Chapter 2

Concepts, Theories and Review of Relevant Literature

2.1. Introduction

The concepts and theories are the structural as well as the ideological foundations of a research study. This chapter serves the same purpose to the present study. The chapter consists of three main sections. To begin with, in section one, the primary concepts that are studied and analysed in this study have been explored. Sexuality education is defined and its various aspects from different perspectives have been delineated through the exploration of manuals of international and national organizations in this domain. Related concepts which are essential in understanding sexuality education such as sexuality and gender have also been discussed. Since sexuality education, in the context of the present study have examined from the perspectives of the adolescents, adolescence as an age category have also been included. In section two, theories that inform and explain the processes and discourses of the transmission and implementation of sexuality education are discussed. Sexuality education is perceived both as an instrument of control under patriarchy as well as an instrument of liberation and change as a part of feminist and post modernist movement. The power discourse inherent in sexuality education as a pedagogical structure, aiming to shape adolescents’ and young people’s life, desire, choices and decisions through gendered, hetero-normativity has been explained. But the anti-hegemonic social forces transformed the basic ideologies informing sexuality education; it gradually became a right-based, empowering process where the incumbents are provided with facts only so that they can take informed decision. Sexuality education interventions at present have come a long way in understanding, representing and guiding young people, in translating freedom to them through gender rights and sexual rights. The third and the final section explores different research studies based on diverse context that adds to my findings as there are common deductions and implications in spite of geographical variance.
2.2. Delineating Concepts

Concepts are the building blocks of any study. Understanding the concepts discussed in a research is crucial for deciphering the essential elements of the study. In the following, section the primary concepts included in the present research has been delineated.

2.2.1. Sexuality Education; It’s Nomenclature, Ideational Bases and Contents

The Term ‘sexuality education’ has been quiet recently been conceptualised to replace the more popular tem ‘sex education’. The term ‘sexuality education’ is found to be more appropriate since term sexuality encompasses not only biological but also psychological and social dimensions (Nirantar Trust 2008:11). On the other hand, since the word ‘sex’ tends to mean sexual activity, the term ‘sex education’ get associated with education about human reproduction, anatomy and sexual acts. It is argued that the use of the word sex in sex education may frequently confuse or sensationalise public opinion about this vital process. Goldman (2012) explores that the term sex education translated literally into Mandarin means teaching people how to have penile-vaginal intercourse, and in China there are no equivalent terms for gender or sexual orientation. Everyday vocabulary shapes people’s mode of thinking and understanding, their experiences and memories; as such Goldman states that, ‘the saturating commodification of sex in the market-based global economy may cause many people to immediately and very commonly associate the words sex, sexual and sexuality with penetrative intercourse, risk, desire, pornography, or perhaps even paedophilia’ (ibid.: 202). More traditionally sex education gets associated with immorality, shame, and procreation. It is found that the search for neutral nomenclature and euphemisms for sex education have continued from its inception (Broderick and Bernard 1969: 19). But irrespective of controversy related to nomenclature, all ‘sex’ or ‘sexuality’ programmes focused on adolescents as a distinct category within the population and they all aimed to holistically address their physical, psychological and social well being. In the following section, different manuals and text have been explored to delineate the definition, broad ideational bases, goals, outcomes and curriculum contents of sexuality education. While exploring all the manuals and text
books, the focus specifically has been on the learning objectives designed for the two age groups, that of 12 years to 15 years and 15 years and above; that is middle school level and high school level because this research has collected data from adolescent respondents belonging to this age group.

I. UNESCO’s International Technical Guidance on Sexuality Education

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (henceforth UNESCO) published International Technical Guidance on Sexuality Education, Volume I and II in 2009. The manual defines sexuality education as an age-appropriate, culturally relevant approach to teaching about sex and relationships by providing scientifically accurate, realistic, non-judgemental information (UNESCO 2009: 2). Sexuality education programmes are conceptualized as structured opportunities for young people to help them explore their own values and attitudes and to practise decision-making, communication, risk-reduction skills and other life skills that they need in order to make informed choices about their sexual lives. According to this guideline effective sexuality education plays an important role in HIV (Human Immunodeficiency Virus) prevention. A properly designed and implemented sexuality education has the capacity to reduce unintended pregnancies, other Sexually Transmitted Infections (STIs), coercive and abusive sexual activities and exploitations. Sexuality education aims to clarify the connection between learned life-skills and the existing cultural values and religious beliefs. It aids young people to manage their relationship with parents, teachers and other adults in the community as well as with their peer groups. It reduces misconceptions and increase correct knowledge, thereby increasing skills among adolescents so as to enable them to make informed decisions. A sexuality education manual should have four distinct goals according to UNESCO guidelines. These are (i) to increase knowledge and understanding; (ii) to explain and clarify feelings, values and attitudes; (iii) to develop or strengthen skills and (iv) to promote and sustain risk-reducing

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1 This technical guidelines has been developed by UNESCO along with UNAIDS, cosponsors like UNFPA, WHO and UNICEF. It also involves researchers and experts from SIECUS, IPPF and TARSHI.

2 Definition is given in the footnote of the mentioned page.
behaviour. However, different stakeholders may attach different levels of importance to each of these objectives. Thus for educationalists, sexuality education tends to be part of a broader activity in which increasing knowledge about prevention of unintended pregnancy and HIV is valued but for public health professionals, the emphasis is on reducing sexual risk behaviour.

The document assumes sexuality as a fundamental aspect of human life having physical, psychological, spiritual, social, economic, political and cultural dimensions. It is declared that sexuality cannot be understood without reference to gender; that diversity is a fundamental characteristic of sexuality and the rules that govern sexual behaviour differ widely across and within cultures whereby certain behaviours can be acceptable and desirable while others may be considered unacceptable.\(^1\) The sexual development of adolescents is a complex process comprising of physical, psychological, emotional, social and cultural dimensions. It is also inextricably linked to the development of one’s identity which unfolds within specific socio-economic and cultural contexts. The transmission of cultural values from one generation to the next forms a critical part of socialisation; it includes values related to gender and sexuality. Young people are mostly exposed to various sources of information and values such as parents, teachers, media and peers which often present them with alternative or even conflicting values about gender, gender equality and sexuality. UNESCO categorically points out that parents are usually reluctant to engage in discussion of sexual matters with children because of cultural norms, their own ignorance or discomfort. ‘Being sexual’ can be a source of pleasure and comfort but it can also involve negative health and social outcomes. Whether or not young people choose to be sexually active, sexuality education emphasises the acquisition and/or reinforcement of values such as reciprocity, equality, responsibility and respect, which ensures healthy and safer sexual and social relationships. It is also noted that any sexual relations need to be consensual. Also it is argued that for students to feel comfortable participating in sexuality education programmes, care needs to be taken to create a

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\(^1\)In spite of resistance these behaviours do occur and so they are not excluded from discussion within the context of sexuality education.
protective and enabling environment. Educators need to avoid ridiculing and humiliating comments; not asking personal questions; respecting the right not to answer questions; recognising that all questions are legitimate; not interrupting; respecting the opinions of others; and maintaining confidentiality. Classroom environment need to reinforce anti-homophobic and anti-gender discrimination policies (ibid.:11).

Volume II of the same document presents topics and learning objectives for a sexuality education programme for children and young people from 5 to 18 years of age. The topics and learning objectives address four age groups and corresponding levels; level I address age 5 years to 8 years; level II addresses age 9 years to 12 years; level III addresses age 12 years to 15 years and level IV addresses age 15 years to 18 years and above. The overarching topics under which learning objectives have been defined are organised around six key concepts, which are; (i) relationships; (ii) values, attitudes and skills; (iii) culture, society and human rights; (iv) human development; (v) sexual behaviour and (vi) sexual and reproductive health. The learning objectives developed for the age groups of 12 years to 15 yrs and 15 years to 18 years have been specifically explored. The topics and learning objectives was developed and informed by a specially commissioned review of existing curricula from 12 countries; therefore it is strongly embedded in evidences and is grounded upon practical experiences.

(i) The UNESCO guideline begins with a focus on relationships. The key objective is to describe the influences of age, gender, religion and culture on relationships. Learners are informed on the various components such as love and cooperation that forms the basis of relationship within a family and how changes occur during puberty when the adolescents reach out beyond familial relationships to include peer group relationship. Various nuances of adolescent, peer group relationships have been stressed distinguishing friendship, infatuation and love from each other. Learners are informed about negative aspects of friendship and abusive relationship and how they can report and seek help in case they face such abuse. Tolerance and respect has been

1 Botswana, Ethiopia, Indonesia, Jamaica, Kenya, Namibia, Nigeria, South Africa, Tanzania, Thailand, USA and Zambia
identified as essential components of healthy relationships whereas discriminations of any form and resulting bullying has been termed as harmful for individual as well as communities. Marriage and parenting has been discussed as an example of rewarding long term commitment and relationship.

(ii) The second key concepts addressed are values, attitudes and life skills. It is stated that one need to know one’s own values, beliefs and attitudes, and their impact on the rights of others. Values imparted by families and communities leads to sexual learning and it is culturally informed, therefore they can affect male and female gender role, expectations and equality. Sexual learning also takes place from peer groups but peer group association also includes bullying and negative peer pressure which can affect sexual decision-making. To counter this, adolescents are asked to be assertive and should know how to say ‘no’. Decision-making has consequences and it is important to the correct decision. Trusted adults can help in making decisions. Decision about sexual behaviour should be taken more carefully and not emotionally or under the influence of alcohol and drugs. Effective communication skill should be part of sexuality education as it helps adolescents and young people to refuse unwanted sexual pressure and abuse by people in positions of authority and other adults. They should always seek help when necessary from reliable sources without feeling shame or guilt. Critical assessment is needed when using the media and Internet as a source of help. A good source will also help them to maintain confidentiality and privacy.

(iii) The third key element discusses about culture, society, human rights and legal standards which influence sexuality. It is noted that international agreements and human rights are instrumental in providing guidance on sexual and reproductive health. The mass media as a cultural factor may positively and negatively represent men and women; it also influence personal values, attitudes and social norms concerning gender and sexuality. It shapes ideals of beauty and gender stereotypes and pornographic media leads to gender stereotyping. Along with mass media, social and cultural norms and religious beliefs also influence gender roles. It is declared
that everyone has a responsibility to overcome gender inequality because equality of gender promotes equal decision-making about sexual behaviour and family planning. However gender-based violence such as honour killings, bride killings and crimes of passion occurs. Assertiveness and refusal skills can help to resist sexual abuse and gender-based violence, including rape and everyone should take the responsibility to report sexual abuse and gender-based violence.

(iv) The fourth key element informs about sexual and reproductive anatomy, health, puberty and reproduction. It discusses about the menstrual cycle, sperm production, erection and ejaculation and how hormones play a major part in growth, development, and the regulation of reproductive organs and sexual functions. The document also informs how biological determination of sex is influenced by cultural, traditional and religious practices. It talks of unprotected vaginal intercourse that can lead to pregnancy and STIs, including HIV. It discusses the effective ways of preventing unintended pregnancy through abstaining from sex and by using contraception. It emphasises on the health risks associated with early marriage, voluntary and/or forced, and early pregnancy and birth as well foetal health and development risks associated with poor nutrition, smoking and using alcohol and drugs during pregnancy. Changes during puberty are discussed along with the idea that sexual maturation leading to major physical and emotional changes can be stressful. In this section, body image, shape, privacy and integrity is also discussed. Myths about body shape is busted stating that size and shape of reproductive anatomy do not determines individuals sexual prowess and harmful drug like steroid should not be used to enhance them. Bodily integrity and privacy is to be protected from unwanted sexual attention and harassment of both girls and boys during. The Internet, cell phones and other new media is also denoted as a source of unwanted sexual attention.

(v) The fifth key element is about sex, sexuality and sexual life cycle. It is observed that human beings are born with the capacity to enjoy their sexuality throughout life and it is important to talk and ask questions about sexuality with a trusted adult. It is assured that sexual feelings,
fantasies and desires are natural and occur throughout life and that everyone needs to be tolerant of and have respect for the different ways sexuality is expressed across cultures and settings. Adolescents are informed that sexual relationships require emotional and physical maturity and having complication in sexual life is common.

(vi) The last and the final key element discusses in detail the issues related to sexual and reproductive health of the adolescents. The ways to prevent pregnancy are thoroughly discussed; use of contraception and how it helps people who are sexually active, plan their families is also spoken of. It is informed that some contraceptive methods may cause side effects and so all contraception, including condoms and emergency contraception, must be used correctly. Information related to HIV and STIs are provided and information regarding their treatments is discussed. It is also discussed that HIV and AIDS affect family structure, family roles and responsibilities and that stigma, including self-stigma, can prevent people from accessing and using treatment, care and other support services. It is illegal to discriminate against people with HIV.

Goldman (2012) reviewing UNESCO International Guidance stated that it have the clear aim of not to only prevent HIV and unplanned pregnancies, but also address others educational issues involving puberty, sexuality, relationships, and reproductive health and safety. It is noted that the Guidance is relevant to children and adolescents’ development; it is appropriate for being delivered in school and its composition is commensurate with the social, political, technological, economic and other current contexts for contemporary school teachers.

II. Standards for Sexuality Education published jointly by WHO Regional Office for Europe and Federal Centre for Health Education BZgA)

Published in 2010, this manual describes sexuality education programmes and related initiative taken in Europe. It traces the introduction of sexuality education in schools in Western Europe which coincided

1 Bundeszentrale fur gesundheitliche Aufklarung
with, the development and wide availability of modern, reliable methods of contraception and the legalization of abortion in most countries during the 1970s and 1980s. These changes stimulated the process of women’s emancipation. Values and norms related to sexuality also shifted which was further affected by the onset of the HIV/AIDS epidemic in the 1980s. The call for sexuality education in the second half of the 20th century throughout Europe therefore needs to be understood from the perspective of newly emerging visions regarding human rights perceptions. The manual identifies two types of programme (WHO, BZgA 2010: 15); (i) programmes which focus primarily or exclusively on abstaining from sexual intercourse before marriage, known as ‘abstinence only’ programmes; (ii) programmes which include abstinence as an option, but also pay attention to contraception and safe sex practices. These programmes are often referred to as ‘comprehensive sexuality education’, as compared with ‘abstinence only’; programmes which include the elements of comprehensive sexuality education programmes and put them in a wider perspective of personal and sexual growth and development. These are referred ‘holistic sexuality education’. The manual deliberates on the concept of ‘consent’ and ‘intimate citizenship’. It is argued that social science and sexual studies asking for the establishment of moral negotiation, the essence of which is that issues should be negotiated in a spirit of mutual consent by mature participants who are equal in status, rights and power (ibid.: 19). One important precondition for this is that the participants should develop a common understanding of the concept of “consent” and become aware of the consequences of their actions, particularly in the context of relationship behaviour and sexual behaviour. Here researchers are making use of the concept of “intimate citizenship”; a sociological concept describing the realization of civil rights in civil society. It is based on the principle of moral negotiation. Apart from sexuality, it covers sexual preferences, sexual orientations, differing versions of masculinity and femininity, various forms of relationship and various ways in which parents and children live together.

The major outcomes of sexuality education are identified below (ibid.: 27).
(i) To contribute to a social climate that is tolerant, open and respectful towards sexuality, various lifestyles, attitudes and values.

(ii) To respect sexual diversity and gender differences and to be aware of sexual identity and gender roles.

(iii) To empower people to make informed choices based on understanding, and acting responsibly towards, oneself and one’s partner.

(iv) To be aware of and have knowledge about the human body, its development and functions, in particular regarding sexuality.

(v) To be able to develop as a sexual being, meaning to learn to express feelings and needs, to experience sexuality in a pleasurable manner and to develop one’s own gender roles and sexual identity.

(vi) To have gained appropriate information about physical, cognitive, social, emotional and cultural aspects of sexuality, contraception, prevention of STI and HIV and sexual coercion.

(vii) To have the necessary life skills to deal with all aspects of sexuality and relationships.

(viii) To have information about provision of and access to counselling and medical services, particularly in the case of problems and questions related to sexuality.

(ix) To reflect on sexuality and diverse norms and values with regard to human rights in order to develop one’s own critical attitudes.

(x) To be able to build relationships (including sexual relationships) in which there is mutual understanding and respect for one another’s needs and boundaries and to have equal relationships. This contributes to the prevention of sexual abuse and violence.

(xi) To be able to communicate about sexuality, emotions and relationships and have the necessary language to do so.

WHO’s Manual points out certain imperatives for sexuality education programmes. It needs to ensure learners’ participation. Learners are not the passive recipients of sexuality education; they play an active role in organizing, delivering and evaluating sexuality education. Sexuality education needs to be
gender responsive to ensure that different gender needs and concerns are adequately addressed. Sexuality education is also supposed to be context-oriented while attending learners’ needs since learners differ widely in their social and cultural background based age, gender, sexual orientation, developmental stage and the learner’s individual capacity. When delivering sexuality education, educators should give the facts but also help learners to develop appropriate attitudes and skills through communication, negotiation, self-reflection, decision-making and problem-solving skills. Educators should apply neutral language when talking about sexual matters in order not to offend learners and to respect their boundaries. They firmly need to base their sexuality education on human rights and the acceptance of diversity.

The following section explores the content developed by WHO for the learners in the age group of 12 to 15 years.

(i) Regarding the human body and human development the curriculum included body knowledge, body image and body modification such as female genital mutilation, circumcision, hymen and hymen repair, anorexia, bulimia, piercing, tattoos, menstrual cycle; secondary sexual body characteristics and their function in men and women and accompanying feelings; self-image and behaviour in relation to beauty messages in the media; services where teenagers can go for problems related to these topics come to terms with puberty and resist peer pressure; critical thinking about media messages and beauty industry and body modification; acceptance and appreciation of different body shapes.

(ii) Regarding fertility and reproduction the discussions included the impact of young motherhood and fatherhood-family planning, career planning, contraception, decision-making and care in case of unintended pregnancy; information about contraceptive services; ineffective contraception and its causes such as use of alcohol, side effects, forgetfulness, gender inequality and pregnancy (also in same-sex relationships). The need to make a conscious choice of contraceptive and use chosen contraceptive effectively.
(iii) Regarding sexuality role expectations and role behaviour in relation to sexual arousal and gender differences are discussed; along with that gender-identity and sexual orientation, including homosexuality, first sexual experience, pleasure, masturbation, orgasm are also included; development of skills in intimate communication and negotiation; skills to differentiate between sexuality in real life and sexuality in the media and the understanding of sexuality as a learning process and acceptance, respect and understanding of diversity in sexuality and sexual orientation.

(iv) Emotional understanding included the skills to distinguish between friendship, love and lust, curiosity, falling in love, ambivalence, insecurity, shame, fear and jealousy; expression of own needs, wishes and boundaries while respecting those of others and to deal with different/conflicting emotions, feelings and desires accepting that people feel differently because of their gender, culture, religion, etc. and their interpretation of these.

(v) Relationships and lifestyles and how it influence of age, gender, religion and culture is discussed; different styles of communication (verbal and nonverbal) and how to improve them; how to develop and maintain relationships; family structure and changes like acknowledging single parenthood.

(vi) Sexuality, health and well-being body hygiene and self examination including the prevalence and different types of sexual abuse, how to avoid it and where to get support is included; risky (sexual) behaviour and its consequences (alcohol, drugs, peer pressure, bullying, prostitution, media) and transmission and prevention of STI, including HIV is also discusses and skills to refuse or stop unpleasant or unsafe sexual contact.

(vii) Understanding sexuality and rights including national laws and regulations related to age of consent.

(viii) Understanding Social and cultural determinants of sexuality such as values/norms influence of peer pressure, media, pornography, urban culture, religion, gender, laws and socioeconomic status on sexual decisions, partnership and behaviour; skills to deal with conflicting inter-
personal norms and values in the family and society; media competence to deal with pornography and having a personal view of sexuality in a changing society or group.

**III. SIECUS—Perspectives and Practices related to Sexuality Education**

According to Sexuality Information and Education Council of United States of America (SIECUS), teaching about sexuality in a value-neutral manner would allow students to reach their own conclusions about sexual behaviour and sexual morality. The past President of SIECUS, D. W. Haffner noted that sexuality education may be defined as a lifelong process of acquiring information and forming attitudes, beliefs, and values about identity, relationships, and intimacy (Goldman and Graham 2001: 198). It encompasses sexual development, reproductive health, interpersonal relationships, affection, intimacy, body image, and gender roles. Sexuality education addresses the biological, socio-cultural, psychological and spiritual dimensions of sexuality from (i) the cognitive domain, (ii) the affective domain, and (iii) the behavioural domain, including the skills to communicate effectively and make responsible decisions. Thus Haffner points out that sexuality education is also about social change. According to SIECUS following are the main goals of sexuality education; (i) to provide accurate information about human sexuality; (ii) to provide an opportunity to develop and understand one’s values, attitudes, and beliefs about sexuality; (iii) to help develop relationships and interpersonal skills and (iv) to help exercise responsibility regarding sexual relationships. Thus sexuality education needs to be conceptualised as broad, multifaceted, contextualised and relevant across the life-cycle. Along with providing information it should also assist in development of healthy attitudes and necessary skills to analyse information. It should encompass broader issues of sexuality, self-acceptance, body image, peer relationships, parent-child communication and other physical, psychological, emotional, moral and ethical issues. Individuals appropriates and uses knowledge, skills and attitudes in the particular relevant context of his or her life and world view so sexuality education needs to address the relevant context and as the axioms of individual and social life changes so should the forms of sexuality education. In United States two distinct approaches to sexuality education is found, which are (i)
abstinence-only or abstinence-only-until-marriage education and (ii) comprehensive sexuality education. Seidman, Fischer and Meeks (2006) explains following Janice M. Irvine that abstinence only sexuality education followers believe that the best approach to sexual health is to teach young people to abstain from all sexual behaviour until they are married. Controlling and eliminating sexual discussion best allows for the protection of young people and preservation of sexual morality. They even think that discussions about contraception has led to high levels of adolescent sexual activity, teenage pregnancy and sexually transmitted diseases. Followers of comprehensive sexuality education on the other hand believe in offering young people the opportunity to discuss sexual values and attitudes in classrooms. According to them silence has fostered ignorance, shame, and social problems like teenage pregnancy. They view sexuality as positive and healthy and they typically support gender equality and acceptance of sexual diversity. Though comprehensive sexuality education stresses abstinence for youth yet they provide information on topics like contraception and abortion. In United States SIECUS pioneered comprehensive sexuality model.

IV. Sexuality Education as Understood Through AEP

In the Indian scenario, the Adolescent Education Programme (AEP) Resource and Training Material developed by NCERT mentions that it aims to provide young people with ‘accurate, age appropriate and culturally relevant information’ (NCERT 2012: i) in order to promote healthy attitudes and develop skills to enable them to respond to real-life situations effectively. The guiding principle of Adolescence Education (henceforth AE) mentions that the programme should be ‘non-judgemental, not prescriptive or fear inducing’ (ibid.: iii). The similarity in approach between NCERT and UNESCO in perceiving and addressing adolescence through an educational intervention is prominent. The scheme of content of AEP manual is divided to address (i) primary, (ii) upper primary and (iii) secondary and senior secondary students; it has not mentioned specific age groups unlike the guidelines provided by UNESCO and WHO. Here I would focus on the content AEP manual prepared for the secondary and senior secondary level. The learning objectives and content of AEP has been divided into three specific
core themes: (i) The process of growing up; (ii) Prevention of substance abuse and (iii) Prevention of HIV/AIDS. The content structure under the section addressing process of growing up covers diverse issues including relationship dilemmas, physiological and psychological changes at puberty, responsible sexual behaviour, understanding existing norms guiding sexuality and construction of gender stereotypes. In congruence to the UNESCO guidelines, the AEP manual also focuses on enabling adolescents in reporting violation of human rights and in teaching them to identify adolescent friendly services like counselling and legal help. The section addressing second specific theme, prevention of substance abuse is an additional feature of Adolescence education (AE) which cannot be prominently found in UNESCO and WHO manuals. Some references to the misuse of steroids to improve body image and physiological functions can be found in UNESCO manual, detail focus on commonly abused substances, its consequences and sources of help remained outside its purview. The section addressing third specific theme, prevention of HIV/AIDS includes basic facts about RTIs (Reproductive Tract Infections), STIs and HIV/AIDS epidemic, preventive measures, dispelling of myths, information on Information Counselling and Testing Centres (ICTCs) and social responsibility towards People Living With AIDS (PLWA). The AEP manual does not presents the topic in a tabular form but in form of lessons and activities designed to be conducted in a class. For example, module 3 of the manual seeks to provide lesson on establishing and maintaining positive and responsible relationships. Within it activity 4 aims to communicate on peer relationship, peer influence, friendship and attraction. There are several case studies given which narrates specific situations related to the aims of the activity 4. One of the case studies narrates the following situation;

“Seema is a 17 year old girl and she studies in class eleven. She has a very good friend Gautam in the same class. She feels she has fallen in love with him. She wants to tell him about her feelings but she is scared that if she tells him first about her feelings he might think she is a ‘bad girl’. She also thinks her parents and teachers would disapprove. Seema does not know what to do.” (NCERT 2012: 40).
The tasks of the facilitator are given in the end of activity 4. The task related to the case study narrated above is that the facilitator should make learners understand that having feelings of any kind is never bad; what is important is how one acknowledges, expresses, acts upon, handles and balances her or his feelings. This methodical approach of AEP manual makes it convenient for use by various facilitators such as school counsellor, teachers and teacher trainers. However, unlike UNESCO and WHO guidelines it does not specify the age grades which I think should have been maintained for each activity. It also does not specify which life skills are being taught through the different activities. On the whole, content wise, AEP manual addresses all sensitive issues in a very neutral and scientific manner. This strengthens my argument that AEP and other manual differs from UNESCO and WHO guidelines only in its name and methods and not in its aim, objective and contents.

V. Sexuality Education as Implemented by NGO’s in India

According to Nirantar, a New Delhi based NGO, sexuality education needs to enable the adolescents so that they can (i) understand the changes they are undergoing and to address fear and anxieties regarding these changes; (ii) be aware of rights and how these can be protected; (iii) can take decisions and negotiate with others, based on both a recognition of their own interests and the rights of others; (iv) can recognize sexual abuse, violence and discrimination and break the silence related to these violations; (v) be healthy and be able to protect themselves from diseases and infections; (vi) can counter the sense of shame about their bodies and sexuality. Sexuality education can protect adolescent from sexual abuse as it is only through this medium the educators can convey the message that the genitals are as natural as any other body part and are nothing to be ashamed of. As pointed out by NGO Tulir the parents and the teachers want their children and students to be protected against sexual abuse but they do not want to talk about matters as simple as naming the private parts. To what extent

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1 This education series is a result of the presentations and discussions held during the National Consultation on Sexuality Education for Young People Organized by Nirantar in December 2007

2 Tulir Centre for the prevention and Healing of Child Sexual Abuse, Chennai
the adolescents are deprived of proper knowledge is evident from a report of preliminary findings from the TARSHI (Talking About Sexuality and Reproductive Health Information) helpline. 42.6% of calls received on the helpline were from people between the ages of 15 and 24 years. The various myths and misconceptions encountered on the helpline includes: (i) Nocturnal emissions are illness, (ii) Masturbation is harmful—it causes weakness, (iii) Oral sex can lead to pregnancy, (iv) Anal sex is safe sex and so on. Some notions that are challenged by sexuality education are: (i) Boys are naturally aggressive and girls are born shy; (ii) There is only one kind of attraction—that between boys and girls or men and women; (iii) If you are born a boy, you will look and behave like a boy; if you are born a girl you will look and behave as a girl and others. Sexuality education empowers the right to bodily integrity, the right to take decisions about one’s body. This is done as through sexuality education an understanding is built that every person has the right to say no to an unwanted touch. Through promotion of right to bodily integrity the adolescents can identify and protest against sexual abuse, sexual harassment and even sexualized ragging at school. Sexuality education can establish the right to freedom from violence as in sexuality education classes students including both boys and girls can engage in discussion about violence, gender, sexuality, power and relationship. Here they can resolve confusions, guilt and anxieties related to personal experiences of violence, particularly from those in positions of power. Often the children have no language or words to disclose the abuse they have faced. Sexuality education can assure the young of their rights to safety and dignity by giving them the words to name violence.

Thus comprehensive sexuality education harbours a liberalist discourse that recognises human rights, including gender rights, sexual rights, and adolescents’ rights to information. The organizations and the manuals may have originated in different social contexts but they propagate these basic ideas that aim to bring about holistic development and empowerment of the adolescents by critically addressing potentially abusive relationships, negative impact of mass media and gender-based violence.
2.2.2. **Sexuality and Gender**

Comprehensive sexuality education and its holistic approach assumes sexuality as a fundamental aspect of human life: it has physical, psychological, spiritual, social, economic, political and cultural dimensions. Also sexuality is always understood in reference to gender and as a fundamentally diverse concept because the norms governing sexual behaviour vary across and within cultures. Sociological usage of the term sexuality refers to the social and cultural relativity of norms surrounding sexual behaviour and the socio-historical construction of sexual identities and roles (Jary and Jary 2000: 549). WHO defines sexuality as ‘a central aspect of being human throughout life and encompasses sex, gender identities and roles, sexual orientation and reproduction. Sexuality is influenced by the interaction of biological, psychological, social, economic, political, cultural, ethical, legal, historical and religious and spiritual factors.’\(^1\) Sexuality and gender are among the central concepts upon which sexuality education as liberalist and holistic intervention is structured and based. Weeks (1986) stresses on the social constructivist position when he claims that sexuality is shaped by social forces; it is most susceptible to organization in so far that sexuality only exists through its social forms and social organization. A number of common assumptions can be located around sexuality. First, there is a general rejection of sex as an autonomous realm but as related to society. Secondly, there is a widespread recognition of the social variability of sexual forms, beliefs, ideologies, identities and behaviour, and of the existence of different sexual cultures. Thirdly, the history of sexuality cannot be understood in terms of a dichotomy of pressure and release, repression and liberation. Instead, sexuality needs to be seen as something that society produces in complex ways. It results from diverse social practices that give meaning to human activities, of social definitions and self-definitions, of struggles between those who have power to define and regulate, and those who resist. Sexuality is not a given, it is a product of negotiation, struggle and human agency. Weeks explains 'cultures of resistance' in context of sexuality. The moral codes that resist sexuality give rise to transgressions, subversions and

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\(^1\) WHO Draft Working Definition( 2002) in, Sexuality Education for Young People, Nirantar Education Series (pg 1)
cultures of resistance. For instance, the female networks of knowledge about sexuality, especially birth control and abortion shows resistance; so does the subcultures and networks established by sexual minorities like that of male homosexuality which played critical role in the emergence of modern homosexual identities. More recently, there have been series of explicit oppositional political movements organized around sexuality and sexual issues; feminism is a classic example is such movement.

Gender has been used since early 1970s to denote culturally constructed femininity and masculinity. Sexuality which includes erotic desires, identities and practices is distinguished from the concept of gender but is related to it. Jackson (1998) states that in male-dominated and heterosexist culture it is assumed that being born with particular genitals defines one’s sex and one has to become properly feminine or masculine and will desire only the other sex possessing different set of sex organs. This circular and deterministic reasoning is the cause of women subordination and project heterosexuality as the natural and legitimate form of sexuality. Thus gender is a product of the social relation of sexuality. In patriarchy gender division and normative heterosexuality mutually reinforce each other. The ideas about the body always underpinned feminist debates on gender and sexuality. The idea of ‘natural’ body is questioned. Given that it is through embodiment that individual recognize each other as gendered being and engage in sexual practices, feminism need to theorize body and focus on how everyday understanding of gender and sexuality are mediated through embodied experience. Giddens (1992) studied the transformations taking place in the sexuality of women. According to him there is rise of ‘plastic sexuality’- a sexuality that is freed from the need of reproduction and the rise of ‘romantic love’ and ‘pure relationship’ characterized by sexual and emotional equality of men and women (ibid.:11).

Thus sexuality and gender mutually reinforce each other, projecting the binary gender division and compulsory heterosexuality as legitimate within patriarchy. As such postmodern thinkers call for scope of endless possibilities as diverse forms of sexuality gets separated from the gender dichotomy.
2.2.3. Adolescence as a Concept

The origin of the term adolescence is Latin; it derives from *adolescere* meaning to ‘grow into adulthood’ and there is no clear boundary that signifies end of childhood and beginning of adolescence (Thapan 2009: 26). Earlier studies on adolescents neglected female adolescents; adolescence was very much a masculine construct. Studies on experiences of young people, across the world, indicates that the stage of adolescence takes various diverse and distinctive forms within and across cultures. However, based on some common features the general universal definition of adolescence that international organizations like UNFPA and WHO put forward understand it as a period in which a person is no longer a child, and not yet an adult. WHO defines adolescence both in terms of age (spanning the ages between 10 and 19 years) and in terms of a phase of life marked by special attributes (UNFPA 2000: 5). These attributes include: (i) rapid physical growth and development of secondary sexual characteristics; (ii) physical, social and psychological maturity, but not all at the same time; (iii) sexual maturity and the onset of sexual activity and experimentation; (iv) development of adult mental processes and adult identity; and (v) transition from total socio-economic dependence to relative independence¹. The period is also characterised by behavioural changes and shifts in social grouping. WHO discerns three main stages of adolescence: (i) early adolescence (9-13 years) which is characterised by a spurt of growth and the development of secondary sexual characteristics; (ii) mid adolescence (14-15 years) which is distinguished by the development of a separate identity from parents, of new relationships with peer groups and the opposite sex, and of experimentation; (iii) late adolescence (16-19 years) is a stage in which adolescents have fully developed physical characteristics similar to adults and have formed a distinct identity and have well-formed opinions and ideas. According to WHO, sexual development of adolescents comprised of physical, psychological, emotional, social and cultural dimensions. It is also linked to the development of one’s identity and it unfolds within specific socio-economic and cultural contexts.

¹To distinguish adolescents from other similar and sometimes overlapping age groupings, WHO has also defined youth as persons between 15 and 24 years and young people as persons between 10 and 24 years.
The classical work on adolescence by Stanley Hall (1904) provides certain dispositions typical of this life-stage. He describes adolescence as ‘pre-emminently the age of sense, and hence prone to sensuousness’ (ibid.: 38). Adolescents are to ‘feel’ in abundance; be it joy, grief, passion, fear or rage. They are prone to exhibitionism; yet at the same time they can be bashful. Development of character is complex process; in words of Stanley, ‘there is always a wide range of change between more and less before a center of gravity is found and a definite social character established’ (ibid.: 85). Intellectual ability is marked by growing curiosity and interest. But opposite tendencies are also observed. According to Stanley at times adolescents exhibit ‘inert moods and types, which are apathetic, which cannot be profound or stirred, that regard passionate mental interest as bad form, and cultivate indifference, that cannot and will not admire’ (ibid.:86). In this situation the responsibility of arousing the mind is the pre-eminent task of a devoted teacher. Adolescence is also marked by ‘a special consciousness of sex’ (ibid.: 97); the age of eight to twelve or fourteen see the development of juvenile love. It is characterised by acute interest in the other sex. Stanley adds significant importance to sexual consciousness of adolescents; he considers it a sin to repress youth to develop healthy thoughts of sex. It helps them to develop the higher intuitions. According to psychoanalytical analysis (Gullotta et al 1993: 21), the sexual orientations of the adolescents are related to preadolescent and early adolescent phases of development. He explains that during this period, adolescents develop close friendships and the quality of these emotional attachments determines the degrees of success the adolescents will have in forming intimate relationship. Erikson (ibid.: 22) too agrees that adolescents duels with the issue of sexual polarization that is homosexuality, heterosexuality or bisexuality while forming identity and before initiating intimate relations as adults. Hajcak and Garwood (Gullotta et al: 22) explained following a psychoanalytic model, how nonsexual emotional needs of the adolescents lead to sexual behaviour and artificially high sex drive. They states that much of the adolescents’ emotional needs that have little or no sexual need. If these needs are met in a nonsexual ways, the adolescents become capable of engaging in mature sexual relationship with others. However, if these needs of affection, self-esteem remains unattended, they are psychologically associated by the incumbent with
physiological and sexual drives. As a consequent, the adolescent learns to associate emotional satisfaction only with sexual behaviours and expressions rather than nonsexual behaviours and expressions. Thus he or she fails to attain mature level of emotionality and sexuality. Sexual socialisation includes processes by which knowledge, attitudes and values about sexuality are transmitted and acquired. They involve the assimilation of contributions from different sources that are delivered in multiple forms verbal and nonverbal, direct and indirect, intentional and unintentional (Stone et al 2013: 228-229). Parents’ role in sexual socialization starts from the day the child is born in subtle ways through the implicit and explicit assumptions about gender properties and roles. Soon parents have to answer question like where do babies come from and about genital. How these, and other such questions, are dealt with by parents and primary carers of children, forms the basis on which young children begin to develop an understanding of the sexual and relationship world they inhabit. They are also the foundations that will likely shape the sexual discourses, meanings and strategies used in early adolescence, young adulthood and beyond, probably with important consequences.

However this understanding of adolescence and puberty as a biological fact, associated with an exclusively heterosexist, copulative conception of adolescent sexuality has been criticised. Puberty is presented as an objective phenomenon which occurs only within the body independent of society and culture. The core meaning associated with puberty is reproductive maturation; it is seen as natural transition from childhood to reproductive heterosexuality thereby excluding non-heterosexual forms of sexuality, non-reproductive forms of heterosexuality, and non-reproductive ways of understanding bodily development (Diorio and Munro 2003: 120). In reality young people experiences contradictory facts and idea. They come across non-heterosexual people in society; they know that most people reproduce infrequently and many do not reproduce at all. It is evident that reproduction plays a minimal a role in the lives of adults and so it cannot constitute the complete meaning of pubescent development.

The role of peer group during adolescence is significant. It is to be noted specifically that peer group teaches adolescents their sex roles; it explicitly emphasize which behaviour is acceptable and admired
in a particular gender based on the dominant notion of masculinity and femininity. Peers also cause adolescents to deviate from the behavioural standards set for them by their parents. It is found that among high school students, behaviours such as drinking, substance abuse and risky sexual intercourse are followed to get approval from peer group (Levine et al 1989: 157). Adolescents are likely to have friends acting as models for engaging in problem behaviour. With the rising influence of the peer group the family as important socializing agency recedes in the background. Peer-oriented adolescents exhibit distinctive behaviour from adult-oriented adolescents in that they are more likely to report behaviour such as using foul language, banking school, and smoking (ibid: 159). It is argued that in traditional setting peer group contributed positively towards strengthening the norms of the community by socializing the youth along the traditional path. Even in past they played important role in governing courtship and sexual relationship but the morality they developed and transmitted was more attuned to the standards of the community; at present where the peer group, the family, the community and the school no more complement each other in their task of socializing the youth. Rather each press on to divergent viewpoints

2.3. Theoretical Foundations

In the following section, the diverse discourses related to sexuality education and key theoretical positions explaining and informing the implications and ramification embedded in this discourses have been discussed. The primary explanatory framework proposes that sexuality education discourses are primarily shaped by the larger social structures of patriarchy, power and resultant inequality. Later development of critical feminism and feminist movements supported the development liberal discourse related to sexuality education. The larger structure of power and gender inequality determine micro-level realities such as the stakeholders’ restricted perception of sexuality education and the behavioural contradictions and ambiguities they experience and express while imparting and receiving sexuality education. The following section is divided into
2.3.1. *Sexuality Education as an Extension of Patriarchy*

The *Encyclopaedia on Children and Childhood in History and Society* (2004) briefly explains sexuality education in the context of modern and postmodern society as a process as; (i) a part of the broader historical tendency to bring personal life under rational control; (ii) a part of larger struggle in modern society over who determines the sexual morality of the coming generation; and (iii) a part of the persisting tendency to view adolescent sexuality as uniquely dangerous. If we explore the initial discourses of sexuality education, the elements of control, repression and inhibition are quite evident. Jones (2011) discusses the conservative discourse related sexuality education which takes an authoritative approach and inculcates students as passive recipients with the dominant values, beliefs, and practices of the time so that they learn to follow the conventions of the social, civic, religious, or local community. Within the conservative discourse sex, gender, and sexuality exist in a fixed bi-polar opposition that is individual is either a feminine heterosexual female or masculine heterosexual male and any other diversity is negated as a pathology. Legitimate sexuality is always procreative and occurs within the context of an established heterosexual marriage. Pedagogical methods followed are authority-centered. For instance, conservative discourse is manifested within Storks and Fairies approach, None/Non-approach, Sexual Morality, Birds and Bees, Biological Essentialism and Abstinence-only Education. In the Stork and Fairy discourse children are regarded as asexual being and their curiosity about reproduction is abated through the story that storks and fairies deliver fully formed babies to established family homes. Such stories propagate the culture of inhibition and silence. According to SIECUS, one time director Haffner and researcher Janice Irvine who explored the discursive development of sexuality education in America, these processes lead to anti-education movement ‘involving censorship of the materials, texts, activities, speech, and language used in schools and the silences created by this approach are filled by inaccurate, unofficial hidden sexuality curriculum’ (ibid: 138). The core ideas and concepts propagated by conservative discourse are that having sex outside marriage undermines hygiene and leads to loss of masculine power, female hysteria,
disease, and degeneration. Unhygienic deviations also included masturbation, prostitution, homosexuality and promiscuity. Puberty education mostly focused on menstruation for girls. Sexual morality discourse informed by ‘Victorian Puritanism’ is rooted in the dogma that sexuality is a sin. Abstinence through asceticism and self-disciplined renunciation of bodily pleasures is endorsed. It is based on body-mind and flesh-spirit dichotomies where the body is seen as corrupting the spirit. Non-procreative sex is regarded as adultery. The birds and bees approach uses natural reproductive metaphors to protect childhood purity while satisfying curiosity. The idea is that youth are taught about the reproduction of birds, flowers, and bees, they can understand human sexuality without being exposed to any explicit information. Biological Essentialism derived from the work of G. Stanley Hall focuses on teaching of scientific facts about how sexual intercourse leads to the reproduction of human life. Abstinence-Only-Until-Marriage Education discourse surged under the authorities of religious and state bodies, it officially taught students to abstain from sexual activity until marriage and that prior sexual activity results in problems such as depression, shame, guilt, sexually transmitted infections, and loss of relationships. Thus, the conservative approach to sexuality education basically supported the patriarchal structures such as the church, the family and the state which followed clearly defined gendered and heterosexual roles. The association between conservative sexuality education discourse and patriarchy become evident through the delineation of essential characters of the patriarchal socio-cultural organization. Walby (1989) defined patriarchy as a system of social structures and practices, in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women. The patriarchal mode of production lead to the domestic division of labour that has significant effects on other aspects of social relations and in itself is a major form of differentiation of men and women, a form of significant inequality. The patriarchal nature of the state also has impacts on gender relations. Women are excluded from access to state resources and power which shapes gender relations; it governs rules on divorce and marriage, it governs fertility by legalizing or criminalizing abortion, contraception and the new reproductive technologies, sexuality is governed by court rulings on the custody of the children of lesbian mothers, on male homosexuality, on prostitution, and on pornography. Male violence often appears to be a
random individual phenomenon, sometimes thought of as a result of psychological derangement in a few men. In reality men use violence as a form of power over women. It has a regular social form and is constituted as a set of various practices including rape, wife-beating, father/daughter incest, flashing, sexual harassment at work, sexual assault. It is significant in shaping women's actions, and therefore may be considered to have causal power. Another key set of patriarchal practices is that of heterosexuality, its compulsory nature and hypocrisy given primacy over lesbianism and homosexuality. Feminist Mackinnon holds sexuality, governed by patriarchal norms as the basis of women’s subordination. She states ‘sexuality equals heterosexuality equals the sexuality of (male) dominance and (female) submission’, and that ‘violation, conventionally through penetration and intercourse, defines the paradigmatic sexual encounter’ (Gannon 2004: 52). Patriarchal culture set in the institutionally-rooted, discourses of femininity and masculinity. There is more than one discourse on femininity and on masculinity. They vary by age, class and ethnicity in particular. Religions have historically been very important patriarchal discourses, laying down correct forms of conduct for men and for women. The educational system has been important in both differentiating men and women and providing men with more credential. The very emergence of patriarchy is founded upon the oppression of women which is the subject of Engel’s significant work, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and The State* (1884). Engels provides a social explanation for the emergence of women’s oppression with the development of the social institutions of the patriarchal family and private property at a particular historic period. In fact, the word family comes from the Latin term *famulus* which means household slave, and *familia*, the totality of slaves belonging to one man, the patriarch, who inherited all the wealth and wielded absolute power over all members of the household (Brewer 2004:1). Such an explanation stood as a direct challenge to the dominant religious view that women’s inferior status rested on god-ordained biological, physical, intellectual and moral inferiority. It was in the epoch of civilization that the division of labour and commodity exchange between individuals arising from it developed and subjugation of women become fully manifested in commodity production and the emergence of social classes, private property and the monogamous father-family and the state. With the
development of domestication of animals and stock breeding, there was a greater accumulation of wealth. The ownership of the wealth began to shift from clan ownership into private ownership in the family. Women as the sources of new human beings began to be exchanged as valued property. Shifts in tracing the kinship line to emphasise the importance of paternity and the father and stressed monogamy in sexual relations. The increase in wealth gave more status to the man in the family and provided the stimulus to establish the institution of patriliney.

Even contemporary research studies related to sexuality education by Diorio and Munro (2003); Gannon (2004); Macleod (2009); Cameron-Lewis and Allen (2013) and Atkinson (2002) pointed towards hegemony of patriarchal structure and processes. Atkinson argue that sexuality education programmes are failing to form an non-discriminatory and inclusive education system that recognises and value the social, cultural and sexual diversity. Sexual diversity is not well represented in sexuality education textbooks. Such silence and inhibition related to sexuality in general and homosexuality in particular serves to increase misunderstanding and intolerance. Feminist criticise the attempt of sexuality education to promulgate a negative discourses of risk and danger and upholding ‘a medical and reproductive approach to student sexuality’ which ‘has left little space for exploration of desire and pleasure and a positive constitution of student sexuality’ (Cameron-Lewis and Allen 2013:122). Sexuality education still propagated simplistic dualisms which ‘disallow recognition and exploration of the interrelatedness of pleasure and danger in sexual intimacy’ making it ‘difficult for young people to learn to navigate the complexities of sexually intimate relationships, particularly issues of sexual negotiation and consent’ (ibid: 123). This debate was initiated by Fine (1988), who referred to this as ‘the missing discourse of desire’ in context of sex education in the America. Critiques explain that because women fail to perceive herself as a legitimate sexual subject within patriarchy, she cannot articulate her consent or lack of consent in a sexually intimate situation. Similarly, schools projecting adolescents as asexual subjects prevent them to understand their sexual selves and assert their sexual agency. Macleod (2009) explains the dominance of ‘danger and disease’ metaphor in sexuality
education manuals in terms of the colonialist discourse of ‘adolescence’. Adolescence is constructed as a separable and recognisable developmental stage; a distinct period of transition from primitive urges characteristics of childhood to civilised behaviour characteristics of adulthood. The transition is essentially perceived as conflicting, involving ‘storm and stress’ and therefore dangerously degenerating. In colonial times anxieties around degeneration centred on masturbation. Such anxieties of degeneration are still continuing within the ‘danger and disease’ discourse surrounding early reproduction and abortion and the spread of disease. It is also argued ‘danger and disease’ discourse is integrated at the very initiation of sexuality education programmes which aimed to resolve the interconnected problems of venereal disease, prostitution and sexual degeneracy through interventions so far as young people are concerned. Diorio and Munro (2003) explain the prevalence of heterosexist discourse of sexuality education in terms of the biological conceptualisation of puberty. This heterosexist discourse constrains the pedagogical approach towards the developmental experiences of adolescence. Authorities do not take into consideration the young peoples’ understanding of puberty; their divergent conceptions of about their own development remain unattended. School-based sexuality education becomes problematic because of its over reliance on established, authoritative, patriarchal knowledge instead of ‘lived experiences’ of adolescents especially that of female adolescents. The knowledge-practice gap also results from the fact that school curricula is often not informed with the ‘discourse of erotics’ that generally structures young people’s sexual experiences. Gabler (2012) explores the restrictions and freedoms of Indian women within family as well as public settings to conclude that differential expectations from men and women have institutionalised sexism. Women’s control over her body and her sexuality is restricted by induced idea of femininity. The traditional demands on ‘decent and good’ women includes the followings; ‘she does not put her interests first, should not be sexually active, assertive or enjoy sex, she should not ask for what she likes and never initiate sexual contact and speaking up for her personal sexual desire is related to being disgusting, bad.

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1 Femininity refers to the learned behaviour that conceptualises the idea of being a woman, constructed within the patriarchal structures of the society
and dirty’ resulting in total de-sexualisation of women where the possibility of seeking and obtaining sexual pleasure becomes impossible (ibid: 286). Before marriage, femininity requires ignorance towards matters of sex. Post marriage the parameters of femininity changes as women as expected to fulfil the sexual needs of her husband and produce children; sexual encounters are regarded as work, chores or duty. Discriminating gender roles and inadequate knowledge about sex lessens women’s control and decision-making power over body and sexuality which increases their vulnerability manifold. Gannon argues that the sexual body is a discursively constituted body. In patriarchy, women find themselves within a heterosexual system of pleasures and desires and learn to become ambivalent subjects as they grow into women within the hegemonic hetero-normative system. The ambivalence is evident in female adolescents desiring sex in a potentially ‘risky’ situation where their sexual boundary and safety is actually being violated by male aggression; young girls and women are deluded since the discursive frameworks available to them for understanding sexual experience are limited, limiting and often dangerous. Following Foucault Gannon explains that power is not only a repressive force but a force capable of inducing pleasure, forming knowledge and producing discourse. Exploration of female memories of male-female relations with fathers, boyfriends, lovers, and husbands show how power emerges as something that is mobile, something that circulates. Gannon quotes Davies et al (2009), ‘power moves through multiple lines of force and Foucault envisages each person as simultaneously undergoing and exercising power; so we are not only the inert or consenting target of power, but also involved in its articulation’ (ibid.: 95). Just like women within patriarchy, the learners/students in the sexuality education classes faces the dilemmas of lived experiences when forced to learn and accept gender inequality; pre-marital asexuality and/or sexual abstinence and heterosexuality in context of marriage and family.

Power as discursive practice is evident within patriarchy; it represses as well as produces knowledge that determines sexuality. Sexuality education propagating abstinence, control, hetero-normativity is part of that knowledge-power discourse. The discursive production of knowledge as power can be
explained with reference to Foucault. In *History of Sexuality volume I*, Foucault argues that sex is not merely the means of biological reproduction and harmless pleasure in our society but has become the central part of our being and the privileged site in which truth about us can be discovered. It is evident that ‘the apparatus of sexuality is of central importance in the modern play of power’ (Weeks 1981: 6).

Power as conventionally understood does not reside in the state, cannot be reduced to class relation, it is not something to hold and use; ‘power is social existence and all of social relation’ (ibid.: 7). It is created in the relationships which sustain it. Foucault identifies the source ‘the will to power’ forever expanding in the form of a will to know; it refers to the ‘power-knowledge’ complex signalling the way power operates through the construction of patriarchal knowledge. Thus he writes,

‘The object in short, is to define the regime of power-knowledge-pleasure that sustain the discourse on human sexuality in our part of the world...What is at issue, briefly, is the over-all “discursive fact”, the way in which sex is “put into discourse”...the essential aim will not be to determine whether these discursive productions and these effects of power lead one to formulate the truth about sex, or on the contrary falsehoods designed to conceal that truth, but rather to bring out the “will to knowledge” that serves as both their support and heir instrument’ (Foucault 1998:11-12).

It is through discourse that power-knowledge is realised and Foucault focuses on how the relation between the symbol and the symbolised is productive. Therefore he deliberate on the history of our discourses about sexuality which is not merely the inhibition of discourse or the regime of silence but the constant and historically changing deployment of discourses on sex, the ever expanding discursive explosion which is a part of a complex growth of control over individuals through the apparatus of sexuality. Foucault’s repressive hypothesis is delineated in the question, ‘Why do we say, with so much passion and so much resentment against our most recent past, against our present, and against ourselves, that we are repressed?’ (ibid.:8-9). Foucault’s repressive hypothesis becomes clear if secondary schools of the eighteenth century are considered. Apparently, sex seems to be non-existent in
these institutions but when one observes the architectural layout, the rules of discipline and their complete internal organization, their preoccupation with the question of sex becomes obvious. The ‘internal discourse’ of the institution reflected in ‘the space for classes, the shape of the tables, the planning of the recreation lessons, the distribution of dormitories…’ indicates towards the sexuality of the children; the internal discourse of the institution ‘was largely based on the assumption that this sexuality existed, that it was precocious, active and ever present’ (ibid.: 27-28). Foucault comments that it will be less than perfect to believe that pedagogical institutions have only imposed, ‘silence on the sex of children and adolescents. On the contrary, since the eighteenth century it has multiplied the forms of discourse on the subject; it has established various points of implantation for sex; it has coded content and qualified speakers. Speaking about children’s sex, inducing educators, physicians, administrators, and parents to speak of it,….causing children themselves to talk about it, and enclosing them in a web of discourses….impose canonical bits of knowledge on them, or use them as a basis for constructing a science that is beyond their grasp- all this together enables us to link an intensification of the interventions of power to a multiplication of discourse’ (ibid.: 29-30).

Weeks (1981) refer to Foucault’s ‘four strategic unities, linking together a host of practise and techniques of power, which formed specific mechanics of knowledge and power centering on sex: a hysterisation of women’s bodies; a pedagogisation of children’s sex; a socialisation of procreative behaviour; a psychiatrisation of perverse pleasure’ and the four figures emerging from this preoccupation with sex, four object of knowledge, four types of human subjects, subjected; targets of and anchorages of the categories which are being simultaneously investigated and regulated: the hysterical woman, the masturbating child, the Malthusian couple and the perverse adult. The thrust of these discursive creations is control (ibid.: 7). Thus, it can be claimed that the knowledge-power discourse of patriarchal society is making them learn a new language of sexuality through implicit messages of do’s and don’ts. The process is implicit because formal sexuality education programmes as
well as parents and other caregivers provide incomplete facts and at times prefer to avoid or maintain silence regarding sexuality, sexual health and sexual relationship. But the culture is replete with sexual messages and sexual titillation through pornographic contents; these acts as knowledge sources and are their implicit heterosexual and sexist discourses are not countered effectively by the liberal discourse of comprehensive sexuality education at formal and informal level. The conservative discourse of patriarchal morality is also enforced by Durkheim (1979). He perceived sex education as dark, mysterious and awe-inspiring because it is connected with the dark and mystifying characteristic associated with human sexual act. At the outset he declares that the need for such education cannot be questioned as it has existed in every society but according to him if there is a social notion about modesty then the sexual act is the most immodest act. The immorality of the sexual act is also derived from the fact that it destroys the respect that men generates among fellow men, a respect that grows out of avoiding intimacy, in keeping distance, in concealing our bodies and private life from public gaze. Yet sexual acts create strong bonds between human beings that other acts are incapable of forming; it redeem its constitutional immorality as it leads to an unparalleled communion between two conscious beings wherein the boundaries are first displaced and later transferred as a new personality is born embracing and enveloping the other two. Durkheim is basically conforming to patriarchal norms of heterosexuality; sex outside the heterosexual marital relationship is levelled as promiscuous and immoral. In teaching young people to abstain from ‘immoral sexual act’ Durkheim stressed on the fact that the young people should understand the need for controlling their sexual desires. Abstinence is necessary as any sexual union outside marriage will give rise to social problems and may also lead to health hazards. But Durkheim claimed that continence cannot be enforced so the lessons of continence should follow a utilitarian approach in order justify it to the youth. He proposed that the youth should be made to understand the immorality of the act and should learn to see beyond the external gestures associated with sex and relationship. Thus, moral education was perceived as vital according to Durkheim and therefore he stressed on its inclusion in sex education. In doing that he connects moral
structure of the society to its dominant hegemonic pattern that is not open to diverse possibilities of the social existence of the youth.

The taboo associated with sex outside heterosexual marriage feeds the stakeholders’ inhibition against sexuality education; the fear also exist that sexuality education will instigate ‘safe’ sex out of wedlock by providing knowledge about contraception. This general inhibition can be explained in terms of ‘stock of knowledge’ and ‘habit-forming force’ informed by patriarchy. In other words, the behaviour, attitude, opinion, understanding and perceptions of individual actors in regard to sexuality education can be explained both in terms of Husserl and Schutz’s deliberation on ‘lifeworld’ and Bourdieu’s concept of ‘habitus’. German philosopher Edmund Husserl argued that knowledge is constructed through having conscious experience; something that is prior to having knowledge. It comes prior to being able to think and ask question about the reality of experience. For Husserl, experience is an all-in-one package, in which the knower and the known, the believer and the believed in are undifferentiated, seamlessly united in the generation of ‘experience as it is lived in’ (Lock and Strong 2010: 31). Husserl also pointed out the intentional nature of consciousness that is consciousness is always consciousness of ‘something’. The intentionality inherent in consciousness reveals the meaning of the object of consciousness and for Husserl there is unity between the mind (the subject) and the object of which the mind is conscious of. Later, in his attempt to investigate into the contents of consciousness, Husserl moved beyond the boundaries of individual consciousness to consider the world of everyday experience and focused on ‘intersubjectivity’ as well as ‘subjectivity’. Thus Husserl shifted emphasis to the ‘world of daily life’ or lifeworld whereby he stated that the intersubjective experience is fundamental to constructing ourselves as objective subjects; others as experiencing subjects and the entire spatio-temporal world that the individuals conduct their unreflective social interaction within. He emphasized that humans operate in a taken-for-granted world that permeates the consciousness of the individuals. It is composed of the objects, peoples, places, ideas and other things that people see and perceive as setting the parameters for their existence, for their activities and for their pursuits. Husserl’s
conceptualization of the lifeworld constitutes the springboard for Alfred Schutz’s work. Schutz pointed out that the world that we experience is not the private world of the individual, but an intersubjective world that is common to all of us. The world of everyday life is the scene and object of individuals’ action and interaction whereby the actors work and operate not only within but upon the world (ibid.: 34). Schutz elaborated the cognitive components of the life-world. According to him, a person’s everyday actions call on a ‘stock of knowledge’ that has been constituted in and by previous experiences and actions. Meanings have been formed within individuals as a reliable and usable way of making and sharing sense. Stock of knowledge exists at different levels. There is a relatively small portion of it that is clear, distinct and internally consistent. Around this portion there are graduated zones of varying vagueness, obscurity and ambiguity. As Schutz pointed out that there are zones of things just taken for granted, blind beliefs, bare suppositions, and mere guesswork; there are zones in which it will merely do to put one’s trust and finally there are regions of our complete ignorance. Schutz agrees with Husserl that the existence of stocks of knowledge bestows on events in the social world, a ‘taken-for-granted’ character. Stocks of knowledge are rarely the object of conscious reflection but rather an implicit set of assumptions and procedures that are silently used by the individuals as they interact. Stocks of knowledge are learned through socialization within a common social and cultural world. Because of the intersubjective nature of the socio-cultural world, the knowledge that any of us has is the result of a complex process of socialization (Zaner 1961: 84). And the individually located experience of the world connect with other individually located points of awareness and forms a socially distributed ‘commonsense’. The central question that Pierre Bourdieu asked while interrogating regularity of action is that how action does follow certain patterns without being the product of obedience to rules, norms or conscious, subjective intentions or product of some abstract external structure. In his theory of practice, Bourdieu also aimed to explain the experiential reality of free reasoning of individual actors carrying out everyday activity unconscious of any structural form. The concept of habitus to transcend the classical dualism between the society and the individual for the purpose of the very concept is to suggest that “the socialized body” that is the
individual, is not opposed to society rather is one of its “form of existence” (Swartz 1997: 96). Bourdieu perceived action as a strategy; behaviour as strategic rather than rule conforming, taking cue from Levi-Strauss’s structural anthropology and subsequently implying the importance of agency within structure. The notion of strategy aims to suggest that even within normative structure certain uncertainty is always involved with action and the outcomes of actions occurring over time often remain unclear to the actors involved. Bourdieu also considered all actions as interest oriented; whether or not actors will conform to norms depends upon their interests. This very idea of actors as practical strategists is linked to social structure through the concept of habitus. Bourdieu defined habitus as,

‘a system of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them.’(ibid.: 100)

Bourdieu used several terms and phrases to describe habitus, such as “cultural unconscious”, “habit-forming force”, “set of basic, deeply interiorized master-patterns”, “mental habits”, “mental and corporeal schemata of perceptions, appreciations and action” and “generative principle of regulated improvisations”.

The conceptual framework provided by ‘lifeworld’ and ‘habitus’ can therefore partially explain the individuals’ dispositions on sexuality and their propagation of abstinence through sexuality education; one can understand the social basis of the prevailing culture of resistance and inhibition. Sexuality education has always been a contentious issue; its formal implementation through educational institutions is continuously resisted and at informal level talking about sex is a taboo. Stakeholders always aim for the middle path struggling to search for neutral nomenclature that would lessen the resistance. They experience contradiction for they cannot overcome inhibition in spite of realizing the necessity of imparting sexuality education.
The hegemonic practices of patriarchal structure also penetrate into educational institutions through the ‘hidden curriculum’. According to Bowles (1978) understanding ‘the hidden curriculum’ is of paramount importance because, ‘Whether relationships among students are hierarchical and competitive or egalitarian and cooperative, whether relations among students, teachers and the larger community are democratic or authoritarian, are better indicators of what students actually learn in schools than texts or formal curricula.’ (ibid.: 788). The concept of ‘hidden curriculum’ critically analyse the role of the educational system, as an important influence on political life, ideology, and the development of labour power; as an input into the production process, and as one of the main instruments of the state. The fact that education reproduces existing power and authority structure is evident in the many studies discussed in the next section of the chapter.

2.3.2. Comprehensive Sexuality Education Embedded in Feminist Discourse

Liberal and critical discourses of sexuality education became popular since the 1960s. As opposed to conservative approach, it considered teachers as facilitators in students’ development of knowledge and skills, particularly relating to inquiry and decision making. The central problematic it dealt with is the lapses in young people’s perceived requisite knowledge and skills essential for protecting their self-interests. Unlike conservative approach, the authority in this approach shifts more to the individual and recognises diversity beyond heterosexual model. Liberal sexuality education discourses include sexual liberationist perspective, comprehensive sex education, sexual risk/progressive, sexual readiness, effective relationships, controversial Issues/values clarification, and liberal feminist approach. It is founded upon the work of Alfred Kinsey, Magnus Hirschfield, William Masters, and Virginia Johnson who went on to reveal diverse ranges of sexualities and rejected to frame sexuality within existing binary oppositions of vice and virtue. Comprehensive sex education propagated by SIECUS, under the leadership of Dr. Mary S. Calderone aimed to combat the lack of accurate sexuality education for young people. Their ‘age-appropriate information’ approach provided wide-ranging information on sex; sexual anatomy and physiology, reproduction, contraception and abstinence, sexually transmitted
infections, sexual communication, relationship development and maintenance, masturbation, and homosexuality. The ‘sexual risk discourse’ arose when institutional needs to manage sexual dangers have increased due to disease or pregnancy epidemics. All risks, including teen pregnancy are portrayed negatively and key concepts include ‘safe/safer sex’. The effective relationships, marriage education, relationship education, or couple education discourses aimed to teach individuals the skills to establish satisfying, supportive, and stable relationships. Liberals essentially conceptualise sexuality education as a relational tool to communicate affection, desire, appreciation, and love. The ‘liberal feminist discourse’ to sexuality education relates sex with learned gender role that is with the notions of masculinity or femininity. It promoted women’s liberation from her body, in being no longer destined solely for reproduction and child rearing and given the right to consent while partaking or refusing sexual acts. The critical-feminist orientation to sexuality is linked to the rise of reform such as feminism, gay liberation and post-colonialism. It aims to engage students more actively in social issues and action and they are informed about procreation, contraception and abortions. The repression or marginalization of non-dominant groups is recognised as the main problem. Critical discourse also followed ideas propagated by Marxist and Radical feminist that women’s subordination is rooted in reproduction. Sexuality education is influenced by these models that rethink the body beyond as sole source for procreation or traditional intercourse. Critical sexuality education discourses see monogamy as unnatural and accepts adolescent sexuality, non-monogamy and the bearing children out of wedlock. The radical feminist also strengthened the critical discourse by claiming that the ‘personal is political’ and criticised ‘the way human reproduction is controlled and socialized through such institutions as marriage, compulsory heterosexuality and motherhood’ (Jones 2011: 267). The body is considered political given that its desires, pleasures, activities, and relations exist within a power dynamic. They challenged the stereotypes about female desire and sexual behaviour and advocated women’s reproductive rights. It is also emphasized that a person’s sex, gender identity, or sexual orientation should not affect how they are treated, their access to services or institutions or physical locations, and their economic or occupational opportunities. Everybody have the innate human right to express their
sexuality. Thus the sexuality framework of critical discourse incorporates the sexual ‘others’. Critical discourse also calls for safe and supportive caring spaces as any form of sexual abuse; verbal, physical, emotional and sexual are seen as potentially dangerous. Thus, comprehensive sexuality education accepted adolescents’ sexuality and premarital sexual relationships among young people as a normal developmental process and therefore the main aim of sexuality education is not to propagate state or other institution led moral strictures but scientific and accurate facts that will enable the youth to take informed decision while consenting to any form of sexual activity. As such sexuality education is no more limited to sexual knowledge but also include decision-making skills, negotiation skills, refusal skills and the skills to interpret possible knowledge sources and seek help from trusted sources. Being influenced by critical feminist discourse comprehensive sexuality education upholds gender rights and sexual rights that promise to maintain gender equality and recognise sexual diversity. In the course of historical thinking about feminism it is primarily considered as a social force that believes in women’s oppression and this point view is common to all shades of feminism. The basic question they asked is how can we change and improve the social world so as to make it a more just place for women and for all people. Feminism’s basic theoretical questions produces a revolutionary switch of understanding the world; it lead us to discover that what we have taken as universal and absolute knowledge of the world is in fact knowledge derived from the experiences of a powerful section of the society, men as masters (Ritzer 2011: 445-446). We realise that knowledge become relative when seen and understood from the vantage point of a hitherto invisible unacknowledged world. This discovery and its implication turn feminism into significant social force. Feminist radical challenge not only relativised knowledge but also ask to ‘deconstruct’ such knowledge that we discover till now hidden behind the presentation of the knowledge that is established, singular and natural- a construction that is formed by the social, relational and power arrangements. Cultural feminism questions the essentialist reason behind gender difference; that it states that no person, or thing posses or lack a particular quality that is part of his, her or its nature; such essentialism denies possibilities of change. Gender inequality is the core problematic of liberal feminist thinking. They argue that gender as a way of understanding all the socially
constructed features built around an idea of sex identity and used to produce inequality between persons considered male and persons considered female. Liberal feminist are willing to invoke universal principals in their pursuits of equality. They argue for equal educational and economic opportunities; equal responsibility for the activities of family life; elimination of sexiest messages in family, education and mass media and individual challenges to sexism in daily life. For them the ideal gender arrangement is one in which each individual acting as a free and responsible moral agent chooses the lifestyle suitable to her or him and has their choice accepted and respected be it for housewife, househusbands unmarried careerist or part of a dual-income family, childless or with children, heterosexual or homosexual (ibid.: 457). Gender oppression is primarily the dealt with radical feminist; they see it in every institutions and in society’s most basic structures-heterosexuality, class, caste, race, ethnicity and gender- systems of oppression in which some people dominate others. Of all these system of domination and subordination the most fundamental structure of oppression is gender. The system of patriarchy is most pervasive enduring system of inequality. Through participation in patriarchy, men learn to how to hold other human beings in contempt to see them as nonhuman and to control them. Patriarchy created guilt and repression sadism, masochism manipulation and deception. Patriarchy is also analysed as form of violence by men which may not be overtly physical but can be hidden in complex practices of exploitation and control in standards of fashion and beauty, in tyrannical ideals of motherhood, monogamy, chastity and heterosexuality (ibid.: 462). Overtly physical cruelty is presented as forms of sexual abuse, rape, enforced prostitution, spouse abuse, incest, sadism in pornography, witch burning, persecution of lesbians, female infanticide, foot binding, clitorectomy, abuse of widows and so on. Socialist feminist focus on domination and how the dominant refuse to recognise the subordinates’ independent subjectivity; domination is presented as a large scale structural arrangement a power relation between groups or categories of social actors. Thus feminism explains all forms of inequality, domination, oppression, power induced violence and exploitation in terms of patriarchy and they are able to challenge the established structure by questioning the essentialist understanding of nature of being and by asking to deconstruct any form of existing knowledge system.
Sexuality education according to activists and key informants also follows right-based approach, it should not be fear-based that is information and life skills are not provided or imparted to the adolescents to scare them of potentially threatening situation, rather access to sexuality education should be seen as a right of the adolescent. Right-based discourse proposes that sexuality education not only aim to fulfil certain needs of the adolescents; that the basic purpose of sexuality education is to empower adolescents with the capacity to take informed decision. From 1990s UN started emphasizing on human rights which with time have emerged as a system as well as a movement which is ethical in that it demands all people are entitled to certain standards of living. It seeks to removes the charity dimension of development by recognising the suffering and deprived people not as beneficiaries, but as active rights holders. It introduces element of accountability into development and the focus on development by people, not for people. Information is not only something young people need, it is also something they are entitled to as human beings. Thus rights-based approach to development is defined as a ‘framework that integrates the norms, principles, standards and goals of the international human rights system into the plans and processes of development, linking the human rights system and its inherent notion of power and struggle with development’ (Boesen and Martin 2007: 9). Fulfilment of need often expect gratefulness, fulfilment of rights does not.

Therefore the emergence and development of comprehensive sexuality education as an emancipatory and right-based discourse can be seen as conterminous with the development of critical feminist discourse and/ or movement against the oppressive and subjugating system of patriarchy. Over the centuries, feminist theories have been able to develop a system of ideas about human life that features women as objects and subjects raising critical questions regarding woman as the “other”, women’s subordination and explored how women can be liberated from the oppressive patriarchal set up. Similarly, sexuality education questions the conventional norms regarding sex, sexuality and bodily practices legitimised by patriarchy. Following patriarchal norms, sex is only acceptable as adult, heterosexual practices within marriage and monogamous family headed by the male patriarch who
makes all the choices. In opposition to this view, holistic comprehensive sexuality education view sex and sexuality as normal, essential human characteristic. Sexual practices become risky and problematic in absence of proper knowledge and information which ensure informed decision-making and equal choices for everybody. Thus, in patriarchy, agency of the adolescents is nullified but through the sexuality education discourse they emerge as sexual subjects with definite rights.

2.3.3. Postmodern Orientation to Sexuality Education

The contemporary postmodern orientation to sexuality education involves analysis of concepts of truth, authority, and reality. Students are enabled to deconstruct and co-construct as well as be self-reflexive. Authorized accounts and positions are questioned. Multiple perspectives on issues and knowledge are accepted and a critical deconstruction of the hegemonic or discursive truths/assumptions of any given time or culture are emphasized. Postmodern discourse includes post-identity feminism that believes that identity is unfixed and it is constructed. Thus the sexuality framework sees sex and gender as social and historical constructs. Students are encouraged to explore exactly what these constructs entail and how they occur so that they can move beyond such limitations. Post-modern sexuality education includes discussion of texts about socialization and the normalization of heterosexuality in popular culture; it also ensures that schooling equitably educates diverse populations. Various sexual traditions, sexual lifestyles and cultural views on sex are seen as equally valid and the sexuality framework recognizes multiple cultural understandings of sexuality that students may be subject to and operate within. Race and cultural beliefs are understood as determining factors shaping one’s sexual choices as well as their ability to assert those choices. Reproduction is also conceived in varying ways; it may result from male-female sexual intercourse, from fertilization treatments, adoption processes, and so on. Under postmodern, poststructuralist discourse Queer Theory also informs sexuality education. Queer identity encourages all non-heteronormative conceptions of identity because Queer identity is itself unqualifiable and limitless in nature. It disrupts cultural binaries such as ‘male-female’ and ‘heterosexual-homosexual’. It redirects students to consider other ways of looking at sexuality that do
not rely on being male or female thereby offering creative possibilities. Thus sexuality education occurs in many different areas, not just in specifically allocated sexuality education lessons. School policies, structures, staffing, rules, uniforms, approaches to bullying, and morality education all are designated as discursive sites where messages about sexuality are imbued. Therefore postmodern sexuality educations engage with diverse sexualities in academically valid and interesting ways and they empower students as active participants whose insights cannot be overlooked.

Postmodernism is important to feminist theory primarily as an oppositional epistemology, as a strategy for questioning the claims to truth or knowledge advanced by a given theory. The question ‘whose knowledge?’ has proven to be radically transformative, opening debates about the relation of power to knowledge and about the basis of human claims to know.

2.4. Relevant Research Studies

Sexuality education as a field for research is quite fertile. It is a culminating point of reference in researches related to adolescents, education and sexuality. In the following section I would first explore those studies on sexuality education from different contexts and analyse the findings. In the second section, researches on related issues such as education and on adolescents’ behaviour and development will be explored. Together these studies will create a analytical framework that will inform the present study, substantially and methodologically.

2.4.1. Research Studies on Sexuality Education

I have divided this section into three, the first section discusses studies that present critical outlook on hegemonic tendencies of sexuality education, in the second section studies exploring parents’ role as sexuality education and its various nuances. In the last section, studies suggesting ways to effective sexuality education have been discussed and some studies deliberate on the role of Internet and multimedia in imparting sexuality education.
I. Critical Studies on Sexuality Education

Chilisa (2006) reported that among Sub-Saharan Africa, initiation ceremonies and rituals to mark the rite de passage from adolescence to adulthood play central role in imparting sexuality education. These tribal societies have established practice that allows limited forms of sexual release and non-penetrative sex. This practice known as *hlobonga* among Zulus, *amaqhisa* among the Xhosa in South Africa, *Kujuma* among the swati of Swaziland and *ngwiko* among the Kikuyu in Kenya ensures sexual satisfaction without penetration. Sexual discipline was taught by presenting the initiates with concrete situations where boys and girls were allowed to spend nights together. Taboos were invoked to maintain good sexual conduct. Family, group and peer pressure was exerted to discourage breach of sexual conduct. For example, among Kikuyu, it was believed that breaking of sexual taboos could affect the health of the family members and even cause death. These safe sex practices prevented premarital pregnancy while at the same time allowed adolescents to explore their bodies and experience pleasure. But the openness of tribal starkly contradicts institutional sexuality education framed along the lines of modern education system. Thus Chilisa explores the abstinence-only sexuality education imparted in community junior secondary schools of Botswana. In these schools the teachers engage students in discourses concerning sexuality and socio-cultural issues by using school regulations and magazines as medium of communication. The head of the school believes in abstinence before marriage. In classrooms, notice boards read messages like no sexual relations. The school publishes magazines the aim of which is to warn students on the temptation to indulge in sex. It is evident that the sex education curriculum is shaped by the moral values informed by Western religion; the only truth that is being reinforced here through messages, responses and readings from biblical texts is abstinence until marriage. Adolescent students are thus taught to repress sexual urges, feeling and desires. At present the NGO sectors and other civil society organization are actively propagating sexuality education that does not propagate it as preventive against risky behaviour. Gabler (2012) studied the role played by non-government organizations (NGOs) located in New Delhi, India in imparting
sexuality education and in challenging sexism and socially constructed femininity through their sexual health programmes and projects. These NGOs are found to address a whole range of issues; such as safe childbearing and freedom from sexual coercion, women’s rights and empowerment, same-sex rights, HIV/AIDS and human rights. They propagate gender as a social construction and debunk patriarchy, hierarchy and hetero-normativity as oppressive patterns of this construction. They thereby create the opportunity for critical thinking challenging the notion of women’s sexuality or the constructions of femininity. They project knowledge as key to empowerment and making informed choices. According to Gabler, the most innovative feature of the sexuality education provided by the NGOs is the inclusion of ‘pleasure’ and the focus on positive approaches that do not perceive sexuality education from the ‘risk’ discourse but as a strengthening platform encouraging discussion and negotiation on sexual matters. The information and training provided by the NGOs contained both factual and interactive knowledge. For example, while dealing with method of contraception they additionally dealt with issues of cultural taboos related to the use of contraceptives as well as the social notions of fertility. Such approaches often unearth inbuilt dilemmas and conflicts. Conflicting beliefs are addressed through a participatory approach that ensures that facilitators take accounts of the interests and questions of the participant instead of imposing a pre-set curriculum. They work against any victimising by not adopting strategies that see women as objects of power incapable of action and without possessing any knowledge as this may place NGOs in authoritative position. Most NGO workers emphasised the need for and creation of spaces where support can be provided; a physical environment like the NGO offices or cultural venues where participants will be protected opposing groups. Even Help lines ensuring anonymity can be considered a free and safe space where participants can ask discuss and talk about topics not possible elsewhere. The workshops conducted by the NGOs create a space for communication, learning and support. But while creating the space they stressed on the strict maintenance of non-judgemental attitude. Some of the common methods and activities followed in here are brainstorming, theatre, role-play and games. In developed countries to pedagogical structures are challenging the established norms. For example, the new National Curriculum for
England and Wales aims to form a non-discriminatory and inclusive education system which recognises and value the social, cultural and sexual diversity yet the complex and contradictory operating in educational contexts make the it problematic to address diversity. Government clearly makes the schools responsible to ensure that the needs of all pupils are met in their programmes; young people, in spite of their developing sexuality, need to feel that sex and relationships education is relevant to them and sensitive to their needs. The teachers are expected to be able to deal honestly and sensitively with sexual orientation, answer appropriate questions and offer support (Atkinson 2002: 124). Compulsory Heterosexuality propagated is also found to be opposed to the discourses found in the popular cultures. Thus young people are expected to negotiate themes of sexuality and sexual orientation with opposite values such as open recognition and adulation of gay pop star and other celebrities goes alongside the expectation that young people will laugh at jokes implying that a classmate or a popular figure or television character is gay. There is proliferation of lesbian and gay relationships in television dramas, yet there exist highly popular programmes where homosexuality subverted to heterosexuality. The use of the term ‘gay’ to mean stupid or worthless has become widespread among school pupils across the UK as part of the vocabulary of playground abuse. It can be problematic if diversity is not taught in a multi-sexual society because silence not only makes homosexuality undesirable, but because hetero-normativity restricts the possibility of anything else. Teaching can challenge disrupting hetero-normative assumptions. Voluntary peer-support groups can be effective in recognising and working with non-heterosexual families can thereby creating a valuable counter-discourse. Teacher training processes can also pave the way for the development of resources which enable teachers to recognise and celebrate sexual diversity as a legitimate part of the formal and informal curriculum.

II. Studies on Parents’ Role

The role of parents in imparting sexuality education is a complicated field of study and has been explored by many researchers. Many studies corroborated that mothers interact and communicate more
than fathers so far imparting sexuality education is concerned. Parenting involves both the mother and the father but in reality their involvement in rearing up the children is not the same; the picture is somewhat one sided given that the mothers are more engaged in parenting than the fathers. The more involvement of mothers is to some extent encouraged by society’s values regarding motherhood and the dearth in the role of father is manifestation of how society views men and parenthood. Most researchers tend to focus on mothers as primary sexuality educators as adolescents spend more time with mothers, talk to them more than fathers about personal problems and feel closer to mothers than fathers. Sexual socialization therefore seems to be a female responsibility. Coffelt (2010) studying late female adolescents (18 or 19 year of age) and their mothers in America found that these daughters had no apparent difficulty in asking their mothers to participate in a study about sexual communication. The mothers were also comfortable and open with their daughters to the extent that they agreed to participate in the research project. All of the participants identified sex as a natural topic of discussion in their mother-daughter relationship. However, for some daughters it was challenging when they were younger though their discomfort was associated with the information and not with their relationships with their mothers. As the daughters grew older, details of sexual activity emerged as a sexual topic but it was avoided as it is considered to be private. It might be that parents and adolescents experience a desire to be open about sexual information, at the same time want to protect personal feelings or private, sexual experiences. The timing of conversations may also present tensions when one party is open to receive information, yet the other is closed. This inherent contradiction of openness and closedness, the challenge and relative comfort can be explained in terms of dialectical perspective. Thus mothers struggle with the dialectical tension of openness-closedness, they have a desire to be open with their daughters with sexual information, yet maintain closedness at various points in time. Such contradictory evidence suggests that perhaps such communication may not be either challenging or not challenging, but rather may be both challenging and not challenging. Again, research showed that though parents often describe their communication with adolescents as ‘open’ yet in actual context they may paradoxically used term. Kirkman et al (2005) interrogated the subjective meaning of the
term ‘open’ in context of communication and relationship to find that the meaning of ‘openness’ is contradictory and these contradictions are delineations of meaning of openness. To be open about sexuality can mean to be willing to answer questions though adolescents may not actually ask questions in spite of valuing parents’ willingness to answer. Openness also involves having an open-minded attitude. Openness does not mean focusing on the topic rather it advocates reticence to reduce embarrassment for the children and the parents, and to maintain culturally endorsed social and moral standards. Parents are constantly balancing between availability and reticence, over-indulgence and taboo, affirmation and warning, openness and privacy. Openness also adapts to the developing sexuality and gender of the child and the subsequently emerging parent-child intimacy taboo, particularly in between parents and children of different sexes. Communal mores also determine the appropriate level of openness given that a parent need to retain the good opinion of other parents while dealing with the need for information of one’s own children. Thus openness as an attitude of mind within family communication determines the subjective orientation and cultural relevance of parent-led sexuality education. Elliot also (2010) examined parents’ contradictory attitudes and ambivalence while promoting the abstinence-only until marriage discourse in sexuality education in context of the American family. Ambivalence and contradictory feelings or attitudes can result from pressures imposed by contradictory normative behaviour placed on an individual in a particular social location, role, or relationship. It can also arise from contradictory cultural messages or images. Thus most parents may feel accountable to promote abstinence and view it as a way for their children to safety; as a promise of psychological, physical, and financial well-being yet they remain sceptical whether their children will in fact abstain from sexual activity until marriage. They are aware that abstinence is probably not realistic; neither it is appealing to them as a moral message. Actually the parents conforms to the larger discourses around teen sexuality that projects heterosexual sex as enormously risky resulting in innumerable negative consequences and perceives adolescents as vessels of raging hormones who lack the capacity to approach sex responsibly. How parents experienced and remember their own adolescence and sexuality also shaped how they think about and manage their teenagers’
sexuality. Attitudinal ambivalence experienced by parents is one of the major limitations of parent-led sexuality education. Even the definition constructed by the stakeholders can affect their activity regarding sexuality education. Sanders and Reinisch (1999) were the first to explore how respondents labelled activities as sex or not, on the basis their definition of sex (Peterson et al 2007: 256) and at times individuals’ definitions were based on the anticipated consequences of their sexual acts. Peterson and Muehlenhard (2007) identified that respondents provided ‘motivated definitions’ (ibid: 257) whereby they stick to a particular definition that leads to a desired end result. For examples, Rosenbaum (2006) studying adolescent Health suggested that adolescents’ tendency of not defining their sexual acts as having sexual intercourse is caused by the emphasis on maintaining virginity as propagated by abstinence-only sex education (ibid: 266). Such motivated definition can have serious consequences as individuals end up in denying the risk associated with the sexual act and do not take protection against STIs/STDs and unintended pregnancy. Peterson and Muehlenhard found that the most common motives among women were to avoid negative self-evaluations and to continue to perceive themselves as virgins. Women’s emphasis on virginity can be traced to the bias of patriarchal societies about female sexuality. The influence of dominant social forces was evident in the facts that respondents provided motivated definition of sex to conform to their religious beliefs and to heterosexuality. Thus the behaviour of the respondents can be causally linked to how they level their behaviour. Goldman (2008) identified certain parental objections to sexuality education and provided research-based reasoned responses to these parental concerns. First, parents having higher levels of education often object to school-based sexuality education topics because they feel that they are better equipped to teach their children about sexuality or equip them with the skills necessary to avoid sexual activity. Yet research evidences shows that many parents do not provide relevant, timely, and developmentally appropriate or even enough sexuality education for their own children and what they do provide is rated by children as infrequent and ineffective. Secondly, parents think that if children are taught about sex they will go out and do it. This objection may stem from the desire to insulate young people from harm but knowledge does not harm. Such insulation of children may lead to a perilous
state of ignorance rather than of innocence. This discourse of innocence profoundly endanger children as sexual innocence is not a natural feature of childhood itself, rather it is something that adults wish upon children. Thirdly, parents want that sexuality education should emphasise traditional moral values. They are not aware of the values that sexuality education propagates such as equality, dignity, pluralism, freedoms, respect and tolerance. Fourthly, parents often object to materials used in sexuality education for children as being visually pornographic. The sexual aspect of the human body, the sex organs in particular are mostly considered offensive. But adolescents who learn a repressed, evasive and dishonest representation of biological facts and sexual language through sources such as pornography and peer group would grow into ignorant, embarrassed and inarticulate individuals. Pornography is legally defined as that which purports to corrupt and deprave. But if sexuality is a normal, natural, and healthy part of human life, materials used in young people’s sex education programmes cannot be pornographic. They are not meant to corrupt or deprave, but to educate, inform and enlighten. According to Goldman, parental objections are often expressions of their concern about human sexuality; they may have formed by their own experiences, or stem from a desire to protect their offspring from risks. In a similar study by Stone et al (2013) the dominant ideas that affect the activities and discussions of parents while imparting sexuality education. Firstly, parents create, conform and accept the socially constructed idea of sexual innocence of adolescents; it is contested because it involves adults’ defining how adolescents should behave, decide what they know or when they should know it and how they should learn in order to preserve their innocence. Secondly, in their urge to preserve their children’s innocence, parents remain too concerned with the information being age-appropriate. Consequently, parents’ behaviour turns to be reactive rather than proactive with the assumption that if children don’t ask, they don’t wish or are not ready to know. Thirdly, parents remain too concern with their lack of right skills and the right strategies to speak effectively with their children about sexual issues. Lastly, parents tend to fear social disapproval and be judged as bad parents if they communicate with their children about sexual issues and intimate relationships. Thus parents’ role in imparting sexuality education is often found to be characterised by their act of avoided answering
questions along with incomplete answers and half-truth. It is also noted that since the parents conceptualize sexuality education in a narrow biological and reproductive-oriented way, they tend to overlook critical issues involving gender issues, hygiene and bodily comfort and life skills such as self-esteem or self-confidence. Thus parental teaching about sexual matters involves various anxieties and challenges, more so because there are no clear rules or agreements among parents as to how to deal with issues. Other studies have shown that parent-adolescent communication can facilitate proper implementation of the learning objectives of sexuality education. For instance, Hicks et al (2013) proposed based on research findings that the capability of sexually active teenagers to negotiate with teen-partner about sexual risk prevention and use of contraceptives, depends on the level of communication they have with their parents. An adolescent can lack the ability and agency to negotiate condom use and/or birth control use which is a critical skill for pregnancy and STI prevention due to absence of communication role models, such as parents. Parents can help them to build the skills to have these sensitive conversations by giving them an opportunity to practice having such conversations. Findings also suggest that a high level of general communication with one parent, regardless of that parent’s gender, can have a positive impact on the adolescents’ protective behaviours. It is suggested that since parent-child rapport can help young people face the risks and challenges of adolescence, sexuality education programs for youth can be supplemented with specific activities for parents and adolescents together that emphasize communication skills.

III. Studies on Effective Sexuality Education

Other studies have provided valuable insights that can help in relevant actions for effective sexuality education. Cost and Cost-Effective Analysis of School-Based Sexuality Education Programmes in Six Countries; this study was commissioned and published by UNESCO in 2011\(^1\). The main aim of this study was to provide information about the various economic aspects of developing and implementing a sexuality education programme in secondary schools in low, middle and high income countries. The

\(^1\) The study was implemented by Radboud University Medical Center, Nijmegen.
six countries selected are Nigeria, Kenya, Estonia, Netherland, Indonesia and India. This study also provides some significant analysis regarding the boundaries and role of sexuality education programmes in context of the fact that it is a sensitive issue in most countries and it often comes in conflict with socio-cultural and moral processes. These are as follows;

(i) In many countries the term ‘sexual’ and ‘sexuality’ is avoided to reduce opposition and so sexuality education programmes are variously referred to as ‘family life education’, ‘life skill education’, ‘health education’ and so on. How explicitly a sexuality education programme will deal with human sexuality and sexual behaviour will depend on the specific socio-cultural context on which it is to be implemented. So the curriculum of the programme will vary too. In India sexuality education in schools are a recent development and it faced more internal opposition than was anticipated. Thus the sensitive nature of adolescent sexuality and sexuality education determine the speed and scale of implementation, scope of the curriculum (comprehensive or abstinence-only) and its potential impact.

(ii) In such cases it often becomes difficult to delineate the boundaries of sexuality education in integrated programmes. The question is that what should be considered as sexuality education and where does it become general lifestyles education. In response it is argued that sexuality education involves both general orientations to attitudes, behaviour skills along with focus on specific challenges like safe sexual behaviour, decision-making skills, drug abuse and so on. Ideally for a proper addressing of adolescent sexuality issues, a sexuality education programme needs to be combined with other healthy lifestyle and social orientation subjects that require general life skills such as self-esteem, communication and negotiation skills.

(iii) This report also makes an important observation regarding the rationale behind implementing sexuality education programme. It states that such programme should not be motivated by a reduction of adverse health events alone; comprehensive sexuality education programmes have major non-health benefits such as reducing gender inequality, improving communication within
and the quality of interpersonal relationships, increasing self-awareness and self-efficacy in decision-making, and reducing sexual violence.

According to Goldman (2008) three criteria can be used to assess materials for sexuality educators; (i) accuracy that facts or pictures should contain no errors, or information that will mislead learners; (ii) clarity which will ensure that the information given is understandable to the age group for which the material is designed and (iii) appropriateness that determines whether the illustrations or descriptions, being accurate and explicit, are not crude or coarse. Walter and Hayes (2007) also proposes five suggestions to aid teachers in managing their professional roles as sexuality educators. These are;

(i) Teaching material that is relevant to students may be sensitive; it requires a sensitive demeanour for example beginning a discussion with, ‘some people are uncomfortable with this topic, if you are, you’re probably in good company; but other students might not be uncomfortable. Some reasons why we might vary in our own comfort level is. . .” (ibid: 36).

(ii) The teachers can maximize learning by establishing class norms to provide a structure to the expectations about students’ behaviour and goals. Thus they may include the establishment of behavioural norms to guide discussion about sexuality such as; to participate and share as openly and feel comfortable doing, to be sensitive to others, to recognize that all members of the class possess an individual series of values and to respect each other’s rights to have privacy, to disagree, to challenge, to make mistakes and to be supported.

(iii) Keeping discussions relevant to students’ lived experiences will increases their involvement in their own learning and may diffuse personal discomfort or anxiety about sexuality.

(iv) Teachers should avoid adopting larger cultural messages Although sexuality education is, by definition, not value-free, teachers need to address sexuality education for the betterment of students while minimizing their biases can colour obligations.
(v) Teachers should try to acquire support from professional organizations and sexuality educators from different backgrounds can develop collegial relationships, shared resources and obtain esteem support.

Some researchers also explored the capabilities of technology and Internet in addressing the issues related to sexuality education. Barak and Fisher (2001) discusses on exploiting the multiple capabilities of the Internet to deliver near optimal sex education which more successfully addresses individuals' sex-related information, motivation, and behavioural skills needs, in relation to their sexual problems, sex related risks, and sexual well-being. Internet is affordable, accessible and therefore available to most and maintains anonymity. However, due to the current paucity of Internet-based sex education websites, it is actually pornographic websites and online sex shops that provide the bulk of Internet-based sex education at the present time. Another problem that may arise is that Internet-based sex education could actually unintentionally disconnect parents from providing healthy sex education. A solution to this problem is to script parental participation and involvement in Internet-based sex education protocols. Sexuality and sexuality education is in the process of being shaped by new dimensions even as we speak. Globalization and technological proliferations are redefining boundaries. Surgically implanted microchip can now diagnose pregnancy, increase libido, and locate diseases via body temperature and hormone levels and for birth control, inexpensive personal device, called Isis-Scope, can now determine whether women are ovulating or not therefore providing reliability that exceeds inter-uterine devices (IUDs), condoms, and other mechanical and chemical methods of contraception (Goldman and Bradley 2001: 201). There is a plethora of web sites covering sexuality, ranging from valuable, informative sexuality education through erotica to pornography. The advantages of web sexuality education are that it is private, minimises embarrassment and can be accessed in their own time when required. Many non-governmental organizations have encouraged public deliberations on the requirement of sexuality education. Help lines have also proliferated for
personal guidance. These changes have to some extent lessened the taboo and have certainly provided some space to reformulate social perceptions regarding sexuality education.

2.4.2. Research Studies on Adolescents

This section includes studies on adolescents. The first section includes studies and inferences on adolescents’ behaviour and sexuality. The second section explores the problems associated with adolescents and their needs.

I. Studies on Adolescents’ Sexual Behaviour

Frisco (2008) investigated the relationships between high school students’ sexual behaviour and important milestones in academic attainment such as earning high school diploma and enrolling in college. It was found that students who have high educational aspirations, complementary educational and occupational goals and resources and details life plans for reaching their goals are more aware of the way the other aspects of their lives such as sexual behaviour may influence their likelihood of attaining educational success. Based on this premise, the researcher investigated whether high school students’ timing of sexual initiation, contraceptive use during first sex and parenthood status can predict attainment of academic milestones. It is found that young men who initiate sex later in high school or after high school are more likely to attain diploma but it hampers their future plan of enrolling in college. Expected parenthood among young women reduces their likelihood of earning a diploma or enrolling in college. Therefore schools should aim at expanding messages to high school students such that prevention campaigns focus on reducing the risk of teenage parenthood, prompting teenagers to make smarter sexual decisions and helping teenagers to understand how sexual decisions influence other life domains. Fivush et al (2010) researches on narratives provided by family members to examine the ways in which families reminisce together and how this process is related to the children’s developing sense of self and well-being as they undergo transition into adolescence. Their main proposition is that life narratives in adolescence emerge at a time when the adolescence develop cognitive and socioemotional skills. They learn to reflect on their own and others perspective, values
and goals and are able to provide more nuanced interpretation of the self and the other. It is also found that reminiscing is a gendered activity as mothers were found to elaborate more than do fathers and mothers express and explain more emotions than do fathers. Thus mothers who help their adolescents create more detailed narratives of the who, what, where and when of stressful events and who help their adolescents to understand the emotional causes and consequences of stressful events have adolescents with higher levels of well-being. Father’s role appears to be linked to gender of the child. Father who express and explain emotions have sons with higher levels of well-being but daughters with lower levels of well-being. Royer et al (2009) found that adolescents primarily got romantically involve for personal growth that gaining experience with relationship through a personal connection with someone. Other motivations included social enhancement, gain popularity and so on. While the former goal is the basis of healthy adult relationship the latter is a typical adolescent goal which may lead to risky sexual behaviour. So effective sexuality education programmes should help adolescents to think about their motivation for engaging in romantic relationships. Thus Royer el al argues that a proper understanding of adolescents’ reason for involvement in a romantic relationship, their perception of a romantic partner and of acceptable sexual activities and deciphering the effects of other intervening factors such as gender will provide an adolescent-centered perspective to develop sexuality education programmes which will be more effective than abstinence-only sexuality education programmes that fail to instil a positive and respectful attitude towards romantic relationship and sexuality. Ideal sexuality education programmes should also assist adolescents to identify and articulate important characteristics in their romantic partners. Royer et al also found in their study that boys emphasize more on the physical attractiveness of romantic partners than girls, but on the whole most of the adolescents stressed on the inner qualities of romantic partners. Instead asking adolescents to abstain from romantic relationships, the researchers suggested that the adolescent can be asked to wait to form a romantic relationship till they find a partner with desirable characteristic which will also delay initiation into sexual activity among adolescents. Akker and Lees (2001) conducted study on two hundred and fifty adolescents located in UK, aged between 11 years of age to 19 years of age and found that the leisure time activities
of the adolescents are correlated with their sexual behaviour and it was found that those who visit alcohol-serving pubs are more likely to have sex. Adolescents who remain engaged in home-based activities are less like to participate in risky behaviour such as smoking, drinking alcohol and having sex. Researchers however comment that data on sexual behaviour of youth is always in a state of fluidity and since evidence comes from small case studies, usually among urban rather than rural youth, from schools and universities rather than communities, most findings are usually unrepresentative of the general population. In United States too gathering of information about teenage rates of pregnancy, AIDS prevalence and STD rates has been controversial. In 1991 Health and Human Services Secretary Louis Sullivan reaffirmed this fact when he cancelled federal support for a five year survey of the sexual behaviours of 24,000 teenagers that included questions related to STDs (Leukefeld and Haverkos 1993: 163). Based on their qualitative study on African children aged seven to nine years, Bhana and Jewnarain (2012) argue that addressing gender and sexuality at an early age is important for adolescents and for protection of their rights. Early intervention is critical for health and well being where there is high vulnerability of the youth aged fifteen to twenty four years to be infected with HIV. They found out that children understand sexuality and they were able to associate AIDS with sexual.

II. Studies on Adolescents’ Issues

Banks (2004) explores the dilemmas faced by practitioners in their work with young people and thereby provides a critical perspective on adolescent interventions at the professional level. These dilemmas frequently involves conflicts between what the practitioners think is in the best interest of the young people and what the young people would choose for themselves. As such these dilemmas involve moral and ethical choices. At the outset, in defining the work as with young people the practitioners are already defining the stakeholders in a certain way. That they are not adults, they have fewer rights to make their own decisions and are vulnerable. Often the practitioner has to face difficult choices about weighing up the need to protect or control young people as against respecting their rights to self determination. Also the practitioner who is often treated as an expert or a professional maintains
a certain level of knowledge and expertise which may not be shared or fully understood by the people who use their services. There remains the potentiality for exploitation. Ethical dilemmas surfaces when the practitioner has to breach the confidentiality of their clients for their best interest. In resolving dilemmas, Banks suggests that the practitioners have to decide which alternative is less unwelcome than the other and they need to remember that whatever course of action is chosen it will be unwelcome. Practitioners have to be reflective, they need to continually question and review the ethical dilemmas experienced in their work. They need to take responsibility of their actions, able to justify them or modify them as per situation. Maxwell and Chase (2008) argue that the anti-abortion norms of particular communities supporting teenage parenthood significantly put pressure on individuals’ attitudes and decision-making around teenage pregnancy. The authors also examine the experiences of pressure of young people living in public care in relation to teenage pregnancy and parenthood; the pressure to find love to, the pressure to be sexually active, pressure in relation to the decision as to whether or not to continue with or terminate the pregnancy and pressure to be better parents than their peers and their own parents. These findings show that a wider range of pressures emanates from various sources other than peer group and determines the decision-making processes of young people. Thus pressure may be derived from the broader community or may be imposed by institutions or may emerge from a youth subculture. Pressures are also linked to specific contexts and it appears to be dynamic and interactive instead of being uni-directional. Powell (2008) argue that young people preferred information sources they felt are legitimate, appropriate, intimate yet private. It is also noted that adolescents did not actively seek information on sex and relationships, but mostly come across information on an incidental or accidental basis; in this sense they are more information acquirers rather than seekers. It is also noted that the majority of the young people’s sex and relationships information lacked an advisory element. They were receiving opinions from parents, family members and friends instead of balanced information and advice on sex and relationships which are crucial to effective decision-making. Bale (2011) criticises the one-dimentional and speculative deductions made by UK’s public health policy-makers and various scholars held that the mainstream sexualized culture
and media is responsible of risky and shifting sexual behaviour and sexual violence among children and young people who are perceived to be vulnerable due to their developmental immaturity. Negative and inconclusive arguments about media make its relationship with the young people’s sexual health problematic. Such authoritative and moralistic arguments also regard young people as only passive consumers and tend to see anything other than monogamous intercourse and sex after age of consent as socially unacceptable. According to the debate, the focus should not be on the existence of sexualized culture but on the ‘nature of its meaning and significance for individual and society’ (ibid: 303). In exploring the relation between young people as real agents and media through in-depth interview, Bale found that they seek sexual text including pornography for various reasons. They did so to relieve boredom, to satisfy curiosity and to increase knowledge and skills. According to some youth, it is their right to access sexual materials. Unlike popular belief, in spite of their exposure to sexualised media these young respondents exhibited high degree of anxiety and naïvety regarding sex instead of being promiscuous. Also none of the female respondents reported to feel pressurised to appear sexy, a prominent issue in the discussion related to sexualisation. Rather they are willing to become more confident and expressive about their appearance, body and sexuality. Broadening the debate around sexualized culture will enable policy makers to discuss issue of sexual autonomy and age of consent of young people, to think of including topics such as pleasure, pornography and sexualized culture within sex and relationship education programmes and to invite the possibility of reflecting democratization of desire while defining adolescent sexual health. Generally, the initial contact with pornography had typically occurred in late childhood or early adolescence. It would seem that pornography is something that boys discover by accident or are introduced to by contact with others in a public place, such as school. The unanticipated and unintended nature of this contact is noticeable and which the Hardy (2004) refers to as the casual use. Casual use is essentially non-sexual. This relation is essentially one of sexual naïvety, before the individual has learned to see and to use pornography in sexual terms (ibid: 6). During adolescence only young people move on from the casual use of pornography to sexual use. From this point on contact with porn is more regular and is actively sought. For an
adolescent user pornography provides sexual relief and an education at a time when interpersonal experience or any other forms of information were lacking. At this stage of life, it becomes the best available means of exploring new world of sex and female sexual form and sexuality. The pornographic magazine, with its two components of text and image, appears to offer the pictorial elements that enable young men to examine and engage their sexual imaginations. They also discover their sexual and emotional responses to different female forms. According to Hardy, the educational function of adolescent use of pornography can be optimally explored through the theoretical framework provided by Gagnon and Simon’s (1973) concept of the sexual script where Gagnon and Simon argue that the crucial phase of psychosexual development occurs as a result of social learning during adolescence itself and that this learning takes the form of sexual scripts, which contain erotic meaning, practical guidance and conventions about behaviour. Allen (2005) stated that adolescents are found to recommend changes into three elements of sexuality education programme. The first element focused on how classroom activity was structured, with respondents expressing the need for an environment allowing active participation of the students who will also have some control over the issues being discussed. The second element involves the nature of curriculum content. The respondents proposed that sexuality education should contain more detailed and relevant information about sexual activity, sexual desire and pleasure. A final area identified was teachers’ comfort and competency in dealing with curriculum content. In addition to this Allen’s (2009) survey on adolescents found that learners emphasized on the educators’ capability of being at the same level instead of being a figure of authority (ibid.: 40). The learners did not find the teachers effective not only when they were uncomfortable and incompetent but also when they were inefficient in managing classroom behaviour. In the literature on sex education from parents to teens, sex education often is referred to interchangeably with sex communication (Sprecher et al 2008, 18). It is assumed that if parents communicate about sex with their children, they are providing sex education. Not all communication about sex provides sex education. It is also to be noted that whereas sex education usually is characterized by the unilateral transfer of information from the one who knows more to the one who knows less, sex communication
can be initiated by either party and generally is mutual. One of the major socialization agents for sexuality are parents, who represent the institution of the family. Researches on both parents and youth indicate that it is common for parents to avoid communicating about sex with their children mainly due to embarrassment, lack of accurate knowledge and the concern that discussion will encourage teens to engage in sex (ibid.: 18).

2.4.3. Critical Studies on Education System

In this section, the studies reveal the gendered structure of the schooling system that further increases the chances of being exploited so far adolescents are concerned. Liu (2006) studied the gendered nature of school culture by examining gender segregation and gendered teacher-student interaction in the classroom. School culture in a school constitutes the social context of schooling. It is also understood as reflecting the wider culture of a society and resulting from multiple interpretations and interactions by individuals and groups who play their active and influential parts in shaping subcultures of the school of the school on a daily basis. Lie found out that every aspect of school life such as form of organizational management, the curriculum, disciplinary schemes, interactions and relationships reflect the dominant gender relations in a the larger society. One of the school micro cultures where the male centeredness appears most evident is the classrooms. Gender segregation is a reality in many classrooms where invisible but real boundaries exist. For example, in nursery schools and kindergarten classes it is often found that the heavy blocks, trucks, airplanes and carpentry tools are in one place and the tools and the homemaking equipment in another. While they may be officially open to anyone to play, the areas are sex-segregated by invisible but real boundaries. It has also been observed around the world that at school and in classrooms, boys and girls learn and teach each other about appropriate behaviours and experiences for boys and girls and ensure that everyone acts accordingly. Teachers also have part to play in gender segregation process which is most evident in the formation of groups for academic activities and the assignment of classroom chores. Teachers also exert influences over students through teacher-student interactions and researches have shown that such interactions tent to
reflect gender stereotypes. Researches conducted in the classroom suggest that in general boys get more attention from the teacher both in student-initiated and teacher-initiated interactions. One reason for this may be that teachers have a tendency to perceive boys to be more rewarding to teach. It may also be that the teachers often have to direct more attention to boys who tend to be more demanding and restless than girls in class in order to engage the boys in work and discipline them so as to retain class control. Misbehaviour of girls is perceived differently from boys’ bad behaviour by teachers. Girls who do not conform to conventional gender behaviour often invite harsh criticism from the teachers whereas aggression and violence among boys may be seen as more natural and hence more understandable. Teachers’ gendered interaction with students often reflects different teacher perception and expectations of boys and girls. Widely accepted assumptions among teachers are that boys are more intelligent than girls in general and in math and science in particular. Teachers’ criticism of the student work also shows that they also tend to attribute students’ success or failure to different factors based on their perceptions of students’ gender-based academic capacity. Brint, Contreras and Matthews (2001) in their research article studies the volume and content of socialization messages expressed at various organizational levels ranging from classrooms to school-wide programmes. The study was conducted on 64 primary schools. In here schools have been viewed as multichannel and multilevel organization set in specific socio-historical context. The research began with the question as to what extent a shift has taken place in the socialization messages provided by school and how this shift is influenced by old and new cultural patterns. Socialization messages are conveyed most directly through classroom interaction. Framing this interaction are rules that are intended to identify behaviour that is permissible and desirable from behaviour that is impermissible or undesirable as defined by the teachers. The researchers found out that the great majority of teacher-initiated socialization messages have to do with orderliness and effort that is with the operational foundation of work performance. The next most common messages concerned the regulation of the self and the self’s relation to others which included messages related to respect for others, participation, cooperation, self-control and self-direction. The third most common messages concerned traditional moral virtues including messages of fairness,
responsibility, perseverance, courage and honesty. The least frequent messages had to do with modern values including values of individual uniqueness and special talent, cultural diversity, choice and variety. Socialization messages are given in a neutral manner without taking recourse to either praise or criticism as praise may create resentment among non-favoured majority and criticism may bring alienation. The researchers analysed the content of subject matter curriculum such as language art and social studies; it is the second organizational level of schooling. It is here; they found that both traditional virtues such as persistence and responsibility and modern values such as appreciating cultural diversity come more explicitly on play in the life of the classroom. The researchers also explored the routine, embedded practices of the classroom which is referred as the hidden curriculum as it directs students’ attention through invisible means. Hidden curriculum includes values of individualism and achievement, and patience. The students also learn to recognize material rewards for obedience and thereby the increasing importance of material incentives as a form of social control; they learn cooperation and collaboration through group projects and thereby the increasing collaborative character of the work in many middle-class occupation and they also learn values of variety and change through classroom rotation. School-wide programme is another level of school organization in which socialization messages are embedded. The value associated with schools’ efforts in this area reflect a management philosophy that encourages every student to feel a sense of identification with the school and at the same time attempts to maintain order and minimize conflict among students. The researchers analyses the sources of these different socialization messages. Firstly these messages are central to the underlying organizational interest of schools. The organizational interests of schools are shaped by their purposes and the major challenges that schools face. Schools are product-oriented bureaucracies whose clientele are not yet mature and who represent a mix of backgrounds and personality types. Thus the schools have had long standing interests in maintaining order and minimize trouble and make this heterogeneous student community work in group settings where distraction looms large. The schools emphasis on energetic and persistent hard work follows from the underlying purpose of schooling that is transmission of school knowledge in efficient and effective ways. Schools also developed interests in
creating a sense of identification between all students and the school community. Such identifications help to reduce alienation and therefore the potential for trouble. However, sources of some socialization messages originate outside the school but are incorporated by the school. According to the researchers, these new values enter the school either through the successful advocacy of social-movement and educational activists supported by governmental officials or through the changing experiences and expectations of middle-class citizens. Some of the new values that are being incorporated are multicultural outlooks and emphasis on diversity while providing character education. Students are also being prepared to recognize ‘dual society’ that is organized along market and bureaucratic lines in its work activities and along entertainment and consumerist lines in its leisure activities. Pedagogical practices that resonate the expectations of middle-class parents are incorporated by the schools which include the expectation of material rewards for good collaborative and team work. On the whole, on the basis of their analyses, the researchers suggest that while advocacy of many traditional values are not lost in today’s school, some traditional values such as ethical values including honesty and fairness, kindness; civic values including patriotism and bravery; and entrepreneurial values including industriousness and reliability have lost importance in today’s school. So the dominant socialization ideology of the schools can neither be characterized as ‘traditional’ nor as ‘modern’ but rather a blend of two. The researchers refer to it as ‘pluralist neo-traditionalism’-pluralist because it embraces cultural difference, traditional because it endorses a number of traditional virtues but neo-traditionalist because some traditional virtues have lost prominence. The researcher however found a problem with socialization messages provided by schools. Since school addresses behaviour and values in ways that are strongly influenced by their organizational priorities, the schools may distort and redefine value concepts. For example, the teachers interviewed in the study said that schools should be teaching good citizenship but the teachers’ definition of citizenship categorically emphasized acting responsibly, getting along with others and working hard which are closely related to the schools’ interests in maintaining order and work effort and minimizing trouble. Arthur (2011) studied the influences teachers have on young peoples’ character development as modern citizens and the expectations of
students of their teachers. In this article, character is defined as a set of personal values which guide conduct. The term ‘character education’ is used in the sense that it is synonymous with moral education when referring to the teaching either explicitly or implicitly of those values which contribute to the personal and social wellbeing of the individual. The study was conducted in five stages, 1000 students belonging to 25 schools aged 10 to 19 years. It was found that apart from parents, teachers are often regarded as the people most likely to have an influence on students’ moral character. The teachers develop skills on their own while forming students’ character partly based on their personal disposition. Many teachers cited the use of discipline and role modelling to provide character education. They try to be a good role model for the students by exemplifying, through their own behaviour, the behaviour they wished to see in their students and in society at large. Primary school teachers focus more on developing good relation with students, on being firm and fair, on modelling kindness and on positively reinforcing students’ acts of politeness and courtesy. In comparison secondary school teachers tend to focus more on personal responsibility, self esteem, and learning. The researcher points out that students’ perception of their teachers and whether or not teachers live up to the expectations that students have of them are important elements that can impact on young peoples’ character development. For example, students mentioned those teachers whom they found to be caring, fair, patient, friendly and who showed good humour and encouragement. Students are found to be led by the examples of those teachers they look up to. Quality and attitude of the teachers effected value formation among students. The expectations of the students of their teachers found to vary with their age and level of schooling. Primary school students have more favourable opinion of their teachers. When students belonging to 10 to 12 years of age were asked whether their teachers helped them to develop good behaviour and attitude, slightly over half of the students agreed. Younger students trusted their teachers more than the older students. Students of secondary schools are found to perceive the role of the teacher in the context of academic aspiration that is the extent to which they provided appropriate and challenging work, the way they taught lessons or the way extent to which they addresses team work or sharing during group exercises. A low percentage (48%) of secondary school students tended
to value the opinion of the teachers, respect them or found them caring compared to 62% of primary school students who viewed their teachers as someone who would listen to them, seek their opinion and reason with them when they make mistakes. This difference in attitude is the effect of close teachers-student relationship found in primary schools where the students find it easy to trust one classroom teachers. Student-teacher relationship is less evident in secondary schooling characterized by the presence of multiple subject teachers. This shows that the time spent in the company of single teacher is formative particularly in case of character formation. On the whole, it is evident that the teachers need to demonstrate positive exemplary moral behaviour. If the students do not experience this kind of behaviour in their interaction with the teachers, a curriculum of moral education will make no difference. Mellor and Epstein (2006) argued that students and teachers in relation to the processes of teaching and learning are regarded as asexual beings. In this context a person such as teacher who is providing sexuality education or is holding some discussion on issues of sexuality will be seen as promoting kinds of undesirable sexuality or encouraging adolescents to be sexually active. The dominant discourse of normatively gendered heterosexuality also informs narratives such as that concerning romantic love. In classrooms also teachers act to control and regulate bodies in a gendered and sexualized ways, like they decides on the sitting arrangements. The teachers’ talk with the children in classroom is regulated through curriculum and texts therefore they do not talk freely especially not about sexuality. They are obliged to enact the role of non-sexual educator (ibid: 384). In contrast to the classrooms, the playground is a place where the friendships are usually formed and peer group constitutes a space where the learners exercise social control and are able to shape and construct sexual identities. But even here the impulse to present oneself as a member of normative heterosexuality is very strong. This is evident in the assumption from an early age that boys and girls cannot be friends but only couples. A key issue in the playground is bullying and abuse which is often based on the dominant discourses guiding the notions of gender and sexuality. Thus, schooling actually inhabits sexuality in its various forms and contexts; it needs to be addresses instead of being avoided.
2.5. Conclusion

The crux of the above discussion is that two parallel discourses of sexuality education exist. The forms of sexuality education that provide incomplete information and propagate abstinence till marriage/abstinence-only to the youth are actually reproducing the power structure and gender inequality of the patriarchal society. They are replenishing the fear of sex outside heterosexual marriage, sex outside the heterosexual family and sex freed from the need to reproduce. The alternative discourse are embedded in those forms of sexuality education that tries to empower adolescents through accurate, non-judgmental facts; which propagates decision-making and assertiveness so that adolescents can take informed decision and those which do not try to control adolescents through fear of contracting sexually transmitted disease. This anti-establishment sexuality education is comprehensive, holistic and rights-based and it challenges the established unequal structure, pedagogical inscriptions and recognises the agency of the adolescents. This alternative knowledge could develop because of the foundation of freedom of thought, expression and sexuality is laid by feminism and postmodernism.