1.1 LITERATURE REVIEW

1.0.1 UNDERSTANDING ADOLESCENCE

Adolescence is a development stage which according to (Erikson, 1971; Joshi, 2004; Ingersoll, 1989; and Singhal, 2004), is recognised as a distinct stage in life. It is a universal phenomenon in the modern times; that is, it permeates all human societies and indeed, no society is devoid of this age category (Crockett and Silbersten, 2000). Adolescence is interpreted in global cultures differently, given the specific socio-cultural expectations from the age group and the society at large.

Various viewpoints have been posited by scholars from different fields of study about this developmental stage, but all seem to be in agreement that adolescence is a stage of growth from childhood to adulthood. The word adolescence is derived from the Latin word “adolescere” which implies to grow up (Sharma, 1999). It is thus, the period of physical, psychological and social transition between childhood and adulthood (gender-specific, manhood or womanhood). Traditionally, the stage of adolescence, commonly defined between 12 and 19 years old, has been characterised as a sign of turbulence, rebellion and instability. Many scholars seem to be in unison that changes in social, emotional and physical development often occurring concurrently, bring on a crisis of identity and self-esteem that is manifested in forms ranging from moodiness to
delinquency (Erikson, 1971; Hall, 1904; Davis, 1999 and Palmisano, 2001). Indeed, Hall (1904) denoted this period as one of “storm and stress”. He depicted adolescence as a transitional period bridging the “savagery” of childhood with “civilized” adulthood. A more elaborate understanding of adolescence is offered by Ingersoll (1989) which views adolescence as a period of personal development during which a young person must establish a sense of individual identity, and feeling of self worth which includes an alteration of his or her body image, adaptation to more mature intellectual abilities, adjustments to society’s demand for behavioural maturity, internalizing a personal value system and preparing for adult roles.

A key task of every society during adolescence is the preparation for adulthood; that is, help the adolescent assume maturing characteristics and features, most of which are quite distinct and overt in nature (Santrock, 2005). The age range of adolescence varies significantly according to culture, sex, historical circumstances, nutrition and environment, but in most cultures today, adolescence begins at approximately 11 years and ends around 20-22 years. Adolescence can be categorised into three stages of development namely: early, middle and late adolescence (Haffner, 1995; Ingersoll, 1989; Santrock, 2005). These authors contend that although an individual adolescent will develop at her or his own unique pace, depending on certain factors (sex, cultural, environmental, and nutrition), there are universally recognisable patterns of change in behaviour, interests and sexuality that occur from one stage of development to the next.

In early adolescence (ages 9-13 for girls and 11-15 for boys), Haffner (1995) and Santrock (2005) point out that it corresponds roughly to the middle school or junior high school years and includes period for most pubertal changes. It is also marked by rapid
physical growth and maturation. Ingersoll (1989) observes that focus of the adolescents' self-concept is on their physical self and physical acceptability by others and peers. During this stage, young adolescents begin the process of separating from the family and become increasingly influenced by their peers. Although young adolescents primarily engage in concrete thinking and it is difficult for them to imagine future consequences, they continue to value their parents' guidance especially on important life issues (Haffner, 1995). Sexual experimentation is common, although sexual intercourse is usually very limited.

In middle adolescence (ages 13-16 for girls and young women and age 14-17 for boys and young men) it is associated with senior years in high school, and marked by emergence of new thinking skills, though abstract (Haffner, 1995 and Santrock, 2005). The intellectual world of the young person is greatly expanded. Ingersoll (1989) avers that energy is mostly directed toward preparing for adult roles, making preliminary decisions regarding vocational goals as well as being oriented to what is right and proper for the society. One is also developing a sense of behavioural maturity and learning to control impulsiveness (Ingersoll, 1989). During this period, they are also focussed on their acceptability by opposite sexed peers. Haffner (1995) says separation from the family increases, and the desire to be accepted by one's peers can exert a strong influence on behaviour. Sexual experimentation is common, and many adolescents have first intercourse during this stage of life.

In late adolescence (young women age 16-22 and older, young men aged 17-22), the process of physical maturation is complete. According to Santrock (2005), young people attempt to crystallise their vocational goals and establish a sense of personal
identity. Career interests, dating and identity exploration are more pronounced while peer approval diminishes. Haffner (1995) reiterates that the ability to understand abstract concepts is achieved by many adolescents at this stage, and many of them understand what the results and consequences of their action and behaviour may be. There is an increased ability to empathise with others, give and receive intimacy, and define adult roles. There also is greater autonomy from the family as well as from the peer group, and sexuality may become more associated with commitment and planning for the future (Haffner, 1995).

A significant segment of the adolescence is the teenager. In common usage in Western English language countries, “adolescent” and “teenager” may be considered synonyms (although it should be noted that the term “teenager” is an artefact of English counting system, not something that occurs in most languages) (www.wikipedia.org/teenager). Indeed, the exact teenager categorisation is thirteen to nineteen, which ultimately excludes certain adolescence ages/years. Thus, the teenager appropriately features within adolescence stage of human development as a distinct categorisation. The word adolescence also falls clearly within the purview of the concept youth. By definition, the word youth according to the Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary (7th Edition) refers to the time of life when a person is young (not a child and not yet old), especially the time before a child becomes an adult. Although the word has invariably been used erroneously for political and socio-economic aggrandisement, the concept prominently refers to people in their puberty, adolescence and young adults (Kioli, 2007). Adolescence thus is a special category within youthhood.
1.0.2 HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE ON ADOLESCENT STUDIES

In the endeavour to understand the development of adolescence studies as a developmental stage, the period of Greek philosophy, the Middle Ages as well as scholars emerging after the Enlightenment period comes in handy. The Greek philosophers – Plato and Aristotle are documented to have commented about adolescence. Plato, in the forth century B.C. offered advice on the socialisation of children from the earliest years through adolescence and young adulthood. He pointed out that during the developmental years, more than at any other time, the character is engraved by habit (Jewett, 1953). However, he also acknowledged that the character of young men is subject to many changes in course of their lives. He also warned that adolescents were prone to arguments for argument’s sake. For this reason, Plato adduced that adolescence is the period when reasoning appears, thus, adolescents should be subjected to scientific studies (Santrock, 2005:7). On the other hand, Aristotle (4th century B.C) viewed the main aspect of adolescence as the ability to choose and, that self-determination was the hallmark of maturity. He also recognized adolescents’ egocentrism (compared their behaviour to that of animals especially in pursuing pleasure) and, further commented on their capacity to know a lot.

In the Middle ages, adolescents together with children were viewed as miniature adults, thus, subjected to harsh discipline and control. It is in 18th century that French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau offered a more enlightened view on adolescence, restoring the belief that being adolescent is not the same as being an adult. Rousseau observed just like Plato that reasoning begins during adolescence and it is the time that
individuals mature emotionally and their selfishness is replaced by an interest in others (Santrock, 2005).

Scholars of the Greek philosophy as well as Middle ages were speculative in nature about adolescence. Indeed, scientific exploration of adolescence began in the 20th century. According to Santrock (2005), the term adolescence was invented towards the 19th century and early 20th century, and one of the major pioneers was G. Stanley Hall whose book on “adolescence” published in 1904, played a major role in restructuring thinking on adolescence. He wrote that adolescence was a stage when young people were experiencing considerable turmoil within. G Stanley Hall (1844-1924) is described as the Father of Scientific Study on Adolescence (Santrock, 2005:8). Hall who was strongly influenced by Darwin’s evolutionary theory, proposed that all development is controlled by genetically determined physiological factors, but slightly acknowledged that environment accounts for more development changes in adolescence than in earlier periods.

To Hall, adolescence is the period from 12-23 years of age, and is characterized by considerable upheaval (Hall, 1904). His famous “storm and stress” view depicted adolescence as a turbulent time characterized with conflict and mood swings. In a different version of Hall’s view, another pioneer early 20th century scholar in adolescent study, Anthropologist Margaret Mead (who studied adolescents on the South Sea island of Samoa) concluded that the basic nature of this distinct stage (adolescence) is not biological but rather socio-cultural. To her, what adolescents observe, practice (role play) and are taught ultimately determines their behaviour (Mead, 1950). Though both works of Hall and Mead were highly criticized, they both laid a strong foundation towards
adolescent studies as well as the understanding of the nature versus nurture view in adolescence.

Additionally, the period between 1902 and 1950 experienced a lot of dynamics to the stage of adolescence. According to Santrock (2005), it was the period when adolescence was recognized as a very important and distinct stage in life especially in the United States. Thus, adolescents had come of age by possessing not only social and physical identities, but also legal identities with special laws developed for the age category in the US and other Western cultures. In the 1970’s, the Women’s movement changed both the description and the study of adolescence. In earlier years, descriptions of adolescents had pertained more to males than females. Since the rise in women’s movement, adolescence studies started taking a balanced view of both the sexes, with increasing study on the subject of adolescence in the 1980s to present.

Adolescence studies in other cultures especially Asia and Africa are quite recent since adolescence was hardly noticed. In Africa for instance, adolescence is a new concept accompanying the socio-cultural changes experienced in the 20th century. According to Balmer (1994), adolescence in traditional African cultures was a very short period and hardly noticed, especially for girls. Ethnographic literature from various African ethnic groups details how girls during and after puberty underwent a short period of initiation, almost immediately followed by marriage. Accordingly, marriage superseded what would otherwise be termed as adolescence, which implied that most of the noted physical and emotional attributes associated with the stage occurred when one was already married. The traditional African society was very alert in helping the young and the newly married to adjust properly, thus, the turmoil and the turbulence as noted by
Hall (1904) and Erikson (1971), may not have been noticed. Boys married a little later (16-20) in most traditional African cultures as compared to girls, but juxtaposed to adolescents of today, they too had a short transition period. But their transition was normally concluded in intensive physical skills' training and isolation in wilderness and learning survival skills (Akonga, 1988; Mbiti, 1969 and Sifuna, 1986).

Studies on adolescence in traditional Africa details a very short transition period but with changes because of modernization and penetration of Western cultural values, the period has now been elongated and the myriad concomitant experiences and episodes accompanying the stage have aroused the interest of many scholars in Africa and elsewhere, especially the period of 1990s to present.

1.0.3 NATURE OF ADOLESCENT SEXUALITY

In the endeavour to understand the nature of adolescent sexuality, the biological as well as the psychosexual and social aspects of the adolescence ought to be put into perspective. In this transition period, dramatic physical changes occur such as the adolescent "growth spurt", the development of secondary sex characteristics, the onset of menstruation (Menarche), and the ability of the male to ejaculate. In addition, it is a time when fertility of both the sexes is achieved and important socio-psychological changes occur (Masters, et al., 1988).

During the onset of adolescence, there is change in the output Luteinizing Hormone (LH) and Follicle Stimulating Hormone (FSH) levels during sleep, due to increased production of the releasing factor from the hypothalamus that controls hormones. According to Masters, et al. (1988: 138), the gonads (male and female sex
organs) begin to enlarge as they slowly respond to this stimulation. Shortly thereafter, sex hormone output begins to rise. During early adolescence, testosterone levels in boys increase tremendously, while in a corresponding manner, oestrogen levels for girls also gradually increase. The rise in these sex hormones (adrenal hormones) during puberty and onset of adolescence trigger not only growth of pubic hair and auxiliary (underarm) hair but also many other physical changes take place in that stage which distinguish a mature male and female, respectively.

One of the salient features associated with physical maturation traits as well as hormonal changes is sexual maturation. Indeed, adolescents become aware of their own sexuality and their minds and bodies are fine tuned to sexual matters (Andere, 1994; IPPF, 1994). Sigmund Freud viewed adolescence as a time of great sexual awakening (Palmisano, 2001) while according to Mitchel (1971) and SIECUS (1999), adolescence ushers in chemically based erotic sexuality. Masters, et al., (1988) avers that rising hormonal levels contribute to an activation of sexual sensations and erotic thoughts and dreams for both boys and girls.

This view is further corroborated by Kinsey and his colleagues (Kinsey 1948; 1953). The sexual arousal and expression experienced during adolescence is quite normal and depicts them as sexual beings while, their sexual expression is viewed as an essential component of healthy human development (Tobias and Ricer, 1993; Zimbardo, 1992). It is noteworthy that many adults have difficulty acknowledging adolescents as sexual beings, and therefore, adolescent sexuality is viewed as something which must be controlled and restrained in many cultures.
Due to the tremendous anatomical changes brought by the sex hormones, the adolescents undergo various psychosexual processes. One major feature is sexual fantasies and dreams which subsequently increase the desire for sexual gratification. Ingersoll (1989: 531) observes that this desire may find its outlet directly in intercourse or masturbation, while less gratification comes from romantic behaviours - activities which have come to be known colloquially as "necking and pecking".

This view corroborates other studies on human sexuality which depict that sexual desire in all humans is a basic biological urge, drive or instinct that demands satisfaction or outlet. Their writings are based on the Freudian Psychoanalytic theory that emphasizes the importance of sex and sexual expression to all human stages of development (Freud, 1958; Njau, 1993). Freud was of the opinion that sexual urge in all stages had to be vented off, failure to which it could lead to life fixations (physical), neurosis and aggressive behaviour (Freud, 1958), while others like Masters and Johnson (1966) point out that in men, this repression led to male sexually deviant behaviour such as rape and sex abuse of children.

Further, Miller, et al., (1993) posit that during the second decade of life (adolescence), there is a dramatic increase in human sexual interest, arousal and behaviour. As a result, much of the jokes, discussions, literature, fantasies and dreams are heavily flavoured with sexuality. Indeed, growth of primary and secondary sex characteristics makes arousal of this motive more frequent and intense. In addition, Masters, et al., (1988) contends that it is also a time that peer pressure mounts on the individual as they struggle to establish a sense of identity and independence from authority. Those weak in character easily get subdued and can sentimentally and

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mechanically be co-opted into the culture of “experimenting, at least to be like others”. In addition to peers, Ingersoll (1989) avers that the social environment also strongly reinforces its importance. Movies, television, literature and advertisements continually stress themes of love and romance, and this affect the psychological and behavioural interpretation of sexuality to the young person.

In early adolescence, there is an increased curiosity about sexual behaviour. According to Ingersoll (1989), boys and (less frequently) girls will read material-pornographic literature or scientific – describing sexual behaviour and details of reproductive anatomy. They will look up sexual words in dictionaries and in some cases, engage in “peeping-tom” activities. Typically, the erotic play or game of adolescents involves kissing (necking) and touching (self and others) and manipulation of the body (petting). Although this may not be quite universal, it is highly observable in a large segment of adolescents. As Master, et al., (1988) point out, the attitude and sexual behaviour patterns in this stage depend a lot on the background as well as the environment of the adolescence, with parents also playing a key role.

The nature of adolescent sexuality cannot be comprehended without exploring the psychological view of adolescent egocentrism. David Elkind (1976) believes that adolescent egocentrism is to be dissected into two types of social thinking- imaginary audience and personal fable. The imaginary audience refers to the aspect of adolescent egocentrism that involves attention getting behaviour- the attempt to get noticed, visible and “onstage”. This view elaborates why adolescents overdo things in the society, be it drugs, sex, relationships, among others, for unconsciously seeking attention. The second type of social thinking, the personal fable according to Elkind (1976), is the part of
adolescent egocentrism that involves an adolescent sense of personal uniqueness and invincibility. Adolescents’ sense of personal uniqueness makes them feel that no one can understand how they feel. For example, an adolescent girl thinks that her mother cannot possibly sense the hurt that she feels because her boyfriend has broken up with her.

Adolescents’ sense of invincibility is based on perception that due to the uniqueness with which they perceive themselves, then they are invulnerable (Santrock, 2005:157). It is a strong feeling that although others might be vulnerable to tragedies, (such as HIV infection), “these things will not happen to them.” Some developmentalists believe that the sense of uniqueness and false sense of invulnerability that egocentrism generates is responsible for some of the seemingly reckless behaviours of the adolescents including drug-taking, suicide and failure to use contraceptives during intercourse (Dolcini, et al., 1989). This would, in other words, be interpreted into a “don’t care” attitude during adolescence as they partake to their day-to-day activities, including matters of sexuality.

It is also popularly believed that most young people pursue pleasure in sexuality matters (Mussen, et al., 1993). But it is important to note that a majority of young people engage in sex due to a multiplicity of factors, which indeed requires a lot of attention in order to arrive at the relative influence of each factor.

In the endeavour to understand nature of adolescent sexuality, it is important to underscore the categorisation of adolescent sexuality under the entire scope of human sexuality (Gould and Kolb, 1964; Gullota, et al., 1993; and Hendricks, 1934). The concept of human sexuality is quite multifaceted and generic in nature. It encompasses the entire human personality. The WHO (1989) provides a working definition of human
sexuality as that which is a central aspect of human being throughout life and encompasses among others coition, gender identities and roles, sexual orientations and behaviours, eroticism, relationships and reproduction. By extension, adolescent sexual behaviour denotes a complex of drives, tendencies, attitudes and actions of the adolescents organized around coition.

Human sexuality, part of which encompasses adolescent sexual behaviour has six distinct characteristics according to Gould and Kolb (1964: 636):

- It is contained within and controlled by a normatively governed process of selection. The selection is partly guided by dual tendencies of rules of endogamy and exogamy.

- It is emotionally intense and more or less permanent unions are formed.

- Human sexual behaviour unlike many other species is not necessarily procreative.

- Human sexual behaviour is partly rational in that there is a decision to have or not to have sexual relations. The decision is guided by religious, moral, aesthetic and other values and perhaps the outcomes or implications (consequences).

- Human sexuality is subject to cultural variations among societies and subgroups of societies.

- In all human societies, sexuality manifests itself into some degree in ways which run counter to the values of the society, and what may be seen as an aspect of counter sexuality (deviation) in one culture may not be the same for the other (Gould and Kobb, 1964: 636).
The study of human sexuality has over time, evolved into two disciplines namely sexosophy and sexology. Both are key towards the comprehension of the adolescent sexual behaviour. Sexosophy is the newer concept of the two. It was coined by an American scientist, John Money in the 1980's. By definition, sexosophy is the body of knowledge that comprises the philosophy, principles and knowledge that people have about their own personally experienced eroticism and sexuality and that of other people, singly or collectively (Money, 1980). It includes values, personal and shared, and also encompasses culturally transmitted value systems. Sexosophy according to Money, is the ideology of sex; that is, the set of ideas and value systems held by people in defining their sexual behaviour. Sexology on the other hand refers to the science of sex and eroticism in the human species (Money, 1980). It studies human sexual development and the development of sexual relationships and sexual orientations as well as sexual pathologies. According to Money, while Sexology is descriptive, sexosophy is prescriptive. Sexology attempts to document reality of human sexuality (Nature), while sexosophy attempts to prescribe what behaviour is suitable, ethical or moral (Money, 1980).

Both sciences (Sexosophy and Sexology) are crucial in the study of adolescent sexuality. Through Sexosophy, the true nature of ideas adolescents have about sexual behaviours, acquired values, orientations (identities) and attitudes are brought into the fore. The processes of socialising young people on pertinent sexuality issues and other experiences which define how a young person responds to sexual matters is part of sexosophy. On the other hand, clinical observations associated with early and indiscriminate sexual behaviour as well as the biological nature of adolescent sexuality can be classified under sexology. Through the descriptive study of sexology, sexuality
development, sexual pathologies and other sexuality characteristics of the adolescent are
detailed. Indeed, both sexuality sciences are utilised by scholars in most interested fields
(medicine, psychology, sociology and anthropology) to decipher the true nature of
adolescent sexuality.

1.0.4 ADOLESCENT AND DEVELOPMENT OF SEXUAL IDENTITY.

A key feature of the adolescent sexual behaviour is the sexual identity they
subscribe to, which varies from society to society. An adolescents sexual identity
involves an indication of sexual orientation (homosexual, heterosexual, bisexual, asexual)
(Buzwell and Rosenthal, 1996). It also involves activities, interests and styles of sexual
behaviour. Establishing a sexual identity from a sociological point of view is laid down to
an individual during early childhood experiences- while in the biological sciences, nature
is perceived to play a key role to sexual identity formation. Indeed, in ordinary life, some
people are more sexually aggressive than others, demonstrate varied sexual preferences,
some are sexually naive/inhibited while others are adventurous/driven about it, and many
other sexuality dichotomies can be observed.

Mastering sexuality orientation and forming a sense of sexual identity is
multifaceted (Graber and Brooks- Gunn, 2002). These authors assert that it is a lengthy
process involving learning and experiencing sexuality tenets. Sexual identities emerge in
the context of physical and socio-cultural factors. One significant socio-cultural factor
fervently deterministic to sexual identity is socialization. According to Lindesmith, et al.
(1999), through socialization process, each person comes to acquire a distinct set of self-
sexuality conceptions or identities specific to that culture. The type of sexual training an
individual receives during childhood and adolescence helps to determine whether he/she will show great or little interest in sexual behaviour and, whether he/she will tend to view sex as pleasant and a matter-of-fact affair; as sinful and dangerous; extremely exciting; or as a matter of aggressive conquest, or even rape. Further, Mussen, et al., (1993) reiterates that in the role that training plays in determining the sexual response patterns which are adopted as a way of gratifying sexual drives, it is not surprising to find that sexual identities during adolescence vary markedly from one culture to another. There are important differences between cultures, mainly based on society’s sexual standards. Some cultures are quite restrictive with regards to sexual activity during childhood while others are permissive, and this has a permanent imprint to their sexual identity.

For instance, in most traditional African cultures, sexual behaviour (intercourse) is deemed appropriate only among married partners, and therefore, discourages it amongst children and adolescents. From the stand point of socialization, many years are spent on teaching the individual to inhibit sexual responses in order to prepare him/her for the time he/she will be expected to make these responses. The child is indeed taught to respond to sex with anxiety and then demand that he/she not respond with anxiety after marriage. According to Mussen, et al. (1993: 539), “the man or woman who learned during childhood and adolescence that it was “wrong” to examine or stimulate his or her own genitals, that it was “even worse” to have any contact with those of another person, and particularly, that attempts to heterosexual relations were immoral, is expected to reverse completely at least some of these attitudes during the wedding night or shortly thereafter. This exception is difficult to fulfil. If the initial lessons have been well learned, the unlearning is bound to take a long time “and may never be completed”. This is
because the sexual identity and personality has already been implanted, thus, is difficult or requires time to erase. The antithesis of this view on sexual identity is found in a more permissive, tolerable and open culture, a characteristic of which is partly in the Western culture.

The physical (biological) is predicated on Nature-view in understanding adolescence sexual identity. According to this perspective, human social and cultural behaviours (including sexual identities) have biological or genetic determinants or make up (Ehrmen and Parsons, 1976). Nature proponents argue that young people exhibit certain behavioural characteristics because they are genetically predisposed to do so. In other words, they are inborn, innate and inherent to the individuals. This view has been utilized to explain sexual behaviours during adolescence just as in other stages of growth and development. It also has been used to explain certain sexual orientations, namely rape, homosexuality, heterosexuality and sexual deviations amongst others (Santrock, 2005). Indeed, it is common in ordinary life to hear people comment, “this is a born thief”, “a born homosexual”, “a born rapist”, etc. The Nature approach has strongly been challenged by scholars in the social sciences, especially for its inability to account for universality of certain human behaviours like altruism (Trivers, 1971), public display of affection and kissing as well as its lack of neutrality on gender issues (Haraway, 1989).

But despite the criticisms, it is worth noting that the Nature/physical approach has been crucial in furthering knowledge and understanding of social life - especially sexual behaviour of the adolescents. Although there is a need for a compromising view to the biological-social dichotomy, it is quite clear that certain human behaviours, especially sexual behaviours are strongly comprehended under sociological perspectives. Indeed,
human sexual identity is quite social in that it is strongly regulated by society through laws, taboos, family and peer group pressures that ultimately seek to persuade humans to follow certain trajectories of sexual behaviour.

1.0.5 RISE OF ADOLESCENT SEXUALITY STUDIES

Although written history can be traced back almost 5,000 (five thousand) years back, only limited information is available describing sexual behaviour and attitudes of the adolescents due to certain factors. Wenke (1990) states that evidence from prehistoric era is scant. Once humans began writing, multiple factors obscured the veracity of their reports: the motives, idiosyncrasies, and cultures of the authors weighed heavily in description of the adolescents and their behaviours, especially sexual behaviour. Earlier writings in the Greek philosophy, for instance Aristotle and Plato, lightly wrote about adolescence but according to Boswell (1980), they were armchair scholars or had high and unusual levels of education to provide detailed scientific accounts of adolescent sexuality. When writing became widespread (middle ages and early phases of enlightenment period), religious and social political changes of the time obfuscated accounts of adolescent sexuality (Downs and Hillje, 1993).

Authentic scientific and systematic efforts to study adolescent sexuality began in the turn of the 20th century, with the dynamic theories of the works of Sigmund Freud (1856-1939), the Father of Psychodynamic theory (Joshi, 2004; Masters, et al., 1988) and, G. Stanley Hall (1844-1924) whose publication in 1904 titled 'Adolescence' brought a greater sensibility to the study of adolescence-sex (Downs and Hillje, 1993). Freud was one of the first scientists to demonstrate the influence of sexuality in human life. Indeed,
Freud clearly described the existence of sexuality in infants, children and adolescents and developed a detailed theory of psychosexual development. According to Palmisano (2001), Freud described adolescence as a time of great sexual awakening and consequently, great inner strife. Although his theory has been criticised, it laid a great foundation to the understanding of adolescent sexuality. Further, Hall published his massive work which attempted to integrate historic, scientific, Darwinian, and religious perceptions of adolescent sexuality. He provided an account of prevailing social climate of religious fervour, anti-evolutionary theory, and sexual victimisation of adolescents he had witnessed. Though also highly criticised, Downs and Hillje (1993) contend that it was Hall's work that set the stage for later research efforts to disconfirm his notions. In that sense, he advanced the study of adolescent sexuality dramatically. In the 19th and 20th century, there was systematic effort to understand the history and practice of adolescent sexuality but the advent of more scholarly and scientific research work was witnessed in the 1940's and gained momentum in 1960's. According to Gullotta, et al. (1993), a series of mid-20th century events have been shown to have had demonstrable effects on adolescent sexuality studies. Key among them was the Second World War which seems to have led to sexual revolution whose tenets were "free love" before marriage and an increase in premarital Sex (Cheary, 1995; Kett, 1977; Smigel and Seidel, 1968). It was a time when young people of the war, so called "flower children" of the 1950's and 60's felt that the world would be a better place if people 'made love not war' (Baron and Burne, 2001). There was also a decrease by about 3 years in the age at which the adolescents began dating (McCabe, 1984). The so called sexual revolution and its slogan of free love compounded with belief in pursuit of human happiness and rejection of
marriage and virginity stimulated a "Baby Boom" and a myriad of sexually transmitted diseases. This was also the period of the re-emergence of feminism in modern time which heightened attention on women's rights and the plight of the girl child (Masters, et al., 1988). The other factor was the advent of highly reliable contraceptives (the Pill) which may have encouraged adolescents during the 1960's to become sexually adventurous (Grinder, 1973). Moreover, Masters, et al., (1988) asserts that it was also the period of the Jazz Age which was accompanied by corresponding changes in fashion, dance and literature which led to sexual attitudes becoming increasingly less inhibited among the youth. The effects of the sexual revolution and the emergence of the pill stimulated scientific studies on adolescent sexuality.

One of the pioneering studies on sexual behaviour was by Alfred Kinsey (1894-1956). Joshi (2004) points out that although severely criticised for his work, Kinsey paved the way for detailed objective research in the area. Through his institute, Kinsey had extensive face-to-face interviews with 12,000 people including his students for the purpose of understanding their sexual behaviours and this led to publications in two major works: Sexual Behaviour in Human Male (1948) and Sexual Behaviour in Human Female (1953). Since then, sexuality research specifically directed toward exploration of adolescent sexuality gained its root in the 1950's and 1960's and continue being undertaken, though a paucity of research in this area still exists.

1.0.6 THE ADOLESCENT IN TRADITIONAL AKAMBA CULTURE

In the last one century (20th century) a majority of African societies have undergone tremendous change whose origin can be found in some historical factors
among them slave trade, colonization, Christian missionary work as well as the spread of capitalism. In Kenya for example, societies have undergone almost complete reorganization in many spheres of life (Munywoki, 2000). These changes are more noticed in the social, economic, psychological and political spheres of the Kenyan societies. One social phenomenon is the adolescence and the general perception on their behaviour (Balmer, 1994).

Amongst the Akamba people of Kenya, there was an elaborate system of transition from childhood to adulthood punctuated with life crises in the form of severe and painful rites of Passage "nzaiko nini" and "nzaiko nene" meaning first or minor and second or major circumcision (Kalule, 1986; Kimihu, 1962; Kyalo, 1990; Mbula, 1974; Ndeti, 1972; Penwill, 1951). For the Akamba people, both the first and second circumcision were very essential. One was traditionally regarded as inferior "kivisi" person, improperly educated and not a true member of the community to forego either circumcision processes (Kalule, 1986). In both circumcisions, the initiates were expected to exhibit patience, perseverance, self control and personal initiative. The first circumcision entailed physical removal of the boys' penis foreskin or "ikole" while for girls was clitoridectomy or "unguthu"- that is, removal of the female clitoris. This was mandatory for all Akamba boys and girls of approximately 4-7 years (Mbiti, 1969: 122). The ceremony took place in the month of August and October every year when it is dry and relatively cool. Specialist men and women performed the operation on boys and girls respectively with a special knife (Mbiti, 1969). The operation was painful but the children were encouraged to endure it without crying and whining and those who managed to go through it bravely were highly praised by the community.
According to Mbiti (1969:123), the cutting of the skin from the sexual organ symbolised and dramatised separation from childhood; it was viewed as parallel to the cutting of the umbilical cord when the child is born. One was now believed to be born into another state, which was the state of knowledge, activity and reproduction. Among the Akamba people, so long as a person was not physically circumcised, no marriage could take place nor reproduction or bear children (Kalule, 1987; Mbiti, 1969). The authors further contend that the shedding of blood into the ground, one was now bound mystically to the living dead who were believed to be symbolically living in the ground. The physical pain which the children were encouraged to endure was the beginning of training them for difficulties and sufferings of later life (Mbiti, 1969). The author further points out that the presents given to the initiates by their relatives were tokens of welcome into the full community and in addition, symbolised that the young person could begin to own and inherit property and entitled to new rights.

The second circumcision which occurred almost after the onset of puberty was very painful. Boys and girls underwent a difficult experience and were supposed to be stoic (Kimilu, 1951). 'Nzaiko Nene' as popularly known or in other words major or the great initiation was the initiation proper because it is when young people in the Akamba culture were fully integrated into the culture (Kimilu, 1962). It occurred mostly anywhere between 14-18 years and the ceremony was spread over a period of four to ten days. Mbiti (1969) states that the Akamba young people of almost the same age were exposed to rigorous training, with boys undergoing a more intense exercise than girls to prepare them for future social challenging tasks. Girls mostly (although boys were also exposed) got instructions and underwent through actual performance of household duties. The
initiates were secluded from public, with boys and girls in separate huts only with community pundits, away from the villages (Mbiti, 1969: 124). It was a well organised kind of education and the Akamba community describe this as "brooding over the initiates", the way the birds brood over their eggs before hatching them (Mbiti, 1969). Boys and girls underwent removal of front teeth as well as shaping of teeth using sharp implements. Further, there was tattooing in the chest, ear piercing, and whipping by peers to prepare each other for difficult moments in life.

Kyalo (1990) asserts that during such occasions, vital age appropriate education was provided to the youths instilling in them ideas about their roles, special skills, responsibility and personal accountability. Indeed, there was proper and elaborate system of socialisation at communal levels by special categories of elderly or experienced elders for both boys and girls geared towards approximating the ideal person (Kimilu, 1962). Moreover, grandparents, aunts and uncles reinforced the society counsellors by giving guidance on matters related to sexuality, relationships, parenthood and the general moral behaviour expected after coming of age. The traditional educators mostly used legends, folklore, narratives, poems and music to convey knowledge about the history of the society, morals and social behaviour. One issue which was highly guarded and young people cautioned against was premarital pregnancies among the Akamba people.

Extra learning among the Akamba people was facilitated at home especially in the evenings, after the young people had graduated from the two initiations. According Kalule (1986: 50), this was the time when male youths, “Anake” joined their fathers and grandfathers at the traditional male-only fireplace “thome” where they were taught about their rights, issues on sexuality and obligations in the society. Traditionally, the ‘thome’
would be a place just outside or near the main gate to the homestead. In a parallel version, a similar situation existed for girls inside the main house or kitchen as cooking was taking place, with grandmothers ready to offer advice and learning through narratives (‘mbano’), riddles (‘Ndai’) and proverbs (“Nthimo”).

Moreover, among the traditional Akamba people, the child was also socialised by the whole community, in the sense that, one could be corrected or disciplined by any adult in case of misbehaviour. Kimilu (1962) observes that every adult member was obligated to help in streamlining the behaviour of the young, and by extension, the child belonged to the community and each had a stake in their welfare. Older siblings were also quite revered by their young brothers and sisters, and symbolically occupied the position of a parent and thus, had an ascribed responsibility on guiding and counselling the young ones on pertinent issues concerning life. Kayongo-Male and Onyango (1984) point out that if children did not act properly or were disrespectful towards adult, the parents would be blamed, though this was in very isolated cases. It is clear that the traditional Akamba culture had a well integrated system of socialisation and training the young people to be able to preserve their own traditions and culture, stabilise and organise the society, which were fundamental in the smooth running of the society.

Akong’a (1988) and Kalule (1986) further observe that the Akamba society had nocturnal dances (singing and dancing) by the youth which was a popular sport, considered as a school where girls and boys learned from one another and where they were likely to meet their future spouses. During such occasions, sexual intercourse (complete penetration) was permitted between couples that would not necessarily become husband and wife in future. Penwill (1951) points out that if a young man had intercourse
with a girl who was unmarried but past the age of puberty – as frequently happened after
dance, there was no penalty, even if part of the bride price had been paid for the girl and
the man was not her prospective husband. But, it was expected that the girls who were
menstruating and those in their fertile periods would report these to the dance organisers
to be excluded from the dance as well as sexual experiences as the penalties for becoming
pregnant before marriage was prescribed and severe. When a girl discovered that she was
menstruating, she would not attend the dance that day or she had to go home immediately
(personal communication). The belief was that anyone touching the blood would cause
sterility or in the one with whom that person had intercourse. Menstruation was, among
the Akamba people, in some way connected with the world of spirit. The Akamba people
also believed that girls would become pregnant if had intercourse during menstruation.
The girl who became pregnant before marriage could never be married by a bachelor but
married to an old man as a subsequent rather than first wife (Akong’a, 1988). Kyalo
(1990) and Penwill (1951) observed that young men were also careful for they as well
bore a heavy burden of making a girl pregnant, which included a goat, monetary fines
and other forms of cleansing processes which were very expensive to sustain by the boys
and their clans.

Ndeti (1972) points out that amongst the Akamba people,

“Sexual act was allowed but highly regulated. The neophytes learn the “mbeni” or
dance sessions and music what goes on in the secret world of men and women. The male
and female discuss fully the matters of sex and they participate in it during a session
known as “moleaga”. The “ngomeei” (community experts) must be consulted in all
matters. If one is mistreated or forced, it is reported and the offender can be seriously punished. Sometimes even ostracised." (Ndeti, 1972:8)

In addition, Lindblom (1920) observes that;

"Boys and girls who are duly circumcised and who have attained puberty amuse themselves at their favourite dance, the ‘Mbalya’. This dance is engaged in almost daily and is quite erotic in character. In this dance, the girls choose their male partners and it is during these dances that the basis of marriage is formed. Pre-marital sex is expected, but it is regarded as quite shameful for an unmarried girl to become pregnant.” (Lindblom, 1920: 407-412).

According to Ndeti (1972) and Lindblom (1920), boys and girls ought to have been very conscious about their sexuality condition and indeed, there was no coercion or manipulation to engage in sexual activity. Kimulu (1962) further asserts that Akamba boys were thoroughly inducted by their grandparents on strategies and proper language to use to chart a girl into a sexual relationship. It is noteworthy that the Akamba society is probably the only recorded society in Kenya in which it was shameful for a bride to be a virgin at the time of marriage. If at all found to be a virgin after marriage, the bride would be returned to her maternal home carrying the handle of an axe without the hole where the axe is fixed (Kalule, 1987: 45). A bride seen returning home with this symbolic article, was understood to be virgin and ignorant, and consequently, a man would be paid to deflower her before returning to her husband (Ndeti, 1972; Mbula, 1984). The parents of the girls, especially mothers were wary, very cautious and ashamed about such an
eventuality happening, thus, they would tactfully talk their girls into “knowing men” before marriage (Kimilu, 1962).

The other factor that minimised the chances of irresponsible sex and its consequences amongst the Akamba people was ‘child betrothal (Akong’a, 1988; Migot-Adholla, 1986). This was the institution by which Akamba parents in exercising their prerogative in mate selection for their children, they betrothed or gave infant females or unborn females at the stage of pregnancy to be married to their sons to be born or already born. In such circumstances, the parents who had betrothed a certain infant had a stake in her growing up and usually, she was brought up into the household of her future husband as initial bridewealth had already been paid. The chances of such a girl “socialising” with other boys in the village was almost nil. According to Akong’a (1988), such girls usually ended up performing wifely roles when they were still physically and psychologically premature and since bridewealth had been paid, she had no option but to remain as a wife. Bridewealth payment was a major characteristic of the Akamba culture, for no marriage customarily would be recognised or finalised unless it was paid even if not in full, but part of it by the family of the groom (Kimilu, 1962). Bridewealth was a strong factor between the two families and, indeed, guaranteed conjugal rights to the husband as well as rights over the offspring of the union, in addition to stabilising marriage (Kayongo-Male and Onyango, 1984). In ordinary usage, the synonym of bridewealth is ‘brideprice although ‘brideprice’ is not commonly used for it has a connotation of “buying” someone. In a parallel version, the word dowry is the anti-thesis of bridewealth. It refers to a gift(s) by the parents of the bride to the groom after getting married (Oxford
Dictionary, 7th Edition). Dowry payment is common in matrilineal societies in Asia, including Sri Lanka and it is also highly practised in India and Nepal.

Incidentally, apart from institutionalising pre-marital sex and child betrothal, there are a number of other customary practises where the Akamba community can be said to have legalised out-of-marriage sex relations to occur. The circumstances where pre-marital sex occurred with young people were socially sanctioned and viewed as part of Akamba community’s adaptation mechanisms. One institution in which it occurred was in Child Marriage. According to Kalule (1987: 41), this kind of social arrangement occurred especially when parents were getting old and they were anxious that they would die before seeing their grand children. In such an eventuality, the parents would provide their son with a ‘wife’, perhaps older than himself. They (parents) then fixed an appropriate relative, usually a cousin to procreate with the woman and the children would not belong to the biological father, but to the small son or boy. Kalule (1987) states that the woman would stay in the homestead as “bonafide wife” to the boy, interacting and performing all wifery duties and the boy could perform conjugal duties when ready!

Akong’a (1987) also cites the existence of the Levirate Marriage or popularly known as Wife Inheritance among the traditional Akamba culture when sex may have occurred among the young people. In this kind of arrangement, a boy below marriageable age who was next in line would customarily be assigned his deceased, older brother’s wife and children. In such circumstances, an adult man was selected by family or clan to continue fathering children on behalf of the young boy until he came of age to perform the functions of husband, father and provider in his deceased brother’s household (Akong’a, 1987).
The traditional Akamba culture similarly had the institution termed as Old Age Marriage (Kalule, 1987:41). Although in rare occasions, an old wealthy Akamba man with grandchildren could still marry a young girl and have her produce children with his grandson. In traditional Akamba customs, a boy referred to his paternal grandfather’s wife as his ‘wife’. Kalule (1987) asserts that the boy could ‘sleep’ and even produce children with her. Customarily however, such children belonged to the grandfather, while the real father (the boy) referred to the children as his ‘uncles’ or ‘aunts’ because they were deemed as products of his grandfather (Kalule, 1987).

Additionally, despite sanctioning early sexual experimentation, the structure and culture of the traditional Akamba society is documented to have inhibited and further prohibited activities that would be viewed as irresponsible sexual liaisons. The Akamba society had several types of relations which were taboo and consequently controlled what the society would consider illegitimate sexual unions (Akong’a, J. and Were, G., 1987). For instance, the society had institutions like totemism and the clan systems whose main obligation was to restrict certain classes of people from engaging in sexual activity. Incest was highly proscribed (apart from a few socially sanctioned circumstances), marriage was quite exogamous and the chance and range of individuals with whom one was to get sexually involved was very narrow (Akong’a, 1987). In addition, according to Kimilu (1962), old men were respected and were a symbol of wisdom. Akong’a (1986) further observes that there was no way a young girl could have sexual intercourse with an old man unless legally married to him. If an instance like this ever happened, then the culprits would be cursed, require some cleansing and some gods had to be appeased to forgive the
sin through several ceremonies. This was an expensive activity—especially for the culprit and by extension his/her clan.

Kalule (1986) while reiterating the Akamba society’s proscription of sex between a young girl and an old man, states that an unmarried girl was not supposed to have sexual relations with a married man for there was a belief that he could “possess death”. In fact, a man who had lost a wife or a child would try his best to ‘sleep’ with a girl to cleanse himself of the “death”. According to this Akamba belief, the “death” would remain with the girl and her fertility would be affected as children born to her in the future would die (Kalule, 1986: 115). Ultimately, girls loathed that death would befall them if they had sex with a married man. Kalule (1986) in a supplement view states that when a father was away, no one in his family was expected to engage in sex. If sexual intercourse occurred in such a home, bad omen would befall that family thus, a ritual purification known as “kutavitya” had to be performed (Kabwegyere, 1977). But even “kutavitya” ritual was viewed as a bad omen to the family, thus, it debarred both young and elderly from any form of illicit sexual liaison. Further, Kalule (1986) points out that in a home where somebody had died, it was a taboo for anyone to engage in sexual intercourse until elders in the family had gone through ritual sex to cleanse the family of death. Ritual sex was more or less a mode of communication between humans and god and could be performed only by married elders (Kalule, 1986).

In addition to the aforementioned sanctions to check the young people’s sexual behaviour, the Akamba people proscribed alcohol consumption or any other intoxicating substances like “mbaki” or chewed tobacco by young unmarried youths, while prostitution and indecency were totally unheard of (Kimilu, 1962). Other measures
included the expectation of bride wealth from the marriage of one’s daughter or sister which was a major motivation for being strict about a girl’s movement and in training them to be obedient and hard working. It was also, according to Akong’a (1988) one of the factors of early marriage among women, as a result of parents fearing to be disgraced through pre-marital pregnancies if they delayed marriage of their daughter or sisters. Moreover, the institution of polygyny amongst the Akamba people was also well entrenched. According to Kayongo-Male and Onyango (1984), this was the institution where the man married several women. Polygyny ensured that women (who were viewed to be majority) would at least each end up in marriage. It minimised the chances of pre-marital relationships and attendant consequences.

It can therefore be observed that the traditional Akamba culture applied strict control measures to contain irresponsible sexual behaviour, notwithstanding having sanctioned pre-marital sex among the young ones. Recent studies carried out in Kenya suggest a general discrepancy appertaining to the adolescent sexual behaviour. Data is abound to the realization that the contemporary adolescents are highly indulged into questionable sexual liaisons before marriage and consequently severe negative implications (CSA, 2000; KDHS, 2003; Mulama 2006; Njau, 1993). This noted change in adolescent sexual behaviour perspective is not devoid in the contemporary Akamba culture and can be explained through the interplay of biological, economic, political and socio-cultural forces of which, according to Hawkins and Meshesha (1994), some are laid early in life.
1.1 BIOLOGICAL EXPLANATIONS TO ADOLESCENT SEXUAL BEHAVIOUR

The onset of adolescence and puberty ushers in chemically based erotic sexuality. Indeed, it has been observed that rising hormonal levels during puberty contribute to an activation of sexual sensations and erotic thoughts and dreams for boys and girls (Masters, et al., 1988; Miller, et al., 1993). The relationship between pubertal hormones and sexual behaviour is shown in the findings of boys who undergo late puberty (around ages fifteen and sixteen) generally having less and later teenage sexual activity- including masturbation and intercourse- than boys who have early puberty (around twelve and thirteen). Kinsey and his colleagues (1948 and 1953) pointed out this pattern. In a series of studies by Udry, et al., (1985) and Masters, et al. (1988), it is observed that the testosterone levels of the pubertal boy increases the frequency or the intensity of sexual erection, and this leads to heightened awareness of sexual sensations. Testosterone levels are also related to measures of sexual motivation (thinking about sex, sexual arousal) and to subsequent sexual behaviours (including masturbation, wet dreams and frequency of intercourse) (Udry, et al., 1985).

In parallel fashion, girls who undergo late puberty seem to have lower rate of early adolescent sexual activity than girls who complete puberty at early ages (Masters, et al., 1988). In a cross cultural study by Udry and Cliquet (1982), data from five different countries show that girls who are younger at menarche tend to have intercourse and tend to give birth at earlier ages than girls with later menarche.

In addition to sexual hormones, another biological basis of adolescent sexual behaviour appears to be genetic. There is a relationship between mother’s and daughter’s ages at menarche and sexual intercourse (Udry and Cliquet, 1982). Further, there is
evidence that mother’s sexual intercourse during adolescence has an influence on the sexual experiences of their adolescent children, and this relationship appears to operate, at least in part through their shared biology (Newcomer and Udry, 1984). This view is further reinforced by Kowaleski-Jones and Mott (1998) who emphasise that mothers who had an earlier mean age at first sex were likely to have children who initiate sexual activity at younger ages. This aspect provides support for the inter-generational transmission of sexual activity – for both boys and girls according to Johnson and Tyler (2007).

The biological nature of adolescent sexuality is also exemplified in the classic psychoanalytical perspective as propounded by Sigmund Freud (1856-1939). In his view, adolescence is dominated by a renewed struggle to control sexual drives or impulses (Libido) which are biological in nature (Freud, 1958). Sigmund Freud’s original formulation emphasised the development of an individual through a series of psychosexual stages starting at birth and continuing through adulthood. In infancy, sexual arousal is concentrated in the oral erogenous zone, at around one and one-half years, the focus of sexual experiment and gratification is in anal zone while at about age three (phallic stage), sexual gratification is concentrated in genital area (Ingersoll, 1989). Later, in phallic stage, male child experiences what Freud called Oedipus Complex while the girl equally experiences Electra Complex. That is, a time when the young child develops "incestuous desire" for his or her opposite sexed parents. But this unconscious desire is eventually resolved through parental rebuke and rebuff. Following phallic stage is latency period, where the child remains dormant until early adolescence, but by and large, they show a lot of interest in their peers (Ingersoll, 1989: 15).
At puberty-adolescence, the young person starts to move towards adult genital sexuality. Ingersoll (1989) asserts that at this point, Oedipal conflicts are reawakened by the rapid increase in the output of sexual hormones. Increasingly, sexual drives are redirected away from parents towards other members of the opposite sex. Freud (1958) felt that frustration of these heightened sexual drives is universal and inherent in all societies and, leads to delinquent behaviour and aggression. Some of the delinquent behaviours they may get involved in may include indiscriminate and irresponsible sexual behaviour, among others.

Another biological view emphasises the importance of body types and physical appearance in adolescence sexual expression. Sheldon (1940) and Cabot (1938) suggested that muscular boys and thin girls would be more sexually attractive and would engage in more sexual activity than adolescents with other physical characteristics. Zeller (1952) also stressed appearance. He argued that the body gestalt (or wholeness) changed at each phase of development; during adolescence, there was an attempt to integrate one’s sexual organs, hormonal changes and overall physical and psychological functioning. If an event like menarche was viewed as not fitting the adolescent’s emerging sense of physical gestalt, she or he could exhibit a dysfunctional approach to sexuality and vice versa.

An intriguing debate emerging in the United States and published in the New Scientist (www.newscientist.com) 2007, demonstrates a nexus in Intelligent Quotient (IQ) and adolescent sexuality. According to the New Scientist, studies done in the US on sexual activity among adolescents show that female and male adolescents with an IQ score either below 70 or above 110 are more likely to be virgins. The average IQ score is 69.
90 to 110. The study was conducted by researchers in the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. The two scientists (a professor of Maternal and Child Health and a Sociologist) discovered that 39.8 percent of boys and girls with an average IQ score have had sex while 29.2 percent of those with an IQ score above 110 have had sex. They also found that 63.3 percent of adolescents and 81.6 percent with IQ score below average have never had sex and most have had fewer experiences of romantic attraction.

Another study in Gene Expression Magazine entitled 'Intercourse and Intelligence' confirms this data, citing research that shows a bell-shaped relationship between IQ scores and sex (TOI, August 12th, 2007). According to the research, an adolescent with an IQ score of 100 was 1.5 to 5 times more likely to have had intercourse than an adolescent with an above average score of about 120 to 130. Although the studies do not explain how the IQ causes this kind of variations or pattern in sexual involvement amongst the adolescents, they help in understanding the phenomena of adolescent sexuality from a biological perspective.

It is important to note that although physical changes and sexual motivation are propelled most clearly by biological mechanisms as adduced by aforementioned scholars, heterosexual behaviours (kissing, petting, coitus, et al.) are influenced to some greater extent by social processes, expectations and social control (Delamater, 1981). In human beings, sexual activity is so strongly influenced by social and emotional factors that hormonal and genetic influences are pretty much overridden. Hilgard, et al., (1975) point out that although hormones influence sexual motivation, they do not elicit specific patterns of sexual behaviour. Rather, they produce a state of readiness to respond appropriately to certain classes of social stimuli. Further, Hollingworth (1928) proposed
that although sex drives are inborn, they get highly modified throughout life through social experiences and environment.

1.2 SOCIO-CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC FACTORS EXPLAINING ADOLESCENT SEXUAL BEHAVIOUR

In the study of adolescent sexuality, various socio-cultural and economic stimuli or factors have been adduced to explain sexual behaviour of the adolescents

1.2.1 EROSION OF TRADITIONAL MORAL CODE AND MECHANISMS OF SOCIAL CONTROL

The observed irresponsible sexual behaviour amongst the contemporary adolescents is, to a large degree, the consequence of the breakdown in the traditional institutions that defined morality and further controlled their sexual behaviour (Akong’a, 1988; Andere, 1994; Bledsoe and Barney, 1993; Castillo, 1986; Gyepi- Garbah, 1985; Jagdeo, 1989; Maggwa and Ojwang, 1991; Nichols, et al., 1987; Njau, 1993; Oluchina, 1987). There has been a drastic socio – cultural change from a traditional society to a modern one characterized by modernization, urbanisation and the infiltration of the Western norms and values which has led to the breakdown of strict traditional taboos and social values that regulated the sexual behaviour of the young people. In Kenya, Western cultural norms, traits and social institutions were catapulted into the ethnic cultures and became pervasive through colonisation, Christianity, education and very elaborate fast modern technology. According to Gyepi- Garbah (1985), a majority of African ethnic groups had well defined social systems of initiation and rites of passage which had their
own codes of acceptable behaviour, as well as rights and responsibilities through which
the young people went through smoothly. Boys and girls were initiated into these systems
(age grade) before and after puberty by means of circumcision and clitoridectomy and
subsequently, social responsibility education in order to prepare them for their position in
the traditional society. But, the intrusion of Western values and behaviour patterns led to
the disintegration of the age set systems as well as disruption of the social structures and
values that regulated young people’s growth and sexual behaviour (Cook and Wilson,
1982; Nyanjui, 1994; and Suda, 2002).

In Kenya, Western culture and social institutions started to become pervasive in
the 1920’s following the transformation from a British protectorate into a colony.
According to Akonga (1988: 8), the colonial administration introduced new
administrative structures and positions even in areas where centralisation of power had
never existed before such as pastoral and hunting societies. The author points out that a
status inversion in leadership positions was created when, using new criteria for
appointing manpower to newly created positions, traditional criteria or leaders were
ignored. Violence was institutionalised as the most effective instrument of forcing the
unwilling Africans to abide by the wishes, dreams and desires of the colonial masters.
Akong’a (1988) observes that through physical violence, men were whipped in public in
front of their wives and children, teachers in front of their pupils and community leaders
and village “wazees” elders in front of their subjects, and through structural violence,
racial segregation enabled the Europeans to monopolise political power and to occupy the
best productive land in the country while denying the Africans access to basic means of
survival. Further, through psychological violence or attrition, by the colonists, the
Africans became dehumanised through flogging, seizure of their land and transforming them into squatters in their homeland (Akong’a, 1988). Public flogging of parents, teachers and community elders drastically reduced their authority over their subjects in traditional African cultures.

The white settlers (Europeans) on the other hand established plantation agriculture in order to produce raw materials for industries back in their country, that is, Britain and other Western nations. They needed labour in these plantations and as a subsequent, Akong’a (1988) points out, they forced Africans to work in these farms at meagre pay. Moreover, districts were closed (no movement without authority) and transformed into African reservoirs of cheap labour. The colonial masters also introduced a compulsory Hut tax which ensured that all the able bodied men availed themselves for migrant labour either on white farms or in urban centres to be able to pay this tax. Since the migrants were mainly men, the rural areas became depleted of the able bodied men. Although after independence in 1963, most of the lands formerly occupied by the white settlers were systematically handed over or bought back by Africans, the earlier set momentum for rural to urban migration by which youthful, educated, mainly male members of the society continued. Even today, this process of migration to the urban centres in an attempt to secure regular employment continues (Akong’a, 1988 and Kioli, 2007). This in effect has meant that the double aspect of life in Kenya, rural and urban, leads to inadequate socialisation of children who are brought up by one parent either in rural or urban centres. Parental authority over children declined, with the influence of the father in socialisation of the young ones becoming minimal. Moreover, Akong’a (1988) avers that the heterogeneity of culture in urban centres arising from racial and ethnic diversity
also implies that there is no single standard of morality. This situation is further amplified by diversities among the people of Kenya brought about by or aggravated by income inequalities which dictate variations and social inconsistencies in terms of child upbringing and socialisation.

On the other hand, missionaries who simultaneously accompanied the colonialists zealously started entrenching Christianity and formal education among the already dejected, humiliated and desperate Africans. According to Akong’a (1988), the earlier traditional African belief systems as well as age-set or grade systems of education were all repudiated and viewed as repugnant to civilisation, morality and justice. Formal education was indeed entrenched through force. All young people would be roughed and taken to white schools. The circumstances of extreme negative colonial attitudes towards the Africans, and their culture consequently led to feeling of helplessness under the iron fist of the colonial administration and as a consequence, the Africans began a process of cultural retreat, rejecting even those functional aspects of their culture that would have been complementary to Western culture, like formal education and Christianity (Akong’a, 1988). The result has been sharp conflicts and contradictions between the traditional norms, beliefs, values and behaviour patterns and the modern norms representing a situation in the Western world.

The modern formal education purely entrenched by the colonialists has not been sufficient in instilling discipline and offering adequate life responsibility education, while the breakdown of traditional values and institutions of learning faltered the strong cultural background that prepared the young people for a responsible future life. Consequently, the interface between the traditional and modern lifestyles have led to a cultural vacuum.
or a state of anomie (normlessness) as Durkheim would put it, thus, young people and other cultural opportunists take advantage and engage in activities which were taboo in the traditional societies (Akong’a, 1988, Munywoki, 2000). According to Semmens and Krantz (1970), young people have moved into a position of autonomy in decision making with reference to sexual matters. Jagdeo (1989) emphasises that lack of substantial socio-cultural, economic and psychological penalties are contributory factors to the high rates of irresponsible sexual exposure and child bearing in adolescence.

Kayongo-Male and Onyango (1984) while also reiterating about the influence of the colonialists and their concomitant institutions argue that the introduction of the schools and the church ultimately contributed to the decline of community and parental authority over the young ones. Allegiance to traditional authority changed, since both church and school offered alternative systems of values as well as new sources of authority. Closely allied to this was the moral degradation associated with racial discrimination, which reduced parents’ dignity and thus often children’s respect for their parents. In addition, the authors point out that the entrenchment of colonial and Western institutions (school, church and ‘Westernisation’) had a psychological impact on the people of Kenya, which consequently affected their social life. Kayongo-Male and Onyango (1984) assert that new cultural values associated with being British or French ‘gentleman’ or ‘gentle lady’ were imparted. Working in rural areas was over time debased and viewed as demeaning, giving room to ‘white collar’ jobs only available in urban centres. The desire to speak Queen’s dialect (English) substituted indigenous local languages and people systematically changed in mannerisms, attitudes and habits to fit the Western orientation. The Africans eventually started losing their roots and in general,
a whole new set of cultural values and a new psychological, social, and economic-political system created severe disruptions for many Kenyan ethnic groups.

The massive "air-lifting" of young aspiring scholars to America, Europe and Russia in the 1960's and 70's experienced in Kenya to pursue high school and university education in the diaspora, highly affected the ways of life of not only these young people but also their families and societies they came into contact with when they came back. According to Munywoki (2000), most of these people learned the ways of the cultures they went to live with (acculturation), shed off some of their original traditions and languages and became marginal men and women. For instance, adopting foreign language (English) at the expense of ethnic languages meant doing away with their cultural histories, legends and culture which would otherwise be crucial in the upbringing of the young people. Those in long odyssey especially in Europe and American dispora acted as purveyors of the Western lifestyles and values to the indigenous African cultures. This has had its effects to the indigenous ways of life of socialisation and upbringing. Indeed, their lifestyle (liberalism, consumerism and materialism) was emulated and viewed as the ideal since majority, especially the youth "wanted to be like them".

Migot-Adholla (1986) further asserts that the increasing social and cultural heterogeneity in Kenya, compounded by the fast communication and residential separation in some case between father, mother and children, rapid extension of the scale of social interaction and the erosion of ethnic, tribal and kinship boundaries highly explains influence on adolescent values. Moreover, with the increasing exposure to scientific knowledge, have combined to make traditional forms of socialisation, couched
in myths and taboos, practically ineffective. The breakdown of traditional mechanisms of sexual control are not only noted in sub-Saharan Africa, but according to Jagdeo (1989), from the Caribbean Family Planning Association and Nicholas, et al. (1987), loosened penalties and dislocations due to changes in residence has been a contributing factor to early sexual activity in the Caribbean and Liberian areas, respectively. Similar processes of transition in sexual socialisation have been documented in Zimbabwe where, as a consequence of rural to urban migration, extended family members including “tete” or paternal aunts are no longer available to offer advice to young women, and young men lack the guidance they used to receive from village elders, many of whom have themselves embraced lifestyles different from those of the past (Runganga and Aggleton, 1998). In a nutshell then, traditional channels of communication about sex and marriage have reportedly lessened in importance because of socio-cultural and economic dynamics being witnessed in a majority of global societies.

1.2.2 ROLE OF THE FAMILY IN SOCIALISATION

The family is the basic social unit whose main responsibility is to induct the young ones into the cultural systems of the society (CAFS, 2006). Traditionally in the East Africa region, reference to the family meant the broader extended family comprising parents, children, grandparents and great grandparents. Family members complemented each other in moulding the youth socially and played a key role in socialising and instilling discipline to the young ones (CAFS, 2006.) However, the advent of colonialism, which encouraged migration of the male partners to urban centres, rapid economic change, development of formal education and Christianity have led to shift in structure of
the African family thus affecting socialization negatively. The traditional extended family is shifting towards the nuclear family, thus, Suda (2002) observes that the new family structure is weak and much less capable of proper child socialization and support. Families have shrunk, male parental role in socialisation less felt while other social vices have crept into the family due to separation between spouses.

Migot-Adholla (1986) points out that many parents today are victims of socio-economic changes that transformed the traditional life. Paradoxically, they have been the victims of cultural lag with respect to sex matters, they lack knowledge on biology and human reproduction, they never had benefits of traditional socialization and thus, they are ignorant, coy and inhibited to talk about or accept adolescent sex. In other cases, they provide scanty information on sexuality matters to the young ones (Castillo, 1986; Nichols, et al., 1987, and Njau, 1993). Parents and relatives have abdicated their role of socializing adolescents and according to Gachui (1973), the failure of the parents and other members of the family and the general reluctance of the others to talk about or accept adolescent sexual behaviour, has an effect on their sexuality. Moreover, parental attitude of secrecy or taboo concerning sex cannot fail to generate feelings of curiosity among teenage offspring. Additionally, children whose parents must seek work in the cities tend to be raised by various family members and may be subjected to conflicting messages about sexual behaviour (Runganga and Aggleton, 1998). Some children are left in the care of siblings or old grandparents without consistent format of supervision, thus increasing opportunities of sexual activity. Indeed, the effectiveness of traditional family expectations and structures in youth behaviour have substantially been weakened by traditional family disintegration as well as population movement.
Furthermore, the disappearance of extended family, that is, aunts and grandmothers for girls, uncles and grandfathers for boys, to instruct youth on sex matters and penetration of labour market where parents are too busy or involved has also left the young with an opportunity to act with abandon on sex matters (Ojwang and Maggwa, 1991). In other instances, parents themselves are not good role models. According to Castillo (1986), nowadays, family values have disintegrated, poor relationship between the parents themselves, and indeed, interparental conflict as emphasised by Steinberg, et al., (1986) may be an integral factor in understanding contemporary adolescent sexual behaviour. To them, observation of erratic parental relationships is one way that adolescents learn about romantic relationships. The fact that they observe that their parents are emotionally unavailable with one another or unable to resolve conflicts, they are more likely to exhibit similar characteristics both in the home and in other social arenas (Emery, 1982).

The above mentioned view is corroborated by Buehler (2006) who points out that disrupted parenting creates and maintains children’s antisocial behaviour. Semmens and Krantz (1970) further cites weakness in character and immorality among adolescents, as well as rebellion as a result of lack of confidence and communication between parents and children. It is also suggested that indulgence in early sexual activity in adolescence is a result of unhappiness at home, rejection, confusion and sometimes of anger as well as bitterness against parents including solitude as a result of poor relations between siblings (Cook and Wilson, 1982; Young, 1954; Whitbeck, et al., 1999). To these authors, when boys and girls are rejected and neglected by their families, they look for or turn to heterosexual companies for warmth, consolation and understanding. They pour their
loneliness and turn to each other for comfort and love, and subsequently express their real feelings, and their intimacy becomes sexual. Moreover, adolescents who are sexual risk takers are more likely than others to have troubled relationships with their parents (Luster and Small, 1994). Additionally, Ream and Savin-Williams (2005) point out that youths who are less close to their parents are likely to have fewer activities with them and be more problem-focussed which results in an increased likelihood of early sexual onset. In a similar version, Elder (1995; 1996) adduced the concept of social timing which refers to how individuals may depart from social roles that are associated with age expectations and beliefs in trying to understand adolescent sexual behaviour. For example, the timing at which adolescents initiate sexual onset may be influenced by what they view as acceptable, based on their parents' behaviour.

Studies have also observed that girls of school going age are subject to incestuous relationships (FPAK, 1994). Uncles and cousins initiate or compel young ones to sexual relations with some resulting in very severe sexuality complications. Adolescent girls have as well been noted to be at risk of sexual victimization (rape or sexual assault) by various predators, including primary family members (Lystad, 1982).

Theoretically, it has been argued that the moral development of children (including adolescents) strongly depends on the mode of parenting employed. Child developmentalists who have studied child-rearing techniques and moral development have focussed on parents' discipline techniques which include love withdrawal, power assertion and induction (Hoffman, 1970).

- Love withdrawal comes close to Freud's psychoanalytic emphasis on fear of punishment and of losing parental love. It is a discipline technique in which a
parent withholds attention or love from the adolescent, as when a parent refuses to talk to the adolescent or states a dislike for the adolescent (Santrock, 2005: 288).

• Power assertion is a discipline technique in which a parent attempts to gain control over the adolescent or the adolescent’s resources. Examples include spanking, threatening, or removing privileges (Santrock, 2005: 288).

• Induction is a discipline technique in which a parent uses reason and explanation of the consequences for others of the adolescent’s actions. Examples of induction include “don’t hit him. He was trying to help” and “why are you yelling at her? She didn’t mean to hurt your feelings.” (Santrock, 2005: 288).

Hoffman (1970), among other development theorists, believed that any parental disciplining produces arousal on the adolescent’s part. Love withdrawal and power assertion are likely to evoke a very high level of arousal, with love withdrawal generating considerable anxiety and power assertion generating considerable hostility. Induction is more likely to produce a moderate level of arousal in adolescents, a level that permits them to attend to the cognitive rationales parents offer (Santrock, 2005). Indeed, while love withdrawal might produce anxiety and by extension curiosity, power assertion presents parents a weak model of self-control and adolescents may initiate this model of poor self-control when they face stressful circumstances. On the other hand, induction is more inclusive and the adolescent will focus on his/her attention on the consequences of an action on self and others. For these reasons, Hoffman (1988) believes that parents should use induction to encourage adolescents’ moral development. Thus, in parenting techniques, induction is more positively related to positive moral development than in
love withdrawal or power assertion, especially for the adolescents. In relation to the
discussions presented by various scholars on model of parenting in the modern African
families, induction discipline technique which is proposed as most ideal is totally lacking.
Love withdrawal appears to take root with a majority of modern African parents due to
the prevailing socio-economic conditions, which dictate a lot of parental absenteeism and
attention, inadequate knowledge and reticence. Traditional African societies combined
both power assertion and induction in socialising the young ones and that is why they
seem to have been effective than modern African societies in socialisation.

1.3 GENDER AND ADOLESCENT SEXUAL BEHAVIOUR

In a majority of global cultures, women (girls) occupy a subordinate position
which subsequently makes them susceptible to sexual exploitation, rape and sexual
abuse. According to East and Adam (2002), especially in Africa, Middle East, Asia and
South American Continent, girls and young women appear not to have adequate sexual
rights. These include the right not to have sexual intercourse when they don’t wish to,
right to choose a sexual or marriage partner or right to use any form of birth control
during intercourse. For instance, in Kenya, among several groups namely Maasai, Somali
and the Samburu, girls as young as 10 (ten) years get betrothed to be married to elderly
men likely to be their grandfathers, while in the same vein, girls as young as 13 years
(underage) have been highly sexually exploited by soldiers in Coted ‘ivoire and the
Congo (UN Report, 2007).

Moreover, stereotypical gender roles place women, and to a lesser extent young
men at a vulnerable sexuality position. Young women in many parts of the developing
world have little control over how, when, whom and where sex takes place (Gupta, Weiss and Mane, 1996). This remains the prerogative of the male gender and by extension the adult community. Young women then end up being coerced and manipulated by male gender for sex. In majority of other cultures, there are strong pressures on young unmarried girls to retain their virginity (Weiss, Whelan and Gupta, 1996). This high value placed on virginity may pressure parents and community to ensure that young women are kept ignorant about sexual matters. Girls thus grow up totally devoid of value laden knowledge about their sexuality and other life skills. In addition to the emphasis widely placed on being chaste, girls are commonly socialised to be submissive to men (Zelaya, et al., 1997). Girls are often pressured to have sex as a proof for love and obedience. In other cases, they give in to sex and early marriage in order to please their parents, community or guardian (Weiss, Whelan and Gupta, 1996).

Paradoxically, boys in majority of cultures are socialised to be sexually adventurous, masculine and are encouraged to seek sexual experience, with a variety of partners (Weiss, Whelan and Gupta, 1996). Indeed, many young boys in certain cultures grow thinking that women should be there to give sex as others also think they have the right to assault women and they are meant to be assaulted. Classic examples exist in a majority of patrilineal societies in Asia, Africa and South American continent.
1.4 AGENTS OF SOCIIALIZATION THAT TRANSMIT INFORMATION ABOUT SEXUALITY

1.4.1 THE MASS MEDIA

With the breakdown of African traditional forum for socialization and the teaching of young people on sexuality matters by family members, young people have resorted to the mass media as one of the major sources of information regarding sexuality (Akong’a, 1988; Abdulla, 1986; FOCUSAS, 2005; Hawkins and Meshesha, 1994; IPPF, 1994; Joshi, 2004; Migot-Adholla, 1986; Mulama, 2006; Njau, 1993; Sen, et al., 1994; Youri, 1994). These authors appear to be in agreement that much of the information content and messages by the mass media is inaccurate, misleading and even encourage risky sexual behaviour. Young people are exposed to sexual stimuli in magazines, television, internet, newspapers, movies and music more than ever before. Mitchell (1971) asserted that adolescence stage is critical to one’s development since it is the period of identity formation and thus, their behaviour is highly likely to be triggered or influenced by any suggestive gesture, thought or picture. They tend to imitate and copy what they see especially if it is socially valued by their lot or personally meaningful. To Mitchell (1971) in addition to encouraging sexual experimentation, watching or reading about sexual activity is itself arousing. According to FOCUSAS (2005), and Sen, et al. (1994), regardless of age, marital status or income level, young people (adolescents) are exposed to mass media images of sexuality that influence their values, material aspirations and interactions with one another, their families and their communities.
The sexual information imbibed by adolescents from the mass media instead of relieving them of the problem, actually aggravates it (FOCUSAS, 2005; Njau, 2003). Much of it insists that “sex appeal” is a personal quality that people need to develop to the fullest. The adolescents thus live in a sensuous world such that they cannot remain passive spectators for long. The sports, dress patterns, hair styles, as well as advertisements rely on salaciousness to increase sales while the movies and music are sexually cathartic (Akong’a, 1988). In show business, many slogans for instance “Darling”, “Baby” “Honey” “Sweety”, and many other raunchy or racy messages are regarded as crowd catching bait. Young folks, of course, are exposed to all these lures and indeed, they are ultimately the main consumers of such randy matters (Wattenberg, 1955).

Abdulla (1986) asserts that the effect of audio visual sexual literature on the behaviour of the adolescents is high. They are bombarded with information and literature on sexuality and yet, structured sexual education is lacking. Migot-Adholla (1986), Tonkin (1987), and Paiva (1993) also cite a “popular youth culture” created and diffused by an electronic communication technology whereby the portrayal of sex is more open. The youth culture tends to highlight a pleasurable life including sexual gratification, alcoholism, individual freedom including sexual adventure and freedom of choice as regards ones friends and love partners, social mobility, achievement orientation and the like. The mass media thus can be said to manipulate the adolescents through advertising in sexual matters which according to Castillo (1986: 58), “influence their physical precociousness in that they arouse and stimulate sexual interest prematurely”.

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1.4.2 THE PEERS

Peers are people in the same position as another in society; in other words, known as contemporaries or age mates (Chopra, 2005). Adolescents acquire a lot of sexual information from each other and indeed, studies report that peer pressure encourages the adolescents to have sexual intercourse (Andere, 1994; CSA, 1994; Kioli, 1997; Njau and Lema, 1988; Njau, 1993; Miller and Moore, 1990). These authors concur that initiation into love and sex in particular cannot be understood without reference to peer influence, and that the adolescents engage in sexual intercourse due to lack of parental guidance by seeking it from their peers. Studies also suggest that the adolescents who stay with their peers and friends are more likely to be sexually active than those who stay with their parents (Njau and Lema, 1988). Akong’a (1988) and Kioli (1997) presuppose that peers are among the agents whom adolescents turn to for sexual information due to lack of structured forum for educating them. Such peers have inadequate information on sexuality such that they misinform each other. They give contradictory information and since they find sex as fun, they easily influence each other to experiment. Further, studies suggest that affiliation with deviant peers is an important correlate of externalizing problems during adolescence whether in developed or developing countries (Fergusson, et al., 2002; Patterson, et al., 1998). Thus, associations or interactions with deviant peers during adolescence shape new forms of problem behaviour, which may include illicit sexual interactions.

In line with above observations, Allport (1969) pointed out that at the stage of adolescence, much of the discussion is centred around sex gratification and there is little
about mature love. Indeed, much influence is felt for those who cannot control themselves since they urge one another to experiment than to postpone their actions.

1.4.3 THE CHURCH

One of the major historical processes that had a major impact on the social organisation of the African life was Christianity. It was introduced into the traditional African cultures in the 19th century through Missionaries who according to Akong’a (1988), had come to bring “light” in a continent previously considered as “dark”. Their aim was to create a new personality in the natives, a higher sense of responsibility towards God and humankind, and the transformation of the society towards Western civilization. Christian missionaries viewed such traditions as polygyny, circumcision (especially for women), systems of marriage and many other traditions as heathen or pagan that were primitive to civilization, morality and justice (Akong’a, 1988). Their deliberate effort to eliminate some of these traditions has systematically led to a dilemma in the African social life. According to Hastings (1973), marriages are not stable any more, trial marriages abound while indiscriminate pre-marital sex and pregnancies have increased sharply even among youths professing to be born-again Christians. Paradoxically, these vices are occurring despite the fact that most religious institutions are deemed to encourage socially acceptable behaviour, which include self-control and self-discipline virtues. Ream and Savin-Williams (2003) assert that religion teaches young people about morality, respect, caring and concern for others as well as being an asset to the communities to which they belong. Inspite of these teachings, the behaviour of young people is quite wanting.
Further, Christian teachings are done within the context of rapid social and cultural changes that instil in people the notions of private property, individualism, consumerism, freedom of conscience, expression and association and competition for individual rather than collective status. This liberalisation according to Akong'a (1988), which in the West is a measure of individual freedom, is what has created conditions in which individual fulfilment or achievement can be accomplished even at the expense of the ambition of other people, their needs and their well being. Thus, such teachings may compel adolescents to make decisions to associate and interact with one another without fear of social retributions. There is also noted conflict between Modernity and Christianity. Modernity tenets propagated a breakaway from the ecumenical and supernatural and the shift of focus to the natural and secular, the growing belief in the ability of the individual minds instead of submission to ecclesiastical authority to attain truths needed for guidance in life; the importance and credibility given to science as a means of objectively arriving at the truth; the autonomy of the individual as needing no authority outside himself or herself. Middleton and Walsh (1995) refer to these kinds of teachings of modernity as “Progress Myth”. The Progress Myth, according to these authors, has had the main aim of breaking the shackles of supernatural and tradition in favour of science. This has had tremendous and devastating effects on the social life and organization of the traditional African cultures. Indeed the African is in a dilemma to delineate that which is modern and which is ideal Christian teaching. This complicates the situation further.

The church, and especially the Roman Catholic, has been vocal in condemning the introduction of sex education in institutions of learning in Kenya. Such information
according to Shaw (1995) would be necessary in empowering the adolescents in understanding what sex is and its context in their own lives, instead of approaching it ignorantly. The church feels that such information would be dangerous in exposing “innocent kids” to the dangers of knowing “too much” about sexuality at an early age (Nyamongo, 1995). But, according to WHO (1989b), there is no evidence that providing sex education in schools leads to earlier or increased sexual activity by young people. On the contrary, in a review of 35 relevant studies, WHO reported that in 10 studies, school based sex education was found to lead to an increase in the adoption of safer sexual practises by sexually active youth and in six of the studies, data showed that the young people delayed starting sexual activity or decreased their overall sexual activity.

Moreover, Andere (1994) reiterates that the Christian religion considers sex as sacred gift from God which should only be practised within the sanctity of marriage. Some Christian religious institutions believe sex education in the classroom will “strip the sexual act” of its natural, intimate and sacred nature, according to Andere (1994). To them, sex education would lead youths to indulge in “sex without responsibility” making sex an instrument of pleasure and immorality, encouraging promiscuity and hastening the erosion of moral values. Thus, Andere points out that this kind of belief prompts the church to oppose introduction of sex education in schools and by extension, heightens the levels of ignorance on sexuality matters among the adolescents. Furthermore, there is some evidence to suggest that although more religious adolescents delay sexual activity relative to others, those who do become sexually active are less likely to use contraception or to do so in a less consistent fashion (Studer and Thornton, 1987). This suggests that religious youth who become sexually active are struggling with the morality
of their sexual decision making. To employ contraception in a premeditated manner would be admitting to themselves and to their partners that they are actually planning or intending to do something that is “wrong” within the context of their religious value system (Jorgensen, 1993). Thus, it may be that religious adolescents are more likely than others to report that they did not employ contraception to prevent pregnancy or sexually transmitted diseases because contraception is against their religious moral teaching or sexual intercourse was unplanned or “just happened”!

1.4.4 THE SCHOOL

Formal Western education was institutionalized in Kenya in the 20th century by the British colonialists. Its implementation which was couched in use of force and physical coercion by colonialists led to the collapse of the African traditional “age set” or “age grade” systems initially offering informal education (Akong’a, 1988; Migot-Adholla, 1986). Adolescent boys and girls started attending linear and sequential education system which ostensibly make them stay in school longer and delay marriage. As the number of years in school increases, the period between puberty and marriage is lengthened, extending the period of pre-marital exposure to many experiences and consequences. Akong’a (1988) and United Nations (1989) point out that formal education delays youth in schools and because of deficiency in sufficient knowledge on sexuality, indiscipline and lack of patience and self control, they engage in sexual relations regardless of whether in day or boarding schools.

The teaching and preparation of young people on sexuality issues in school is quite limited in content (Kioli, 2002; Nyamongo, 1995). Although some issues on
sexuality are covered in the syllabus, the teaching is quite superficial because of limited time while sexuality topics appear to be taboo in most modern African schools. Moreover, modern science which emphasises a lot on nature and evolution, with its factual, strictly rational and unemotional approach to issues of all kinds, has contributed to a rejection or repudiation on the part of some adolescents of traditional ethical principles which are based on cultural or religious sense of good and evil (Blaine, 1966). For instance, in a survey in Ghana, Kenya and Uganda, over 60 percent of respondents (young people) in urban centres did not believe that traditional norms restricting premarital sex and extra-marital sexual relations are applicable in contemporary society (Blanc and Rutenberg, 1990). Feelings of guilt or fear of external damnation and social rebuff simply do not have the inhibiting and restrictive effect on adolescents any more.

Studies have also associated male teachers with initiating or manipulating adolescent girls into early sexual activity. According to FPAK (1994), male teachers blackmail and subsequently induce girls into sex in exchange for examination favours or other forms of gifts. FPAK in its youth initiatives project carried out in 1994, suggested that teachers often have sex with female students and then show them leniency or preference in class work.

In the same version as with parenting techniques to moral development, schools have been documented as important contexts for adolescents’ moral development (Santrock, 2005). Several perspective models have been adduced in relation to moral development of the adolescents by the school:-

- The Hidden Curriculum: Dewey (1933) recognised that even when schools do not have specific programs in moral education, they provide moral education through
a "hidden curriculum". The hidden curriculum is conveyed by the moral atmosphere that is a part of every school. The moral atmosphere is created by school and classroom rules, the moral orientation of teachers, school administrators and text materials. Teachers serve as models of ethical or unethical behaviour, while classroom atmosphere and peer relations at school transmit attitudes that mirror on either good or bad behaviour. A value system is infused through the prevailing atmosphere or through rules and regulations (Santrock, 2005: 289).

- Character Education: This is a direct approach which involves teaching students a basic moral literacy to prevent them from engaging in immoral behaviour and doing harm to themselves and others. According to character education, such behaviours as lying, stealing, immorality and cheating are wrong, and taught in school (William, et al., 2003). These moral codes are clearly communicated and violation of any is met with sanctions (Bennet, 1993). Instruction in specified moral concepts, like honesty, can take the form of example and definition, class discussions and role playing, or rewarding students for proper behaviour.

- Value Clarification: Value clarification means helping the youth to clarify what is important to them, what is worth working for, and what their lives are to serve. In this approach, students are encouraged to define their own values and understand the value of others (William, et al., 2003).

- Cognitive Moral Value: This is a concept based on the belief that students should learn to value things like democracy and justice as their moral reasoning develops. Cognitive moral education according to Kohlberg (1986) aims to
encourage students to develop more advanced notions of such concepts as cooperation, responsibility and community.

- Service Learning: This is a form of education that promotes social responsibility and service to the community (Santrock, 2005). Service takes education out into the community and its important goal is for the adolescent to become less self-centred and more strongly motivated to help others (Flanagan, 2004; Pritchard and Whitehead, 2004; and Waterman, 1997).

The most ideal moral development education strategy in schools for the adolescents is certainly the one which applies a holistic approach; that is, integrate all of the five education moral development strategies in school learning curriculum. In relation to learning in most schools in Kenya, only hidden curriculum and character education strategies are employed. Thus, most adolescents are incapacitated in full or positive moral development. Consequently, deficiencies among adolescents are noted in decision making, empathy, political participation, community service and work. However, the two identified moral development models commonly employed in Kenyan schools are also deficient in terms of content and quite superficial in tackling positive moral development. Modern schools are keen on academic excellence but not individual moral perfection.

1.5 SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

The demands of the modern economy coupled with the deteriorating economic conditions in many developing countries, place many young people at the increased risk of abusive, exploitative and unsafe sexual encounters (Coleman, 2001; Pyne, 1992).
Estimates suggest that as many as 100 million young people under the age of 18 live or work on the streets of urban areas throughout the world (Connolly and Franchet, 1993). A big chunk of these young people are found in the streets of South Asia, sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America, and the main cause is poverty. Many are at heightened risk and also vulnerable to early sex experimentation. Poverty is often a direct cause of commercial sex among the young including child sex tourism and child sex trade (UN, 2006). While some young girls are sold off by family members in dire need of money, others drop out of school and give up on any means of earning a living. Reports are also abound, particularly in countries in sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia that are undergoing economic changes, of young women/girls being coerced for early sex or marriage or to concede to pressure from older men, and to trade sexual favours for food, school fees, transportation and clothing in order to continue their education, support their families, or simply survive (Hawkins, et al., 1992; IPPF, 1994; WHO, 1998).

Khasiani (1985) and Voydanoff and Donnelly (1990) point out that conditions of poverty are tied to sexual activity among the youth. First, poor adolescent boys and girls are incapacitated in terms of providing basic needs, thus, vulnerable to exploitation by age-mates, older men and women (often referred to as “Sugar Daddies” and “Sugar Mummies” respectively) and touts or their own relatives. Secondly, poor families have large number of children and hence supervision of dating activities is reduced. This autonomy provides more opportunities for sexual initiation and activity. Also involved is the opinion that adolescents from lower socio-economic groups tend to have lower educational and occupational aspirations and experience more problems in school than others. This leads to a limited number of perceived life opportunities and to a greater
propensity to engage in sexual activity, to employ contraception less often and less effectively and to experience a greater probability of becoming pregnant (Furstenberg, 1991; Hayes, 1987; Moore, et al., 1986).

There are cases when young women who seek to enter domestic services find themselves being exploited or abused by their employers sexually (Dixon–Mueller, 1993; Heise, et al., 1994), while others “pay back” through sex with a prospective employer for promotion or pay rise (Akong’a, 1988).

1.6 OTHER FACTORS

Supplementary factors have been documented by scholars to account for early and irresponsible sexual behaviour among adolescents. For instance, non-consensual or coercive sexual acts are perpetrated against a girl’s will, without consent or in an aggressive, exploitative or threatening manner (Miller, et al., 1993), while seduction of very young girls is reported in many communities. Researchers interpret this as a strategy by men to avoid Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) infection, the virus that causes AIDS while others simply derive pleasure by having sex with children (paedophiles). For instance, in some parts of Africa, especially Zambia, incidents have in the recent times been reported of men raping minors spurred by the mistaken belief that having sex with virgins heals HIV, the virus that causes AIDS (DN, 25th May, 2007: 20). The report describes how some men in Zambia rape or woo young girls to have sex as a way of sexual cleansing after the death of a wife, reflecting a widely held traditional belief that a man could be haunted by the “ghosts” of his late wife if he is not cleansed (DN, 25th May, 2007).
Also, adolescents may have sex when the real needs they seek to satisfy may be to increase self esteem, be recognised, alleviate a sense of loneliness, meet societal expectations of what it means to be "masculine" or "feminine" or express anger or escape from boredom (Hajcak and Garwood, 1988). Sex, according to these authors, is used as a way of expressing and satisfying non-sexual needs. Semmens and Krantz (1970) cite curiosity and the desire to innovate as well as to prove "love" for one another plus weakness in character and immorality as contributing to adolescent pre-marital sex.

The advent of highly reliable contraceptives for women as well as the condom amongst others, have been cited to encourage irresponsible sexual behaviour amongst adolescents, for they have lessened the fear of pregnancy as well as of STDs/HIV/AIDS (Grinder, 1973; Joshi 2004). Their acquisition is unrestricted and they are cheap in terms of cost. Early initiation of sex for both boys and girls has also been associated with the use of intoxicating drugs which interfere with rational decision making appertaining to sex matters. These include alcohol, marijuana, benzodiazepines, heroin, cocaine, inhalants and amphetamines (Rosenthal, et al., 1999). Teenagers are naturally idealistic and the influence of drugs on the disoriented youth can be tragic. According to Waithaka (2007), most intoxicating substances cloud the individual's mind causing irrational judgement. Teens become vulnerable to unsafe sex, leading to severe consequences. It has been established that most sex-oriented risky behaviours take place when the youth is totally inebriated. Likewise, boredom as a result of free time and disengagement from free time activities does not only limit the potential for positive developmental experiences during adolescence, but it is also associated with delinquency, sexual immorality, drinking and drug abuse (Caldwell and Smith, 1995; The National Centre of
Addiction and Substance Abuse, 2003). Further, Akong’ a (1988) cites male and female baby sitters as being instrumental in initiating youngsters under their care into sexual activity, especially in urban areas.

1.7 THE CONSEQUENCES OF ADOLESCENT SEXUAL INVOLVEMENT

The apparent consequences of early and indiscriminate sexual debut are a source of concern for societies worldwide due to its adverse effects on individual adolescent and the society at large. The costs of adolescent sexual involvement are physical, socio-economic and psychological in nature. Since the interaction amongst the three aspects of the problems have a cumulative effect, they will be considered simultaneously.

Studies indicate that contraceptive use by adolescents during coital relations is low and inconsistent and, the early ages at which adolescents start sexual encounters has systematically exposed them to contracting STDs/HIV/AIDS (FOCUSAS, 2005; IPPF 2004; SIECUS 2005; WHO 1998a). The incidence and prevalence of STDs/HIV/AIDS has been steadily increasing noticeably in recent years. According to the US Centre for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) (2005), about twenty five percent of sexually active teenagers get a sexually transmitted disease (STD) every year, and 80% of infected teens don’t even know that they have an STD, passing the diseases to unsuspecting partners. The most common amongst adolescents are gonorrhoea, Chlamydia, syphilis, herpes, genital warts and HIV. Of the over 60 million people in the globe who have been infected with the HIV virus in the past 20 years, about half became infected between the
ages 15-24, and of the new HIV infections every year, about 50% occur in people under the age of 25 (CDC, 2005).

It is important to note that the agonising view about HIV infection statistics is that over 75% of the people infected with the virus are found in the sub-Saharan Africa (CDC, 2005). The debilitating effect about HIV/AIDS is that, so far, there is no apparent cure albeit there is life prolonging medication. The threat is that those infected die within a range of 20 years after infection. The consequences of HIV/AIDS are quite degenerative for the young people. Apart from causing serious illness and eventual death, it has the potential to trigger a multiplication of negative social complications. Across the globe, people with HIV/AIDS routinely experience discrimination, stigmatisation and ostracization (Auer, 1996; Malcolm, et al., 1998). Children and young people who are orphaned by the epidemic, and who themselves may be infected are sometimes abandoned by their next of kin (Levine, Michaels and Back, 1996). For women and adolescent girls, the consequences of HIV/AIDS can be more severe. There is strong evidence, for instance, that in some cultures women may be “blamed” for HIV pandemic, even in circumstances where one may have been infected by remaining faithful to her husband or male partner (Bharat and Aggleton, 1999). In some other cultures especially patrilineal societies, women are less likely to receive the kind of care and support made available to male household members (Kioli, 2007; Warwick, et al., 1998). Moreover, where the male household has died there may be social loss of support for young women, ostracization from the community and lack of legal protection to inherit land and property. Some young women may find themselves unwelcome in the extended family and may even be coerced into sex work (Levine, Michaels and Back, 1996).
STDs threaten the fertility of both men and women (IPPF, 1994). Moreover, the social, physical and economic costs involved in treating and managing STDs/HIV/AIDS are quite astronomical. Cervical gonorrhoea, for example, often causes Pelvic Inflammatory Disease (PID) which can damage fallopian tubes and which can result in infertility. Gonorrhoeal also leads to the blockage of sperm ducts for men, while syphilis if untreated, it in the long run attacks and affects central nervous system, and subsequently the mind, which may eventually lead to Psychosis. According to CDC (2005), STDs can also increase the risk of ectopic pregnancy, which caused 1-15% of maternal deaths in developing countries during the 1980’s, while a person with an STD has a higher propensity of being infected with the HIV virus if exposed to it compared to one without an STD.

In addition to the above mentioned clinical concerns, early adolescent sexual indulgence is associated with unintended, unwanted and unwise pregnancies (Baron and Burne, 2001; Njau, 1993). According to Baron and Burne (2001), since 1970’s, about a million teenage pregnancies are reported each year in the United States, while 42 in every 1,000 girls aged 15-17 years fall pregnant in the U.K. These figures are comparable to some other developed societies. Premarital pregnancies have also steadily increased in sub-Saharan Africa in the last two decades. Data from the World Fertility Survey (WFS) indicated that in West Africa (Cameroon, Cote d’ivre and Nigeria) more than 30% of the births were conceived pre-maritally (Gage-Brandon and Meekers 1993) while in the East African region in Tanzania, 18,766 adolescents, comprising 10% of the female primary and secondary (school) enrolment dropped out of school. In Kenya, over 13,000 (11%) of school going adolescents drop out due to pregnancies (CSA, 2000;
NASCOP/MOH, 1999) and according to KDHS (2003), the proportion of teenage mothers rose from 17% in 1998 to 19% in 2003. A review of adolescent pregnancies at Kenyatta National Hospital by Youri (1994), found that 11 of the total deliveries were by adolescents 19 years and below. In the same hospital, the lowest recorded age to a delivering mother was 10 years and three months. This implies that this minor mother must have conceived at age of nine and half years and may have engaged in sexual intercourse earlier, assuming that her pregnancy was not out of defilement or rape.

Early teenage pregnancies have a negative multiplier effect to the victims and society at large. Studies have reported cases of high morbidity and mortality rates for the mother and the child. The risk of complications during pregnancies, and child birth including obstructed births and damaged organs is much greater for minors and adolescents than at older ages, partly because the bodies of girls aged under 18 is not fully developed physically (Aggarwal and Mati, 1992; Zabin and Kiragu, 1992). Further, the authors point out that young mothers have greater risk of premature babies, low birth weight and child mortality. IPPF (1994) observes that pregnant adolescents are also less likely to receive early and adequate maternal care. Birth at 10 to 14 years has serious implications because the pelvic region is too narrow to allow the easy passage of a baby’s head. It may lead to a medical condition viz. cephalpelvic and consequent traumatic prolonged labour. It may also cause a clinical complication known as vesco vaginal fistula to the young mother and brain damage to the new born baby (African Concord, April 9, 1987:21).

Moreover, besides posing challenges to the physical health of the adolescent, early pregnancy has enduring and potentially devastating economic and psychological
effects since, girls maybe forced to terminate their education or training and thus chances of stable future livelihood are thwarted once and for all (Akong’a, 1988; Bledsoe and Barney, 1993; KDHS, 2003). In most African, Muslim and Asian societies, chances of such girls getting into stable marriage are as well frustrated while others get stigmatised, alienated, depressed, ostracised or become misfits in their own families and society. In extreme cases, they face homicide or resort to suicide. According to Akong’a (1988) and IPPF (1994), in desperation, most girls end up forced into early marriage, become prostitutes, subsequent wives, barmaids, or housegirls, further diminishing their already disadvantaged social status.

According to Gyepi-Garbah,

"The problem of children born out of wedlock to very young mothers in Africa cannot be overemphasised. Most are born into extreme poverty and suffer from illiteracy, malnutrition, infections and parasitic diseases with severe consequences on their intellectual and learning capabilities." (Gyepi-Garbah, 1985:24).

Teenage and pre-teenage sex in particular may lead to other complications in the sex lives of one or both the partners. Issac and Stephene (1980) note that sexual intercourse with the young girls especially by grown up men, causes them serious physical and psychological damage. Young girls suffer injury to the walls of their wombs and the pelvic zone. Early sex and multiple partners for girls also increase the risk factors for the development of cervical displacias and cancer of the cervix (TOI, 15th September, 2006).
It is important to note that almost all sexually active men and women contact the highly contagious Human Papilloma Virus (HPV), responsible for 99.7 percent of all cervical cancer at some point in time, but mostly before 45 years of age (DN, 10th July, 2007: 3). Most of the strains of the virus are harmless while some cause cancer or genital warts, but in most cases, the body is able to eliminate HPV. If the virus remains in the body for over a year, there is a higher risk of the virus penetrating cells of the cervix, causing abnormal cell multiplication. Scientifically, the risk is higher in young women engaging in sex early, especially those not yet past adolescence (DN, 10th July, 2007).

As a strategy to avoid carrying pregnancy to full period, a myriad of adolescent girls find recourse in abortion. In most global societies, abortion remains outlawed and even where it is legal, safe abortion is rarely available to the adolescents, thus leading to desperate results (IPPF, 1994). Abortion is more dangerous for adolescents everywhere, because they seek it later in pregnancy, and result in back-street abortions or quack doctors who procure using unsafe procedures. The report of IPPF (1994) and Mati (1989) point out that girls turn to traditional healers, chemists or shopkeepers who induce abortions with chemicals, detergents and non-sterile objects; traditional birth attendants pummel abdomens; or the girl herself tries to end the pregnancy by swallowing drugs or other substances. To Mati (1989), resultant consequences can be death, haemorrhage, pelvic sepsis, destruction of uterus, tetanus and gas gangrene. The most serious long term complications maybe risk of ectopic pregnancy, chronic pelvic infection and secondary infertility (Kigondu, 1986). It is important to note that actual statistics on the rate of abortions globally are difficult to realize because of the obscure nature and confidential circumstances under which abortion occurs. Asian continent has the least information
about adolescent sexuality, though reports of unabated and illegal abortion are highly reported in India, Nepal, China, Bangladesh, South Korea, Japan and others (IPPF, 1994; TOI, 29th September, 2006).

Other consequences of early sex indulgence include the fact that due to pregnancy and birth, they add to the overall national fertility, thus, an increase to global population (KDHS, 2003; Ojwang and Maggwa, 1991). In Kenya for instance, 19% of births in 2003 were attributed to teenage mothers (KDHS, 2003). Campbell (1968; 183) articulately sums by stating that “a parenting teenager has 90% of him/her life’s script written for him/her”

Campbell (1968) outlines the following consequences:

- Most will not complete school.
- Abandon babies and will be abandoned by the child’s father.
- Adolescent fathers also suffer psychological, educational and economic disadvantages.
- Increased level of personal stress for both (boy and girl)
- Increased level of pathology compared to adolescents who were not fathers or mothers.
- Society incurs staggering financial costs as a result of adolescent pregnancy and loss of taxpayer’s money; and further, the daughters of teenage mothers are likely to become teenage mothers themselves- owing to inadequate socialization. Lastly, child sex abuse which is quite rampant in developing world has severe effects to the victims. According to Baron and Burne (2001), people who report having been sexually abused as children, are associated with a higher rate of pregnancies,
rape and incest, impaired interpersonal functioning, sexual dysfunctions, sexual dissatisfactions, substance abuse, suicidal behaviour, and other evidence of sexual and social maladjustments.

1.8 SUMMARY AND CRITIQUE OF REVIEWED LITERATURE

Literature available on adolescent sexuality indicates that adolescent sexual behaviour is not only an ethnic but a national as well as a global issue. It signifies a universal moral and endemic crisis for its debilitating as well as negative multiplier effects to individual as well as to other segments of the society.

Studies on adolescent sexuality in Kenya concur with data emerging from the global arena, with the following observations:

(i) Adolescents' sexual behaviour for a long time has been a point of concern to societies due to its threat to not only the survival of the individual but also society at large.

(ii) Rapid socio-cultural changes in African traditional societies have led to dislocation and disfunctionalism of the social institutions and structures which hitherto controlled, guided and checked adolescent sexual behaviour.

(iii) Adolescents turn to their equally ignorant peers and the sexualised mass media for pertinent information concerning their life including sex information, while parents, schools and religious institutions appear to coy away from involvement, give partial knowledge or practically abdicate.
Early sexual activity indulgence has predisposed the adolescents to severe socio-economic, psychological and physical predicament, and by extension, retarding the growth and development of societies.

One critical observation about studies on adolescent sexuality in Kenya is that most have been done on fertility (teenage pregnancies), contraceptive use, STDs/HIV/AIDS with much emphasis on out of school adolescents. Moreover, there is miniscule observational information on the sexual behaviour of primary school adolescents (10-15 years) and the social contexts under which it occurs. This study seeks to bridge that gap and address to sexual behaviour of the adolescents – both in primary and secondary schools. The study also notes that there is very little literature on current sexual behaviour practices among the Akamba people of Kenya. This has left a lacuna which this study aims to fill. Moreover, sexuality research and studies in Kenya are a recent phenomenon, thus, there still exists a paucity of literature in the area. The findings of this study will aid in augmenting existing research and literature on adolescent sexuality in Kenya. Further, the study endeavours to verify substantial evidences based on clinical observations about adolescents sexual involvement. Most of the statistics from sub-Saharan Africa especially on HIV/AIDS, teenage pregnancies and other complications are quite alarming, as perceived by NGOs. Lastly, most past studies focus on the adolescents in the urban set up or their scope is either national or global. This present study addresses the rural environment as well as focuses on a particular distinct cultural group – the Akamba adolescents of Machakos district.
1.9 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study has been guided by three theories, namely the Modernization theory, the social Learning theory and the Symbolic Interactionist theory. The choice of these theories is predicated on the theme that behaviour has a socio-cultural basis. The theories confirm that behaviour can be learned, can be acquired and diffused. Further, human beings imbibe behavioural characteristics as they interact, get exposed to, and as they communicate with each other within their societies. In addition, a critical aspect about human beings is their capacity to reflect on what they have absorbed in order to arrive at self. The thematic base of the three theories is encapsulated by Gould and Kolb (1964) who point out that human life and interaction is a variety of reciprocal influencing, whereby an individual takes some behaviour(s) from “others”, ingrain them in their practices, while at the same time others taking some behaviours from them.

1.9.1 THE SOCIAL LEARNING THEORY AND ITS RELEVANCE TO THE STUDY

The Social learning theory is predicated on the behavioural views, in other words, referred to as Behaviourism. Behaviourism is a set of principles defining the learning process which according to Downs and Hillje (1993), can be applicable to adolescent sexual behaviours. The primary architects of behaviourism include Ivan Pavlov, a Russian scientist (1849 to 1936), and B. F. Skinner, an American born in 1904 and, their theories emphasise different models of learning – though crucial in describing and understanding developmental behaviour (Seifert and Hoffnung, 1991).
Behaviourism principles which underscore the deterministic nature of learning indicate behaviour is as a result of two processes. The first process, the 'conditional learning' described by I. Pavlov is called classical conditioning (Ingersoll, 1989). Pavlov began developing his behavioural theory while studying digestion in dogs, work for which he won the Nobel Prize (Seifert and Hoffnung, 1991). While measuring how much saliva the dogs produced in respect to food, he discovered that dogs began to salivate even before they could smell or see the food stimuli that was connected or associated with the food, such as the sound of the footsteps of the feeder which seemed to have the power to elicit salivation. In his well known experiments, Pavlov rang a bell just before feeding a dog. Eventually, the dog salivated whenever it heard the bell, even if it did not receive any food. Pavlov called the process by which the dog learned to respond in this way classical conditioning (Seifert and Hoffnung, 1991: 50).

When the experiments began, the sound of the bell was a neutral stimuli because it really did not affect the dog's response to food. But once its sound had been paired with the food a number of times, it lost its neutrality; in Pavlov's terms it became a learned, or conditioned stimulus (CS) because it now had the power to bring about salivation. The salivation itself was called the conditioned response (CR). Pavlov called the food stimulus the unconditioned stimulus (UCS) and the dog's responding salivation the unconditioned response (UCR) because the connection between the two was an inborn, unconditioned reflex, that is, an involuntary reaction, similar to the eye blink (Seifert and Hoffnung, 1991). Through the process of classical conditioning, reflexes that are present at birth may help infants to learn about and participate in the world around them. Thus, in classical conditioning, an unconditioned stimulus (UCS) is linked to an unconditiona
response (UCR). If the UCS occurs in the presence of the individual, the UCR follows, while a conditioned stimulus (learned) leads to a conditioned response (behaviour). It can be argued that unconditional stimulus linkage to unconditional response is quite inborn while, the conditional stimulus nexus to conditional response is quite sociological, and this forms the basis of Pavlov's experiment.

The second form of conditioning (learning) was associated with B. F. Skinner, is called instrumental or operant conditioning (Ingersoll, 1989: 17). Like Pavlov's theory, B. F. Skinner's learning theory is based largely on research with animals, in this case rats and pigeons. According to Ingersoll (1989), the primary behavioural principle in operant conditioning is fairly intuitive. A person learns to behave in a specified manner because the behaviour is reinforced. Reinforcement is the process in which the likelihood of a particular response occurring again is strengthened or increased because of having been followed by a certain type of stimulus (Seifert and Hoffnung, 1991). For instance, a parent who uses praise when his daughter performs well in school, or buys her a bicycle, is using this principle. Indeed, the girl is likely to perform better the next time because good performance has been reinforced.

There are two types of reinforcements. Positive reinforcement occurs when following a particular response (idea of performing well and a reward offer); that is, a reward stimulus strengthens the response and increases the likelihood that the behaviour (good performance) will occur again under similar circumstances (Seifert and Hoffnung, 1991). On the other hand, Negative reinforcement, occurs when following a particular response an undesirable or unpleasant stimulus is removed, thereby strengthening the response and its likelihood of recurrence. For instance, if someone's daughter, say Joy, a
four year old, misbehaves at the dinner table. When she does so, her parents give her their attention, which she negatively reinforces by ending her crying and misbehaving. Ingersoll (1989) asserts that a key to the effective use of behavioural principles, especially during early phases of learning, is that the reinforcement is immediate and continuous. Delayed reinforcement will not work and will be associated with the wrong behaviour. Thus, reinforcement must occur frequently, and once a behaviour is learned, reinforcement may occur less regularly. Ingersoll (1989) points out that early learning requires frequent and immediate attention. To Skinner, reinforcements take the form of rewards and punishments and this is what shapes an individual.

The above two described behavioural processes (classical conditioning and operant conditioning) overtime led to the emergence of a body of knowledge known as Social Learning Theory. Social learning theorists although they accept the importance of classical and operant conditioning, their approach focuses on the important ways in which social influences (environment and experiences) and a child's cognitive activity (including her beliefs and expectations) influence learning and development. These theorists put emphasis on observation of others and learning (acquired after observation) which subsequently translate into behaviour (Bandura, 1977).

The systematic study of social learning has been widely used by various social scientists- anthropologists, psychiatrists, psychologists and sociologists. All seem to agree that human behaviour is a result of the process of social learning throughout the life cycle (Bandura, 1977; Goslin, 1969; Raz, 1976). Albert Bandura (1977) and Walter Mischel (1973) are the architects of the contemporary version of social learning theory, which initially was labelled cognitive social learning theory. Both argue that behaviour,
environment and a person's cognitive factors such as beliefs, plans and thinking, can interact in a reciprocal manner. Thus, in their view, the environment can determine a person's behaviour (which matches up with Skinner's view). Moreover, Bandura (1977) believed that observation of others' behaviour is a key factor in learning. Through observation, human beings form ideas about the behaviour of others and then, adopt that behaviour into their lives (Zimmerman and Schunk, 2002).

A synonym of social learning theory as applied by sociologists is the concept socialisation while anthropologists use the equivalent, enculturation. According to Brim (1966), socialisation refers to the process by which individuals acquire the knowledge, skills and dispositions that enables them to participate as more or less effective members of groups and the society. On the other hand, enculturation refers to the process of "growing into the culture", becoming the kind of creature encouraged by it, "taking in" the culture as part of the self (Raz, 1976). Raz cites the British philosopher John Locke of the popular adage that human beings are born "Tabula Rasa" or "Blank Slate", translated into being born empty in terms of knowledge and the human infant incapacitation to take part in any human society. The infant has no conception of a "self" of its own. It is unable to distinguish between its inner life and "reality" of objects independently existing. But, it is endowed with the capacity to learn from its immediate environment or what Singhal and Rao (2004), refer to as the primary socialization domain; that is, the family. Gradually, human infants develop into adequate members of human societies through observation, learning and imitation.

Whatever the infant acquires from the immediate environment is what translates into its ultimate behaviour. Thus, the kind of being one becomes is the inevitable
expression of the kind of world in which one lives (Raz, 1976). Learning by children is enhanced through observation of others (Bandura, 1977) and imitation (Bandura, 1977; Seifert and Hoffnung, 1991). Through observing and trying out what they have seen, children actually internalize important qualities of the models they observe. Called modelling, this process is very similar to the psychodynamic concept of identification, and observational learning becomes increasingly important as children grow older and are better able to pay attention to models and to remember and later try out what they have observed (Seifert and Hoffnung, 1991). Whatever one has observed and internalized does not only result in effective participation in society, but also it has deviations, which are expressed in behavioural terms.

Adolescence is a socially created category which calls for socialization into the societal norms and values. Thus, what they (adolescents) observe and learn, including sexual behaviour of others, they are likely to internalise into their life. It is imperative to understand that traditionally, the adolescents were socialized to accept personal and social responsibility including sex education by parents, peers and selected members of the society. There was continuity where morals and mores were passed smoothly from generation to the next. But, with noted social change, the parents and other members of the society seem to abdicate that responsibility, they are reticent about it, are not available or partially tackle the issue of sexuality, while indeed, the environment the contemporary adolescents live in is quite sexualised. According to Davis’s (1944), too little familial or social control or anxiety leads to dysfunctional sexual behaviour of the young ones. Further, according to Hirschi (1969), when agents of social control especially the family, school and society at large fail to convey clear socio-cultural explanations of sexual
behaviour, the young ones exhibit non approved sexual behaviours. This failure also compels adolescents to look for alternative sources of sexuality information thus, they seek the information from their fellow ignorant peers and modern mass-media which has immense exposure of racy and randy scenes. It is quite observable that the environment adolescents live in is inundated with sex stimulus in the dressing patterns, advertisements, soap operas, music, magazines, name it, and this can lead to a strong response towards sex experimentation.

The social learning theory has been relevant to this study, for it assumed that adolescents observe the sexual behaviour of others and consequently, learn certain behaviour patterns which they integrate into their life. Further, the theory views adolescents as ignorant about sexuality matters due to the failure to be “socialized” in it by the socially sanctioned agents (parents, school, church and community) and are alternatively exposed to inappropriate sexual scenes by their adult community and the mass media and further, make sense from the information gathered from their ill-informed peers and other social institutions. Adolescents can ostensibly be viewed as victims of observing and imbibing wrong knowledge about sexuality and skills of sexual behaviour from “others” and subsequently, imitating and practising.

In relation to this study, Akamba adolescents of Machakos district demonstrate a penchant for watching sexually illuminating soap operas, romantic movies and music while the environment they live in is quite beset with sexualised material in the magazines, radio, advertisements as well as the communities they interact. The peers also come out strongly as key agents who transmit inappropriate sexuality messages while the school, church and the family (parents) offer very superficial, or sex anxiety causing
information likely to trigger curiosity and subsequent experimentation on sexual behaviour. Thus, based on the social learning theory, contemporary Akamba adolescents of Machakos district appear to observe and learn inappropriate sexual behaviour tendencies from their environment and the communities in which they interact, all likely to trigger their sexual desires and indiscriminate sexual involvement at a very early age.

1.9.2 THE MODERNIZATION THEORY AND ITS RELEVANCE TO THE STUDY

The historical account of the origin of the modernization theory can be traced to the ideas of a number of 19th century scholars namely Karl Marx, Emile Durkheim, F. Tonnies, Herbert Spencer, among others. They all laid the notion of social evolution and development which proposed in various ways, dichotomies which referred to two societal ideal types; that is, traditional and modern (Gabriel, 1991; Inglehart, 1997; Lerrain, 1994). For instance, Tonnies posits a distinction between “gemeinschaft” (community or association) and “gesellschaft” (society or organization), Spencer’s dichotomy is between homogeneous and heterogeneous societies while Durkheim’s diametrical analysis is between mechanical solidarity and organic solidarity. The main theme by the aforementioned classical scholars was the growth of societies from a simple (traditional) to a complex (modern) status. That is, transition of traditional society to a Western oriented status. The transition of societies to modern societies was seen as a “strategic” goal for the ‘new nations’ and this was defined by Talcot Parsons as a social system based on achievement, universalism and individualism (Ray, 1995). Parsons elaborated further on what he termed as pattern variables in describing the ideal typical social
structure of ‘traditional’ and ‘modern’ societies. Larrain (1994) points out that some of the distinctive pattern variables differentiating a traditional and modern society include the two dichotomies as proposed by Parsons; with traditional societies’ roles tending to be ascriptive, diffuse, particularistic and affective. In modern society on the contrary, Parsons says roles are performance oriented, universalistic, affectively neutral and specific (Larrain, 1994).

The perspective of modernization came into prominence in the 1950s and early 1960s as an attempt by mainly first world scholars to explain the social reality of the ‘new states’ of the Third World and the attainment of a modern society that was seen as a strategic goal for these new nations to be able to develop. Modernisation is thus a theory of social change which according to Webster (1990), and Nash (1997), argues that the transition from a traditional society to the innovative complex economic association depended upon a prior change in values, attitudes and norms of people. One of the pioneers of the theory, Wilbert Moore (1963) argues that the theory of modernization denotes “a total transformation of a traditional or a pre-modern society into the types of technology and associated social organization that characterizes the “advanced” economically prosperous and relatively politically stable nations of the Western world. Such a view is predicated on the assumption that “traditional” societies can only develop after they transform themselves into the types of “advanced” or “modern” societies. This transformation should be seen as occurring in the institutions as well as in many social spheres of the society.

Neil Smelser (1963) in depicting the above processes of transformation, emphasized on the idea of structural differentiation. For him, a developed economy and
society is characterized as a highly differentiated structure and an underdeveloped one as relatively lacking in differentiation; hence change centres on the process of differentiation itself. By differentiation, Smelser means the process by which more specialized and more autonomous social institutions are established. This he sees occurring in several different spheres; in the economy, the family, political system and other social institutions. According to Inkeles and Smith (1974), and Smelser (1963), through differentiation, institutions including the family change in nature and functions, while increased urbanism and industrialization diminishes the vigour of extended kinship relations. The family’s pressure on the people declines, pressures develop against reliance on kinship, the pattern of authority is transformed as elders lose the control they exercised, and the nuclear family becomes differentiated from the extended family. Further, Smelser points out that accompanying the process of differentiation is the spasmodic occurrences of social disturbances, social vices and frequent discontinuities leading to the disruption of the social order.

It is important to note that all aforementioned tenets of modernisation were propagated mostly by Western scholars (for interest of their countries) and subsequently, found their way to African traditional societies, and have in the recent times totally transformed these previously branded “uncivilised cultures”. Indeed, the enormous influence of the Western-modern traits first started finding its root into the African cultures through colonisation, Christianity and formal schooling and later was reinforced by the spread of capitalism and its characteristics of liberal economy (society) with the main purveyors being Multi-National Companies (MNCs), the Bretton Woods Institutions (World Bank and International Monetary Fund) as well as Western-funded
Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOS), which represent and perpetuate the interests of Western societies. Certainly, the policies of the Bretton Woods Institutions including the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) of the 1980s and 1990s and the liberalisation as well as privatisation of the public institutions has had tremendous negative effects on the socio-cultural and economic lives of the Kenyan people, as well as other cultures in LDCs. For instance, according to Pandey (1984), it is realised that technological advancement by MNCs, industrialisation and rapid social change leading to the emergence of a highly differentiated society present a host of problems and conflict of cultural practices for the modern youth. New values, attitudes and ways of life are being added to or replacing the already existing ones. Lerner (1962) says, "the problem of industrial and concomitant social change, however, becomes more often tugged and strenuous because of the maladaptation to new symbolism. The failure to create an appropriate new symbolism in a rapidly changing society, produces historical deformity, a psycho-cultural gap between words and deeds that widens through time and develops, ultimately an explosive change" (Lerner, 1962: 6).

Ray (1995) cites social psychologist David McClelland who had argued that the solution to backwardness was to 'educate' the traditionalists on the virtues of the first world; that is, emphasising Western ideals. However, modernisation theory was well argued by W. W. Rostow (1960: 14-16) who espoused that there were five stages of development through which all societies had to pass. These were: (I) The traditional stage; (II) The preconditions for taking off; (III) Take-off; (IV) The drive to maturity (V) High mass consumption. Third world societies were regarded as traditional, and so needed to develop to the second stage, and thus establish the preconditions for take-off.
Rostow described these preconditions as development of trade, social and economic liberation (freedom), the beginning of rational scientific ideas and the emergence of an elite that reinvests rather than squanders its wealth (Rostow, 1960: 17). The theory argued that this process could be speeded up by the encouragement and diffusion of Western investment and ideas to traditional cultures.

Further, Lerner (1962) adopts a socio-psychological approach to explain modernization. To him there is indeed a transitional society, which has through a process of cultural diffusion from the more advanced sectors of the world been exposed to tenets of modernity. Lerner closely associates the tenets of "modernization" with "Westernization" by which he means adapting Western personality traits whose key motors were the radio and television; he as well implies adapting the secularization and rationalization characteristics of the Western societies.

Thus through diffusion, imitation, emulation and transplantation of Western styles of living to traditional cultures, most cultures live under a situation where orthodox norms and social regulations of behaviour, including sexuality are not in practice any more. Traditional structures and institutions which were very crucial for social stability and upbringing of children have become evanescence and replaced with modern Westernised institutions. The society is also witnessing a popular youth culture fervently spread by the mass media, movies and sports – where adolescents derive their modes of dressing, association and language. Their role models are mostly Western celebrities in music, movies and sports and what these celebrities propagate is a culture of consumerism, materialism and hedonism. Consequently, there has emerged a Metrosexual youth not only in the urban areas but also in the rural setups of the Kenyan
society. Modern laws, formal education and Christianity are not as effective in controlling people's behaviour and actions, as were traditional norms and religious sanctions. Through differentiation, the family has become smaller, independent and the family ties loosening, the nuclear family has penetrated, the role of family members has become minimal in control and socialization, migration to cities has disrupted the families and changed their lifestyle, and in the event, the society has witnessed the emergence of abundant vices which include sleaze and sexual immorality, crime, drugs and drug abuse, truancy, and irresponsibility among the youth.

The theory guides the study in viewing contemporary indiscriminate adolescent sexual behaviour among the Akamba adolescents as being a product of modernity traits and spread of Western or foreign values. Traditional family effectiveness in socialization and control has declined, Akamba traditional structures and institutions (age grade systems) and other orthodox rites of passage that regulated and discouraged irresponsible pre-marital sexual behaviour have dissipated. Consequently, the society has witnessed the penetration of ill equipped peers and mass media messages which aggravate the situation of irresponsible adolescence sexual indulgence. Moreover, modernity glorifies hedonism. This is apparently portrayed in the modern mass media, advertisements, soap operas, movies and modern language, while merry making and free sexual relations as portrayed in music and movies, have become a way of life. The contemporary Akamba adolescents are not devoid of the hedonistic lifestyle which is a characteristic of modern social living, while in turn the society has not come up with a counter approach to the entrenchment of this Western, modern social living.
1.9.3 SYMBOLIC INTERACTIONIST THEORY

This theory has its origin in social psychology and highly identified with the work of George Herbert Mead (1863-1931), and the theory has been relevant to the concerns of sociology. In the endeavour to understand the general position of the Symbolic Interactionism, a synopsis of its principal founder (G. H. Mead) is essential. Charon (1979: 50) a social psychologist who reviewed Mead’s work points out that Mead was highly influenced by three schools of thought, each one of which was very central to his view about Symbolic Interactionism, and to all Symbolic Interactionists thereafter:

a) The Philosophy of Pragmatism

b) The philosophy of Darwinism

c) Behaviourism

To Charon (1979), Mead was part of that school of philosophy known as Pragmatism. He used ideas of this school to understand nature of truth. Basically four ideas are important here:-

- Truth is possible for the human being only through the individuals own intervention.

- Knowledge for the human being is judged on its usefulness; that is, perspectives, facts, definitions and ideas – all are judged by the individual in terms of application.

- Objects which human beings encounter are defined according to their use.
Understanding about the human being must be inferred from what he or she does; that is, it is from their actions that the human being can be empirically understood (Charon, 1979: 50).

On the influence of the philosophy of Darwinism, Charon observes that Mead was inspired by the work of Charles Darwin, the British scientist famous for his work, 'On the Origin of Species' (1859). Darwin was a naturalist. He believed that humans must try to understand the world they live in without appealing to supernatural explanation (Darwin, 1859). So to Mead, the human being should be regarded in naturalistic terms. According to Charon (1979), Mead viewed humans as free, unique, possessing qualities different from other animals while truth, self, mind, symbols and other qualities are developed by human beings as part of nature (to adapt). Further, Mead was heavily influenced by Darwin's theory of evolution. To him, human beings as social animals are unique and relate to reason and communicate symbolically with oneself and others. Human beings according to Mead have a highly developed mind, heavy reliance on socialisation and the ability to make subtle and sophisticated decisions (Charon, 1979). Their ability to use reason and symbols makes them to be at equilibrium with nature; that is, to adapt and can invent and make discoveries which makes human being, to some extent, to be in control of his or her own evolution.

Behaviourism influenced Mead in two ways. One way was positive influence; that is, humans should be understood in terms of their behaviour. However, Mead was more influenced in a negative way. To Mead, without an understanding of the mind, symbols, self and so on, human behaviour cannot be understood for what it is (Charon, 1979). To
measure overt behaviour alone without trying to understand covert “minded” behaviour was to ignore the central qualities of the human being. Mead says it is like treating humans identically with all other things in nature, as physical organisms. Further, Charon observes that Mead was a behaviourist, but a social behaviourist, arguing that as scientists endeavour to understand the overt action, they must always consider what is going on in terms of definition, interpretation and meaning within the human being.

Symbolic interactionism then as a perspective was highly grounded through the ideas of George Herbert Mead, by integrating Pragmatism, Darwinism and Behaviourism. Indeed, Mead laid the foundation which has seen the theory develop and become relevant to the concerns of most disciplines. Indeed, the theory has been crucial in the study of deviant behaviours since late 1950s (Charon, 1979). Irresponsible or indiscriminate adolescent sexual behaviour among the Akamba is perceived as deviant behaviour. Thus, the theory is tenable for this study.

According to Fargains (1993), Mead’s theory was concerned with the self as a consequence of complex social interactive processes. He attempted to capture the dynamic and the interactive processes by which the self is formed. To Mead, the self emerges in action that results from an internal dialogue between “I” and the “Me”. The self is as a result of self reflection, thought and can adjust, adapt and control behaviour based on the reflection. Thus, one integrates experiences and the thought, and is capable of determining self destiny (behaviour). Borgatta and Montgomery (2000) additionally point out that fundamental character of symbolic interactionist theory is the proposition that the self reflects the society and that person’s act with reference to one another in terms of symbols (meanings) developed through interaction, and act through the
communication of those symbols. To them, to have a self is to view oneself from the standpoint of those with whom one interacts. People learn (have brains to conceptualise their interaction) through role taking; and role taking entails monitoring “others” behaviourally and later sustain or redirect one’s behaviour on the basis of the monitoring.

Further, Blumer (1900-1987), a student of Mead, used the term symbolic interactionism in the year 1937 in an article explaining how active involvement in the life of a group affects the social development of an individual. To Blumer, the social and interactive processes allow individuals to derive meaning from the interaction and ultimately construct their actions (Fargains, 1993). Indeed, symbolic interactionism places great emphasis on a methodology which focuses on meanings, symbols and interpretations in the determination of how actors arrive at their courses of action.

Moreover, Charon (1979) who was also highly influenced by Mead’s ideas asserts that the perspective of symbolic interactionism creates a more active image of the human being and, societies are made up of very active interacting individuals. People constantly undergo change in interaction and society is changing through interaction; that is, reciprocal determinism (Charon, 1979). Later action implies human beings acting in relation to each other, taking each other into account, perceiving and interpreting as well as defining actions according to each other; that is, influence each other. Wilson and Kolb (1949) point out that when two or more people come into contact with each other a modification of behaviour takes place, more so, after thorough evaluation (after reflecting and establishing meaning).

Human beings are thought to act in a world that they define (Charon, 1979). They act according to the way they define the situation they are in, and while that definition
may be influenced by others they interact with, it is also a result of their own definition. In addition, Charon (1979) argues that symbolic interactionism describes the human being as more unpredictable and “active” in his or her own world than other perspectives do. The author is in agreement with other symbolic interactionists who argue that the human being is “free” to some extent in what he or she does. They can define the world in which they act, part of that definition is their own. This process involves conscious choices which help human beings to direct themselves accordingly, as they assess their actions and those of others, then arrive at what one wants to do. By and large, the theory views human beings as conscious beings, ready to use their minds and act according to what they think is right to them (symbolic interactionism).

Shibutani (1972), while stressing the perspective of symbolic interactionism, points out that individuals guide themselves by taking on the perspectives of those with whom they interact and the societies with which they communicate. He calls them the reference groups; that is, the groups the individual may belong to, such as ethnic groups, social class, friends or any other community. To Shibutani, the reference groups account a lot for human behaviour, and members identify with their groups (reference groups) and establish meaning through interaction and communication (symbolic interaction).

The symbolic interactionist theory has been relevant in aiding to understand adolescents as members of society, who are actively interacting with “others” and endowed with capacity to reflect on this interaction with others to arrive at “self”. As they interact, they derive meaning from the interaction, and act according to the meaning they will have derived, which suits them. Irresponsible sexual behaviour is likely to be one of the behaviour(s) acquired through interaction, communication and reflection.
Indeed, as they actively interact with the media, peers, parents, and society at large, adolescents ultimately derive meaning from those interactions and act according to what one would have established within. In relation to this study, the Akamba adolescents of Machakos district are quite active and integrated into daily interaction with their peers, family members, school, mass media as well as ‘other communities’. According to the study, Akamba adolescents give a lot of importance to their peers and the mass media from which they certainly establish a lot of meaning for their behaviour and actions.

1.9.4 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The emerging conceptual framework from the three theories is the idea that adolescent sexual behaviour is culturally based and intrinsically embedded in the social. The theories demonstrate how sexual behaviour is determined by social and cultural factors; that is, sexual behaviour of the adolescents in socially and culturally produced, socio-culturally organized and socio-culturally transformed. As society and culture change, so does adolescent sexual behaviour.

The power of culture and interaction to influence sexuality was further demonstrated by a study of Chinese American students, whose attitudes about premarital sex as well as their actual practices were much more permissive than what was true for students in China in 1980s. The more acculturated those in America got, the more their sexuality was like that of other American students (permissive) (Huang and Uba, 1992).

The connectivity of the three theories is that, Modernization theory portrays how elements of culture diffuse from the point of source (Western) to recipient (traditional societies), then the symbolic interactionist theory demonstrate how the purveyed culture
is internalized by the individual, make sense out of it and develop the self and subsequently, social learning theory demonstrates the aspect of learning and the capacity of the human being to absorb ideas from their social interaction and cultural environment- which ultimately determines how they behave.

FIGURE 2.3.0 Proposed Conceptual Framework.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Modernization Values</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(urbanization, nuclear family, autonomous values, hedonistic values, privatisation and liberal features, education, industrialisation, Christianity, etc.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

↓

| Diffused through (television, internet, radio, religion, formal education, magazines, physical contact, etc). |

↓

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>African Cultures (Traditional) collapse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Socialization and interaction take place.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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| Adolescent Sexual Behaviour |

The above figure schematically presents the proposed conceptual framework demonstrating the factors that are likely to affect the sexual behaviour of the Akamba adolescents. These factors include the flow of the Western values into the traditional Akamba cultures. These foreign values interfere with the traditional socialisation process,
and as the adolescents interact with the “others”, in a changing environment, their sexual self get ultimately shaped toward a particular pattern.