at the school at that moment because of the school holiday starting that afternoon, and, as mentioned earlier, perhaps it was due to the male note taker being present as well.

On a regular basis, the respondents would start their phrases with '*Let me say, in a country like Uganda…*', or '*According to culture...*'. This made it easier to distinguish cultural aspects in which their attitudes, norms, and so on, were embedded. Perhaps they felt the need to explain to the 'muzungu', i.e. Ugandan way to refer to a white person, how things work in their country. Therefore, I think a foreign person performing the IDIs and FGDs had a positive effect on the data collection.

3.4.4 Ethics

During the study, ethical considerations were taken into account as much as possible. First of all, the principal and all participants were asked for consent for this study after they had been informed about the contents, the aim of the study, and my role as a researcher. The interviewees in the IDIs gave orally consent on tape before the interview started. The participants in the FGDs were asked for oral consent on tape before the discussion started and gave consent on paper after the discussion. Unfortunately, some participants in the FGDs did not understand the consent part on paper after the discussion, they thought it was about giving consent for an additional IDI in the school holiday, and gave answers such as 'No, I'm really busy during holidays'. There were some participants who had already left before they had written down their consent as well.

It was considered to ask the parents' or guardians' for consent for the minor participants. However, this appeared very difficult in the available time since many of the students were staying at hostels and their parents or guardians were living too far away from the school. In the quantitative WPF outcome evaluation, to which this qualitative study is linked, consent was only asked from the respondents and principles. This, in combination with the parents living far away and the relatively old age of the minors, i.e. 15-19 years, led to the decision to settle for informed consent of the principle and the participants only.

The boy and the girl who gave an additional interview in the school holiday were asked to bring consent from their parent or guardian on paper. Both forgot. The boy, who was seventeen years old, told to me he had told his sister, who takes care of him when he is not living in the hostel, about the interview and declared to me on tape that she had given consent. The girl, who was eighteen years

old, told me on tape that her aunties, who take care of her when she's not living in the hostel, had given consent. One of the aunties even came in during the interview to offer us some tea. But after the interview, when I wanted to get her consent on tape or paper, she had left the house.

In addition, all participants were informed that they could leave at any time and that they were not obliged to answers questions they did not want to answer. They were told the study was confidential, their names and the name of the school would not be mentioned in this study and no one in- or outside the school would be able to find out what they had said.

During the data collection, I tried to keep in mind how my way of data collection could affect the participants. First of all, I tried to take everyone serious during the interviews or FGDs. For instance, if they would tell me something that sounded very wrong to me, e.g. if someone would say something degrading about women, or that kissing can spread HIV, I would not show I did not agree. Not only, this was important to prevent the data collection from being influenced, but I wanted to let the participants feel that they could tell me everything without being judged as well. Sometimes I would make some suggestions after the conversation, for example that they could find information on the spread of HIV/AIDS on the internet.

Secondly, I tried to pose the questions in such a way that the participant would not feel uncomfortable or be unnecessarily hurt. To illustrate, at one time I expected an interviewee to have lost her parents to HIV/AIDS. Since I did not feel this information would be important to my research, I decided not to ask her about it. It could have been very sensitive to her to talk about it, and I did not want to upset her unnecessarily. In addition, bringing up this topic could have negatively influenced the remaining of the interview as well.

Still, there may have been consequences for the participants in the study. During the IDIs, these effects may not have been very strong, since there was no one to disagree with them. But during FGDs, people disagreed at points, and people's opinions may have changed at that point, or made them curious to learn more about the topic. For instance, a girl declared after a FGD '...*I used to ignore or minimise students of lower classes but now I don't think I can do that again*'.

SchoolNet Uganda offered the school under study a possibility to start teaching the WSWM programme the upcoming academic year. I left this message with the principal, the teacher in charge, and with some participants as well. Hopefully, the school gained from helping out with the study by participating in the WSWM programme.

3.5   Data processing and analysis

This section first reflects on the data processing. Secondly, it discusses different methods to analyse texts. Thirdly, it discusses grounded theory as the method used to analyse the data of this study, after which it reflects on the data analysis. Finally, it gives a concluding reflection on the methodology of this study.

3.5.1   A retrospective of the data processing

All IDIs and FGDs were recorded with a digital voice recorder, an Olympus VN-3100PC. Since the data were collected in a short time period, there was little time to reflect on the sound recording in between IDIs and FGDs. Thence, it was only after all the data had been collected, that it was discovered that the quality of the sound recording was not as well as expected. Presumably, the

combination of noises in the environment, such as lawn mowers, and the voice recorder tuned in on high quality, led to disproportionate environmental noises drowning out the voices of the participants. In addition, at some moments a possible combination of politeness and shyness caused the participants to talk softly, while at other moments, participants were talking at the same time during FGDs, making it more difficult to distinguish different voices and what they were saying.

Since the quality of the sound recording was not as well as expected, it took a long time to transcribe the sound records that were played in Windows Media Player. However, all IDIs and FGDs were fully transcribed in Word and saved as Rich Text Format files. Because not all parts of the tapes were clear, not entirely clear parts were indicated in red font, instead of black, and unclear parts were even indicated as '[unclear]' in red font.

The transcribed IDIs and FGDs were analysed in the programme Atlas.ti 5.5 using the grounded theory method, as described by Strauss and Corbin (1990) in this chapter. To strive for methodological triangulation to increase reliability and validity, the IDIs and FGDs were analysed apart from each other, and thereafter compared.

In addition to the IDIs and FGDs on tape, other data were collected during the study as well. First of all, background characteristics of all participants were worked out in Excel. The first sheet contained the data of the interviewees in the IDIs, the second sheet contained the data of the participants in the FGDs, and the last sheet contained the phone numbers and e-mail addresses of all participants who had given these.

Secondly, notes were made after each IDI and during each FGD. These notes contained impressions by the researcher and the note taker regarding the data collection and the participants, such as their attitudes and visual gestures. Furthermore, notes were made of impressions of the school where the data were collected. All these notes were worked out in Word.

Thirdly, some nontechnical literature, such as pictures and newspapers, was collected. According to Strauss and Corbin (1990), nontechnical literature plays an essential role in grounded theory studies. It can be used as primary data as a supplement to the IDIs and FGDs. Pictures were made with a digital camera in the week of the data collection. They contain pictures of signs that were found on trees and sticks at the school compound containing messages from the school to their students regarding their sexual health and rights. In addition, some pictures of health educational campaigns around Kampala and newspapers targeting sexuality education for adolescents in Uganda were collected for understanding the outcomes of the study. Lastly, code notes and theoretical notes were made during the data analysis. These notes were made in Atlas.ti 5.5.

3.5.2 Analytic methods

According to Ezzy (2002, p.80), qualitative research, in contrary to quantitative research, provides a more sophisticated understanding of issues, facilitates the formulation of more effective policy, and is politically and ethically sensitive. However, he emphasizes it takes more time to analyse and it is harder to publish. He discusses different methods to analyse qualitative data. To analyse texts, he reviews four analytic methods: content analysis, thematic analysis and grounded theory, narrative analysis, and cultural studies methodology (Ezzy 2002). This section discusses these four analytic methods, after which it discusses the method chosen to analyse the data of this study, i.e. grounded theory.

The most deductive method of these four is content analysis. Content analysis is used to test pre-existing theory against empirical data. It starts the analysis with predefined categories that are developed through logical deduction from the pre-existing theory. Consequently, the data will be analysed by reviewing each unit of analysis and categorising it according to the predefined categories. The occurrences are then counted and comparisons are made, often using statistical or quantitative methods (Ezzy 2002, p.83). Finally, the results are compared with the predictions of the pre-existing theory and conclusions for the theory are drawn. Content analysis is useful to confirm or test a pre-existing theory. However, it is not useful to build new theory, according to Ezzy (2002).

In contrary to content analysis, thematic analysis is a more inductive method that allows categories to emerge from the data. Grounded theory goes even beyond thematic analysis. It uses theoretical sampling and uses emerging analysis to guide the collection of further data. Through coding, grounded theory searches for similarities and differences across a number of different cases (Ezzy 2002).

Narrative analysis uses people as the units of analysis. Parts of the story can only become significant as they are placed within the context of the whole narrative. Its goal is to identify the cultural and social context that facilitates the everyday practice of telling stories about oneself and one's world (Ezzy 2002, p.100). The method is similar to, and expands on, the analytic strategies of grounded theory and thematic analysis. It does not only focus on what is said but on how participants tell their stories as well, thereby involving the cultural linguistic and interactional contexts and processes of storytelling (Ezzy 2002, p.101).

Cultural studies used to focus almost exclusively on the 'text' of a television programme, film or writing. However, more recent cultural studies recognise a certain text can come to mean different things depending on the context in which viewers interpret it (Ezzy 2002, p.102). With cultural studies and semiotics, the data are interpreted within an analysis of broader social and cultural processes. It examines not only the manifest content but the deep structure of a text or data as well. For instance, it pays attention to what is implied, what is not spoken, and what is 'really meant'. (Ezzy 2002, p.103).

This study is inductive because it aims to allow new categories to emerge from the data. It does not focus on how the participants told their stories and does not aim to find a deeper structure within the text but it aims to obtain a better understanding of the different topics discussed in this study and how it is embedded in the cultural and socio-economic context. Thematic analysis or grounded theory appears to be best fitting to the aims of this study. Since theoretical sampling was used and emerging results guided the collection of further data, the grounded theory method will be applied as explained by Strauss and Corbin (1990) to analyse the collected data.

3.5.3   Grounded theory

According to Strauss and Corbin (1990, p.23), grounded theory is a theory that is '...inductively derived from the study of the phenomenon it represents'. Thus, it does not deductively try to proof an existing theory but it constructs a theory based on relevant information derived from the collected data. This makes it possible to find new concepts and theories, which is one of the aims of this study.

Grounded theory focuses on a phenomenon. In this study, for instance, the phenomenon is intentions to have relationships and to perform sexual behaviour. It aims to generate concepts and their relations to this phenomenon. These concepts and relationships result in a theory, which should be a 'faithful' representation of the 'everyday reality' of the phenomenon. In grounded theory, two different theories can be distinguished: substantive and formal theories. Formal theories emerge from studying a phenomenon in different types of situational contexts, whereas substantive theories emerge from studying a phenomenon in one particular situational context. Since this study is a case study at one school, the objective is to develop a substantive grounded theory (Strauss and Corbin 1990).

In grounded theory, coding is the central process to analyse the data. It builds the theory from the data using three types of coding, i.e. open coding, axial coding, and selective coding. Coding usually starts with open coding. In this phase, the data are broken down into small parts, e.g. paragraphs, sentences, lines, or even single words, and is thereafter closely examined. During open coding, the data are compared for differences and similarities. The different phenomena in the data are labelled with concepts. These concepts can be created by the researcher or borrowed from technical literature, i.e. existing literature. However, readers can have their own meanings and associations to borrowed concepts from technical literature, which can produce a bias. Therefore, it is important to define the concepts very clearly based on the data. Another possibility is to use 'in vivo' codes, i.e. concepts named after terms used by the participants in the data (Strauss and Corbin 1990).

After each phenomenon has been labelled as a concept, the different concepts that appear to belong to the same phenomenon are categorised into one group. Each category then contains several subcategory concepts. Subsequently, the properties and dimensions of each category can be discovered. Properties are the characteristics of a category and dimensions are the locations of a property along a continuum (Strauss and Corbin 1990). For instance, if a person says 'I don't have time for a relationship because I study all the time'. Then, 'study' could be a category, 'time' could be a property of study, and 'all the time' could be a dimension of time.

The phase after open coding is called axial coding. During axial coding, subcategories are hypothetically related to categories. Thereafter, the hypotheses are verified in the data. There is a constant back and forth between proposing hypotheses and verifying these in the data, this makes the theory grounded. The hypothetical relationships between the different concepts can result into a paradigm model (Strauss and Corbin 1990). The paradigm model consists of the following components:

- Phenomenon: a category
- Causal conditions: the events that lead to the occurrence or development of the phenomenon
- Context: the specific set of properties that belong to the phenomenon along a dimensional range
- Intervening conditions: the conditions that either facilitate or constrain the action/interactional strategies taken within a specific context. Intervening conditions can be time, space, culture, economic status, technological status, career, history, and individual biography.
- Action/interactional strategies: how participants manage or respond to the phenomenon
- Consequences: the events that follow from the occurrence or development of the phenomenon (Strauss and Corbin 1990, p.99-107)

The last coding phase is selective coding. In this phase, the core category in the study is selected. The core category is also known as the story line or the main problem. Subsequently, all other categories are systematically related to the core category, and again verified in the data. In addition, categories that may need further refinement or development are appointed. In this study, it is not possible to go back to the field for further data collection. Therefore, categories that may need further refinement or development will be discussed in the concluding chapter as recommendations for further research. As discussed, grounded theory distinguishes three distinct coding phases. They can appear sequentially during analysis but the researcher can also go back and forth between the phases (Strauss and Corbin 1990).

After the analysis, an inductive, substantive, grounded theory will result that will be compared to the conceptual model, as discussed in chapter 2. Strauss and Corbin (1990) mention technical literature can be used for different parts of the study, for instance as input for designing the interview and discussion guides or to validate the findings of the study. Therefore, it should be taken into account whether the technical literature could have influenced the resulting grounded theory in this study. In this study, for instance, the technical literature has influenced the design of the guides which in turn could have influenced the resulting data collection.

3.5.4   A retrospective of the data analysis using grounded theory

After the IDIs and FGDs were transcribed, the transcriptions were imported in Atlas.ti 5.5, whereby the IDIs and FGDs were considered as two independent Hermeneutic Units to uphold methodological triangulation.

The first part of the analysis consisted of 'open coding'. The data were broken down into sections, paragraphs, sentences, or even words, and examined closely. Important phenomena were labelled with concepts. Only rarely, these concepts were borrowed from technical literature, such as gender and gender roles. However, in the results and conclusion sections of this study, clear interpretations of these borrowed concepts are given. In most cases, the researcher created the concepts or used 'in vivo' coding. For instance, concepts such as 'God-fearing', 'acting like a gentleman', 'tasting the sex fruits', and 'blue movies' were derived from in vivo coding.

In the second phase, after all data had been broken down and labelled, families were created whereby different concepts, which appeared to belong to the same phenomenon, were categorised into one group. Families could be, for instance, 'condoms', 'religion', or 'the Ugandan education system'.

In the final phase, a mixture of axial coding and selective coding was applied. The different appointed families in the data were analysed. During this process, it was sorted out how the subcategories within the families, or categories, were related to each other and how the families itself were related to each other. Thereafter, the core categories were appointed, i.e. the intentions to perform behaviours, and it became clear which categories were important to the core categories and how they were related to each other. Consequently, these hypothetical relationships between the different concepts were verified in the data, making it a grounded, substantive, theory. The resulting grounded theory was visualised in a theoretical framework, which will be discussed in the conclusion of this study.

Grounded theory appeared a good method to analyse the data for this study. A grounded, substantive, theory was derived, which gives a clear overview of the results. In addition, during the process of analysis, some theories derived to be important, new concepts appeared, and other concepts and theories appeared to be less important within the resulting substantive theory. Those results are discussed in the conclusion of this study. Furthermore, some concepts appeared to need further refinement or further research. They will be discussed in the discussion of this study.

3.6   Lessons learned
This section will discuss the lessons learned regarding the methodology of this study.

3.6.1.1   Data design
- The decision to select participants from certain forms, i.e. classes, can affect the results of the study. For instance, students in S4 and S6 are most of the year occupied with graduation exams, and could therefore be less interested in the opposite sex. Furthermore, students from S5 may be new in the school after transferring from another school after S4.
- Although the random collection of participants worked well, other ways could work too. For instance, in this study two participants were asked for additional IDIs after they had been in a FGD.
- It could work to have participants from earlier discussions in later discussions, for instance, when the participants are a bit shy. Furthermore, it could be interesting to have a girls' FGD and a boys' FGD first. Then, consequently, have a mixed FGD with both the girls and the boys of the former single sex FGDs. In the mixed FGD, the participants could test their perceptions regarding the opposite sex or ask them questions, which had come up in the former FGD.
- During the FGDs, it turned out participants spoke more freely when they knew each other.
- The presence of a male note taker could influence a girls' FGD both positively and negatively. On the one hand, the girls can become shy, but on the other hand, they can use the male as a 'prototype Ugandan male' in their stories and examples as well.
- Having a Western, white, person performing the data collection seemed to have a positive effect because it seemed that the participants often felt the need to explain how things work in their culture.
- In future, it may be better if the participants in the FGDs write their consent on paper at the start of the discussion. Furthermore, the concept 'consent' was often not entirely understood. Perhaps another word would be more appropriate to use.
- The boy and the girl, who gave an additional IDI in the school holiday, were asked to bring consent from their parent or guardian on paper. Both forgot. Perhaps it would be better to meet with the interviewees at their house to receive a written consent before the start of the interview. However, the participants may be staying at hostels, or their parents or guardians may not be at home at the moment of the interview.

3.6.1.2   Data collection
- It is important to anticipate on school holidays, exams, school festivities, and students' time schedules before programming the data collection.
- During the pilot study for the interview guide, the interviewee, a peer educator for the WSWM sexuality education programme, appeared to be giving socially desired answers because she knew the interview was for the WSWM programme. In future, it is important to

consider even more which information can be given to the participant in order to prevent socially desired answers.

- The atmosphere at the school under study is important. For instance, the students may not trust the researcher if they know that the researcher is staying in the staff room and is talking to teachers in between interviews and discussions. This could make them unwilling to speak freely. In this study, the atmosphere at the school under study seemed good enough to allow the researcher to stay in the staff room.

- It is very important to have a quiet room, which is big enough, without disturbances. In this study, it was difficult to find such a space in the school under study. It may be important to check this before deciding which school to use for the study.

3.6.1.3   Data processing

- It may be better to have printed forms for the participants to fill in their background information. For the FGDs, it would be good if these forms can be linked to their voices on tape and the notes from the note taker.

- It is important to reflect on the quality of the sound recording during the data collection to make sure the quality is good enough. Environmental noises, such as lawn mowers, could contaminate the recordings.

- For optimal recording quality, it is important to ask the participants to speak up. Furthermore, it is important that they do not speak at the same time.

3.6.1.4   Data analysis

- Grounded theory is a good analytical method to derive important theories and new concepts and to indicate which theories and concepts are less important for the substantive theory.

4. The Ugandan context of adolescents' sexual behaviour

In chapter 2, different contextual aspects at the micro, meso, and macro level were discussed to be important when studying adolescents' intentions to have relationships and to perform sexual behaviours in Uganda. Chapter 5 and 6 of this study discuss the results regarding the participants' intentions to have relationships and to perform sexual behaviours whereby these different contextual aspects will emerge. However, a few of the contextual aspects are felt to need some further exploration in order to obtain a good understanding of how the intentions to perform sexual behaviours are embedded in these contextual aspects. These contextual aspects are the Ugandan education system, the Ugandan law and policies, and media. The results regarding these contextual aspects are discussed in this chapter.

4.1   The Ugandan education system

The Population and Housing Censuses, the Demographic and Health Survey (DHS), and the national household surveys are the main sources of population data in Uganda (Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development 2008). The 2002 Uganda Population and Housing Census estimated that about 24.2 million people were living in Uganda in 2002 and projected that 26.8 million people would be living in Uganda in 2005 (UBOS 2002). Figure 4.1 shows the DHS estimation of the Ugandan population division, visualised in a population pyramid, in 2006. According to that DHS, about 43 percent of the Ugandan population was in the school-going ages, i.e. 5-19 years, in 2006 (DHS 2006). In order to estimate the number of the Ugandan population in their school-going ages, it would be interesting to combine the number of people living in Uganda, as estimated by the Uganda Population and Housing Census, with the percentage of the Ugandan population in their school-going ages, as estimated by the DHS. Unfortunately, the census and survey were not collected concurrently: the census was collected in 2005 and the survey in 2006. As a result, it is not possible to combine the data for the same year, i.e. 2005 or 2006. However, when combining the projected population size in 2005 with the estimated population pyramid in 2006, a rough estimation shows that about 11.5 million youth were in their school-going ages around 2006. This section will show that not all these young people were enrolled in school.
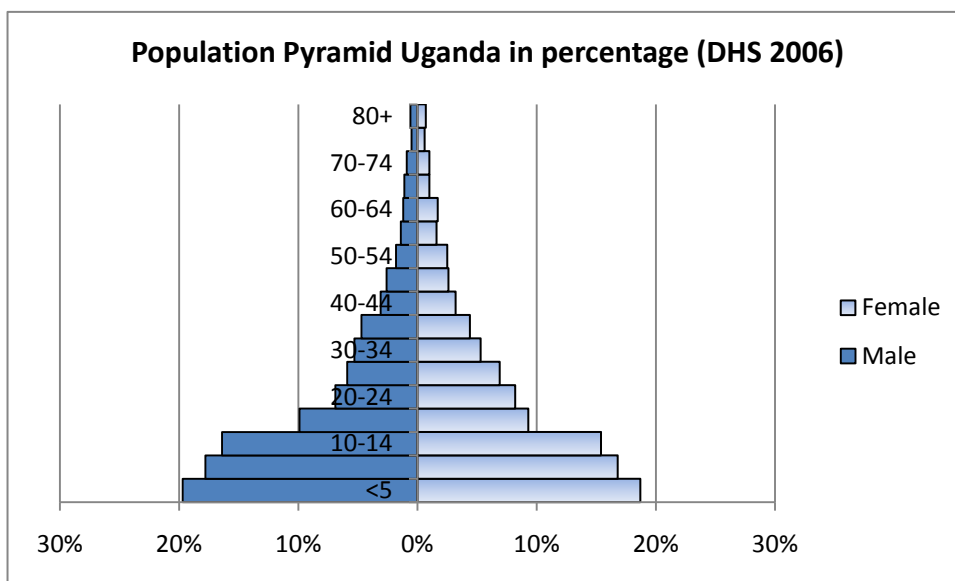

Figure 4.1. Population Pyramid Uganda (Uganda Bureau of Statistics and Macro International Inc. 2007)

Uganda, who used to be a British colony, has adopted English as the official language, which is spoken at all schools, and has adopted the British education system of 7-4-2. Children go to primary school for seven years, after which they can enter secondary school. Secondary school consists of two levels: Ordinary level, i.e. O-level, and Advanced level, i.e. A-level. Secondary school starts with O-level, which consists of four years of study. After graduating in O-level, it is possible to proceed with A-level, which consists of two additional years of study. An A-level graduation is needed to enter University. In 2005, almost sixty percent of all secondary schools in Uganda were only O-level schools, while about forty percent were both O- and A-level (Ministry of Education and Sports 2005). This means that if students are in an O-level school and want to proceed to A-level, they need to change schools after Senior 4. Whether students are allowed to enter each level depends on their grades obtained during their exams in Primary 7, Senior 4, and Senior 6.

At first, parents were supposed to pay school fees for their children. However, at the end of 1996, the Universal Primary Education (UPE) programme was established. As a result, the government has been paying the primary school fees, at least for four children per Ugandan family, from 1997 onwards. This policy change resulted in a seventy percent increase of the primary school enrolment, rising from 3.1 million in 1996 to 5.3 million in 1997 (Kirungi 2000). In 2005, the primary school enrolment had risen to 7.2 million children (Ministry of Education and Sports 2005).

In 2005, Uganda had 1961 secondary schools with a total student enrolment of 728,393, which was about a tenth of the primary school enrolment that same year (Ministry of Education and Sports 2005). Given the population pyramid in Figure 4.1 and the estimated population size, it suggests only a minority of the adolescents in the ages 12-18 were enrolled in secondary school in 2005.

Uganda has six public Universities and thirteen private Universities. In 2004, a total of 58,823 students were enrolled in these Universities. The public Makerere University, which is located in the capital city Kampala, is far out the biggest University with an enrolment of 29,299 students in 2004. In addition, Uganda knows colleges, such as National Teachers Colleges and Uganda Colleges of Commerce. These colleges had an enrolment of 24,201 students in 2004 (Ministry of Education and Sports 2004).

4.1.1 The costs of going to secondary school

The government sponsors primary school fees but, in secondary school, parents or guardians are expected to pay the school fees for the students. Every academic year lasts from February until December and consists of three terms. Before each term, school fees must be paid. If not, the student is not allowed to attend school. In addition to school fees, money must be paid for a school uniform and shoes, which are obligated to be worn at school and during school functions. A seventeen-year-old boy in S5 describes how he is depending on his uncle and his sister for school fees, school shoes, and a school uniform:

'*You have to… buy like school shoes.* [Else] *you're not able to go to school. ... Other schools, sometimes allow… cause, like, not all parents can afford to buy you school shoes. ... In my situation, my sister sometimes pays for the uniform. ... So… since my uncle sends all the money from outside, he's like... he pays school fees… [unclear] and everything… so, she doesn't always control the money. So, I just have to tell her what I don't have.*' (IDI B6)

Although prices differ, school fees for a secondary day school in Kampala, including a uniform, could be around USh 800,000, which is about 320 Euros, a year. To compare, the GDP per capita was $ 1,100 in 2008, which is about USh 2,500,000 or 1,000 Euros (World Factbook 2009). This means school fees for one student could almost be a third of the GDP per capita. In addition, money needs to be paid for books, exams, and additional things, such as note books, pens and shoe polish. These costs make school attendance an expensive matter.

Eleven percent of the Ugandan secondary schools are boarding schools, 33 percent are partly boarding schools, and 57 percent are day schools (Ministry of Education and Sports 2005). Compared to day schools, boarding schools are even more expensive, since accommodation costs need to be paid as well. However, whenever students attend day schools, they often stay at hostels close to the school. This means parents or guardians need to pay for hostel fees as well. For instance, fees for a hostel in Kampala could be another USh 750,000, which is about 300 Euros, a year. On the other hand, transport costs to travel between home and school could be even more expensive than those hostel fees.

Concluding, whether Ugandan adolescents are able to go to school depends on whether their parents, relatives or guardians can afford to pay for them because attending secondary school can be very costly. Table 4.1 shows the student enrolment in secondary schools. Assuming all students pass to the next form, i.e. class, after each year, almost a third of the total number of students that started O-level in 2002 did not make it until Senior 4. Furthermore, only a third of the students that started O-level in 2002 started A-level, Senior 5, in 2006.

Students enrolled in 2008	Male	Female	Total
Senior 1	96,813 (2002: 98,788)	75,340 (2002:84,469)	172,153 (2002: 183,257)
Senior 2	91,401 (2003: 85,366)	68,914 (2003: 73,106)	160,315 (2003: 158,472)
Senior 3	48,279 (2004: 75,712)	38,441 (2004: 64,549)	86,720 (2004: 140,261)
Senior 4	43,891 (2005: 72,690)	31,748 (2005: 58,687)	75,639 (2005: 131,377)
Senior 5	13,307 (2006: 36,466)	6,977 (2006: 25,600)	20,284 (2006: 62,066)
Senior 6	12,288 (2007: 36,950)	6,163 (2007: 26,420)	18,451 (2007: 63,370)

Table 4.1 Number of students enrolled in secondary school in 2008, between brackets the enrolment of students of cohort 2002 (Ministry of Education and Sports 2008 and Ministry of Education and Sports 2007)

The participants in this study say they have to work hard and make sure they do not get suspended from school because they know school fees should not be wasted, which can put a big pressure on them to perform well at school. For instance, a seventeen-year-old boy in S4 does not want to have a relationship in school because he fears the school will suspend him for it, which could mean his parents could stop paying for his school fees:

'At home, they [parents] won't be... "Why are you at home?" ... Aay-ay-ay... ask you questions "Why aren't you at school? Hm? I pay my school fees just to, it's as if you're wasting my money, huh? I pay my school fees... ... you'd rather go in a relationship?" ... Yeah, I'm telling you. ... Because... education here in Uganda, is the key. Huh? For us to be send to school.' (IDI B5)

In addition, jobs in Uganda are scarce, in contrast to the number of people looking for one. The participants often consider education as a way to find a job and to secure their future. For instance, a nineteen-year-old boy in S5 says:

'Studying is my... priority. ... Ah, cause in life eh... looking in our African countries as now, you have to take eh... education first. Cause there is nothing you get in Africa here without education. ... That's why we are concentrating too much in books.' (IDI B2)

Another boy says his dream has always been to become an engineer when he grew up. Unfortunately, he is unable to follow his dream because he was given other courses at school. Now he has changed the career he had been dreaming about ever since he was young to becoming an accountant (IDI B3).

Being able to go to University is another reason to perform well in school. Every year, the government sponsors the best 2000 graduates at A-level to go to Makerere University, the biggest University in Uganda (Times Higher Education 1999). Most participants hope they will be able to go to University. For instance, an eighteen-year-old girl in S6 says, after she was asked whether she wants to go to University:

'Yeah! Of course! ... I do, I do! You just keep looking at campus students, and you really want to be there! Some will obviously tell you "Campus life is, it's cool and you don't want to miss it!". Yeah, and... maybe for the degree. And... of course a profession. Yeah, and the parents also keep edging you to work hard! At least you don't... okay, they'll keep saying "Maybe if you don't want to go to campus...", and so you're not seeing yourself going to campus. So you just keep focussing towards it. Yeah.' (IDI G4)

4.1.2 Mixed versus single sex schools

Secondary schools cannot only be distinguished in boarding and day schools, another distinction can be made between single sex and mixed schools. Nowadays, almost 93 percent of the secondary schools are mixed, five percent are girls only, and three percent boys only (Ministry of Education and Sports 2005). The data does not distinct between O- and A-level and between day and boarding schools. Although the percentage of single sex schools does not seem high, the participants think the impact of attending a single sex school is big, especially regarding the interaction with the opposite sex. This section goes more in-depth into this.

4.1.2.1   Adjusting from single sex school to mixed school

During the data collection, it appears that many of the participants have been in a single sex school during their O-level. To be able to follow A-level, they changed to this mixed day school in Kampala. A boy in one of the FGDs remarks that most schools in Uganda are single sex schools. Oddly, the data of the Ministry of Education and Sports show only about 7.5 percent of the secondary schools in Uganda are single sex schools. This could be a coincidence but perhaps another explanation could be that most single sex schools in Uganda are solely O-level schools, resulting in high numbers of students changing to mixed A-level schools.

Most participants declare that it took some time to adjust after coming from a single sex school to their recent mixed school. According to some it took two weeks, according to others it took a term to adjust. Some say it was no problem for them to adjust to the mixed school because they had interacted with the opposite sex at seminars, hosted by their former school, or at social dances, where students from a boys' school meet with students from a girls' school. In addition, some of the participants mention that adjusting is no problem when having siblings of the opposite sex at home, although someone remarks that they only spend a few weeks a year at home and most of the year at school. However, most of the participants declare that changing to the mixed school was difficult and challenging because of the introduction to the opposite sex. First of all, they had to learn how to socialise with the opposite sex, such as what to talk to them about, how they feel about certain things, and what things they do not like to hear. Especially the first day was challenging: how are they to behave? How should they interact with these people? How are they supposed to interact in school? Some feared to sit next to people of the opposite sex. A girl who has been in single sex school before says:

'So my first time to come to [school of participants], I didn't, I was fearing everybody around me, ... I came to class, I just start and kept quiet for the whole day! ... I mean that relationship between a girl and a boy talking freely was not so easy for me, huh? After things went on, ... I would talk to anyone but it was so hard, so my friends were helping "You know [name of participant], you shouldn't fear people, what?", that kind of stuff. But ... I was afraid!' (FGD G1 G7)

Another girl in the same discussion, who has been in single sex school before as well, says:

'Well, first week, ehm, like, I kept quiet the whole time .... It's very elect to comb your hair in class, everyone will be like "That's a girlish girl", like a sissy...-chuckling- ...yeah, but after some time, like two weeks, I got used.' (FGD G1 G8)

And another girl says:

'A girl walks in class, and they [boys] really try to make a comment. ... Okay, they could make you sometimes feel out of place. Like if you have, if you have to do something... Yeah, you have to mind about their reaction. ... Sometimes they would just make it uncomfortable but I think it was also their kind of way of accepting you.' (FGD G1 G5)

Second of all, the participants had to adjust physically to the new school. For instance, a boy describes:

'Cause, ehm, in single sex schools... ... we never cared about putting on uniforms... ironing... as in, ... you find that your shoe... you brush it only on Monday.-some chuckling- ... We are all boys, we're the

same. So we don't care. But when you come in, eh..., in a mixed school. It's really tough! Because you have to...wash your uniform every day... -chuckling- ...it's hectic, you have to brush your shoes... So you find that you need to put yourself in a position that you're respecting. And which is so... heavy to some of us. … It's good! But, no! To get used, it has been taken a long time.' (FGD M2 R3)

Being around the opposite sex forces the participants to wash their uniforms, brush their shoes, just to make sure they look smart to the opposite sex. Being respected and having a good reputation is very important to them.

Finally, the participants had to adjust to the codes of behaviour at the school. For instance, a boy in one of the FGDs tells about a girlfriend of his who was afraid to hug in public. Another girl in the discussion, who comes from a single sex school, adds:

'Then I just saw him, as in, hugging, so I was like 'How come this girl is there and I'm not? As in "What's wrong with me?", and I... that pushed me a bit to kind of adjust.' (FGD M2 G1)

Seeing other people hug in school helped her to adjust to the new environment and to hug people of the opposite sex as well. To make themselves feel more comfortable, the participants from single sex school could be taught how to behave by friends who had been in mixed school before or by copying behaviour from people who had been in a mixed school, such as the girl who started to hug the opposite sex after she had seen other people hugging. But in the end one will get used, as a girl explains:

'But you get used. Everyone gets used. You have to be in school, you find out that there is actually, there's nothing different between the two of you apart from your sexes. And... yeah, the fact that you're always maybe in class, you will find that there are some boys who get things much faster, and there are some girls who get things much faster, and you can always approach either a girl or boy for both, things like that. So you find you're almost the same people apart from the difference of the sex.' (FGD G1 G2)

4.1.2.2   Differences between a single sex and a mixed school: what do they prefer?

The participants mention different advantages and disadvantages of being in a single school or mixed school. In general, it can be concluded that most of them are happy about being in a mixed school. An advantage of being in a single sex school comes from the parents of the participants: a boy mentions their parents sent them to single sex schools because they feared what would happen between boys and girls in those teenage ages. A perceived disadvantage of the single sex schools is the lesbianism and homosexuality in the schools, as the participants indicate. They blame the existence of homosexuality and lesbianism in single schools to the absence of students of the opposite sex. An eighteen-year-old girl in S6 explains it some further. According to her, there was quite a big number of lesbianism in her former single sex school. There were a few lesbian couples but the ones who would really like it were less, she says:

'Cause some of them just get to use their friends... to satisfy themselves. Yeah, so it's mostly a few couples. You could find that it would even be about like four girls who are really into it. And they just use their friends.' (IDI G4)

She recently learned that some people can be naturally homosexual, and according to her, this could be about four girls in her former school. These girls used their friends to satisfy themselves, she says.

A difference between single sex school and mixed school is eating food during the lunch break. The school provides a free lunch for the students in the Dining Hall. Usually, this meal consists of posho, i.e. a cornmeal product, and beans. In the school canteen, the students are able to buy other food and drinks, such as chips and sodas. However, many students cannot afford to spend money in the school canteen. Some of the boys mention that it is difficult to eat food in the Dining Hall when one is in a mixed school. At their single sex school, they would get two plates of food but in their mixed school they feel embarrassed to eat where girls are. They fear other boys will make fun of them if they see them eat a lot:

'You become the laugh of the day, ... and you lose respect. ... They say "This boy, he eats a lot".' (FGD B1 R8)

They do not want to become the laugh of the day because they do not want to lose their respect in front of the girls. Furthermore, they would rather not line up to get the plates of food in front of the girls because they fear the girls will think that they are poor, that they do not have money to buy food in the school canteen.

Another difference between single and mixed school is the pressure to look smart. Although some boys conclude that the pressure to look smart has more to do with the class of your school, such as whether the school is in a village or in a town, most participants feel a pressure to look smart for the opposite sex: they need to shower every day, wash and iron their uniform, brush their shoes, and comb their hair. A seventeen-year-old boy in S5 explains that if he does not, people of the opposite sex will confront him *'Ah, today you didn't iron'*. He fears they will say *'That one is always dirty.., you cannot be a friend to that one'* (IDI B6). Furthermore, he says the head teacher checks at assemblies whether they are clean, and dirty guys are sent home. He does not want to be embarrassed by being sent home. A nineteen-year-old boy in S6 points out that he needs to look smart in school, so the girls will remember him later when looking for a relationship.

In addition to looking smart, some boys say they need to behave well and become outstanding. They need to look at their reputation because there is a big competition about the girls. Being in a mixed school can make them live under pressure because they will fear to do something, they will fear to be embarrassed, and they will wonder what other people think of them. In addition, when having a girlfriend, they need to impress her. They say this will affect their social life because they need to make sure they have enough money to impress her, for instance to buy her chips in the school canteen (FGD B1).

Being in school with the opposite sex can make one nervous or behave differently. For instance, a nineteen-year-old boy in S6 says he feels a pressure whenever he sits next to a girl. This makes him less able to concentrate on his studies. Furthermore, a girl mentions being in a mixed school restricts her from dancing on the tables whenever she is bored, as she did in her former single school. She says people will say *'That girl is very weird'.* (FGD G1 G8)

Although the participants can experience pressure because they are in school with the opposite sex, such as not being able to eat as much food as they like, always looking smart, behaving well, and

taking care of their reputation, most participants are positive about being in a mixed school. They feel the biggest advantage of mixed school is learning how to interact with the opposite sex. Being in a mixed school gives them a determination of future life, which will not be a society of only boys or only girls, one boy mentions. Another boy thinks it will be very difficult for students from single secondary school to enter campus because they will be afraid to interact with the opposite sex, whereas they, from mixed school, will be comfortable entering campus.

The participants feel that being in a mixed school helps them to capture the right response and to know how the opposite sex will react to certain behaviours. In addition, they feel it helps them to know about the stuff that concerns the opposite sex, whereas single school students only know the stuff that concerns their own sex. All participants enjoy associating with the opposite sex, and they perceive being friends with the opposite sex in secondary school as a positive thing. One boy says he has gained confidence because he has learned how to handle things with the opposite sex.

4.1.2.3   *Having sex and relationships: mixed versus single sex school*

Changing schools between O-level and A-level has consequences for relationships. Not only, the participants had to make new friends and say goodbye to old friends, love relationships are affected as well. For instance, an eighteen-year-old boy in S6 is afraid his girlfriend will find another boy, now that she has changed to another mixed school. Since distances between schools can be long, and phones are not allowed in school, it can be difficult to stay in contact, he says.

The opinions about the number of people having relationships and sex in single sex and mixed schools differ. On the one hand, a fifteen-year-old girl in S4 thinks more girls in single sex schools than mixed schools have relationships with boys because girls in single sex schools do not know how a boy behaves and how a boy feels, so they want to practice and see the outcomes. Girls in mixed schools are used to them and do not treasure them that much, she says. At least, she does not see anything she cannot miss from a boy. On the other hand, an eighteen-year-old girl in S6 says most of the girls in her former single sex school would not have sex with anyone but here, in this mixed school, most people will say they would like to have sex with people they love.

4.2   Ugandan laws and policies

This section discusses a Ugandan penal code amendment, which forbids unlawful sexual intercourse with girls under eighteen years, and critiques on present Ugandan policies regarding adolescents' sexual and reproductive health and rights.

4.2.1   The penal code amendment: unlawful sexual intercourse with girls under eighteen years

In 1990, the Penal Code of Uganda, i.e. section 123, cap 106, was amended to increase the number of sexual offenses punishable by law (Parikh 2007, Popline 1990). This amendment should, amongst others, help to protect young people against sexual abuse and control the spread of disease. Under the new code, unlawful sexual intercourse with a girl under eighteen years old is punishable by death and attempts at such intercourse are punishable by eighteen years imprisonment (Popline 1990). The amendment, or Defilement law, does not discriminate the age of the boy and whether the sex is consensual or not. This means a minor boy, or a boy who is about the same age as the girl, can be sent to prison for having consensual sex with his minor girlfriend.

The following case exemplifies a case of a Ugandan young man who was taken to court for having sexual intercourse with his girlfriend. At 28 July 2004, a Ugandan man was accused for having unlawful sexual intercourse with a girl, who was said to be under the age of eighteen years at the time of sexual intercourse. The accused pleaded not guilty to the charge because he was under the presumption that the girl was eighteen at the time. They were in a relationship for about two years, i.e. 1999-2001. The victim herself stated that she did not know her age but she had stated it at nineteen when she registered for UNEB examinations in 2000, which would mean she was eighteen years at the time of first sexual intercourse. However, her mother claimed her daughter was born at 26 June 1984, which would mean the girl was under the age of eighteen at that time. She testified she had her daughter's birth certificate but did not tender it in evidence. In the end, the judge did not question whether the accused and the victim had had sexual intercourse because the girl had been admitted in the hospital after having had an abortion and the accused had paid for that bill. However, the judge found the accused not guilty because there was no evidence to proof the real age of the girl (Uganda High Court 2004).

The accused young man in this case was lucky. Even though he and the girl had been in a relationship, even though the sexual intercourse was consensual, and even though the girl was under the impression that she was eighteen years old at the start of their relationship, the law would have sent the young man to prison if the mother had been able to tender a birth certificate proofing her daughter was a minor at that time. Since only about 21 percent of the children under the age of five have birth certificates in Uganda, it will be difficult to proof a girl's actual age in many cases (Uganda Bureau of Statistics and Macro International Inc. 2007). However, even without the birth certificate the judge could have found the accused guilty because the report states two assessors had advised him to do so (Ugandan High Court 2004).

According to Parikh (2007), the amendment, or Defilement law, was initiated to empower girls by protecting them from sexual exploitation and abuse and to prosecute and deter, amongst others, middle-aged sugar daddies. These goals were somehow met. However, it turned out the law was mainly used to arrest young men, a group that was not expressly targeted by the women reformers that had fought for this amendment. During the mid-1990s and early-2000s, many young men were imprisoned for having sexual intercourse with girls under the age of eighteen, Parish (2007) states. In contrast, the sugar daddies, one of the intended targets of the new law, were often able to escape formal legal punishments and imprisonments by making deals with the police and sometimes the families. According to Parikh (2007), many people started to believe young men were the main target of the new law, as stories about arrested young men circulated almost daily in the media and throughout their communities. In her study, young male participants often expressed their fears for having relationships because they feared they would be imprisoned (Parikh 2007). These fears were often expressed in this study as well, as will be discussed later on in this study.

Based on her study, Parikh proposes the complex and unintended consequences of empowerment strategies should be critically examined. She says a major finding of her study is that *'universalist, feminist discourse of human rights is in conflict with, or complicated by, the class-based agendas of parents, local police, and other local leaders'* (Parikh 2007, p.306). In addition, she concludes, although the amendment was meant to challenge the patriarchal control of female's sexuality, it has strengthened adults' authority over adolescent females and young sexual relations because *'the Defilement Law has become a way for senior males to regulate young girls' sexuality, control junior*

males' sexual pursuits, and end youth romantic relationships. ... Meanwhile, the law is being used by parents to assert their historical rights over children and to reclaim some of the economic benefits culturally entitled to parents' (Parikh 2007, p.321).

4.2.2 Critiques on Ugandan policies regarding sexual and reproductive health and rights

In March 2005, Human Rights Watch, a non-profit, nongovernmental human rights organization, published a report called '*The Less They Know, the Better. Abstinence-Only HIV/AIDS Programs in Uganda*'. The report describes political developments around the sexual and reproductive health and rights in Uganda, which are found disturbing by Human Rights Watch.

First of all, it discusses the draft of an official national policy on abstinence and fidelity, which was drafted by the Uganda AIDS Commission (UAC) in November 2004, entitled '*Uganda National Abstinence and Being Faithful Policy and Strategy on Prevention of Transmission on HIV'*. According to the report, this Ugandan draft policy shows that the government wants to scale up abstinence-only programs like they have done in the United States. The draft policy states that sexual abstinence until marriage and being faithful within marriage will be promoted as the most effective ways to prevent STIs and HIV transmission. Thereby, a special emphasis will be placed on promoting delaying sexual debut among the youth. Elsewhere in the draft policy, it is suggested that the message of condom use would undermine the abstinence message because abstinence is '*a personal challenge that calls for self-denial of immediate pleasure in favour of some good or positive health—or even survival*' while condom use would be '*an offer of perceived immediate gratification'* (Human Rights Watch 2005, p.27). This mixing message would be confusing to youth and even adults, according to the draft policy in the Human Rights Watch report. However, later on, the Ugandan draft policy describes that although the condom message can compromise the power of the abstinence and being faithful messages, the policy is to promote these two without reducing the value of the condom message, just as '*condoms must be promoted in ways that do not undercut or undermine messages of abstinence and faithfulness'* (Human Rights Watch 2005, p.27). The Human Rights Watch report states that, although the intention of this draft policy was to be a companion to the existing strategy on condom promotion in Uganda, the policy actually undermines condoms as a means to prevent HIV transmission and suggests that promoting condoms alongside abstinence messages would be confusing to the youth (Human Rights Watch 2005).

Secondly, the Human Rights Watch report describes how, in 2001, the Ugandan government launched the Presidential Initiative on AIDS Strategy for Communication to Youth (PIASCY), a programme funded by the United States. It was implemented at all primary and secondary schools in Uganda with the objective to provide the students with HIV prevention education through abstinence-until-marriage messages. The report claims religious groups had exercised an exclusive veto on the design of the materials used for this HIV prevention education resulting in the removal of several explicit images, such as ejaculation and body changes. In addition, draft secondary school materials, which were under revision during the writing of the concerning Human Rights Watch report, would contain false knowledge about condoms, e.g. condoms would contain tiny holes through which HIV pathogens would be able to go through, and it would contain the caution that premarital sex is *'..."against religion and norms of all cultures in Uganda" and "is considered a form of deviance or misconduct*".' (Human Rights Watch 2005, p.2-3).

Thirdly, the report warns that school teachers are influenced to teach abstinence as the exclusive method of HIV prevention due to abstinence-only statements made by their evangelical Christian President Yoweri Museveni in 2004, which create a political climate of abstinence-only approaches (Human Rights Watch 2005).

Fourthly, the report states that the Ministry of Health recalled all free government condoms in October 2004 because they would have failed quality control tests. Subsequently, the Ministry decided that all condoms, which were imported into Uganda, needed a post-shipment quality control testing, including those that already had been tested. As a result, experts forecasted a national condom shortage (Human Rights Watch 2005).

To summarise, Human Rights Watch blamed the Ugandan government to be endangering their population through changing their HIV/AIDS policies from ABC to AB, i.e. abstinence-until-marriage and being faithful without the promotion of condom use. They stated Uganda had adjusted her policies under pressure of the United States. According to the report, the United States, as the largest single donor to HIV/AIDS programs in Uganda, was using its influence to export abstinence-only programs, which have proved to have failed in its own country, to Uganda. It says '*Uganda did not implement abstinence education on a large scale until the United States began promoting these programs internationally around 2001*' (Human Rights Watch 2005, p.6). In 2003, the United States launched its U.S. President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) to combat global HIV/AIDS (PEPFAR 2009A). From 2004 until 2008, Uganda received about $90.8 million in 2004, $148.4 million in 2005, $169.9 million in 2006, $236.6 million in 2007, and $283.6 million in 2008 from PEPFAR, which they were not allowed to use for the distribution, provision, or promotion of condoms to youth in school or for the encouragement of condoms as the primary intervention for HIV prevention (PEPFAR 2009B). The guidelines for PEPFAR funding prescribe:

- *"Emergency Plan funds may not be used to physically distribute or provide condoms in school settings;*
- *Emergency Plan funds may not be used in schools for marketing efforts to promote condoms to youth;*
- *Emergency Plan funds may not be used in any setting for marketing campaigns that target youth and encourage condom use as the primary intervention for HIV prevention"* (PEPFAR 2009C)

In 2009, the Democratic president Barack Obama was elected in the United States. In contrast to the former Republican president George Bush, who was president during the establishment of PEPFAR in 2003, Barack Obama has proposed to scrap funding for education programmes for teenagers that promote sexual abstinence only and to redirect this money to "evidence-based and promising teen pregnancy prevention programmes" (Guardian 2009). Although this proposed policy change is only directed within the United States, it may be a first signal for possible future changes in the PEPFAR funding guidelines.

The discussed Human Rights Watch report became widely known as the media were giving it global attention. The Ugandan government denied many of the allegations as discussed in the Human Rights Watch report, including the national condom shortage (e.g. BBC News 2005, ICIJ 2007, Tuncalp 2005). Unfortunately, the Ugandan draft policies on which Human Rights Watch based its report were not accessible, at least through the internet, during the writing of this study. However, the

"*Education and Sports sector national policy guidelines on HIV/AIDS*" published by the Ministry of Education and Sports in 2006 clearly states primary abstinence from sex will be promoted in primary and secondary schools as the main strategy for HIV prevention, and sexually active students and learners will be supported to adopt secondary abstinence. Condoms will only be promoted at tertiary institutions, according to this policy (MoES 2006).

Whether the political developments described in the Human Rights Watch report were true or not, the results of this study show parallelisms between the Ugandan policies as described in the Human Rights Watch report and the adolescents' risk perceptions, e.g. regarding condom use, pregnancies, and HIV transmission. Their risk perceptions could possibly be a result of policies at the governmental level. For instance, it will be discussed how the participants doubt the quality of condoms, how they feel abstinence until marriage is the only way to keep them safe, and how one even thinks condoms do protect against pregnancies but not against HIV because the HIV pathogens are able to go through the tiny holes in the condom.

4.2.2.1   Religion

As discussed in this section, the Human Rights Watch report linked the sexual and reproductive health and rights of adolescents to religion several times. Firstly, it was suggested that the religious background of the Ugandan president motivates him to promote abstinence-only. Secondly, it was claimed that religious groups had exercised an exclusive veto on the design of materials used for HIV prevention education resulting in the removal of several explicit images. Thirdly, it was mentioned that draft secondary school materials contain the caution that premarital sex is against religion. Apparently, the Ugandan policies regarding adolescents' sexual and reproductive health and rights are embedded in the religions in Uganda.

Based on the Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) held in Uganda in 2006, about three-quarters of the Ugandan men and women age 15-49 are Catholic or Protestant, as shown in Figure 4.2. A smaller part of eleven percent is Muslim and eight percent Pentecostal. The number of people being Seventh-Day Adventists (SDA) or adhering to other religions is small.
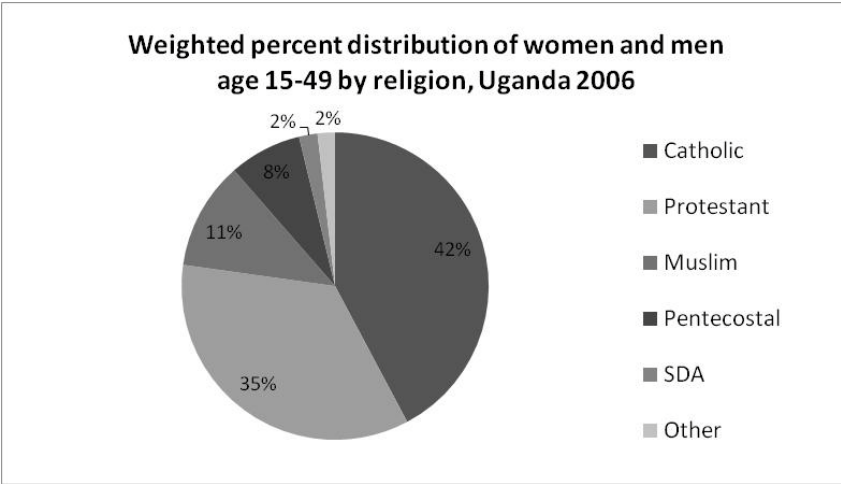
Figure 4.2. Weighted percent distribution of women and men age 15-49 by religion in Uganda 2006 (Uganda Bureau of Statistics and Macro International Inc. 2007)

As shown in Figure 4.2, almost all Ugandans adhere to a religion. At the macro level, the Ugandan policies regarding adolescents' sexual and reproductive health and rights appear to be embedded in

the religions in Uganda. How the adolescents' intentions to have relationships and to perform sexual behaviours at the micro level are embedded in their religion is discussed in chapters 5 and 6.

4.3   Media

Adolescents' sexual behaviour is influenced by media according to the literature discussed in chapter 2 of this study. Indeed, whenever the participants are asked how they obtain their information about sex, they often refer to different aspects of media. This section describes how the results of this study give meaning to the concept of media as a contextual aspect in which adolescents' sexual behaviour is embedded. Especially the IDIs have given input to this contextual aspect.

4.3.1   Newspapers: the Red Pepper and the Straight Talk

The participants mention different newspapers to learn about sex and related topics. In this respect, learning about sex can mean various things, such as 'how to abstain from sex', 'the consequences of having sex', and 'how to play sex'. Two girls in the IDIs mention the Ugandan newspapers 'New Vision' and 'Daily Monitor' as sources to find information about sex. According to them, these newspapers publish general articles, such as 'What girls will do for money', and sections, such as 'family'.

A Ugandan newspaper, which is clearly focused on sex, relationships, and other related topics, is the Red Pepper. It contains sections, such as 'sex', 'dating', and 'relationships', and advices, for instance, on how to recognise a 'cheating babe' as shown in Figure 4.3. In an attempt to avoid the use of the words vagina and penis, the Red Pepper popularised the words 'kandahar' for vagina and 'whopper' for penis (Wikipedia 2009). An interviewee indicates he learns about sex issues in this newspaper. His mother buys the Red Pepper, which enables him to read the articles at home. He says he cannot read it at school because he will get expelled if they find him there with a Red Pepper. According to him, they do not allow the newspaper because of the sex issues and the naked women.

However, the participants mostly mention the Straight Talk and the Young Talk. These are not actual 'newspapers' but publications in newspaper lay-out from the Straight Talk Foundation. The Straight Talk Foundation is an Ugandan NGO, which aims to 'improve the lives of adolescents through quality behaviour change communication programmes' (Straight Talk Foundation 2006). The Young Talk focuses on youth aged 10-14 in Primary 5, 6, and 7, and is concerned with the key messages 'Abstain', 'Know your rights', and 'Stay in school'. The Straight Talk focuses on secondary school students and youth aged 15-24 and is concerned with the key messages 'Know your body', 'Understand your emotions', 'Wait or use condoms', 'Life skills', and 'Health care'. Both newspapers are distributed for free at, amongst others, 15,000 schools and are included in the newspaper 'New Vision'. Although the Straight Talk foundation used to be funded by UNICEF, it is not sure whether this is still the case.

Different interviewees declare they read the Straight Talk. It advices both people who have and have not had sex. Adolescents are able to submit questions, which are answered in the Straight Talk. An eighteen-year-old boy in S5 explains:

'... *they advice you because those people who have engaged in sex, they have different problems... some of them get pregnant... some of them get STDs. So, like, they advice them on different issues. Because having each problem, you get? Stuff like that*' (IDI B3).

A seventeen-year-old boy in S4 says he likes reading Straight Talk because he benefits from it. According to him, it brings positive advantages, it counsels the youth, and it guides them. Although he supports the Straight Talk, he says there are some guys who do not.

The information in the Young Talk and Straight Talk seems accurate, straight forward, and to be dealing with misconceptions, e.g. Figure 4.4, which could make them helpful media for adolescents in Uganda to obtain information about their changing bodies, sex, pregnancies, HIV/AIDS, and STDs. However, in an attempt to motivate adolescents to delay sex, some of the messages are perhaps raising unnecessary fears by making threats or leaving no space for chances. For instance, the article in Figure 4.5: A fifteen-year-old boy asks the Straight Talk counsellor whether it is true that some condoms on the market are not trusted. After answering the question, the counsellor continues: '*Hassan, are you having sex? Why? Who with? Are you simply curious? Be very careful, Hassan. Remember, there is prison, STDs. Think about other ways of handling your sexual feelings*.' A seemingly innocent question about the reliability of condoms is responded with a warning about prison, which most likely refers to boys being sent to prison after having impregnated a minor girl. In addition, the counsellor leaves no space for chances or doubts to a fourteen-year-old girl in Figure 4.4: '*Once the semen enters inside a female's vagina, you cannot get them out by jumping. The sperm cells swim fast to meet the ovum. Even if you jump, you will have become pregnant*'. This last part of the sentence, '*Once the semen enters inside a female's vagina... you will have become pregnant*', suggests it is a hundred percent sure that a girl will become pregnant after having unprotected sex.

Is it true that if you have sex and you jump up you do not get pregnant? *Ninshabe C, 14, Bwezibwera PS, Ntungamo*
Claire, who told you this? Be careful with the information you get. It is good you are asking about this. Once the semen (sperms) enters inside a female's vagina, you cannot get them out by jumping. The sperm cells swim fast to meet the ovum. Even if you jump, you will have become pregnant.

Is it true that some condoms on the market are not trusted? *Hassan W, 15, Nakigo PS*
Hassan, most condoms are very good quality. The Ministry of Health makes sure of that. But some condoms may be stored badly and get spoilt. Hassan, are you having sex? Why? Who with? Are you simply curious? Be very careful, Hassan. Remember, there is prison, STDs. Think about other ways of handling your sexual feelings.

Good manners include:
- Being honest/upright
- Working hard
- Having self-control
- Being tolerant
- Respecting yourself
- Respecting others
- Being helpful
- Committing yourself to excellence in all you do.

Figure 4.4. Submitted letter by a fourteen-year-old girl in the Young Talk newspaper, February 2008

Figure 4.5. Submitted letter by a fifteen-year-old boy in the Young Talk newspaper, February 2008

Figure 4.6. Young Talk advises which good manners Ugandan adolescents should have, February 2008

In addition to sex issues, the Young Talk and Straight Talk discuss other issues as well, such as good manners and manners to avoid, as shown in Figure 4.7 and Figure 4.6. Good manners include being honest/upright, working hard, having self-control, being tolerant, respecting yourself, respecting others, being helpful, and committing yourself to excellence in all you do. In contrary, adolescents should avoid drinking alcohol, watching rough or blue videos, and having sex. Noteworthy, the aimed good manners recurred often during the IDIs and FGDs, as discussed later in this study.

Figure 4.7. 'Behaviour you need to avoid in 2008', advice in Young Talk, February 2008

Figure 4.8 Young Talk is all about knowing your rights, staying in school, and delaying sex

4.3.2   Television: Western high school movies

During the FGDs and IDIs, the participants often mention television as a medium to obtain information about sex. Some explain that seeing people having sex on the television, resulting in the girl becoming pregnant or affected with HIV/AIDS, can induce them to start discussing sex with their friends. Others mention that high school movies from the Western world are examples for the Ugandan youth to learn how to handle relationships, to kiss, and to have sex. Although they say kissing in public is considered a taboo in Uganda, some participants think that age mates in relationships are being influenced to kiss after watching their age mates kissing in Western movies. As an eighteen-year-old girl in S6 explains:

'*Only that, now what I know... eh... people at my age... are so import... okay, are taken up by movies. Yeah, they watch a movie, and maybe people ehm... they're age mates who yeah, well, have their relation, will be in a relationship, and there will be kissing... and maybe at some time caressing... and those things. So they can think, they may think they can also try it out*' (IDI G4)

She thinks people in a relationship would not even kiss before these Western movies became popular. Later on in the IDI, it becomes clear that, at least to her, even the influence of Western movies has its limits:

'*...and especially, yeah, the Western movies... ... yeah, people do try too... but people out of relationships can never kiss! If a guy tried to kiss you and you're not even in a relationship with him, most of them just slap them!*' (IDI G4)

Not all participants want to imitate the sexual activities they see on television. For instance, a sixteen-year-old girl in S5 is afraid that hepatitis can be transmitted through saliva during kissing. She does not understand why all these movie stars kiss that often. Furthermore, she would not want to be 'girl number 25' in the programme *'Bachelor'*, i.e. being kissed by this guy after he has kissed 24 other girls before her!

Not only Western movies are there when it comes to learning about sex. First of all, the same sixteen-year-old girl in S5 tells about a Nigerian movie she has seen. According to her, most of those Nigerian movies show how girls or women can influence their friends to have sex with men for money. Secondly, an eighteen-year-old girl in S6 explains that parents try to keep their children away from movies on television that show people having sex. According to her, parents fear that children of only eleven, who know nothing about sex, will see people enjoying sex in movies and, out of curiosity, will try what they have seen. For this same reason, she says soaps should not be watched when children are there because it is real bad and not good for them. Thirdly, some participants mention radio stations as a medium to listen to sex stories. For instance, listening to a story about a girl who has become pregnant after having sex can be an inducement for discussion among friends. Furthermore, participants say radio stations can help them learn to abstain and how to use a condom.

4.3.3   'Blue movies', or pornography

A special kind of movies are the 'blue movies', or pornography. According to some interviewees, blue movies often come from the Western world and are downloaded from the internet or bought in shops in Kampala. A nineteen-year-old boy in S6 says that they are not watched on television because the Minister of Ethics and Integrity forbids this kind of movies on the television. The mission

of the Ugandan Ministry of Ethics and Integrity is to '*Empower the Ugandan society to uphold moral values and principles and to coordinate national efforts in the fight against corruption*' (DEI 2009).

In concordance with the high school movies, an interviewee mentions that blue movies can be a medium for people to learn how to have sex. The participants say that many people watch them, and that some even have friends who have them. Nevertheless, most participants are very negative about the blue movies, or pornography. First of all, they say pornography is worse than sex itself because it triggers masturbation and it might get people addicted. Therefore, some participants in one of the boys' FGDs say that a person who is having the sex itself may be better off than the person who is watching the pornography. Secondly, they state that watching pornography can drive people into having sex. According to them, abstinence becomes a problem when watching pornography, especially when there is a girl in the room. A seventeen-year-old boy in S5 explains:

'O*kay, the blue movies and the pornography, they can put you in like have the lust to do something, then out of temptation you do it.*' (IDI B6)

An eighteen-year-old girl in S6 describes as well how pornography builds a person's lust, and when it gets beyond their control, they will want to have sex with someone '...*and most likely they'll end up having sex'* (IDI G4). She says that mostly guys have those habits of visualising themselves touching someone and such things. According to her, boys will invite their girlfriends to their places, start up the pornography, and then end up having sex.

4.3.4   Other media: music and internet

Other media related to their sexual behaviours, mentioned by the participants, are music artists and internet. An eighteen-year-old boy in S5 explains how Western R&B artists have sex to attract people's attention, and how teenagers these days think they want to be like that. He gives an example of his friend. He says his friend told him:

'...*"It's unfair, how can it be that Bow Wow has his own house, he has a girlfriend, he sleeps with that girlfriend". Yet, us! Like maybe he has, like people of my age, yet, us here in Uganda, like, you know, we don't do something like that. So he told me "I'll also try to get as many girlfriends as possible". Almost to be like Bow Wow. But me ain't Bow Wow, I'm [name of IDI B3]. There's no way I would try to be as Bow Wow!*' (IDI B3)

Internet is popular in Kampala. Kampala has many internet cafés, although it is expensive, i.e. it costs about USh 2,000 for an hour, which is about 0.80 Euro an hour, and the connection is slow. Different interviewees mention they go on the internet in their free time to check their e-mail or surf the web. A fifteen-year-old girl in S4 says she uses Google to search for information about sex. Since she studies biology, she does not need to see pictures but she reads about it and notes down some points. In her case, she was probably more looking for the consequences of having sex than for the practice of having sex itself.

5. Perceptions on relationships

This chapter discusses the participants' perceptions on having relationships and their embeddedness in the Ugandan context. As discussed in chapter 2, it discusses intra-generational and cross-generational relationships, including transactional sex and multiple relations within these relationships. However, multiple relations were hardly discussed by the participants, while they extensively discussed the desired qualities of the partner in a relationship. Because the desired qualities of the partner give a clear view on socially accepted gender roles in the society, and because it provides a good introduction for the understanding of their perceptions on intra-generational relationships, it was decided to discuss their perceptions on the desired qualities of a partner instead of multiple relations.

5.1   Desired qualities of the partner in a relationship

At the end of the second boys' discussion, the participants are asked if they have any questions they would like the girls in the following girls' discussion to be asked. They ask the following question:

'We have a question here... What are the considerations... girls will put in mind when looking for a boyfriend?' (FGD B2)

Apparently, the participants are interested in how the opposite sex considers them. This section discusses the different considerations both boys and girls have in mind when looking for a relationship. It shows how the participants' attitudes regarding relationships are embedded within the Ugandan cultural meaning system. For instance, it will show how their considerations when looking for a partner are embedded in socially accepted gender roles.

5.1.1   The qualities girls look for in a boy

It seems a distinction can be made between the qualities of a boyfriend and the qualities of a future husband, as some girl participants distinguish between these two.

5.1.1.1   The boyfriend

A nineteen-year-old girl in S6, who is in a relationship with a boy in campus, says she likes her boyfriend because he is good to her: he encourages her to study, he is understanding, and he does not push her to do things she does not want to do, such as begging for sex. They are just friends, she says. A fifteen-year-old girl in S4, who is not in a relationship, would like her future boyfriend to give her the freedom to have friends of both sexes. She does not want her boyfriend to forbid her to be friends with boys because he is jealous.

The girl participants mention different qualities they look for in a boyfriend, which can roughly be divided into qualities concerning someone's internal characteristics and qualities concerning someone's physical characteristics. They mention the following qualities concerning someone's internal characteristics: the impression he makes on you; being down-to-earth, e.g. he should not be fighting and yelling; understanding, e.g. accepting when the girl makes a mistake; apologising when he makes a mistake himself; being open, objective, faithful, and respecting himself; loving her friends; behaving like a gentlemen; being committed to the girl and the relationship; making free time to be with the girl; be loving; nice; connecting to the girl; the way he speaks; being responsible, e.g. not arrogant; being polite; being known for his status, e.g. a good football player; brave; confident; trustworthy; brighter than the girl; living up to principles and not breaking any rules; being

someone to have discussions with; God fearing; and humorous, i.e. not boring but a fun person. In addition, one girl mentions that some girls want rich boys to provide for them. However, another girl responds that rich boys can be disrespecting teachers, saying they have more money than they do, which she sees as a bad quality.

The girls will look at the following physical characteristics: his age; cuteness; being smart; his style; height, i.e. being taller than the girl; and being handsome. A girl in one of the FGDs remarks that a guy can be handsome in the face but ugly on the inside. In contrast, when a guy is not so good looking but on the inside he is beautiful, she will respect him because he is respecting her. In response, another girl chuckles she would like her husband to be presentable. On which the first girl responds presentable does not necessarily mean good looking:

'Yeah, of course, you can have a presentable husband but if... he respects himself, he's good. Now don't you take home someone who is like using vulgar language, who is being bad, your mama: "So where did you get this one from? You take it back". -laughing-' (FGD M1 G5)

5.1.1.2 *The husband*
According to the girls in one of the FGDs, girls in school look for boyfriends for fun and consider his looks an important quality. Although a husband should be presentable as well, this does not necessarily mean he should be good looking only: they say a husband should be perfect and gentle. In addition, they think the background of a future husband is important as well. The girls in another FGD say that it is difficult to know the background of a person when a girl has just met him. But after they have been pushing out, i.e. dating, for some time, she can start to meet his parents, friends, and sisters, and she may actually go to his home, but until that time, she will just have to keep building on what the person tells about himself.

5.1.2 The qualities boys look for in a girl
In contrast to the girls, the boy participants do not distinguish clearly between the preferred qualities of a girlfriend at this age and the preferred qualities of a future wife, when discussing the qualities they look for in a girlfriend.

Although it seems that the girls think a boy's internal characteristics are in the end more important than his looks, most of the boy participants conclude that a girl's looks are most important: she has to be beautiful, which means she needs to have a nice face and a good figure. In one of the FGDs, it is mentioned that a girl's HIV status may be even more important, but since they are not able to know her status, they decide that her looks come first. Other physical characteristics they think a girl should have are: being smart; presentable; shorter than the boy; and younger, or of the same age, as the boy. Interestingly, both girl and boy participants agree that boys should be taller than girls.

An eighteen-year-old boy in S5 says he wants to be in a relationship with someone because he loves her, because she makes him happy, not only because she is beautiful:

'Not this person whom I'm going to say that "Oh, my God, this person is really very beautiful". You could have, you could have nothing in common. I like being with someone who we can share our happiness, and then sadness at the same time. Not this person who's going to be there when you're happy. And when you're sad, he's going to leave you there.' (IDI B3)

The other boy participants think internal characteristics are important as well. They say a girl should be patient; trustworthy; faithful; share everything with the boy; humble; have a good sense of humour; a good reputation; understanding; the stick for the household; God fearing; and well-preserved, i.e. a virgin.

One interviewee, a seventeen-year-old boy in S4, describes his ideal future wife, thereby using considerations that were not discussed by the other boys. For instance, he does not want a woman who commits adultery and steals, she should not be quarrelling with the neighbour nor do things that can make him feel ashamed. Education is important to him as well: she should be able to count money, pay school fees, notice when money is being stolen, not be ignorant when they are among friends, and at least speak some English.

Although some internal characteristics are desired by both the boys and girls, it seems the boys prefer their girlfriend or future wife to be humble and well-preserved, where the girls prefer their boyfriend or future husband to be confident, responsible, brighter than the girl, and a gentleman. In this respect, both the internal and physical characteristics, which the participants take into consideration when looking for a boy- or girlfriend or a future wife or husband, seem to be embedded in socially accepted gender roles.

5.2 Intra-generational relationships

This section discusses the participants' perceptions on relationships in secondary school. It discusses whether they feel they can balance relationships and their education, at which age they prefer to start having relationships, and which age difference they prefer within their future relationship. The participants' perceptions regarding relationships appeared to be especially embedded in gender roles fixed within the Ugandan culture in the following two topics, i.e. approaching the opposite sex and exchanging money and gifts within intra-generational relationships. The topic 'approaching the opposite sex' was studied because it was felt interesting to understand how relationships start: whether both sexes are able to initiate the relationship, i.e. gender roles, and whether self-efficacy plays a role here. The topic 'exchanging money and gifts within intra-generational relationships' was studied to obtain a better understanding of transactional sex in these relationships.

5.2.1   Mixing love and academics

When discussing relationships in school, the participants often remark that love and academics do not mix. They say teachers at school lecture the students that secondary school is not the right time to have relationships because they should be concentrating on their studies. In addition, they say that teachers point them to the school fees their parents are paying for them, and how they should not be wasted by losing focus on their studies.

According to the participants, the main reason that love and academics do not mix is because a person will be thinking about the boy- or girlfriend all the time, which will make one lose focus on his or her study. They say this problem becomes bigger when they are in the same school or even in the same class. For instance, a girl says that when girls have a boyfriend in the same class, they may not be concentrating on their books because they will be looking at the boy all the time, thereby developing emotional feelings for him. Furthermore, another girl says that girls will be concentrating on looking smart instead of their books because they always want to make sure they look smart for their boyfriends. According to a boy, both boys and girls want to impress their partner, and will therefore not concentrate on their academics. A girl adds that a quarrel within the relationship could

make a person not able to concentrate. In the end of it all, their performances will decline, the participants state. One boy describes how people in a relationship will be thinking about their boy- or girlfriend:

'You know, how does she know that I got twenty? How does she know that I got this? How does she know that? How did he, how did he know that? As in, I did this and this. … Now, where... where can you go out for this weekend?-some chuckling- What can I, what can I do that... last time, we went there. Last time... now will I get money to... you know? That stuff. We boys. Now for the girls, easily. Now what should I do? Now what are we talking about? What will I say?' (FGD M2 R1)

He thinks that feelings are there but one needs to control them. Another boy argues that education is the main reason they are in school and that relationships can be found later in life as well. Therefore, he says, people in school should focus on their education instead of on relationships. A girl participant agrees, she thinks school is already stressing enough without having to balance academics and a relationship. Strikingly, the interviewees that say they have never been in a relationship before are the ones who think academics and love cannot be mixed.

However, not everyone agrees that love and academics do not mix. For instance, some say it is not easy to have a relationship in school but it is okay: it is possible to have a relationship and still get good grades. In addition, a nineteen-year-old girl in S6, who is in a relationship herself, says she is able to have a relationship and still concentrate on her books. She argues that her friends are the ones who are not able to concentrate because they are not in a relationship but wanting to have one. According to her, this desire makes them unable to focus on their books. She says '*I think it would have affected me if I didn't have and I'm there, like, kind of wanting to have one'* (IDI G1). She agrees a relationship can affect your studies but to her it depends on how you handle it: if you handle it correctly, like she does, it will be okay.

5.2.1.1   *Gender differences*
Although the girls do not seem more afraid than the boys to lose their concentration once they have entered a relationship, some girl participants and one boy participant think that it are mostly girls who will lose concentration, while boys are able to mix both. According to them, a boy will go back to his home or hostel after a date to read but the girl will have the weakness that she will keep thinking about the boy and about what happened during the date. The boy will think about it as well, they say, but not so much as the girl. Consequently, the participants state that the boy will be clever and pass to the next class, while the girl will fail.

According to a boy, girls will not only be thinking about the boy after a date, but when they see him talking to other girls as well. Hey says that they will think that the girl he is talking to is taking over their boyfriend, and that they will fear they will be dumped. That is why girls think about the boy all the time, he says.

5.2.2   Ideal age to be having relationships
Although four of the ten interviewees are in a relationship at the time of the interview, most participants agree that secondary school is not the right time to be having a relationship. Their reasons for not having relationships in secondary school are: they need to focus on their education, which is leaving them no time for relationships; they want to wait until they are eighteen, the adult age in Uganda, when they are mature and no longer under the wings of their parents; and they think

being in a relationship can lead to having sex. Furthermore, they say that the boys want to be able to be in the financial position to help out their girlfriends and take them out on dates.

Some think relationships in secondary school are not serious and a result of peer pressure. A nineteen-year-old boy in S6 says his friends sometimes tell him to get a girlfriend but he will tell them it is not the right time for him. He says that he does not feel pressure from them to find a girlfriend. However, another boy says peer pressure led him into his relationship. He thinks that without that pressure he would have probably waited until campus to look for a girlfriend.

Most of the participants want to get a relationship when they are in University. A sixteen-year-old girl in S5 says she wants to wait until University because at that time she will no longer live with her parents. She knows her mother would feel uncomfortable if she would know that she was having a boyfriend. However, once she has joined University, she will probably not live at home anymore, so her parents will not know when she is in a relationship. Furthermore, she says that, at eighteen, her mother will know that she is mature and, therefore, old enough to make her own decisions. Nevertheless, she would not tell her mother immediately about her relationship but wait about two years, until she knows that the relationship is really serious. Although she values her mother's opinion, it seems as if this is not necessarily a reason for her to postpone having relationships but more a reason to not tell her when she is having one. Another girl agrees that it is better to not tell your parents about one's relationship. She says:

'Okay, this is Uganda, really, as in, you don't just go and tell your mum "Mummy, I have a boyfriend"', that's just it!-laughing-   They're like "What are you trying to tell me?". You're... as in, okay, she knows you are speaking on phone with a boy. I don't know, they think probably you can get pregnant on the phone [uses hand to pretend to be on phone]*. As in... -laughing- ...my god, oh god! … They're like... "University. First finish". They'll tell you, "First finish, then you can have a boyfriend".'* (FGD G1 G1)

Other girls agree that University is a good time to find a boyfriend because at that age a person will be mature and will know what to do. An eighteen-year-old girl in S6 thinks that girls at campus will be more open to boys because they will start looking for a future husband at that time. Only one interviewee, a seventeen-year-old boy in S4, wants to wait longer with looking for a girlfriend: he wants to wait until he has received his PhD. At this moment, most participants say they would make the person they love their friend instead of starting a relationship with them.

5.2.3   Preferred age differences in relationships

Both boy and girl participants explain that boys are supposed to be older than girls in Ugandan relationships. Therefore, they say girls in their A-level look for boyfriends in campus, while boys in their A-level look for younger girls in O-level. According to them, only few will have relationships with people of the same age, or even within the same class.

Most participants prefer a two-year age difference, e.g. the girl being twenty-two and the boy twenty-four. However, two girls say that most girls want relationships with boys who are about five years older than they are, and another girl thinks that the range is three to five years. At least, she would want her boyfriend to be three to five years older and, in any case, not older than that. Another girl does not want to marry a husband who is too old as well because she fears he will die of heart diseases and leave her widowed at a young age.

The participants mention different reasons for the preferred age difference. The most important underlying reason is a biological one, i.e. because girls grow faster than boys, it makes them look older than boys of the same age and grow faster emotionally. They say the age difference can straighten this dissimilitude. They mention more reasons for a preferred age difference, although some are related to the biological difference in emotional growth. According to the participants, girls want to have older boyfriends because it will make him higher educated than the girl; behaving more seriously in discussions; having experienced more challenges than the girl; making the girl feel secure and protected, whereas the boy can protect himself and does not need the girl to protect him; and more experienced, for instance on the sexual level. In addition, the participants say that having an older boyfriend can make them look good to others, for their reputation. Furthermore, they say having a boyfriend with money, who is supporting himself instead of depending on his parents, can help girls meet their needs.

A boy participant remarks that, when boys and girls are in the same class, the girl may perform better in school than the boy, which can make the boy feel out of place. Even girls think it will look funny when a couple is in the same class and the girlfriend scores higher grades than her boyfriend. The participants say that boys want to impress their girlfriends by having money and being intelligent in class but if their girlfriends are better, they will lose respect and they will be left with nothing to impress them with. They say that is one of the reasons that boys want to have younger girlfriends: younger girlfriends will look up to them and give them the respect they want.

As mentioned before, only few participants say they would like to have relationships within the same class. They give different reasons for this. First of all, the girls think it will get boring to have a boyfriend in the same class: if they see him too much, there is nothing exciting about it, and it will not be romantic at all, they say. Secondly, they think they will not be free to talk to other boys because the boy will get jealous and think she is cheating on him. Thirdly, the girls say they need to watch their reputation because others will criticise them if they see them going out with a class mate. In addition, they value their reputation regarding their boyfriend as well: the girls want to keep up a kind of class and, therefore, do not want to be embarrassed in front of their boyfriends. However, when having a boyfriend in the same class, it could happen that they are being embarrassed, while their boyfriend is looking at them, or he could be embarrassed as well. Finally, a boy says that having a girlfriend in the same class puts a pressure on them because they need to behave well, almost like an angel; act mature; perform well; get good grades; be a man; and act responsible.

In the ten IDIs, one girl and three boys declare they are in a relationship. The girl, who is nineteen years old and in S6, is in a relationship with a twenty-three-year-old boy in campus. All three boys are one year older than their girlfriends. The first two boys used to be in the same school as their girlfriends but their girlfriends were transferred to other schools. A seventeen-year-old boy and his girlfriend are both in S5 but not in the same school. Although the nineteen-year-old girl has an older boyfriend, the three boys do not have the preferred age difference of two years with their girlfriends. Perhaps, it is not really uncommon to be having relationships with people of almost the same age at the same school.

After one of the IDIs, a boy asks about relationships in the Netherlands. When he hears that it is okay for a girl to be having a younger boyfriend in the Netherlands, he responds:

'You would be fine?! … Oh my god!-both laugh- … Can your parents accept? Ah… it's very rare! Ha!'
-laughs- (IDI B4)

Interestingly, he wonders whether the parents would accept if their child had a younger boyfriend. During another IDI, one boy in S5, who is in a relationship with a girl who is in S5 as well, mentions that his sister, who is his guardian, has told him:

'Girls are not supposed to be older than you but you're supposed to be older than the girl. But you can be the same class.' (IDI B6)

He says his sister told him that the girl will think he is a kid to her and will not respect him if she is older than him. It seems these two boys value their guardian's approval when it comes to finding a girlfriend.

5.2.4   Gender roles: approaching the opposite sex and exchanging money and gifts
This section discusses how adolescents' relationships are embedded in cultural norms, most especially existing gender roles. Firstly, it discusses participants' perceptions on approaching the opposite sex. Secondly, it discusses their perceptions on exchanging money and gifts within relationships.

5.2.4.1   Approaching the opposite sex
Most of the participants agree that girls are not supposed to approach boys according to the Ugandan culture, for instance to tell them they love or like them, or to ask them out. According to a boy, it is not up to the girl to make a selection between boys. Another boy says that girls are treasured in the Ugandan society. The participants feel that for a girl to approach a boy would mean that she would lose her class, break her level, or be considered cheap or desperate. They say it would look bad in the African culture. Therefore, if a girl likes a boy, a girl will keep it to herself because she does not want to end up being embarrassed and losing a lot, they say. Indeed, one participant says it is rare for girls to approach boys, he has never seen it.

Although many participants reject girls approaching boys, some girls believe boys are still staged in the last century if they think girls who approach boys are cheap. According to them, boys of this century would not mind girls coming up to them and telling them they like them. Of all the participants, only one boy declares he would not mind if girls would approach him to tell him they love him. To the question how he would react if a girl came up to him and tells him that, he responds:

'Okay, all day, the chick will look at you. All day, everyday, look at you. I just think... … It's very okay.' (FGD B2 R1)

However, the other boys in the discussion disagree. According to them, only one out of five hundred girls would act like that. In addition, they say they would respond by making the girl their friend, not their girlfriend, because they would doubt whether she actually means it. They would need more time to find out whether she was serious, they say. An eighteen-year-old boy in S5 says he would not believe a girl if she approached him and tells him she loves him because '...*if a person is coming up to come and tell me such a big word, that means she can also have the confidence to tell another person.*' (IDI B3). Therefore, he says, he would refuse her, although some would accept her. Another boy thinks girls may only approach boys if they want them for their money.

Two participants say that it is not difficult for girls to find a boyfriend because boys are always approaching them, and it is up to the girls to make their choice. However, one boy says it is easier for beautiful girls to find a boyfriend because if boys approach less pretty girls, people will be staring at them. He says, *'…so as long as she's beautiful... but for these ones who are ugly, it's very difficult to get* [a boyfriend]*...'* (IDI B2).

Although most participants agree that girls are not able to approach boys to show them they like them, one girl says that most girls assume that if they like him, the boy likes them as well. Therefore, they will wait for him to approach them. Another girl replies that in that case, they will sometimes have to wait forever. However, it seems that girls do not actually play an entirely passive role in this game of love because in order to prevent girls from waiting forever for boys to approach them, the girl participants say that girls can approach boys indirectly by favouring him, buying things for him, and being good for him all the time. They say that, through these actions, they try to communicate to the boy that they like him, and maybe even love him, without saying it openly. Hopefully, the boy will notice the hints and approach her because *'It's not the girl to... to first approach'* (FGD G1 G7).

One boy participant describes how boys can approach girls by talking to her. For instance, he says, a boy can first say, *'So let me help you with your book…'*. Consequently, the boy will try to relate to her, get to know her friends, find out more about her, and become her friend. After a while, he will tell her *'You know, I'm falling for you'*, or *'You mean a lot to me'* (FGD B1 R3). He tries to show her he likes her, he says. An eighteen-year-old girl in S6 says boys will first introduce themselves, and then make compliments about their hair or dress. She says only few will say *'I like you personally'* (IDI G4). According to her, most boys will start becoming their friends, and only some may ask for their phone number, call them up, and ask to meet them. To her, it is about the first impression. If she likes the boy, they may become friends. But if she does not like him, she will put him off by giving answers, such as *'No', 'I'm not allowed'* and in some cases *'No, I don't like the idea'* (IDI G4)*.* But most of the boys will keep trying, she says. *'The problem comes when he sticks and you really don't like him...'* (FGD G1 G1) *–laughing-* *'And that is so common, like, somehow'* (FGD G1 G2).

Girls do not always take the boys' approaches seriously. For instance, a sixteen-year-old girl in S5 says a boy cannot be serious if he tells her he loves her after he has seen her only one time. In one of the FGDs, the participants think as well that it is weird for a boy to say 'I love you' to a girl at first sight. Still, one boy is convinced it works for him to tell girls he loves them at first sight. However, the other boys in the same discussion doubt this, they think it is better to approach her first, get to know her, and then tell her they love her after about one month. They say the only problem of this strategy is that another boy could be faster and convince the girl before they do.

Girls can respond to boys' attempts in different ways. For instance, a nineteen-year-old boy in S5 says girls can give the following responses, *'If you love me but Jesus loves me more!', 'You just give me two weeks, I'll tell you the answer...', 'Give me four months. Maybe first be done with my studies... we'll, we'll meet in vacation'* (IDI B2). According to him, the girls will sometimes mean their answer but at other times they will just be trying to get rid of the boy.

Furthermore, according to a boy, girls can have the philosophy that they do not need to accept a boy's first attempts. *'Even though she loves you… … she will still put there that act'*, he says (FGD B1 R3). According to him, girls could miss out chances with boys by giving them a hard time because, in the end, it will be the experienced boys who will be able to convince the girls with their words, and

the boys who really love them have not been given a fair chance. Although it can seem difficult for boys to have the responsibility to approach the girls, one boy says it is not because there are many girls and therefore they have more chances of finding one.

According to the participants, it will be difficult for some guys to approach girls because they are shy. A boy moots that if a boy is too shy, the girl better builds up a friendly relationship with him. He thinks that by getting close to the boy, the boy's shyness may vanish, and he will be able to tell her he likes her. However, a girl opposes that it is difficult for a girl to tell whether a boy is only shy or not interested in her. The first boy responds that the boy will give her a specific look which will tell her he is interested. According to him, the special looks between a boy and a girl are necessary for boys to be able to judge whether the girl likes him enough for him to approach her. Some girls think that the girl should approach the boy if she is more bold or courageous than the shy boy.

Although one boy says that boys cannot be shy if they really like a girl, some of the participants say they needed their friends' encouragements to approach the girl they liked. For instance, an eighteen-year-old boy in S5 only approached his girlfriend after his friends had made a bet, and a nineteen-year-old boy in S5 says he was able to ask the girl he liked for her phone number through his friend's encouragements.

The relationship of a seventeen-year-old boy in S5 seems to be entirely in contrast with the beliefs in the Ugandan culture that boys are supposed to approach girls. The interviewee says that his girlfriend was the one to make all the moves. He says she wrote to him after they had met at a social party, she asked him whether they could meet in the holidays, she paid for his lunch on their first date, she asked him whether they were friends and if he would like to become her boyfriend, and she asked him whether they could kiss. He says that she made the first moves and that he was the one to consider them. According to him, a girl making the first move does not mean she is cheap but it means she is very serious about him and the relationship.

Although the participants state that boys are supposed to approach girls in the Ugandan culture, one boy thinks that boys should not dare to approach a girl *'if she's not trying to be impressed. ... Don't dare cause you'll be embarrassed'*. In addition, he thinks nowadays girls in this generation are approaching boys more than before, especially the girls in campus (FGD M1 R3).

5.2.4.2   *Exchanging money and gifts within relationships*

In order to obtain a better understanding of transactional sex and to further explore gender roles within relationships, this section discusses exchanging money and gifts within intra-generational relationships.

In Uganda, '*they have that mentality that girls are not supposed to spend on boys, it's the other way around'*, according to a boy (IDI B4). Furthermore, a girl mentions, '*there is that mentality "always the guy, who is supposed to ask the girl out, as in, to a date".'* (FGD G1 G2). According to some boy participants, a girl will respect a boy on his words and his wallet. She will be grateful if he has money and takes her out. For that reason, A-level girls search for boyfriends in campus, they say. A girl agrees that many Ugandan girls are into materialistic things, especially the campus girls. Campus girls will even break up with boys if they do not take them on outings, she says.

Some participants believe that a boy is acting like a gentleman when he pays things for the girl. An eighteen-year-old boy in S5, for instance, says he would act like a gentleman by buying his girlfriend gifts, such as bracelets, earrings, and necklaces. According to him, she did not ask him to buy those things but if they were in a store, and she would look at something, he could tell she wanted it. *'Good things are never cheap. So you have to invest, either to get something. So I was spending a lot of money to get opening her heart'* (IDI B1). He never asked her for sex in return because he respected her and wanted to marry her. According to him, she never bought something for him when they were dating. He would rather see that she would have because now it felt like he was buying her love. According to him, it will mean a girl really loves a boy, if the girl does not want him to pay for her or buy her gifts. However, that will happen only rarely because *'African girls… … they are like parasites. They get a bit from others…',* he says (IDI B1).

According to a nineteen-year-old girl in S6, her boyfriend is the one to pay but only because she has no money. Her boyfriend buys her gifts once in a while, such as nice dresses, and he will pay when they go out. He has never asked her for sex in return, she says. Sometimes she buys him a present as well, for instance on his birthday. If he had no money to spend on her, it would be okay to her. And if she had money, she would like to pay things for him as well. According to a boy, campus boys will not give presents to their A-level girlfriends to ask for sex in return but to express their love. However, at some point they will want to have sex, he says: *'...but of course they reach a point where... whereby maybe they feel they want to make their relationship more meaningful by things like having sex'*, (FGD G1 R1).

Although some think it is better when the boy is paying for the girl, many participants say it should depend on who is having money. They say that if the girl is having more money than the boy, she should be helping out the boy, and if they both have money, they should be buying each other presents. For instance, a seventeen-year-old boy in S5 says he buys his girlfriend some presents once in a while, and she will buy for him. According to him, buying presents is according to the situation you are in. *'If she's from a background like real poor, than you have to spend what you have. When if the girl is rich than she has to spend what she has'* (IDI B6). He feels his girlfriend loves him, he never feels the obligation to buy her things, and it feels okay to him when she is the one buying things for him.

The boys in one of the FGDs feel it is okay to buy things for a girlfriend on occasions, such as birthdays and Valentines dag, as long as they do it from their own will. If a girl starts asking for money or presents all the time, they would *'....let go. … You just chill out'* (FGD B2 R2). But if she would really be in the need of something, they would try to help her out, they say. Another boy opines that it is a sign of true love when a boy pays things for a girl from the little he has.

Some boys fear that a girlfriend would break up with them if they do not give her money: *'When we're out of money, you know, she'll look for other...'* (FGD B2 R) *'Yeah, other guys. Financers.'* (FGD B2 R). *'But if you don't care, just let her go.'* (FGD B2 R) -some chuckling- *'When you have spent all your money.'* (FGD B2 R). A nineteen-year-old boy in S5 says that, if his girlfriend would break up with him because he did not have money, he would teach her a lesson by starting to work and making sure he had enough money. Then, when she would feel like coming back to him because he is rich, he would refuse her (IDI B2). Another boy says he would not be able to let that girlfriend go if he really loved her. Some boys will try to impress girls by pretending they have more money than they actually

have. All week they will save their money to be able to take the girl out for lunch outside the Dining Hall on Friday. '*But, but initially he's poor, he's just been saving for that...*' (FGD B2 R8).

The girl participants feel it would not matter whether the boy is poor or not, as long as the love is real. If he does not have money, they would provide for him. Most of them would want their future boyfriend to buy them presents for occasions, such as birthdays and Valentines day, and if he would ask them out on a date, they would expect him to pay. On the other hand, they would like to buy him some presents as well, and if they had money, they would like to ask him out sometimes and be the one to pay. Most other participants agree that who will pay depends on who has organized, whether it is the boy or the girl.

Several times, it was mentioned by both boy and girl participants that boys want to be the one to pay. They find it humiliating when the girl is paying because it will look as if he is poor. They will feel uncomfortable, guilty, and bad inside because it looks as if they are depending on the girl, while boys want girls to depend on them. Furthermore, boys want to act like a gentleman and feel it is their responsibility to pay to show the girl they care about her. In response, a girl reacts that the girl will give a sign of real love if she takes the boy as he is and pays for him when he does not have money. If he does not accept that, it is his problem. However, other girls say they would not want to hurt the boy by insisting to pay.

One boy thinks a girl will not respect a boy if he has no money and that her friends will embarrass her for having a poor boyfriend. Perhaps that is the reason that a girl might not tell her friends if she is paying things for her boyfriend because it will look better for a girl's reputation when her girlfriends think the boy is the one buying her gifts. According to a girl, most girls will feel excited when their boyfriends are buying them presents. '*Some of them run around 'Can you imagine my boyfriend bought me a watch?!'.*' (FGD M1 G1) Although they say their real friends will be happy for them, some others will be jealous because they are not receiving gifts from their boyfriends.

One boy remarks that it would not feel good for the boy to be receiving more gifts than the girl because his friends would look at him as if he was after the girl for her money. Some may think the girl is the boss in the relationship, while the male is supposed to be the boss, he says. However, although he would not feel good about it, he would still accept her presents, he says. Interestingly, in accordance with the girls, they mention that the boy's friends would start feeling bad and uncomfortable if the boy was to be receiving gifts from his girlfriend all the time. They could say '*Ah, I know you're fake* [not a real man]. *How can the chick buy you gifts? … You're fake!*' (FGD M1 G3). They will call him a fake guy '*because for a boyfriend, I think, you are really expected to do. And if you are not reaching those responsibilities, somebody is going to look at him and say "that guy is fake"*' (FGD M1 R2).

5.3 Cross-generational relationships: sugar daddies and sugar mommies

In continuation to the previous section, which discussed exchanging money and gifts within intra-generational relationships, this section discusses cross-generational relationships, of which it is said that adolescents will have transactional sex with older men and women.

5.3.1   Peer pressure and reputations in school

According to the participants, adolescents these days often long to be the same as their friends or want to impress other people at school. They say their reputation is important to them. The participants enumerate that girls want to have expensive phones, perfumes, nice clothing, and so on. In addition, they mention that both girls and boys want to have money to impress their boyfriends and girlfriends.

According to a girl in one of the FGDS, peer pressure is the reason that girls want expensive phones or buy chips. When asked what she means, she explains that when a girl in a group is the only one with cheap clothes, and all of her friends are wearing expensive clothes, she will not feel comfortable with the ways she is, and she will want to have the same expensive clothes as her friends. She suggests that peer pressure does not mean that peers are pressuring a girl to perform certain behaviour, i.e. wearing expensive clothes, but that the girl is pressuring herself because she wants to wear the same clothes as her peers.

In addition to wearing nice clothes and having expensive phones, the participants say that spending money in school enables students to buy chips, chapatis and sodas in the school canteen instead of having to eat posho or rice with beans for lunch every day in the school's Dining Hall. According to them, parents often cannot afford to provide their children with the amount of money needed to keep up with that aimed pattern of spending. Therefore, to some adolescents a sugar daddy or sugar mommy can be a solution, a girl states.

5.3.2   Sugar daddies

When discussing topics, such as investing to have sex, buying gifts in return for sex, and sex in exchange for money, the participants often say it happens with sugar daddies, or 'big men' as they often call them. Some say girls in secondary school do not look for sugar daddies but for guys in campus. According to them, the campus girls are the ones looking for sugar daddies.

According to the girls in the girls' FGDs, sugar daddies often approach young girls along the way. They come to campus, to their hostels, or park at the end of the street. Consequently, they will exchange phone numbers and choose their data. One girl mentions that some sugar daddies can be friends to the girls' parents or even family members, such as an uncle. According to the girls, the ages of sugar daddies differ, but in general they consider them to be old. Sometimes his children are even older than the girl, and some can even be sixty or eighty, some girls laugh.

The girls say that sugar daddies are often infected with HIV. They say that the sugar daddies do not want to die alone, therefore they aim to infect virgins with HIV. After having sex, he will finish the relationship because he got what he wanted, they say. Furthermore, because the sugar daddies want to infect the girl with HIV, they will not want to use a condom, according to the girls. Therefore, the girl will not only become infected with HIV but she will get pregnant as well, they argue. An eighteen-year-old boy in S5 provides an example of a sugar daddy situation: a friend of his uncle sleeps with young girls. He is very rich and infected with HIV/AIDS, according to him.

The girl participants think that some girls are not aware that the older man will expect them to have sex with him after accepting the gifts. They say that some will even fall in love with him and think he is giving them the presents out of love. However, they say that there are other girls who have done it before, and they will set their own terms. They will agree to have sex with a sugar daddy, for instance

on a weekly basis, in return for money or gifts, which the girl participants perceive to be a way of prostitution.

According to the girls, it can be a sign of having a sugar daddy, when girls are always having money to have dinner in the school canteen instead of the Dining Hall. They think it looks especially suspicious when all of a sudden the girl is out of money. The girls in one of the FGDs state that if their friends are having expensive clothes and more money than they have, it is probably because they are pushing out with a '*big old grandfather*' (FGD G1 G6).

5.3.3   Self-efficacy: saying no to sugar daddies

Although sugar daddies are probably stronger than young girls, the girls in one of the FGDs think that whether a girl is having a sugar daddy is depending on her own will. According to them, if she really means her 'no', and she is not after money or things like that, she will not have one. However, if the girl has entered a relationship, and she has been accepting his money, they think she cannot go away. In that case, they say the guy will claim his money, which will make it very hard for her to leave when she wants to. Notably, the girls in another FGD agree that a girl should have sex with an older guy if he has been giving her money and presents. According to them, there is a saying '*there is having for nothing these days*' (FGD G1 G4). They think that when girls accept presents from sugar daddies, they have to return something:

'You just have to expect it. When they tell you "Yeah, I want to have sex", you just have to go there if you've accepted the terms of the gifts and everything. Cause that's the only thing they expect, that is what they want.' (FGD G1 G2)

Another girl argues that the girl is not able to know this at the beginning because the guy knows that she would refuse if she knew. Therefore, she says, he will romance the girl for a while, and then he will ask for sex. According to her, the sugar daddy will take the girl to a secret place, scare her, and then tell her '*You can't escape'*, so she will have to give it (FGD G1 G4).

Concluding, the participants think a girl is able to refuse a sugar daddy in case she is aware of the consequences, i.e. accepting presents means returning sex. If she means her no, she can refuse him, according to them. However, if she has accepted his presents, they think she should agree to have sex with him.

5.3.4   Sugar mommies

In line with the sugar daddies, the participants mention that the good-looking boys in campus, not in secondary school, are mostly the ones who are having sugar mommies. They state that these sugar mommies are often rich and can even be sixty. As an eighteen-year-old boy in S5 explains: '*our African ladies don't age so fast*' (IDI B1).

According to the interviewees, the boys will often ask the sugar mommies for money instead of presents, which the interviewees perceive to be a way of prostitution. They say that the boys will not brag about their sugar mommy to their friends, and that they will use their earned money to spend it on their younger girlfriend. According to the eighteen-year-old boy in S5, sexually transmitted diseases are easily spread in this way.

Although the participants suggest that many boys in campus look for sugar mommies, a boy in one of the FGDs foresees a problem with having a sugar mommy:

'But for me, I can't love a woman who has more money than me...That this mom... what? Is the one controlling me instead of me controlling her' (FGD M2 R4).

Apparently, he believes that a person who has money controls the one who lacks money. Another boy replies to him:

'But you, you don't have enough money to impress her [girlfriend]*, what can you do? That means that you have a need for a sugar mommy...'* (FGD M2 R3).

6. Perceptions on sexual behaviours

This chapter discusses the participants' perceptions on performing sexual behaviour and their embeddedness in the Ugandan context. As discussed in chapter 2, it discusses delay of first sexual intercourse, condom use, and sexual harassment and abuse. However, during the data collection, sexual harassment and abuse appeared a difficult issue to discuss, while other issues, such as sexual behaviours other than sexual intercourse, contraceptives use other than condoms, HIV/AIDS, and fear for pregnancies compared to fear for HIV/AIDS, were extensively discussed. Because these issues seemed important to the participants, and because it was felt that these issues are important to provide a more complete understanding of their sexual behaviour and its embeddedness in the Ugandan context than abstinence/sexual intercourse and condom use only, it was decided to discuss the participants' perceptions regarding these issues instead of sexual harassment and abuse.

6.1 Kissing and other 'safe' behaviours in intra-generational relationships

This section discusses the friendly gestures the participants perceive to be accepted in their school and the sexual behaviours the participants perceive to be accepted in intra-generational relationships. The accepted gestures between friends, i.e. hugging is accepted, pecking is less common, show a link to the accepted behaviours in relationships, i.e. hugging is accepted, kissing is less common. In this respect, the participants perceive pecking and kissing to be behaviours from the Western world that are not common in their culture. This section discusses how the participants' intentions to hug, peck, and kiss are embedded within the Ugandan culture, religion, media, the fear to get infected with diseases, and the fear that hugging and kissing will lead to sexual intercourse.

6.1.1 Friendly gestures: hugging, pecking, and holding hands

In one of the mixed FGDs, physical contact between friends is extensively discussed. In their school, the participants say that they are used to hug or to hold hands with their friends. According to an eighteen-year-old girl in S6, people will hug their close friends. However, she says, it depends on the person: some only hug in exceptional cases, and then some girls do not hug at all. Some boys are so shy that they do not even want to hug their friends, she says. According to the participants, for people coming from other schools it can take some time to adjust to the hugging and hand holding environment at their school. Especially for people coming from single schools, it can be hard to hug someone of the opposite sex, they say. One boy thinks even boys among each other can hug, although some others in that FGD respond chuckling to this.

The participants in one of the FGDs think that hugging is all about culture. They think people are used to it from the home or society they come from. For instance, they do not think a person can be expected to be hugging other people, if that person never receives hugs from his or her parents. They say that when one comes from a society where they do not hug, one will find it awkward or weird, but if one comes from a society where they do hug, one will find it okay. A girl explains that she was never used to hug her parents but when she came to the school, people were hugging so much that she was forced to hug people as well, and it felt good, she says: '*So when I hugged it, I feel like I just don't want to let go, it's like a new thing, and it's like you feel good hugging someone you like. Yeah.*' (FGD M2 G3).

Another gesture discussed in that same FGD is pecking, i.e. a kiss on the cheek. Comparable to hugging, the participants think that whether a person will peck friends depends on the background

and the society the person comes from. The participants say that pecking is a gesture from the Western world and that people in their present school find it odd to peck. However, one of the boys explains that people at his former school were very social and they considered it normal to peck friends. Although the participants consider hugging and holding hands among friends to be normal at their school, some participants think that people in their school are judgmental. They say that people will think they are in a relationship when they see two friends of opposite sexes talking or eating together.

6.1.2   'Safe' behaviours within relationships: hugging and kissing

Most participants agree that they want to wait with sex until marriage. In general, they think before marriage it is okay to be hugging and kissing, or at least to be performing activities where the clothes are still on. According to an eighteen-year-old girl in S6, people in relationships in school will hug, hold hands, and sit close to one another during the school breaks. She thinks that only a few get to the kissing bit and that perhaps, after a while, some will want to have sex with the person they have kissed.

6.1.2.1   *Kissing: influence of culture, religion, and media*

The participants often remark that kissing and pecking are not common in the Ugandan and African culture. They say that they were brought up with the idea that kissing is bad. Especially kissing in public is not done and can, therefore, be somehow embarrassing to do, according to them. Some girls in one of the FGDs say that, even if a person is not shy, the environment will avoid that person to kiss in public:

'They can even interrupt on me and shout.' (FGD G2_G), *'No, they don't feel okay with it.'* (FGD G2_G).

Another disadvantage the girls mention is that people will think that adolescents who are kissing in public are having sex as well, because those people believe that kissing will lead them into having sex. According to the participants, kissing is something private, which can be done in private places. Furthermore, some interviewees say that it is possible to kiss in clubs, dark corners, or at night on the streets. An eighteen-year-old girl in S6 says that kissing is a bit tricky in Uganda:

'...somehow, either that relationship grows... or... it falls after kissing. Because some people break up after kissing. And yet some others... get really closer after kissing. So... that kissing-bit is really, is really tricky in Uganda ... And then, at some point... some people just can't imagine having kissed someone... as in the first shock of it and then, what I know, some boys do it... after kissing they'll go and tell everyone! -chuckles- Their boy... their friends! … Some girls don't like it when it comes out in the open like... … some friends just look at you, and they're like "You kissed him?! …". No! I don't know, but that's how it is. (IDI G4)

According to the girl, girls do not like it when it comes out in the open that they have kissed. It seems that, because kissing in public is not accepted in the Ugandan culture, girls feel that their reputation becomes harmed when other people find out that they have kissed. It seems that social norms are very important to them in this respect. Furthermore, since the girl says that a relationship will grow or fall after kissing, it seems that the non-acceptance of kissing in public makes adolescents less able to handle the situation of kissing.

Other girl participants say that, since kissing is not common in public, people will often not even kiss on their Wedding day:

'*Yeah. As in, even on like weddings, after the wedding and all, when they say, like, 'Kiss the bride', they hug.*' (G) … '*They can't kiss in front of the parents, in front of the people, so... Africans...*' (FGD G1 G)

An eighteen-year-old girl in S6 adds:

'*Even the priests themselves, oh... the church leaders... ehm... especially for Anglican churches and Roman-Catholics... they tend to avoid that thing... even for the Muslims... they too tend to avoid that bit of "Yeah, you can now kiss the bride".*' (IDI G4)

An interviewee says she does not want to kiss because of her religion:

'*Like you have to act as an example in front of God, to do something you have to do it first. Cause... if... when Jesus wants people to believe in God, he had to...you know, to follow the good path. So you have to have a good reputation for people to trust you and to respect you ... Cause I don't think a person who just moves from guy to guy is respected. ... cause in Africa a person who has got dignity is respected much. ... By the people. Even when they in church see you, they respect you, and they're like "Yeah, you know she's got... she's ethical, she's... she just doesn't do this and this, ...". So your teachers will kind of trust you, and when they want to ask... when they want to consult people.. they'll...they'll come for you, ... they'll have to ask a person who they really know his behaviour or hers...*' (IDI G2)

Although she declares that she does not want to kiss because of her religion, it seems as if she is more concerned about her reputation, about social norms: she wants to be trusted and respected by people in church, teachers, and other people as well.

As discussed in chapter 4, the participants mention media several times when discussing different sexual behaviours. First of all, one of the interviewees thinks that pornography could lead people into fondling, which is according to her not common in Uganda. She thinks that it builds their lust and will make them wish to caress their girlfriends. Secondly, some participants say that the Western high school movies make people in school want to kiss. One girl thinks that people in relationships would not kiss before those movies became popular. These days, she thinks most people in relationships still not kiss, perhaps only people who are driven by emotions. Especially girls can be more emotional than boys, she says.

6.1.2.2 *Kissing: fear of diseases*

During the IDIs, two interviewees express that they do not want to kiss because they are afraid they will get infected with a disease through saliva. A sixteen-year-old girl in S5 fears that kissing will get her infected with hepatitis. Therefore, she wants to wait until she has found the real guy that she really loves. A seventeen-year-old boy in S4 fears kissing because, even though he knows that drinking from the same cup will not lead to transmission of HIV, he was told that HIV can be transmitted through fluids, and saliva is a fluid, he says:

'*The biological teachers, they can ever say don't do kiss... neither to play sex, neither to share sharp intro..., instruments, the razorblade in campus...*' (IDI B5)

Since teachers have told him not to kiss, not to play sex, and not to share sharp instruments, he has concluded that HIV must be transmittable through saliva because he cannot think of another reason why they would tell him not to kiss.

According to STI AIDS Netherlands, the expertise centre for HIV/AIDS and other STIs, there is a small risk to become infected with Gonorrhoea, syphilis, Candida, and hepatitis B when the kissing partner is infected with an STI in the oral cavity (SOA AIDS Nederland 2009). In addition, they state kissing is safe to HIV. On the other hand, the CDC, the US Centres for Disease Control and Prevention, recommend against open-mouth kissing with an infected partner, since one case suggests that a woman has become infected with HIV through open-mouth kissing. In theory, a person can be exposed to contaminated blood through cuts or sores in the mouth (CDC 2006). However, HIV has been found in very low quantities in saliva from some AIDS patients and does not necessarily mean that HIV can be transmitted by saliva, according to the same centre (CDC 1999). Concluding, the opinions about HIV transmission through kissing differ. Although the interviewees' fear to get infected with hepatitis or HIV does not seem entirely groundless, the risks appear to be very small according to the expertise centres.

6.1.2.3   *Fear: hugging and kissing leads to sexual intercourse*

Different participants fear that physical acts, such as hugging and kissing, can lead people into having sex. For instance, a boy and a girl in one of the FGDs fear that, in certain situations, hugging can lead people into having sex. Another girl disagrees and responds to them:

'They generally hug. I don't see any problem with it because it's just a simple hug. ... It makes you feel close to each other. ... Of course you can't share a kiss or that. A hug is just something simple. ... Now just go and give him a hug and he goes and you also go your way. Easy.' (FGD M1 G3)

Later on in the discussion, the same boy expresses his fear about pecking. He reasons that pecking will lead to kissing, and from kissing one may go out to have sex. This time he argues that hugging is okay as long as one does not do it in a dark room:

'No, from pecking you guys will end up kissing and from kissing maybe you'll go out to having sex … You can hug! Because I can be in a situation whereby I need really somebody to hold me.' (R2) *'Hm-mm [implying he has other motives] -chuckles-'* (G) … *'Of course, you are not going to, you are not going to a dark room and I hold, I hold her there...'* (R2) *-more laughing and talking through each other-* (FGD M1)

He is not the only one who fears that kissing will lead to having sex. Other girl participants agree with him. A fifteen-year-old girl in S4 is even afraid that it will lead to pregnancy:

'Okay, I think... kissing will tempt you to... another thing... cause like you can kiss, from what, from there you can like have sex... and you become pregnant…' (IDI G3)

The participants think that it is important to lay out principles within a relationship, such as 'we will only hug'. Another important part they perceive is self-control. When discussing hugging and kissing, they often mention that people need to have self-control to make sure they do not go further than that:

'*But you don't have to express your feelings in school. Like that kissing. At least hugging but kissing...*' (G1) … '*When the love is real, you... you don't have to think about what is going on.*' (R3) '*That's why we need self-control. That's why we need... cause if you don't have self control, you can... you can be able to be anything*' (G2)*. (FGD M2)

To the participants, having self-control includes avoiding dark private places where it is almost unavoidably to end up having sex.

6.1.2.4   Kissing within relationship

'*...maybe... the soonest but when it would be like... after proposing, yeah, I've said I'll marry him, then, I think I'll be able to kiss him.*' (G2) '*In bed?*' (G1) *-some chuckling-* (FGD G1)

Since different participants fear kissing will lead to having sex, most participants think that kissing is not something you will do at the start of a relationship. For instance, the girl in above discussion thinks she will only be able to kiss her boyfriend after proposing.

A nineteen-year-old girl in S6 is in a relationship with a boy in University. She says that, at the start of the relationship, they would only be talking and hugging. After a year, they kissed for the first time. At first, she found it scary but later on she got used. A seventeen-year-old boy in S5 is in a relationship with a girl and they have kissed when they were out dancing in clubs. He says they can even touch a bit but then they have to stop because he does not want to have sexual intercourse with her. He says he was not scared the first time they kissed and that he knew how to kiss because of some movies he has seen. According to him, his girlfriend was not afraid to kiss as well because after all she was the one who had suggested to him they could kiss.

The interviewees who are not in a relationship say they have never kissed someone. However, it seems that they are not afraid they will not know how to do it. One boy says everybody knows how to kiss. Another boy says his cousin, who lives in London, taught him how to kiss by demonstrating it to him on her fingers.

6.2   Condom use

According to a nineteen-year-old boy in S5, who is a peer educator in the sexuality education programme Life Club, students in secondary school are supposed to abstain. He says that, in case they are not able to control themselves and end up having sex, they will be advised to use condoms. This section describes the participants' perceptions on the purposes of condoms and its reliability. Furthermore, it discusses how participants learn about condoms. Finally, it discusses whether the participants would use condoms when having sex and whether they would carry one.

6.2.1   The purposes of condoms and its reliability

When discussing having sex, it is sensed that the participants fear to get pregnant, or to impregnate a girl, and to get infected with HIV/AIDS. Most of them state that they do not want to have sex before marriage because of these reasons. Whenever they are asked whether or not there is any protection that can help them to avoid becoming pregnant or getting the HIV-virus, they often suggest condoms are a good alternative.

According to observational studies, the average probability of male-female transmission of the HIV-1 virus per unprotected coital act is estimated to be .0005–.0026. This means that of every 384 unprotected coital acts between monogamous heterosexual HIV-1 discordant couples, i.e. couples

whereby one person is HIV-1 infected and the other person is not, one person will be infected with the HIV-1 virus during non-acute HIV-1 infection. However, during acute HIV-1 infection, this rate is much higher, e.g. men with an HIV-1 infection and without any other STIs are expected to infect seven percent–twenty-four percent of their female sex partners during the first two months of infection. This rate is dependent on the number of sexual intercourses and would be much higher when one of both partners has an STI (Pilcher et al. 2004). This means that the chance to be infected with the HIV-virus is highest when the sexual partner has recently been infected.

According to the CDC, the US Centres for Disease Control and Prevention, latex condoms, when used consistently and correctly, are highly effective in preventing the sexual transmission of the HIV-virus. In theory, the condom, which covers the penis, provides an effective barrier against exposure to urethral and vaginal secretions thereby blocking the pathway of HIV transmission. In practice, epidemiological studies among sero-discordant couples show that the consistent use of latex condoms provides a high degree of protection against the sexual transmission of HIV (CDC 2009).

The Pearl Index estimates the number of women becoming unintended pregnant out of every hundred couples living together for a year. For couples not using any contraceptives, the Pearl Index is about 85, i.e. 85 women becoming pregnant out of every hundred couples living together for a year (EFPIA 2004). For couples using condoms as contraceptive, two will become pregnant in theory and twelve in practice. The difference in theory and practice can be explained by the extent of consistent and correct way of using the contraceptive. For instance, although none should get pregnant while practicing abstinence, still less than ten women do get pregnant according to the Pearl Index (Stichting Anticonceptie Nederland 2009).

Based on above studies, latex condoms, assuming they are used consistently and correctly, provide a high degree of protection against the sexual transmission of the HIV-virus and pregnancies. Strikingly however, many participants think condoms are only there to protect one against pregnancies, not against STIs, including the HIV-virus. In addition, while most participants are sure that condoms do not protect against the HIV-virus, they are not able to explain why a condom only protects against pregnancies and not against HIV. An eighteen-year-old girl in S6 tries to explain why she thinks a condom does not protect against the HIV-virus:

'I don't know why but I know it doesn't protect. Yeah. I think even that, just the close proximity of, like, not like a virus, like bacteria, you... you, you, you maybe sometimes go to a doctor and they'll tell you, you have a bacteria. And you don't even know how you got it... because they are so invisible and maybe so small... that's also maybe the other thing about the virus... if you've just gotten maybe, maybe someone's blood with the virus, and you just left it there, I would think people who could maybe, who could inhale it, could also get it. That's what I would think. But now that the blood is confined in their bodies... if it happens to... get out and yeah, the virus will spread. That's what I think.' (IDI G4)

She says she has heard some people say that condoms do protect against STIs but she does not believe this. A seventeen-year-old boy in S5 has heard as well that a condom can protect but he is not convinced. He gives his perspective on how a person can still get the HIV-virus when using a condom:

'That's like... okay, when people tell, most people tell us, huh? You don't... you can get like AIDS only from the, from the... from the... ey, the condom only. ... It also having anybody touch inside, any blood thing on the, eh, body. If she has it, you can get it. Okay... some people said it [the condom] *can protect you, if you're... if you use this correctly.'*(IDI B6)

Since the participants believe that condoms do not protect against HIV/AIDS, they think that condoms can only be a good alternative within marriage, for instance for family planning. However, before marriage abstinence remains the best alternative since one can never be sure of people's HIV statuses, they say. In addition, they say they know that condoms are not a hundred percent reliable. Most participants mention that condoms are only safe for 99 percent. Furthermore, they say that they can break, tear, burst, or are stored badly. As a nineteen-year-old boy in S6 describes:

'I don't know why but I don't trust a condom. It's not like, okay, they say it's 99 percent but that 1, I don't trust it. ... Cause I even got an ex..., I got a friend... ehm, that friend has a girlfriend, and they went, they played sex, and he ended up when the condom is off. It stuck. And luckily enough they, she told him that... the girl was in period, that's how he missed the pregnancy.' (IDI B4)

A fifteen-year-old girl in S4 has an alternative explanation to why condoms are not safe to use:

'Okay... most of those things break. As I know. Cause, like, I hear they... they... they are small but... and they're thin... as you use it, it becomes ehm... like it becomes bigger, so I think the sperms can pass through and like... you become pregnant...and you cannot do anything about that. Except when you want to avoid that.' (IDI G3)

She does not think that it is possible to have sex without getting pregnant after a girl has had her period. According to her, condoms will not help. Although the two interviewees who admitted to have had sex declare to have used condoms and seem confident about their reliability against pregnancies, most other participants are not so confident about this. Some say that one should be aware to use condoms of good quality. For instance, one of the boys, who used a condom when he had sex, says he will only buy expensive condoms because he does not trust the more cheap ones of about USh 150 or USh 300, which is about 0.06 or 0.12 Euros. However, to the girls in one of the FGDs, even a good quality condom can end up being broken if one carries it in one's wallet for too long. Thus, as the boys in one of the FGDs conclude, *'The condoms are not a hundred percent.' 'Yeah, you can't be sure'. 'So it's better you abstain'. 'Yeah, you abstain'* (FGD B2).

6.2.2   Being educated about condoms by others

During the IDIs, most interviewees say they learn about condoms at school. One boy says he learned from a teacher in S1 how to use a condom, another boy says he learned it during biology. A fifteen-year-old girl in S4, who does not trust condoms because she thinks the sperms will pass through the condom during sex, says her teacher learned her about those things during seminars at school. At those seminars, they learn about relationships, the consequences of sex, and about condoms as well, she says. An eighteen-year-old girl in S6 says she learned at school that condoms can only protect against pregnancies, not against STIs. Other interviewees say they learned about condoms from counsellors, who visit their school, or from visiting a teenage health centre. A seventeen-year-old boy in S5 says he was advised at the teenage health centre to wait with having sex. However, he says they advised him that if he could not wait, if he had that lust, he could use the condoms. But since they are not a hundred percent, they warned him to be careful. These findings are consistent with

the results from a study among Ugandan adolescents in the ages 12-19 year old, which concluded that most Ugandan adolescents receive sexual and reproductive health information from teachers or health counsellors. Moreover, it mentioned that family members do not seem to play a major role in youth's sex education (Darabi et al. 2008).

6.2.3   Using condoms when having sex

Some of the boy interviewees express some believes about how they think that girls can feel about using condoms. For instance, they think that girls can think the boy does not trust them if he wants to use a condom, they think they do not want to use a condom because they do not want such things in their body, they think the girl might think the boy wants to leave her if he wants to use a condom, they think she might want to get pregnant so the boy will not leave her, and they think she might feel offended if the boy wants to use a condom.

Although most interviewees are not planning to have sex before marriage, almost all agree that they will use condoms in case they have sex in future. To them, reasons to use condoms are: to make sure their girlfriend/wife does not become pregnant, for child spacing in marriage, that they are easy and cheap compared to pills and injections, and that they do not have the side effects that other contraceptives can have.

Furthermore, some mention that boys in secondary school use condoms because they know the repercussions, i.e. a pregnancy. In contrast, the participants say that people in campus and the sugar daddies that are infected with the HIV-virus do not use condoms. One girl mentions that young people will sometimes not use a condom during sex because they are afraid they will be caught. Therefore, the boy will be doing it in a hurry, thereby leaving no time to put on the condom, which will result in a pregnant girl, she says.

The two boys, who used a condom when they were having sex, act as if it was common to them to use a condom when they were having sex, not as if it was something they had to discuss with their partner first. This suggests they did not feel insecure to use one.

6.2.4   Carrying condoms

During the discussions, carrying condoms is discussed several times. The boys in one of the boys' FGDs even request whether the girls in the following girls' FGDs can be asked whether they would carry one with them. They think that very little number of girls will carry condoms with them because they fear it. According to them, it is something rare for girls to carry them, although they think that perhaps campus girls would.

In response to the question asked by the boys, one the girls in the girls' FGD says she thinks that girls should carry them for their own protection, in case the boy fears to bring them. Another girl says that it would look funny for a girl to go to a teenage centre and buy them. Then another girl continues:

'*And also, carrying a condom is also somehow* expecting *and embarrassing, like... you're afraid like your boyfriend comes and see the condom inside...'-some laughing - '...for a few the condom will fall, like fall... if it falls down at the bed, and you feel embarrassed because a condom is not something good to be seen anywhere... … Like, at our age, everyone, everyone expects you to be abstaining. So if you wear a condom, that means you're not abstaining and you, you think, they think every, every now and then you're in sex, like you have to play sex, so that's why you carry a condom.'* (FGD G2 G4)

Concluding, although some girls in the discussion think that it is good to carry condoms for their own protection, others think that it is embarrassing to buy and carry them because others do not approve of them having sex at this age, and they think that having a condom will carry out this message. Peculiarly, the girl says it is even embarrassing if one's boyfriend sees her carrying one, which could perhaps mean that she does not want her boyfriend to think that she wants to have sex.

One of the boys argues that boys who are abstaining have no reason to carry condoms. Others disapprove. One of the boy participants is sure that, among them, there are several guys who are carrying a condom in their wallet. The participants in the FGD disagree about the number of people carrying one. One participant thinks that about fifty percent of the boys carry one, while another participant thinks that it will only be two in a class.

In another FGD, it is discussed whether it is up to the boys or up to the girls to bring the condom. One of the boys thinks it is 'obviously' the boy, although another boy thinks it would be safer if both bring one, in case the guy has forgotten. A girl thinks that, as a girl, it is a sense of responsibility to bring a condom:

'*You know what she wants, you know who you are, you know... yeah, you feel mature.'* (FGD M1 G2)

Again, several people in the discussion agree that there is no reason to carry a condom unless one is about to have sex.

6.3 Contraceptive use other than condoms

In general, most participants plan to use condoms when they will start having sex. As mentioned before, they find them easy, cheap, and not having the side effects that contraceptives have. When asked which other ways of birth control they know besides condoms, they often mention Pilplan and Injectaplan.

The UHMG, the Uganda Health Marketing Group, is the offspring of the AFFORD Health Marketing Initiative, a USAID-funded project, which began implementing their programme activities in April 2007. UHMG offers contraceptives for planning 'a small manageable family', two of which are Pilplan and Injectaplan. According to the UHMG website (2009), '*Pilplan is a low-dose combined oral contraceptive. This safe and effective method to plan a small, manageable family is available as a one and three cycle pack. Injectaplan is a highly effective and reversible injectable method to plan a small manageable family. Each injection prevents pregnancy for three months'*. Around Kampala, one will find billboards promoting these 'choices for a good life!' as shown in Figure 6.1 and Figure 6.2.

Figure 6.1. 'Injectaplan, the three month injection for child spacing' on billboards around Kampala in June 2008

Figure 6.2. 'Pilplan, the safe and effective method for child spacing' on billboards around Kampala in June 2008

The Ugandan newspaper 'The New Vision' announced in April 2008 that the health ministry '*was changing its family planning message from 'child spacing' to 'a small manageable family*' (New Vision 2008). Indeed, although the billboards still state a focus on child spacing at that moment, UHMG has changed its target group on their website to '*small manageable families*'. Unfortunately, unmarried adolescents are not part of this group. However, UHMG's condoms are not aimed at a specific group but are only there to be preventing STD/HIVAIDS, according to the UHMG website (UHMG 2009).

When discussing alternative contraceptives, it seems that the participants are mostly familiar with the words Pilplan and Injectaplan, and not necessarily with the words oral pill and injections. Subsequently, they are not always able to explain how to use these contraceptives or what they are used for, although most of the participants say they know that they are only there to prevent pregnancies, not STIs. Their little knowledge suggests that the participants are perhaps not well-educated at school or by counsellors about these contraceptives. Some participants express negative risk perceptions concerning the oral pill and injections, which suggests this as well. For instance, a nineteen-year-old girl in S6 says:

'*Now, some people, hm, these days, some of these methods people used to...prevent themselves from being pregnant, some of them, they... they have bad side effects like, some people fail to, to produce, they get married and they want to, to really have kids ehm... … [methods] like using pills, [unknown], injections sometimes... because they told us that the womb becomes used, it gets used..it can rob, it cannot hold the baby, when you overuse them. So, when you want to... when you're to produce, then it cannot hold them, that's why people produce immature babies...what, sometimes they completely fail to produce, yeah people, like, people contract AIDS sometimes, so, I don't really think it's good for me. … I don't actually know the different types of pill but I know that, eh, Pillplans are here I think. …*

Ehm, to me I would think maybe condoms would be the best. Because for them they don't have such.... such side effects' (IDI G1)

According to her, people will produce immature babies or even completely fail to produce, and some people will even contract AIDS sometimes, after using methods such as the pill or injections. Therefore, she would prefer to use condoms. However, although contraceptives such as the oral pill and injections cannot prevent against STIs/HIVAIDS, they are four to twenty times more reliable than latex condoms in preventing pregnancies, when used consistent and correct, according to the Pearl Index (Stichting Anticonceptie Nederland 2009).

Besides from abstinence, condoms, oral pills, and injections, the participants mention the following ways of birth control as well: abortion, withdrawal, sterilisation, and IUD, i.e. intrauterine devices.

6.4   Virginity, abstinence, and sexual intercourse

This section describes the perceptions of the participants on abstinence, virginity, and having sex, which in this respect means having sexual intercourse. In addition to their perceptions, it discusses their considerations on having sex and some experiences with sex. However, first of all, some synonyms for having sex or showing one wants to have sex are introduced. Although most participants talk about '*playing sex*', other expressions they use are '*I want to visit your land'* (IDI G2), '*Why don't you give me some?*' (IDI B1), *'I want love'* (IDI G2), and *'Tasting the sex fruits'* (IDI B1).

6.4.1   Experiences with sexual intercourse

During the IDIs, two boys explain they have had sexual intercourse in their life. Their stories are described here:

An eighteen-year-old boy in S6 says he has had sex once in his life. He says he has been with his girlfriend for a while but he does not want to have sex with her because he respects her, he has promised to marry her, so he is romancing her, treating her like a lady. He fears that, if he would have sex with her, he will lose interest in her, therefore, he has not asked her for sex. However, he wanted to taste the sex fruits. Therefore, last year, when he had not seen his girlfriend for a while, he met another girl. According to him, she seduced him by wearing short skirts and showing some legs, and she told him *'Why don't we try it?'*, then he said *'What?', 'Okay!'*. He says that he only did it once out of curiosity, and now he aims to abstain until he is twenty-four. His girlfriend does not know that he had sex with this other girl, he says (IDI B1).

A nineteen-year-old boy in S5 says he has had sex three times in his life. According to him, the first time happened when he was about five years old, they were playing 'mummy and daddy'. The second time was when he was about ten years old, in Primary 6. At that age, they started to learn about the adolescent stage and the reproduction organs, he remembers. He says he was curious about it, so they learned the practice. The third, and last, time was this year, in S5. He and his girlfriend wanted to have it, and it happened once, according to him (IDI B2).

Notable in the experiences of the two boys is that they say they only had sex once or a few times spread over many years. Some other interviewees, who have never had sex, declare as well that they may have sex once, or perhaps a few times, when they are in campus but still they aim to wait until marriage. It seems that, to the interviewees, the first time to have sex does not necessarily mean the start of having sex on a regular basis. These findings are found by Darabi et al (2008) as well: they

conclude sex among unmarried Ugandan adolescents is sporadic because a considerable proportion of the adolescents of 15-19 year old in their study were sexually experienced but had not had sex in the previous year.

6.4.2 Ideal age to have sex

The boy, who says he has only had sex once out of curiosity, says he just wanted to do it one time to know how it felt and that he wants to wait now. He thinks twenty-four is an ideal age to start having sex because, by that time, one will have some more knowledge about the '*sex stuff*', for instance through watching movies (IDI B1).

The other boy says he has had sex three times in his life but he thinks twenty-one would have been his ideal age to start having sex because by that time he will be in campus and know what to do, how to protect himself, and how to handle relationships. He thinks that it is okay for him to have sex at his present age because he knows what to do and how to do it safe. However, he would advise age mates who have never had sex to abstain because one might run into some problems, such as HIV or pregnancies, he says.

The other eight interviewees aim to stay virgin until marriage. They consider sex to be for adults, which is above eighteen according to the Ugandan law, a girl states. However, one boy says that twenty-two would be an ideal age for him to have sex because, at that age, he will be able to handle it if he becomes a father. A girl, who is in a relationship with a boy in campus, says she wants to wait with having sex until marriage, but if the need comes, perhaps she will have sex in campus already. She thinks that, in campus, she will be able to continue her studies in case she gets pregnant, in contrast to secondary school, where she says she would have to leave school. In addition, she says that, if she gets pregnant when she is in campus, perhaps her boyfriend will have found a job and can take care of her and the baby.

The girls in one of the FGDs think it is better to have sex after marriage because at that time one can be doing it inside the house and other people will have no right to complain about it. However, most participants mention religious considerations to wait with sex until marriage.

6.4.3 Religion and culture

Almost all interviewees express that they want to wait with having sex until marriage because of their religion. They say that, according to their religion, they are not supposed to have sex before marriage and that the bible can help them to avoid it. However, an eighteen-year-old boy in S5 expresses that attending church does not mean that one acts responsible when it comes to having sex. According to him, it is better when someone has an open mind and reasons out realistically, unlike this person who goes to church and does not listen to what is being said.

When discussing relationships and sexual behaviours with the interviewees, it appears that one girl and two boys consider their religion, i.e. their promise to God and the instructions in the Bible, to be their most important reason to abstain until marriage. However, to the other interviewees, their religion in itself does not seem to be their most important reason to abstain, or it appeared to be interwoven with other considerations. For instance, an eighteen-year-old boy in S5 explains that he decided to abstain after hearing the advantages of abstinence and the disadvantages of sex as they were discussed in church. Apparently, not the word of God but his sexual health, although this was discussed in church, may have been his primary consideration. Secondly, an eighteen-year-old girl in

S6 mentions that her reasons to abstain are, firstly, that she would not like the idea of having sex with anyone, secondly, her religion, and, lastly, her upbringing, which tells her not to have sex unless she is married. In this case, her religion is not her single most important reason but it is intertwined with her upbringing and personal feelings. Finally, a sixteen-year-old girl in S5 mentions that being a Christian has taught her many things she should not do. However, to the question whether it will be okay for her to have sex, she responds 'No' because she does not want to go through the embarrassments of people in school knowing she has had sex. Thereafter, she continues that her religion is another reason for her not to want to have sex. In addition, she says she does not want to kiss because she wants to have a good reputation, which will make her trusted and respected by other people, e.g. people in church and teachers. It seems that being trusted and respected is most important to her, and being a good Christian is one of her ways to achieve this. Although all of these interviewees explain that their religion is very important to them, it does not necessarily seem to mean that their religion is their most important consideration to abstain until marriage.

Virginity until marriage is not only prescribed by religion. The participants say that the Ugandan, or African, culture expects adolescents to wait as well. A nineteen-year-old girl in S6 says that, although virginity is less important nowadays compared to bygone days, it is still highly valued in the society. The girls in one of the FGDs explain that, when two persons get married, the husband expects the girl to be a virgin. They say that, with her virginity, the girl shows her respect to her husband. Furthermore, they say that the girl's mother will be very embarrassed to find out her daughter is no virgin anymore. One of the girls explains that the husband is supposed to communicate back to the family whether the girl was a virgin or not after the first '*encounter*':

'*That's why, according to culture, they never, like when you get married, the husband is supposed to communicate back and tell them whenever the girl was a virgin or not after the first, let me say, encounter. So, in most cases, they have to keep that... Virginity is taken as something that is so serious that they … value it so much, more than any other thing.*' (FGD G1 G7)

Besides from the high value attached to a girl's virginity, some participants believe that they will be cursed when they have sex before marriage. For instance a girl describes that it is like a curse in her culture to be impregnated before marriage. In her culture, they believe a family member could fall ill or get into a car accident, for instance. If you believe this, it will make you avoid having sex, she says.

That virginity is valued within religion but in the Ugandan culture as a whole as well, and that abstinence until marriage is promoted to keep adolescents safe from unwanted pregnancies, HIV/AIDS and STIs, makes it difficult to discriminate the participants' considerations for wanting to abstain until marriage, and it suggests that the connections between religions, religiosity and adolescents' sexual behaviours may not be necessarily isolated and direct.

Furthermore, perhaps religions and religiosity can be indirectly important when studying sexual behaviours because two interviewees explain their religion makes them confident because God is with them and guides them to do the right thing. As a result, perhaps religion can be important in providing adolescents with the self-efficacy they need to perform sexual activities at the moment they feel ready for it, especially because it seems that the church guidelines are not to all participants the single most important consideration to abstain, even for the ones who claim their religion is very important to them.

6.4.4   Subjective norms

The beliefs regarding sexual intercourse in the Ugandan culture lead to particular accompanying subjective norms. During the data collection, these norms appear to exist for the society as a whole, counsellors at health centres, parents or guardians, teachers at school, friends, and people the participants are in a relationship with. According to a boy, learning about sex from different people will give one a wide perspective about sex:

'No, we've been educated about the whole thing. The nature... our parents... the school... that you've learned a lot of things from all sorts of people. And you really have a wide perspective about sex.' (FGD M1 R2)

Some girl participants say that everyone at their age is expected to be abstaining. They say that this norm restrains them to go to a health centre, for instance, to buy condoms because buying condoms implies one is having sex, and since they are considered to be too young to have sex, one will be sent to see a counsellor:

'And then, you all of a sudden, you just enter the shelter*, and you're like "I want to....", the first thing they'll tell you to do is see the counsellor because... they do not expect you... You're too young to be having sex at that early age. The society expects people of their age to be abstaining.'* (FGD G2 G)

6.4.4.1   Parents

The participants feel that not only the society expects them to be abstaining but their parents as well. They do not want to embarrass, disappoint, or disrespect their parents by not being a virgin or becoming pregnant before marriage. According to a nineteen-year-old boy in S6, parents hope their child will act as follows:

'… so they always want you to finish, like, school. Finishing school, campus, what, you get your job, you get a new job, and you get your girl, your girl... you take them to the parents. The parents accept, you do the introduction, ... you get into marriage.' (IDI B4)

The participants feel their parents do not only want their children to not have sex because they value their children's virginity but because they fear they will contract diseases, such as HIV, or get pregnant as well. Therefore, they say, their parents tell them not to go to parties ending late at night. Although the parents appear to be caring about their children's sexual health, a nineteen-year-old boy in S6 says that it is not common for parents to be educating their children. However, an eighteen-year-old boy in S5 thinks his father would try to advise him about these things because he understands that he is kind of grown up. On the other hand, he thinks his mother finds him too young to be having a conversation like that. The participants often depend on their parents for school fees. Therefore, the participants say they do not want to have sex and risk to be sent away from school, lose concentration on their books, or, even worse, burden their parents with the costs of a grandchild.

A seventeen-year-old boy in S5 has lost his parents and says his sister, who is in campus, is like a mother to him. He says she took him to a health centre for some sex education when he got into a relationship. She told him it would be okay for him to be having sex when he is about twenty-two years old. He agrees twenty-two is a good age, and says he would tell her if he started to be having

sex at that age. In case he starts to have sex earlier, he will not tell her because he does not trust her words and fears that she will tell the family.

6.4.4.2 Teachers at school

Although the participants are in a day school, many of them stay at a hostel nearby the school. This means that many participants see their parents maybe a few weeks a year during school breaks. Perhaps this means they are more motivated to comply with their teachers' than their parents' norms regarding having sex. Most participants mention that teachers at their school teach them about sexual intercourse and its consequences, such as getting HIV/AIDS or getting pregnant. They say that they tell them to wait or that playing sex is bad. According to a fifteen-year-old girl in S4, the fear to be neglected by teachers can motivate her age mates to stop having sex:

'And sometimes they fear, like... if you, you become, if you get pregnant, you'll either leave school, even the teachers see you and start neglecting you... So they fear that. That thing... to happen to them and they stop [having sex]*.'* (IDI G3)

6.4.4.3 Relationship

A nineteen-year-old girl in S6 explains that her boyfriend is in campus. She says he is not asking her for sex because he wants her to complete her A-level first. According to her, he does not beg for sex from her, they are just friends. She wants to abstain until marriage but if the need comes, and she is in campus, perhaps they will have sex. But she says that as long as she can handle, she will wait. A seventeen-year-old boy in S5 is in a relationship with a girl who is in S5 as well. He says he wants to wait to have sex until he is at least twenty-two as his sister wants him to. According to him, his girlfriend is not asking him for sex at this moment. He thinks that, if she would ask him to have it in future, perhaps after some time they would have sex. A nineteen-year-old boy in S5 says he has had sex with his girlfriend once. According to him, they both wanted to have it. However, he expressed that his decision to have sex was influenced by peer pressure.

6.4.4.4 Friends: peer pressure

During the data collection, some stories about peer pressure are discussed. First of all, two participants mention the saying '*Virginity is not dignity but lack of opportunity*'. Both were in a single sex school in O-level, and have been in this school for two months. Therefore, it can be that the people in their present school are not very familiar with this saying, as some participants mention. According to them, only a few will say something like that, for instance students. They say that in their school, and *'most special Uganda, virginity is too much'* (FGD G2 G).

A seventeen-year-old boy in S4 mentions the Lugandan word '*fala*'. According to him, it is mostly used by students and means something such as *'you are half a man'*. He says that some group members may call you a 'fala':

'From a distance, than they can say "Oh, pappy, look, look! Say what, that girl". You say "No...", they say "You are fala! You're half a man, not easy, you're half a man. Yeah, you can't manage. You are weak, you fear girls... you waist... you're capa..., you're not capable." ... So that thing have some guys, that's why you can be forced, you may be forced to... have... sex with girls... At least he can... try his best. His best... to convince that woman...' (IDI B5)

According to this boy, being called a 'fala' can pressure people into having sex, although he has never had sex himself. Whenever people call him 'fala', he says he cannot be comfortable, he will feel dizzy.

In their country, 'fala' is a very bad word, he says, it hurts to be called like that. If someone calls him 'fala', he responds by keeping quiet and moving away from peer groups. A seventeen-year-old boy in S5 says he has never had sex and has never been called 'fala'. According to him, whether someone is called 'fala' is according to the group he or she is in:

'That's like, if you're in a group of people who can have it daily, than for you, …. than obviously they have to call you such stuff.' (IDI B6)

The two boys, who say they have had sex, both talk about peer pressure as well. The nineteen-year-old boy in S5, who had sex three times of which once in secondary school, says that one can better impress his friends by having sex with different girls than having much sex with only one girl. He says his friends told him they were having sex with their girlfriends, and because of that he felt the pressure to have sex with his girlfriend as well. The pressure from his friends was inevitable, he says:

'Sometimes they say "Ah, that one is a fake guy". They mean, sometimes they say you are impotent' (IDI B2)

Conversely, he says he does not pressure other people to have sex because he knows the problems they might run into. In contrast to this boy, a eighteen-year-old boy in S5, who had sex once out of curiosity, only discusses the peer pressure to have a relationship but not the pressure to have sex:

'...it's only abnormal to not have a girl. Because the sex part... it's up to you' (IDI B1)

During the FGDs, some participants discuss peer pressure as well:

'And that suited most teenagers today, most guys only hear that... maybe… if you have one chick, you're not styled up, that's what I hear sometimes. … They even say that for the current age, having one chick is… it's not a style. So, you find the guy doing that same thing of having... more than one girl. And, that's the story here in Uganda. It's very hard to find a guy with one girl. Very!' (FGD B1 R6)

Participants often mention that peer pressure is the reason that their age mates are not able to abstain. They say that they are being told: '*virginity is not dignity but lack of opportunity*'; when one does not have sex one is a 'fala', one is not capable, one fears girls, one is a fake guy; and when one does not have multiple girlfriends, one is not styled up. However, during the IDIs, only two boys express to be experiencing peer pressure, of which one has had sexual intercourse. In the other cases, it seems that peer pressure is a concept used by teachers, counsellors and other people to prevent adolescents from having sex. For instance, the following three examples do not seem to show own experiences or conclusions but more socially accepted facts:

'Why isn't everybody not abstaining? Peer one, peer groups. That's number one. Huh? This, the reason why they are not... abstaining... peer groups...' (IDI B5)

'Some will just do it to feel big... and then some will just tell it to... to... to show you that... you know? "I'm also, I'm fitting in the group" because you have also peer influence. So they'll just do it to show you that they fit in the group...' (IDI G2)

'I mean, that peer pressure in a peer group is a major catalyst in doing… like, destroying some positive relationship.' (FGD B1 R4)

Most of the interviewees who are not experiencing peer pressure declare their friends never tell them to have sex and that they agree with them that it is better to abstain. Although some say that peer pressure exists mostly among students in campus, it seems that peer pressure does exist in secondary school but that it is not experienced by everyone, and that not everyone will have sex because of this pressure.

6.4.5 Abstinence

According to the participants, abstinence does not always mean that a person has never had sex before. It can mean as well that a person has had sex and decides to abstain from that point on. As a boy explains:

'*After having sex and you decide you abstain. And when you've never had sex... yeah, you, you also abstain'* (FGD B2 R8)

Therefore, when a person claims to be abstaining, it does not necessarily mean he or she has never had sex before. The eighteen-year-old boy in S5 is an example of this: he aims to abstain until he is twenty-four, however, he had sex once out of curiosity. The Ugandan Ministry of Education and Sports makes this distinction as well, they define primary abstinence and secondary abstinence, as discussed in chapter 4 (MoES 2006). This section describes the different reasons for the participants to abstain from sex.

6.4.5.1 Reputation

As a sixteen-year-old girl in S5 puts it:

'*You can look for popularity in two ways. You either do it the good way or you do it the bad. If the good way fails, you do it the bad way.'* (IDI G2)

To the participants, being popular in the good way means one is respected because, for instance, one is a Christian, humble, smart, and well-preserved. To the sixteen-year-old girl in S5, the bad way means having a guy for money, as, according to her, mostly students in University do.

Being respected in school is important to the participants. Especially the girls are concerned about their reputation. According to a girl, when two people are in a relationship, and they have sex out of love, the guy will keep it a secret if he really loves the girl. However, several participants mention that boys will often have sex without really loving the girl. According to them, those boys have sex out of lust. In one of the FGDs, they say some guys even make bets between friends, and after the sex they will feel proud and tell their friends about it. A girl describes how the guy and his friends will start to make fun of the girl, as if she is very cheap. Another girl adds that when the girl comes to class, they will write her name on the board. The whole school will get to know about it, and everyone will be looking at her, they say. The guy wants to embarrass her, and the girl will feel so bad, she will feel degraded and embarrassed, according to the participants. People will start saying: '"*Don't bother, that one she is even…", they even consider that one is a prostitute… they give you a kind of... keep you out of their presence... And you feel out of place, you feel... left out. You feel like you're hated, everyone doesn't like you...'* (FGD M1 G3)

Although this mainly applies to the girls, a seventeen-year-old boy in S5 fears to have sex with a girl as well because she can '*talk out stuff like… "this guy is, like, is not good in bed"… such stuff'* (IDI B6). In addition, a girl says that both the boy and the girl can have the feeling that everyone knows what

they did. It will make them feel out of place, and they do not want to be that kind of person, therefore they will pull it off for some time, she says. Concluding, it seems that an important reason for the participants, especially girl participants, to abstain is the fear to harm their reputation, which they think could happen if people would come to know they had sex with someone.

6.4.5.2   Not ready for responsibilities: HIV, pregnancy

To the participants, the consequences of having sex are another reason to abstain. Most participants fear that having sex will lead to pregnancies, HIV, and other STIs. They say they do not trust condoms or other contraceptives, as discussed earlier, and therefore, they think abstinence is the best way for them to stay safe.

According to a girl, the fear to impregnate a girl or to become pregnant is especially important in secondary school:

'… you don't have the money, you don't have anything, you can't... that responsibility, I mean, it can't... can't be a mother at that early age, huh? So it's better you keep on clothes, you don't have the money to care for the kid... to do this... that, buy the clothes, and everything. And even the boy is also still young, he is not working. So... you find it actually useless. You just keep off and say "let me wait for the right time", when I think I'm working... I've finished school.' (FGD G1 G7)

Not only do the participants feel they do not have money to take care of a baby while they are in secondary school, some girls fear they will be send away from school and, consequently, will not be able to finish their A-level. Additionally, some girls fear the boy will deny he is the father. For instance, a sixteen-year-old girl in S5:

'They've [boys] *got that habit of denying... to be the father.., the guy will deny... "No, I'm not the father, I think if you're willing to sleep with me, it means I wasn't the first man you slept with"…. and then in the end of it all, he'll get away with it and there's nothing you will do. You'll have to mother, … you'll have a baby... because you were the one to take yourself there, who else took you there?'* (IDI G2)

A boy states a pregnancy will ruin the girl's future and even the boy's future. Not only, the boy's future will be ruined because he is not ready to be a father at that age, but the Ugandan law is another reason.

6.4.5.3   The Ugandan law: prison and detention

As described in chapter 4, boys are not supposed to have sex with a minor girl, which means a girl under the age of eighteen, according to the Ugandan law. Whenever a minor girl becomes pregnant, the parents can sue the boy. This means a boy in secondary school can be sent to prison if he impregnates his girlfriend. To the boy participants, this law, combined with the fear that a girl will get pregnant after having sex, results in a fear for them to have sex. In addition to the fear of becoming imprisoned, the participants mention the school can give one detention if they know he or she is having sex. According to an eighteen-year-old girl in S6, parents can punish their children for having sex as well, which is to her another reason to abstain.

6.4.5.4 Other reasons to abstain

Besides from religion; the Ugandan or African culture; subjective norms from society, parents, teachers, friends and partners; holding up one's reputation; the perceived consequences of having sex; and the Ugandan law, the participants mention the following reasons to abstain:

- An eighteen-year-old girl in S6 does not like the idea to have sex with anyone. She only wants to have sex with someone she loves and calls special. She says that is her main reason to abstain.
- The participants need to concentrate on their books. They say they have a lot to read, they have no time to lose concentration because of sex.
- An eighteen-year-old boy in S5 fears a girl might get into prostitution after having sex before marriage. He explains:

'And I'll say, … having sex before marriage is wrong, because you might find out that I, [name of IDI B3], I go to a certain lady, a certain young lady, I ask her out, we'll become partners, then we have sex. … I'll have sex with her and then we broke up. And she's heartbroken so much. She'll be this kind of person, who is weak in heart and mind, she'll be like "I have nothing to lose. This person has taken my virginity. I trusted him, I loved him, I have nothing to lose". Then that person can go into prostitution. Since the only person that she has ever loved, … disappointed her. That person can go, that person can go into prostitution. You get?' (IDI B3)

- A girl in one of the FGDs fears the embarrassments of walking into the guy she slept with together with her husband:

'If you feel like have sex now, and you don't get married to that guy... In the future, you, you, you're walking with your husband, and he'll meet this guy chuckles a bit- *How would you look at him? Knowing you had sex with him, and now you have another husband. So it's better you abstain.'* (FGD G2 G)

- A girl participant thinks she and her age mates should not rush with having sex because they are not experienced with sex at this time.

6.4.6 Having sexual intercourse

The participants have their own ideas about people having sex at their age and their reasons to be having it. Those ideas and reasons are discussed in this section.

6.4.6.1 Lust

In general, most participants think people in secondary school are not having sex out of love but out of lust. They seem to be attaching a negative value to the word 'lust' by putting it as an opposite of the word 'love'. The following two quotations illustrate this point:

'Also, the relationships in school are not based on love... some of us may not even know what love is. They're based on lust. … They will not want you because of who you are, they want you because the lust. … Cause most boys wants... a boy has something to... to never value you. Never. In fact, they even make you loving you.' (FGD G2 G)

'Some of them [his friends] *are just like... oh God, they're just like... if you have sex and you... that's lust. That's not love.'* (IDI B6)

Both in the IDIs and FGDs, many of the participants think that having sex in secondary school can only be because of lust. According to some boy participants, no one likes lust. They say it can be stimulated by watching blue movies and pornography. A boy in one of the FGDs says that, even if one has been in a relationship for a while, if sex is all he or she was having in mind than it means that person never really loved his or her partner. Some participants say that if a person tells a girl he loves her at first sight, it will be completely untrustworthy, and she can be sure that it is only lust. As a sixteen-year-old girl in S5 puts it:

'If you told me you love me at first sight, I either think it's attraction, lust, or you're stupid. One of the three.' (IDI G2)

6.4.6.2   Showing love

In contrast to the perceptions of the participants who think that having sex in secondary school is not out of love but out of lust, some other participants think that having sex can be a way for people in relationships to express their love. One boy even thinks that having sex is the only way for a boy to proof a girl that he loves her.

6.4.6.3   Other reasons to have sex

In addition to peer pressure, lust, and showing one's love, the participants mention other reasons or 'explanations' to why people in secondary school are having sex. According to a study among Ugandan adolescents in the ages 12-19 year old, adolescents most often mentioned desire to be there main reason to initiate sex (Darabi et al. 2008). The participants in this study mentioned feelings of desire as well. In fact, their reasons to have sex can roughly be divided into two groups, i.e. external and internal locus of control. It seems the participants perceive mostly reasons of external locus of control, such as feelings of desire, which means they feel there is no causal relation between their behaviour or their own relatively permanent characteristics and the sexual intercourse.

These external reasons or 'explanations' are: emotions; getting excited, whereby one forgets about cases such as pregnancies; nature, which one cannot control; life, which is a force, a condition, that can make one forget something, it can make one wake up the next day without remembering what happened; genes; self-control, e.g. when one sees girls wearing short skirts; high libido, which will give one much lust; feelings of desire; foolishness, e.g. playing 'mummy and daddy' when one is a child; upbringing; personality; lack of sex education; and someone's instincts.

Other reasons the participants seem to be perceiving within their control, i.e. internal locus of control, are: some kind of enjoyment; curiosity; boys wanting to experience, after which they will leave the girl; watching pornography together with a girl, which will give the boy the moral and the temptations; not having a thing of abstaining; thinking one has restrained oneself long enough when getting into campus; and girls being talked into having sex by boys. In addition, the participants mention two financial reasons, i.e. girls having sex with big guys for money and the 'Ladies of the Night', i.e. prostitutes who one can find at night on the streets in Uganda.

An eighteen-year-old boy in S5 does not think he will like sex at all. He says he has never had sex but he does not think he will like it. He does not know why he has this feeling but he thinks it started when he was about eight years old, when he would listen to other people talking about sex. He says that maybe when he grows up, he will change his mind. But right now, he does not want to have sex:

'So, I, I think in my life, sex will come as a by the way. … Yeah... in our relationship, it will come as a by the way because I don't like it. Maybe... I'll, I'll do it, or I'll perform it maybe because my partner would like me to do it... ...but not because I like it.' (IDI B3)

Although this boy is the only one of the interviewees who actually declares that he thinks he does not like sex, almost none of the participants discuss the pleasure of having sex. Only a nineteen-year-old boy in S5 mentions *'some kind of enjoyment'* as a reason for people to have sex. Most of the reasons to have sex mentioned by the participants are related to physical needs, such as genes, instincts, and nature. It seems as if many participants are too occupied with the dangers of having sex to realise that sex can be pleasurable as well.

6.4.6.4   Hit and run
'Baby, it's a "hit and run", he's only out to fun. He's gonna break your heart and run.'

This is the chorus in the song 'Hit and Run' by Liliah ft. Prossy Patra, which was released in Uganda in May 2009. The song describes how boys sometimes deal with girls in Uganda: Hit and run. According to the lyrics of the song, a boy will pretend to be in love with a girl, then after they have had sex, he will 'run', i.e. he will leave her.

Both boys and girls describe the concept of 'hit and run' several times during the data collection. According to them, 'Hit and run' is connected to lust, as people in secondary school are not having sex because of real love but because of lust. According to a nineteen-year-old boy in S5, people at this stage of life are only having relationships for sex. Especially when the girl is not beautiful, if she is not suiting one's interests, a boy plays the game of 'Hit and run'. According to him, the boy and the girl will entertain themselves. Then after that, *'you bounce, you quit'*, he says (IDI B2).

Some other boy participants say that not boys in secondary school but boys in campus, who are going for the A-level girls, are the ones who will 'hit and run'. In contrast, boys in secondary school will continue the relationship after the sex, according to one of them.

According to a sixteen-year-old girl in S5, boys take advantage of desperate girls. For instance, when a girl has just broken up her first relationship, a guy will come to her and tells her he loves her at first sight. The girl will go for it but then in the end she will be the hurt one, she says. A fifteen-year-old girl in S4 thinks boys only 'hit and run' because they want to spoil the girl's future. If they would really love her, they would wait with having sex, she thinks.

However, it seems there is more to 'hit and run' than only the story of boys misusing girls for sex. A boy in one of the FGDs has a different perception on the 'hit and run' situation. He thinks that girls bring it on themselves. According to him, they have a philosophy that they should not accept a boy at first attempt. They give boys a hard time, judging them on their words and refusing them, he says. Consequently, he continues, they will miss their chances by refusing the boy they love. Then in the end, it will be the words of the rough boys that will convince them. However, these bad guys will be the ones giving them a 'hit and run', according to this boy.

In addition, the two boys, who say they had sexual intercourse, both speak about shyness after having sex. According to one of them, *'after tasting the sex fruits it ends'* (IDI B1). On the one hand, he says there is a feeling that grows in between, one will feel shy to chat, one will feel uncomfortable. His explanation provides another perception to the concept of 'hit and run' because,

perhaps, boys will break up after the sex because they feel uncomfortable with the girl and do not know how to handle that situation. In this chapter, this same situation was discussed regarding kissing: a girl mentioned that kissing can make the relationship fall or grow. Perhaps the adolescents do not know how to handle the situation after kissing or having sex because the society does not accept these behaviours for people at their age. On the other hand, the other interviewee who had sex as well says boys will break up after the sex because they lose interest in the girl:

'But the moment you get into that... act, you lose some interest in her. … You know that eh... as...now what do I want, eh... anymore from her. You get? At this stage..!' (IDI B2)

According to this boy, there is nothing a boy wants anymore from a girl after they have had sex, so the boy will hit and run.

6.4.6.5   Investing

Although most of the participants say that the big guys, i.e. the sugar daddies, are the ones who invest in girls to have sex with them, one of the interviewees describes how a boy can invest in a girl to make it easier to ask her for sex:

'That's where the investment comes in. … Investment part. … Because you sending her messages.. and caring about her… it becomes easy to ask for the sex from a girl. Because, she knows you are caring, faithful, honest to her. So it becomes easy. If you invest... in it.' (IDI B1)

According to him it will be difficult for a girl to say no to sex if the boy invests in her by sending her kind messages every day. He says that one expects her to appreciate it. '*Tell me a girl who won't go for that'*, he says (IDI B1). In addition, he tells about a friend of his who would invest in his girlfriend by buying her presents. He says his friend started buying his girlfriend expensive gifts, such as a walkman and a mobile phone. Therefore, the girl had to show how she had appreciated his gifts by having sex with him, according to the participant. In contrast to this story, most of the girl participants state they would accept presents from their boyfriends, e.g. for their birthday, but that they would never give sex in return.

6.4.6.6   Place to have sex

The participants mention different places for people their age to have sex, such as dormitories when they are in boarding school, around campus, near clubs at night time, and in hostels at day time. According to a boy interviewee, these hostels can be rented for about USh 5,000, which is about 2 Euros, for the whole day. A nineteen-year-old boy in S6 says that the boy's hostel he lives in is not very strict. According to him, it is possible to stay away for the night and visit one's girlfriend's place, although he says he would never do that because he does not want to have sex before marriage.

The participants think it is especially difficult to control nature when one is alone with a partner in a dark place. Therefore, they say people should have principles within their relationship that they do not go to such places and do not exceed such hours. They think it is best to meet with a partner at big places with other people around. If one wants privacy, one can have it on the phone, according to two participants. Some girls conclude it is best to wait until marriage. At least when they are married, they do not have to do it secretly and *'you can have it for lunch, supper...'* (FGD G1 G4).

6.4.6.7 Number of people having it

It is difficult to obtain an understanding of how many people in secondary school are having sex. Some participants say that many have sex, others say that hardly any have sex. A nineteen-year-old girl in S6 says her girlfriends tell her they have sex, and that they like it. However, some argue they cannot know whether their friends are having sex, unless they tell them or if the pregnancy shows. However, one participant says that most people will keep it private because having sex at their age is illegal.

Some have heard students in boarding schools are having sex. Since the participants are in a day school, they say they are not aware whether their age mates are having sex in the weekends. According to some, they could be having sex if they go clubbing. A fifteen-year-old girl thinks that a girl who goes to discos, who does not have constructed friendships with boys, and who shows the signs of love, could be having sex.

An eighteen-year-old girl in S6 thinks there is some kind of pattern, whereby people in the ages of eleven will start having sex. Consequently, when they are about sixteen, they will abstain for a few years because they need to concentrate on their studies. Then in campus they will start having sex again because they think they are grown up and have waited long enough, she says.

6.4.7 Self-efficacy: saying no to sex

When talking to the participants, it seems they often show they do not have insecurities when it comes to having relationships and performing sexual activities. For instance, a boy participant says:

'If you really like the girl, you can't obviously be shy' (FGD B2 R2).

In addition, another boy responds to the question whether he will be concerned about how to perform sex:

'*Everybody knows! Everybody. It's naturally. Everybody!*' (IDI B5).

When it comes to avoiding sex, the participants speak with the same confidence. A nineteen-year-old girl in S6, who has a boyfriend in campus, says she makes sure she does not sit too close to her boyfriend because she knows such things can tempt him or put him in the mood. When it comes to other people, she says she makes sure she is never alone with them in a lonely place.

Both boy and girl participants say they will try to advice their future partner if he or she wants to have sex. They will ask him or her why they want to have it. Some say they will consider having sex if their partner gives them a really good reason, others say they will break up with that person because if the person really loves them, he or she will respect their decision to wait.

A sixteen-year-old girl in S5 says she has found her own methods to deal with boys. When a person approaches her and tells her he loves her, she will start to ask him questions, such as *'How did you love me... how, why did you love me? And how did you know you love me? You've seen me, I mean you've seen me for the first time. How can you love me? And how did you figure out you love me in the first place?'* Too many questions will put them off, she says chuckling (IDI G2).

In addition, she gives some examples of how she reacted when people asked her for sex:

'I have a friend ... he was like... "I want to visit your land". ... I was like "What does that mean?". ... Then he was like "Oh my god, your hands are soft! It means that no one has ever visited". I was like "God, what does this mean, what does this guy mean?". So I just.... I started to interpret it in my head. Then I was like "You know what", I was like "You know what, I actually don't allow people to visit before they buy. So you first buy. And buying is with a ring!" -chuckles- "In church." And he was like "No, I'll buy!" "It doesn't matter. You can use it, and you buy something, and then it will be wasted". I was like "You know what, this one is a different scenario. You have to buy before you - laughs-, you have to buy before you visit". He was like "Okay, you've denied me but that's okay". Then he just went away.' (IDI G2)

'I was going to buy a chapatti and then this guy was like "I want love". I was like "What?!", like "I want love". ... I spoke to the guy, I was like "You know me?" He was like, and I was like "Now I'm going to give you a lecture. I am a child of a referent and what you're asking now cannot be given to you. So you'd better quit". ... I was like "You know what. Don't waste your time. Sorry. Bye." He first refused to give me that chapatti, I was like "I've given you my money, if you don't give me that chapatti, give me my money, I may kill you or I'll go to other people." So he did... just hold this, hold it...-she's wrapping a sheet to a chapatti and tells me to hold it like the chapatti guy- ...then when you're pulling, then he does this when he looks at you. ... I was like "If you don't want, I'll take you to the police". Then he gave it to me... I just went.' (IDI G2)

Although the participants claim to be confident to refuse and avoid sex, the question remains whether they will respond the same when such a situation actually occurs.

6.4.8   Discussing sex with friends

Most participants say they talk with their friends about sex. Most of them say they will talk to them about it after they have had counsellor meetings at school. During those counsellor meetings, they say that issues such as abstinence, pregnancies, and STIs, are discussed. For instance, they will be shown videos with people suffering of STDs, a participant explains.

After such meetings, a sixteen-year-old girl in S5 says she will discuss with her friends about having sex. She will tell them that they will lose their future if they get pregnant, and that they might even die. She tells them the boys will lie to them and leave them. Others will start discussing sex after hearing about it on the radio or television. In those cases, they will for instance discuss the consequences of getting pregnant or becoming infected with HIV, according to a participant. In the Life Club, a sexuality education programme of which one of the interviewees is a peer educator, the interviewee says they discuss *'about how to do it, when to do it, and like the problems facing ourselves. How to control your things...'* (IDI B2)

The girls in one of the FGDs say they discuss with their friends the differences between their cultures, for instance, circumcision, how boys are handled in their culture, and pulling, i.e. stretching parts of the vagina to make it long. One girl says she discusses with her friends how boys conduct themselves, if they did something that disgusted them, or their looks. *'Their looks especially'*, she says (IDI G4). A boy discusses with his friends in the boy hostel he is staying about their experiences in boarding school: whether people were having sex, if they did not fear AIDS, and if they used condoms.

However, many of the interviewees say they do not talk with their friends about sex. They say that they or their friends do not want to talk about it, especially not about how sex is done. Some do not

see any reason to talk about sex at this stage in life *'because right now it's useless... it's useless, why do you want to know why it, how to play sex when you're still young!'* (IDI B4). However, when they get into marriage, they say they would like to get some counselling or talk to a friend about how to do it.

6.5   HIV/AIDS: status and testing

HIV/AIDS and other STIs have been discussed several times before, often in relation to having sexual intercourse and the reliability of condoms. This section elaborates some more on the participants' perceptions on HIV/AIDS.

In general, the participants seem to be aware that someone's HIV status is not necessarily characterised by physical appearances. They often express their fears to meet someone who will turn out to be HIV positive. This is probably because many of them think that HIV will be transmitted after having sex with an infected person once, and condoms are not able to prevent this. To the participants, abstinence is the only way a person can be sure that he or she will not get infected with HIV.

To the boys in one of the boys' FGDs, a girl's status is the most important quality when looking for a girlfriend. However, they say it is not possible to ask her about her status when they have just met. Therefore, they say one has to interact first. Then, consequently, if it turns out that the girl is positive, they say there are two options:

'In case, eh, her HIV-status is positive, obviously you just have to give her your friend... … ..or... or bounce her.' (FGD B2 R2)

The participants say that it is difficult to trust a person is telling the truth when he or she discloses his or her status because: a person can be born with HIV, it is rare to disclose one's status to friends, at this age it is difficult to go for testing when one is in a relationship, and people can lie about their status. However, a nineteen-year-old girl in S6 is sure that her boyfriend is HIV negative because they have gone for testing together twice, she says.

An eighteen-year-old girl in S6 doubts that she can ever be sure about the status of her future partner. Although she says she does not know any person with AIDS, she believes that two out of every three people in Uganda are infected with HIV. Therefore, she fears that her future partner will be infected. She says she sometimes prays that she will find a partner who is HIV negative:

'*Sometimes you just have to get on your knees and pray "Oh god, oh god!". … I pray the person I meet will not have the virus or something like that!*' (IDI G4).

6.6   Fear of pregnancy versus fear of HIV/AIDS

As discussed before, the participants often fear to have sex at this age because they fear they will become pregnant or get infected with HIV/AIDS. They say that becoming pregnant can mean that the girl needs to drop out of school, and for the boy, it can mean that he becomes imprisoned for impregnating a minor girl. Even using a condom will not persuade them to have sex because they say they do not trust it. Some participants believe that condoms can protect against pregnancies, provided it does not burst or tear, and most of them do not believe that condoms can protect against HIV/AIDS.

Considering this background, the participants are asked what they fear more: HIV/AIDS or a pregnancy. In general, they discuss both HIV and pregnancy, although they often elaborate more on the consequences of a pregnancy. According to some girl participants, the girls in campus nowadays are more afraid of becoming pregnant than getting infected with HIV/AIDS because they know about the ARTs. In contrast, they think that people in secondary school are often more concerned about HIV/AIDS.

An eighteen-year-old girl in S6 thinks people will first worry about the pregnancy because the pregnancy will show. However, in the end, she thinks that HIV/AIDS is more disastrous than becoming pregnant. '*At least you will give birth to a baby, what you can never do with the virus*', she says. She thinks that the pregnancy will be the first worry, and that, after the girl knows she is not pregnant, she will start worrying about the virus. A seventeen-year-old boy in S5 mostly fears to be sent to prison. Therefore he wants to wait until his girlfriend is eighteen. After that, he will worry about the virus.

However, the boys in one of the FGDs conclude that they fear HIV/AIDS more than a pregnancy. According to them, if a girl gets pregnant, you can abort. However, *'you can't abort AIDS'. 'So AIDS is first'* (FGD B2 R, R5).

Concluding, it seems that the participants separate short term problems, i.e. pregnancy, from long term problems, i.e. HIV/AIDS. Although the opinions differ, it seems more participants will first worry about the short term, i.e. the pregnancy.

7. Conclusions

This study has three objectives. The thematic objective is to study adolescents' perceptions on relationships and sexual behaviour, and how they are embedded within the socio-economic and cultural context of Kampala, Uganda. The theoretical objective is to propose a substantive, theoretical framework for studying adolescents' relationships and sexual behaviour. Lastly, the action-research objective is to provide emic perspectives on the results of an outcome evaluation of World Starts With Me, a sexuality education programme for secondary schools in Uganda. These objectives have resulted in the following research questions, which were discussed in the introduction of this study:

1. What are the attitudes, subjective norms, and perceived behavioural control, which form the intentions to have relationships and perform sexual behaviour of the adolescents under study?
2. Which role does self-efficacy play in shaping their intentions?
3. Which aspects can be identified in the context in which the adolescents' intentions to have relationships and perform sexual behaviour are embedded?
4. How are the adolescents' attitudes, subjective norms, perceived behavioural control, and intentions embedded in this context?
5. Which emic perspectives can be provided on the results of the outcome evaluation of World Starts With Me, a sexuality education programme for secondary schools in Uganda?

Research questions 1, 2, and 3 are answered in the thematic conclusions, research question 4 is answered in the theoretical conclusions, and research question 5 is answered in the action-research conclusions of this chapter. Consequently, the discussion in this chapter reflects on the results of the study, after which recommendations for further research are provided.

7.1   Thematic conclusions

This section answers research questions 1, 2, and 3 by describing the adolescents' attitudes, subjective norms, and perceived behavioural control, including self-efficacy, that form the intentions to have relationships and perform sexual behaviour, after which it describes the contextual aspects in which they are embedded.

7.1.1   Attitudes

The participants' attitudes on relationships and sexual behaviour were studied. In intra-generational relationships, the adolescents think the boy should be taller and about two years older than the girl because girls have a faster emotional growth. Furthermore, girls want boyfriends who are more experienced and higher educated than they are and who are able to protect them. Boys want girlfriends who they can impress with money and intelligence, so they will look up to them and respect them. To the participants, education is the main reason to agree that secondary school is not the right time to be having relationships. They prefer to wait until they are eighteen or until they are in University.

The participants think that cross-generational sex happens more in campus than at secondary schools. Most participants perceive cross-generational sex to be a business deal, prostitution even, whereby the concerning adolescents are not victims but active agents who set the terms about the

frequencies of their meetings and the gifts and money that they want to receive in return of their service.

The participants say that kissing and pecking are not well accepted within the Ugandan society. They say it is considered to be a private activity which should not be done in public. Some participants fear kissing can get them infected with hepatitis or HIV. Many participants believe that kissing, or sometimes even hugging, can lead people into having sex. Most of the participants aim to stay virgin until marriage, although some would consider having sex in campus. They consider sex to be for adults, which is above eighteen. The most important reasons to abstain are religion; the Ugandan or African culture; subjective norms from society, parents, teachers, friends and partners; keeping up one's reputation; the consequences of having sex, such as pregnancy and HIV/AIDS; and the Ugandan law, which imprisons boys who impregnate minor girls. The participants who reported they had had sexual intercourse seemed to be having sexual intercourse on a sporadic basis. A large part of the participants does not discuss sex with their friends. Whenever they do, they usually discuss the dangers of having sex, such as becoming pregnant and getting infected with HIV or another STI.

When choosing a contraceptive, the participants think condoms are the best alternative. However, they think it is not normal to be carrying one, especially at a young age when one is expected to be abstaining. Furthermore, many have little faith in contraceptives: they fear that having sex will get them pregnant and infected with HIV, even if they use a condom.

7.1.2 Subjective norms

With respect to relationships and sexual behaviour, the participants seemed mostly eager to comply with the subjective norms of teachers, parents/guardians, friends, and society. Being respected by teachers and the fear to be punished or sent from school were reasons for the adolescents to abstain. Although the participants seemed to value their parents' opinions regarding relationships, it seemed these opinions were not so much reason to postpone having relationships but more reason not to tell their parents about their relationships. It should be mentioned that many participants stay at hostels and will therefore only be with their parents for a few weeks a year.

Reputations among friends are very important to the participants. Peer pressure is sometimes mentioned as a reason for people to be having relationships in secondary school. However, peer pressure can work the other way around as well. For instance, girls could not tell their friends they are having a boyfriend if their friends are not having one. With regard to cross-generational sex, it was mentioned that peer pressure does not necessarily mean that peers are pressuring an individual to have cross-generational sex but that the individual is pressuring him or herself to have the same spending pattern as his or her peers. Lastly, the participants seemed not very willing to oppose the cultural norms in their society, such as kissing in public and, as a not-married person, requesting condoms in a health centre.

7.1.3 Perceived behavioural control: self-efficacy, self-control, and locus of control

The participants seemed to be very confident about their self-efficacy. In general, they did not question whether they would be able to use condoms or resist peer pressure and cross-generational sex. However, they seemed more concerned about their self-control. Many of them aimed to abstain until marriage but doubted whether they would be able to prevent themselves from practicing sexual

behaviours. For instance, they fear relationships, hugging, kissing, dark private places, and blue movies or pornography because they fear it will lead them into having sex. The participants' reasons to have sex can roughly be divided into internal and external locus of control. External reasons can be, among others, emotions, lust, nature, life, genes, feelings of desire, and foolishness. Internal reasons can be, among others, peer pressure, showing love, enjoyment, curiosity, wanting to experience, and money. There seems to be a link between self-efficacy, self-control, and external and internal locus of control: where self-efficacy seems necessary to combat the reasons of internal locus of control, self-control seems necessary to combat the reasons of external locus of control.

7.1.4 Contextual aspects

Different contextual aspects, in which the adolescents' perceptions on relationships and sexual behaviour are embedded, were inductively derived from this study. These aspects can roughly be divided into cultural and socio-economic contextual aspects. Furthermore, political aspects, future expectations, and the adolescents' knowledge on sexual and reproductive health and rights were distinguished as important contextual aspects.

The most important cultural aspects are the participants' school as a social institution, the Ugandan cultural meaning system, religion and religiosity. The context provided by studying at the school under study appears important because the participants' perceptions on relationships and sexual behaviour are embedded in the sexual and reproductive health messages provided by the teachers and health counsellors in their school. In this respect, fear is a striking aspect: teachers and health counsellors use fear as a way to impel the students to abstain. For instance, the participants in this study are very much aware of all possible risks concerning the use of condoms and other contraceptives, their risk perceptions are very high regarding getting pregnant and contracting HIV and other STIs, they are under the impression that relationships and academics do not mix, and they fear that having sex will get them into detention or prison, or will get them sent away from school. Furthermore, religion and religiosity, and gender roles, respect, reputation, and cultural norms, which are all part of the cultural meaning system, seem very much interwoven with the adolescents' perceptions on abstinence, sexual intercourse, and relationships.

Important socio-economic aspects are (Western) media, the Ugandan education system, the financial capital of the adolescents' family, and the adolescents' sex, age, place of residence, and financial capital. Besides from the knowledge received from teachers and health counsellors at school, many adolescents appear to use media, such as the Ugandan tabloid "Red Pepper" and the health educational paper "Straight Talk", to receive information about sex and their sexual and reproductive health. Even more importantly, they watch Western high school movies and pornography or 'blue movies' to learn how to kiss, have sex, and handle relationships. In this respect, the emerging access to internet and shops selling pornography in Kampala show how their sexual behaviour is embedded in their place of residence, i.e. living in an urban area. The financial capital of the family determines whether an adolescent is able to go to secondary school and, if yes, to what kind of school. The Ugandan education system distinguishes single and mixed schools and day and boarding schools. According to the participants, being in a single or mixed school can have consequences for someone's sexual behaviour. For instance, homosexuality was blamed to happen in single schools because of a lack of the opposite sex. Embedded in existing gender roles in the Ugandan culture, an adolescent's sex and financial capital are important to a person's abilities to have relationships and perform sexual behaviour. For instance, gender roles instruct that boys are supposed to approach

girls, i.e. the sex (or gender) aspect, and that they are supposed to pay for girls on outings, i.e. the financial capital aspect. Furthermore, embedded in the cultural meaning system of the school under study, which instructs that buying food in the school canteen is good for someone's reputation, financial capital allows an adolescent to impress the opposite sex at school. In contrast, an individual who lacks financial capital but wants to impress the opposite sex at school could become interested in looking for a sugar mommy or a sugar daddy.

Two political contextual aspects are important as well. First of all, this study found parallelisms between the adolescents' attitudes on sexual behaviour and the government's policies regarding abstinence-only programmes and the discouraged promotions of condoms among adolescents. Secondly, it was found that many boys fear to have sex because of the Ugandan law which imprisons men who have sex with girls under the age of eighteen, even when this sex is consensual.

The adolescents' intentions to have relationships and perform sexual behaviour appeared to be embedded in their future expectations. For instance, their expectations about University led to certain perceptions, such as the perception that it is better to have sex in University than in secondary school because they will be able to mix a pregnancy and their studies in University. Furthermore, the adolescents attitudes and intentions appeared to be embedded in their knowledge of sexual and reproductive health and rights. For instance, they would not plan to have sex before marriage if they believed that condoms do not protect against the transmission of HIV/AIDS.

7.2   Theoretical conclusions: proposing a substantive theoretical framework

Chapter 2 discussed the conceptual model that was used for the design of this study. The substantive theoretical framework visualised in Figure 7.1 Resulting theoretical framework relationships and sexual behaviours Ugandan adolescents in secondary schoolFigure 7.1 is a result of the inductive analysis of this study but is based on the conceptual model in chapter 2 as well, which makes the theoretical framework not entirely inductive. For instance, it shows similarities with the conceptual model, such as the Theory of Planned Behaviour. Although the use of the Theory of Planned Behaviour is deductive, the meanings of its concepts, as discussed in the thematic conclusion in this chapter, are inductively derived. Furthermore, this study has showed which deductively derived concepts in the conceptual model appeared important according to the inductive analysis as well, which concepts did not, and which concepts were newly obtained. Furthermore, inductively obtained meanings have been given to each concept.

In addition to the contextual concepts and the concepts of the Theory of Planned Behaviour, it is proposed to include the concept of 'bounded rationality' (Simon 1957) in the theoretical framework. The participants often showed to base their decisions regarding their sexual health and behaviours on incomplete information or very high risk perceptions. Therefore, their decision making is not an optimal decision within the real situation, because their rational is 'bounded' by a limitation in knowledge, but it is an optimal decision within their simplified model of the real situation.

Lastly, the proposed theoretical framework shows linkages between the different concepts. These linkages show, for instance, how the contextual aspects at the micro level are embedded in the contextual aspects at the meso and macro level, e.g. age is embedded in the Ugandan law, sex and

financial capital are embedded in gender roles and a school's cultural meaning system, and place of residence is embedded in Western media.
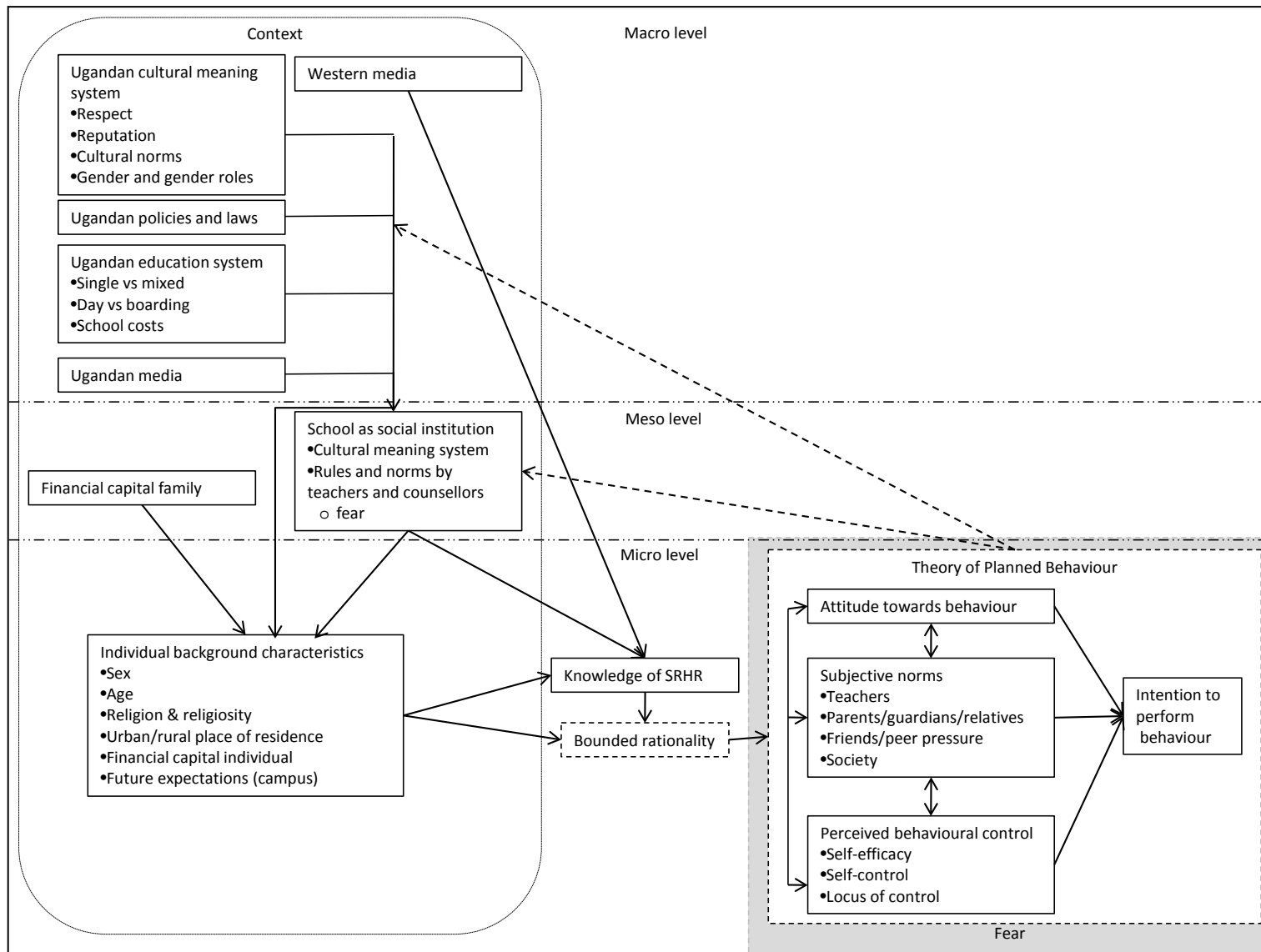
Figure 7.1 Resulting theoretical framework relationships and sexual behaviours Ugandan adolescents in secondary school

7.3 Action-research conclusions: emic perspectives on the World Starts With Me survey

To interpret the results of the outcome evaluation of World Starts With Me (WSWM), a sexuality education programme for secondary schools in Uganda, this section provides emic perspectives on the questions asked in the survey of that quantitative study, which is included in the appendix, based on the results of this qualitative study. Furthermore, some recommendations for future quantitative evaluation studies are provided.

7.3.1 Emic perspectives on the WSWM survey

The WSWM survey is divided in different sections. It starts with measuring the respondents' background characteristics. Since many students in Uganda go to boarding school or stay at a hostel near the school instead of staying at home, they probably have little interaction with their parents or guardians during school time, which could make human and social capital factors provided by the household of the student of less influence. For measuring subjective norms, it could mean that these students are less motivated to comply with the opinions of their parents or guardians during schooldays. The influence of media was measured by asking the respondents about health educational campaigns. However, this study showed that the adolescents' sexual behaviours are particularly embedded in media such as Western high school movies and pornography that educate them on how to perform sexual activities. The respondents' time perspective was measured using quite abstract questions about future planning, which were not always understood by the respondents. Based on the results of this study, it may be more useful to design questions about their future plans and expectations, such as joining University, finding a job, and getting married.

The WSWM survey asks respondents whether they think homosexuality is a disease. The participants in this study did not necessarily think homosexuality is a disease but thought of it as a result of a combination of lust with a lacking presence of the opposite sex in single sex schools. Negative answers to the question whether homosexuality is a disease may therefore not necessarily imply that the respondents in the survey think homosexuality is something natural. The survey measured the subjective norms of friends as well. Among other things, this was done by asking the respondents whether they discuss sexual issues with their friends. The adolescents in this study said they did discuss sexual issues. However, this did not necessarily mean they discussed having sex itself but it often meant talking or warning about the consequences of sex, such as pregnancies, HIV/AIDS and other STIs, being sent to prison, and ruining one's future. Furthermore, discussing sex can mean promoting abstinence among each other.

Some administered surveys may seem confusing with respondents reporting to be both abstaining and to be having sexual intercourse. This study showed that these adolescents may be performing secondary abstinence: planning to abstain after they have had sexual intercourse.

Fear

In this study, fear was a returning concept when studying the adolescents' sexual behaviours, which the WSWM results will probably show as well. First of all, the participants feared practicing sexual activities other than sexual intercourse would lead to having sexual intercourse. Therefore, the WSWM survey results could show that the respondents do not think it will be okay to practice sexual activities without sexual intercourse because they fear it will lead to sex anyway. Secondly, the participants feared pregnancies, HIV/AIDS, and other STIs when having sexual intercourse. They

often did not trust that condoms and other contraceptives could protect them against this. As a result, the respondents in the WSWM survey may aim to abstain until marriage. Not necessarily because of religion or social norms but because they think it is the best way to stay safe from HIV and pregnancies. Furthermore, the survey results may show that they do not think it is wise to use a condom because they do not trust it.

Adolescents may not tell their friends when they have had sexual intercourse because of the perceived consequences: a boy may be sent to prison for impregnating a minor girl, HIV positive students may reduce their chances on getting a relationship after disclosing their status, and it may ruin their reputation in school or they may risk detention if people find out they had sex. As a result, girls may perceive they will not be able to fulfil their dreams when they become pregnant because they fear they will be sent away from school and boys may perceive they are not able to fulfil their dreams after impregnating a girl because they fear they will be sent to prison.

7.3.2 Recommendations for future quantitative evaluation studies

The WSWM survey asks whether the respondent thinks that having vaginal sexual intercourse without a condom or another contraceptive will lead to pregnancy or HIV. This study showed that adolescents do not always trust condoms to protect them from becoming pregnant or contracting HIV. Therefore, it may be interesting for a future survey to include the question whether they think having vaginal sexual intercourse with a condom or another contractive will lead to pregnancy or contracting HIV.

In addition to sexual intercourse, the WSWM survey measured different sexual activities, such as hugging and kissing. The results of the study showed that some participants think that kissing can lead to HIV/AIDS and other STIs. This option could be included as well among the different sexual activity options. Furthermore, the results of this study showed that the participants discussed pecking as a sexual activity, it may be interesting to measure pecking in future as well.

Although the participants in this study seemed to know the right answers to the knowledge questions asked in the WSWM survey, other knowledge regarding their risk perceptions and intentions to perform sexual behaviours seemed to be lacking, such as the chance of contracting HIV and getting pregnant during sexual intercourse and the purpose of condoms and other contraceptives. In future studies, it would be recommended to include these knowledge questions.

For future surveys it is recommended to include the following option categories when measuring respondents' intentions to initiate sexual intercourse:

- With regard to the law which forbids boys to have sex with minor girls: '*the age of eighteen*' for girls and '*when my lover turns eighteen*' for boys. Whenever boy respondents in the WSWM survey ticked the box '*Else, namely...*' for this question and filled in an age such as twenty, this could have meant they want to wait for their girlfriend to turn eighteen.
- With regard to financial independency and the fear to become pregnant: '*when I am in campus/University*', and '*when I am ready to be a father/mother*' or '*when me or my lover has a job*' to provide for the baby.

7.4   Discussion

This discussion addresses some considerations with respect to the results of this study. First of all, it seems that teachers and health counsellors use fear as an education tool to achieve abstinence among their students. In this study, the participants' knowledge regarding all possible risks of having relationships and performing sexual behaviours seemed to result in misconceptions regarding contraceptives and high risk perceptions of getting pregnant and infected with HIV. These messages may have unintended effects. For instance, many of the participants thought condoms cannot protect them against pregnancies and HIV/AIDS. If they do not believe that condoms can protect them, it might give them less reason to spend their money on condoms and go through the embarrassments of buying and carrying them. As a result, perhaps their lack of faith in condoms could make them decide not to use condoms when having sexual intercourse.

Secondly, it seemed that the participants were concerned they would not be able to control themselves to have sexual intercourse. For instance, they feared relationships, hugging, and kissing because they believed it could lead people into having sex. Promoting to practice other sexual activities besides sexual intercourse is one of the aims of the WSWM sexuality education programme. However, it may be difficult to promote this if adolescents fear these activities will lead them into having sexual intercourse anyway.

Thirdly, perhaps religion could be important in providing adolescents with the self-efficacy they need to perform sexual activities at the moment they feel ready for it, especially because it seemed that the church guidelines are not to all participants in this study the single most important consideration to abstain, even for the ones who claimed that their religion is very important to them.

Fourthly, the participants seemed to know little about contraceptives other than condoms. Moreover, what they knew about pills and injections consisted mostly of misconceptions. Although the oral pill could help to prevent unwanted pregnancies, adolescents will probably not be willing to use it as long as they believe it can make them infertile.

Finally, many participants would not want to have a partner who is HIV positive. This is probably because they believe that condoms cannot prevent the transmission of HIV. It suggests that withholding adolescents from correct information, e.g. that condoms can prevent HIV transmission, stigmatises HIV positive people because others may avoid relationships with them in order to protect their own sexual health.

7.5   Recommendations for further research

For further research, it would be interesting to quantify the results of this study at a larger level. Furthermore, it would be interesting to study the same topic at schools with different characteristics, such as schools in rural settings, boarding schools, and single sex schools. In addition, it would be interesting to study how adolescents in single sex school perceive homosexuality, since the participants in this study claimed that homosexuality and lesbianism are a result of a lack of the opposite sex in single sex schools.

Secondly, it would be interesting to study students' sexual behaviours in Universities. This study showed that the participants expect problems, such as cross-generational sex and peer pressure, to

be bigger in campuses than in secondary schools. Further research could show whether this is true and whether there is a need for sexuality education in Universities.

Thirdly, this study showed that the participants were using Western media, such as Western high school movies and pornography, for their sex education. It was discussed how certain cultural values in these movies, such as kissing in public, clashed with the cultural values in Uganda. Since internet connections are becoming faster and more widespread, thereby bringing Western cultures closer to the Ugandan culture, it would be interesting to study whether and how international media could affect, attitudes towards, sexual behaviours in Uganda.

Fourthly, it would be interesting to study the possible relationship between religiosity, self-efficacy, and abstinence. Perhaps religion and religiosity are not necessarily directly related to abstinence, i.e. the church prescribing abstinence until marriage, but perhaps that religiosity and abstinence are indirectly related through self-efficacy. Religion could be strengthening adolescents' self-efficacy, which in turn can give them the self-efficacy to abstain as they are instructed by the government, school, and society.

Finally, this study suggested that self-control is an important concept regarding adolescents' sexual behaviours in Uganda. The role of self-control and the considerations related to external locus of control seem to be given less attention in literature, while this study suggests that the participants were more concerned about their self-control than their self-efficacy. Additional research is recommended to learn more about self-control, external locus of control, and its link to abstinence and sexual intercourse.

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