

Social networks and sexual behaviour amongst adolescent females in one secondary school in Eastern Cape, South Africa

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Abstract

This paper explores the impact of social network sites on the group of adolescent females' sexual behaviour attending one secondary school in Fort Beaufort, Eastern Cape, South Africa. It aims at identifying the risks involved in online dating and deleterious effects on the psychological well-being among twelve adolescent females, aged 15 -20 years. This study adopts Spence's Signaling Theory, Emmerson' Sexual Exchange Theory and Ajzen and Fishbein's Theory of Planned Behaviour (TPB) owing to their successful application in numerous studies on online communication and risky sexual behaviour. A qualitative approach was used in this study and ethical principles were adhered to, during data collection. The findings showed that dating strangers online by adolescents contributed towards being vulnerable to depression, cyberbullying, physical abuse, and sexually transmitted infections. Based on the findings, this study recommends parental emotional support and collaborative approach from the educators and government to curb online dating among female youth.

Keywords: Communication, Cyberbullying, Dating, Harassment, Rape.

Introduction

In the last decade, ownership of mobile phones with many features such as 2go, MXit and Facebook, has greatly increased in South Africa, with over 50 million subscribers and 72 % being young people aged 15–24 (Kaufman *et al.* 2014). Literature has documented that the role of social networks during adolescence predicts early sexual debut and myriad health, psychological and educational outcomes such as sexually transmitted infections (e.g. Chlamydia, Syphilis) and unintended pregnancies (Ali & Dwyer 2011: 184; Beger, Sinha., & Pawelczyk, 2011: 08; UNICEF 2012: 09). Although sexuality is normative and regarded as one aspect of healthy adolescent development (Carroll, 2015: 07), statistically, previous studies show that between 25 % and 70 % of adolescents rely on social networks to form sexual relationships and engage in online with strangers to derive sexual gratification (Hust, Brown, & L'Engle, 2008: 21; O'Sullivan., & Ronis 2013: 177). Adolescent stage being characterized by major transitions including self- discovery with respect to sexual values, decision-making skills and sense of belonging (Carroll, 2015:12), adolescent females with low self- esteem may experience pressure from their friends or peers to have sex with multiple sexual partners, subscribe to social networks and drink alcohol to fit in to a peer group (Selikow *et al.* 2009: 120; Reisch, Subrahmanyam., & Espinoza, 2012: 359). During this stage of role confusion and identity formation as viewed by Erik Erikson (Kalat, 2017: 163) who

pioneered the psychosocial developmental stages, Park, Jung & Lee (2011: 2001) found that peer influence seem to overpower adolescents with weak internal locus of control. In their study of investigating the effects of peer norms on the intention to upload a personal nude video clip online among 1500 adolescents, these researchers found that posting of sexually explicit pictures by youth came as a result of seeing others doing so. As suggested by social norms theory, adolescent females may plan and seek activities practiced by their peers especially when there is a lack of parental mediation and solicitation (Sasson & Mesch, 2014: 33). Parental solicitation refers to an active involvement in seeking information about adolescent's online activities and monitoring their behaviour.

Furthermore, various scholars have raised the concern that culture in African countries such Ghana (Manu *et al.* 2015), Zimbabwe (Ngwenya, 2015) and South Africa (Mturi, 2015) also plays a role in promoting online dating and risky sexual behaviour among adolescents because majority of parents in such communities still hold onto the belief that discussing sexuality with adolescents would result in unhealthy sexual practices. Leaving adolescent females ill-equipped in matters which involve sexuality and social networking could result in reluctance to visit clinics to acquire knowledge on contraceptives (Morake 2011: 21; Mothiba & Maputle 2012: 02) or become victims of cyberbullying

(Lenhart, 2012:05). Cyberbullying is common, can occur to any female adolescent who uses social networks and causes profound psychosocial outcomes including depression, anxiety, severe isolation as well as suicide (Badenhorst, 2011:13). In South Africa, cyberbullying is growing although its full extent is not known (Alfreds, 2013) even when Scholtz, Van Turha & Johnston (2015:) investigated visibility and cyberbullying among high school learners in Cape Town, adolescent females reported to have been humiliated and violated by their male counterparts. . Similarly, De Lange & Von Solms (2011: 08) found that in Nelson Mandela Bay Municipality, Eastern Cape, 36 % of the surveyed learners also experienced cyberbullying. In this regard, adolescent females tend to make ill- informed decisions and become victims of online- predators because of lack of parental guidance (Greif, Nii-Amoo Doodoo., & Jayaraman, 2011: 950). Research studies examining social networking site usage found that personality traits such as extroversion, openness to experience as well as neuroticism to have an influence on adolescents' sexual behaviour (Blackhart, Fitzpatrick, & Williamson, 2014: 116). Because social networking is enhanced by anonymity, synchronicity and accessibility (Kowalski *et al.* 2012:218-219), older men get an opportunity to falsify their age online to establish relationships with younger females. In turn, majority of adolescent females scoring high in neuroticism and who may be reared from poverty-stricken families, often fall prey to deceptive older men claiming to be young, single and earning a lot of money (Guadagno, Okdie, & Kruse, 2012: 644). Astonishingly, little do adolescent females ponder about their potential lovers' criminal history such as child pornography offenders or determine whether they are linked to online solicitation with minors (Quayle *et al.*, 2014: 369; Schulz *et al.* 2015: 15). For example, in Port Elizabeth, Eastern Cape, South Africa, a 42 year old man was arrested after he raped a 16 year old girl. He allegedly raped the teenager after meeting her on the social networking site Mxit. The girl agreed to have arranged to meet her online partner at a fuel station in Forest Hill, after that they drove to the man's house in Dispatch, where rape took place (News 24).

Conversely, Compton & Hoffman (2013: 79) found that adolescent females who experience ease of communication with their parents tend to report wide range of positive health outcomes such as sense of autonomy, self- acceptance, positive relations with others, purpose in life and less psychological distress. Because of mutual trust and respect that prevail in their families, adolescent females learn to abide by the Broadcasting Complaints Commission of South Africa (BCCSA) and not view the programmes of

sexual content or explicit sex which restrict children under the age of 16 (Parkes *et al.* 2013:1129). These studies accord with those reported by Guo and Nathanson (2011: 374) that when parents play an instrumental role in guiding and monitoring their adolescents' cellphones, they, in turn, report stalkers who may be planning to endanger their lives.

Objectives

The specific objectives of this study are ;

- (i) To explore the contextual factors leading adolescent females to date online.
- (ii) To determine the effects of intergenerational sexual relationships.

Literature review and theoretical framework

This study is guided by Signaling theory by Spence (1973: 356) as a theoretical framework to understand how individuals disclose information on their SNS profiles and the common features of profiles include personal information such as one's name, location, school affiliation and occupation. Closely linked to signaling theory, social exchange theory by Emmerston (1976:336) posits that adolescent females tend to maintain sexual relationships irrespective that they have been formed online for as long as they provide them with benefits such as gift and money to look attractive. Because reciprocity becomes essential in such romantic relationships owing to the nature of exchanges and rewards (Laursen & Jensen - Campbell, 1999: 51-52), adolescent females may find themselves pressurized to return favours by engaging in sexual activities as a means to repay for resources provided to them or to gain them in future (Emmerston-Sommer *et al.*, 2010: 352). Consequently, due to power imbalances between such vulnerable youth and their sexual partners, Russell *et al* (2014: 290) found that in Cape Town, adolescent females remained passive in negotiating safer sex for fear of reprisal, which , in turn, increased the risk for teenage pregnancy, abortion, STIs and dropping out of school prematurely (Ugal & Ushie, 2013: 155). Drawing from the Theory of Planned Behaviour (TPB) which was pioneered by Ajzen & Fishbein (1980: 38) the behaviour is driven by behavioural intentions where behavioural intentions are a function of an individual's attitude towards certain acts and subjective norms surrounding the performance of the behaviour. In this regard, female adolescents may engage in risky sexual behaviour by socializing in social networks intentionally to meet with significant others who can be of value to them. In the context of sexting, Livingston and Görzig (2012: 154) found that the motivation for adolescent females to send their nude pictures to their sexual partners is fueled by their

desire for male approval. Sexting refers to sending or sharing texts which are sexually-explicit or semi/naked pictures of oneself through the use of mobile phones having built-in camera (Walrave, Heirman & Halam, 2014: 86).

According to Datu, Valdez & Datu (2012: 125) communication with strangers has commonly been considered risky for children offline and online, and peer communication through social networks is very risky. In particular, Shisana, Rehle & Simbayi (2010:06) found adolescent females to be accepting new people as friends online whom they were not acquainted to, previously. The more these adolescents accept strangers, the more time they are likely to spend on Facebook and MXit (Frederico, Arnaldo, & Maungue, 2017: 3674; Valkenburg & Peters 2011: 123-124). It is noteworthy that the cheap nigh call rates have been cited to contribute to short attention span and impaired emotional well-being of adolescent females because they do not sleep normal hours (Vallee, Lavoie, & Ruglis, 2013:12). It is for this reason Sproull & Kiesken's (1986: 1497) Reduced Social Cues Theory (RSCT) posited that when adolescent females communicate with strangers, they often lack social cues and begin to trust and tell them their problems. Considering the rate at which adolescent females find dates or hookups on social network, Bradshaw, Kahn & Saville (2010: 08) found that social networks seemed to have eroded the traditional form of courtship and pursuing of romantic relationships because it has increasingly become socially acceptable for online dating. Hookups are described as uncommitted sexual relationships with no future prospects although they may be emotionally and biophysically fulfilling (Lewis *et al.* 2011; Reiber & Garcia 2010: 07). According to Datu *et al.* (2012) these social networks could be dangerous for adolescents' identity because through chatting with strangers, they may be asked to upload their pictures. Badenhorst (2011:14) found that in South Africa, some of the girls ended up being hospitalized in psychiatric hospital due to depression after their nude pictures were circulated in cyberspace. In many instances, Walrave *et al.* (2014: 87) found that circulation of nude pictures becomes an exposure following the break-up of a sexual relationship.

In previous studies such as in the survey conducted among 887 Japanese high school learners, Udriș (2014) examined cyberbullying and found that girls being the victims. In Flanders, Belgium, Van Ouystel, Ponnet & Walrave (2017) focused on determining whether secondary school learners in romantic relationships using social network sites are being controlled by their partners. In comparison to the current study which employed qualitative

techniques, the previous studies opted for quantitative methods and sampled both adolescent females and males. Furthermore, their focus never addressed the age of the girls' sexual partners and the socio-economic status of the female participants. Furthermore, in Nkonkobe Municipality, Eastern Cape, South Africa, there is no qualitative study that has been conducted to explore the impact of social networks on the sexual behaviour among adolescent females. It is against this background, this study seeks to answer the following research questions; (i) What are the contextual factors leading adolescent females to date online? and (ii) What are the effects of intergenerational sexual relationships?

Data and methods

Qualitative research design was followed in this study as its usefulness is to answer questions about the complex nature of phenomena, with the purpose of describing and understanding the phenomena from the participant's point of view (Leedy & Ormrod 2012: 120). An open-ended structured questionnaire to gain insight into how adolescent females cope following online dating with older men satisfied the exploratory nature of the research. The researchers thoroughly described the respondents' experiences within the context of the school located in a rural setting, using axial, selective and open coding. The primary research question of this study was: How does social network impact on the sexual behaviour of adolescent males attending school?

The study population comprised of adolescent 12 females ranging from the age of 15 to 20 years who are learners at one of the Secondary School in Fort Beaufort within Nkonkobe Municipality, Eastern Cape. Eastern Cape Province is economically poor (Holborn & Eddy 2011: 11-13) and transactional sex is common among adolescent females. A non-probability sampling was applied using a purposive technique since it deliberately seeks out participants with particular characteristics (e.g. same culture, gender, education) according to the need of the developing analysis and emerging theory (Lewis-Beck, Bryman., & Lio, 2013:212). In selecting the participants, the principal assigned the Life-Orientation's Head of Department, who has a list of learners with behavioural problems.

Ethical considerations were applied in the study. Ethics is a set of moral principles which is suggested by an individual or group that is widely accepted and offers rules and behavioural expectations about what constitute a correct conduct towards respondents, employers, researchers, students and sponsors (de Vos *et al.* 2011: 45- 46). Ethical considerations also serve as a basis upon which researchers ought to evaluate their own conduct (Babbie, 2010: 09). A

written letter requesting permission to conduct research was submitted to the school principal and extended to legal guardians of the participants 18 years and below (for their parental consent), in October 2015. It should be remembered that after the list of learners with behavioural problems was issued to the principal, the HOD did not become part in pinpointing the participants. Nevertheless, before the commencement of the research, the designated HOD had pre-informed the learners during lessons about the research. Because learners from this school receive some form of counselling for challenges ranging from truancy, drug abuse to teenage pregnancy, from the university where both researchers are employed, it was easy to get voluntary participation from the participants. There were no interruptions from the educators or other learners on the day the research was being conducted. The school library was allocated for the study and the tape-recording device was connected to the electric socket. The researchers explicitly explained the purpose of the research to the 12 learners who voluntarily participated. The choice of purposefully selecting 12 participants was informed by Cleary, Horsfall & Hayter's (2014: 472-473) suggestions. These researchers recommend the twelve participants because they could be studied intensively and allow reciprocation and elaboration of ideas that may not have happened in a survey. Most importantly, the participants yielded new information as the study was inductive in nature and it guided by the theoretical framework and the interview guide, which was prepared prior the study. During the focus group interview, informed consent and anonymity of the participants were guaranteed. To ensure confidentiality, the researcher destroyed the audiotapes after employing axial, open and selective coding for data analysis. According to Babbie (2010: 129-132) open coding is the marking of words and phrases found in the transcription while axial coding refers to the formation of themes by grouping labels given to words and phrases. By selective coding, Creswell (2013: 234) stated that the researchers should engage in the process of selecting the core category systematically and relate it to other categories for validation of those relationships that need further development and refinement. Although it was time consuming to transcribe the information following the focus group interview which lasted approximately an hour, the researchers repeatedly categorized (i.e. coding) similar responses and came up with the themes, as reflected in the results.

Drawing from the model by Lincoln & Guba (2001:08-09) trustworthiness of a research study is important to evaluating its worth and four criterion should be met; *credibility, confirmability,*

dependability and transferability. Maxwell (2013: 125) asserted that credibility includes activities that increase the probability that credible findings will be produced. To establish credibility is through prolonged engagement with the subject matter. Dependability is a criterion met once researchers have demonstrated the credibility of the findings. The question to ask then is: "How dependable are the results"? (Willig, 2013: 23-24). In this regard, the researcher employed triangulation of methods by hiring an expert in qualitative research to assess the procedures followed in data analysis. By confirmability, the researcher recorded the activities over time to illustrate as clearly as possible the evidence and thought processes that led to the conclusions, as suggested by Maxwell (2013:124). Finally, transferability was ensured. Krefting (1991:217) described transferability as the probability and the meaning that the study findings should have to others in similar situations.

Results

Demographic details of the participants

Of the twelve participants included in the analysis, half of them (N=6) were aged 15 -17 years and the other half (N=6) were 18 to 20 years of age. In terms of grades, there were three (N=3) participants from each grade (i.e. Grade 9 to Grade 12). Two of the participants indicated to be living with both parents as compared to five participants who lived with single parents. Furthermore, a 16 year old in Grade 9 was raised by her aunt while other four indicated to be staying with their grandparents. Except for only five participants in this study, the rest had repeated their grades.

Internet addiction

The first theme relates to internet addiction. When asked to explain the time spent chatting online, the adolescent females' responses confirmed that they sleep few hours and that social network has impacted on their school performance negatively. Their responses are as follows:

" I spent about six to seven hours a day. Most of the times I am online."

[Age 15, Grade 9]

"My phone is always on because I have power bank. I wake up even at night to log onto 2go to chat with strangers for 4-5 hours" [Age 17, Grade 10]

"It has become a habit to sleep odd hours because I will talk for more than two hours with my friends who hook me up with guys who have money, and fail to study or complete my assignments" [Age 19, Grade 11]

Internet dating

The narratives cited below indicate that a quarter of the participants responded that they have dated older men.

"You get to interact with sugar daddies who give you money upon having sent them money especially when they engage you in telephone sex. You have no fear of being judged because those people do not know you." [Aged 18, Grade 12]

"I was not disappointed when I met the man face-to-face because I have been involved with them even before I bought the smart phone" [Aged 20, Grade 12]

"As time went on, I found out that I have been dating a married man who is 33 years old. But since he would send me money and buy me airtime, I had developed feelings for him. The relationship was ok." [Aged 18, Grade 11]

"Most of the sexual partners I met on social networks are older than me and when they need me for weekends I lie to my aunt that I visit my friends to discuss school projects." [Aged 16, Grade 9]

However, two participants agreed that they had met partners on social network sites but the relationships did not last long because of abuse and since they were older.

"He would accuse me of being involved with other men, insult me when I take time to respond while chatting with him. I then decided to break with him" [Age 16, Grade 10]

"My sugar-daddy physically beat me because he thought I was cheating him. Since then I got scared of him and changed my sim-card" [Age 18, Grade 10]

Sex-video

There was a strong affirmation among this group of adolescent females that the sexual partners they met on Facebook or 2go would demand them to take videos while engaged in sexual intercourse. For example, they cited that:

"Because he used to ask for my semi-nude pictures and send me pornography showing ladies being hand-cuffed while being penetrated, I started to suspect that he would want me to practice that or take us a video while having sex" [Age 17, Grade 10]

"Our relationship was only few weeks when he arranged to meet me. He gave me R200 and asked me if I could have sex with him and record the scene. Because I needed money, I agreed" [Age 17, Grade 9]

Power imbalance

According to the respondents, dating online has many deleterious effects, which may lead to STIs, violence, unintended pregnancies and psychological distress. The narratives of nearly half responses revealed that

they had to be submissive for fear of being abused. Two Grade 9 female learners aged 15 and 16 cited that their partners would not want to wear condoms and convinced them that they master withdrawal techniques. Another respondent, aged 17 (Grade 11) expressed that his employed boyfriend (Aged 20) would not care about her schooling once he had come to pick her for a weekend. She cited: *"He buys everything me want and he will also demand his payback by sleeping with me even when I am tired or I must go home to prepare for school"*. Furthermore, a Grade 10 learner (Age 17) who used to send her nude pictures to her sexual partner said her relationship was getting worse because she had to perform oral sex over the phone when video-called by her online sexual partner or send him nude pictures posing differently. She further expressed that her mother asked her about her strange behaviour while others were asleep and that really depressed her since she was being threatened that her pictures would be posted on Facebook. For example, she cried and said *"He forced me to send him my naked pictures and when I refused then he threatened to kill me"*

Evidence of unintended pregnancies following internet dating was conveyed in a Grade 12 (18 year-old) participant's narratives doing. She explained that she had to terminate pregnancy because she would know who the father would be of her unborn child since she was having multiple sexual partners. She said (with a shivering low voice): *"... Because my parents are unemployed and we must survive, I had to be involved in prostitution with the guys I hooked up with on social networks. Those who offered me money would refuse to use condoms, hence I got pregnant but I went to the hospital to do abortion"*.

Locus of control

The last theme that emerged was related to locus of control. Over and over again, respondents indicated that since their families are poor and caregivers were not supportive, their friends influenced them to date online and have multiple sexual partners for survival. For example, a Grade 11 (Aged 18), said *"My friends influence me badly because they want me to do the same things as they do and if I don't they call me names"*. Another respondent, aged 17 (Grade 10) cited the role of peers to be negative on their sexual well-being. She narrated as follows: *"They have just told me that having a boyfriend on Facebook is the nicest thing and they convinced me not to be scared of strangers so I ended up dating many boyfriends"*.

Nevertheless, there are two adolescent females, who showed internal locus of control despite being influenced by peers to date online and drink alcohol. These participants said: *My peers do not influence*

me into social network dating because social network dating is for desperate people and mostly who find it hard to find a partner” [Aged 17, Grade 12]. “*Although I log onto Facebook, I still respect myself and I never dated any man for that matter nor influenced by my friends to lie to my parents when I should go to the parties. My parents trust me and have warned me about the dangers of talking to strangers online who would propose friendship.* [Aged 20, Grade 11]

Discussion

Findings on internet addiction and internet dating support the assertions that adolescent females who have weak emotional connectedness with their caregivers or parents are likely to spend time on social networks chatting with people for long hours, especially men (Subrahmanyam & Greenfield 2008: 09; Lee, 2009:517). No wonder Eaton et al. (2013: 13) reported that in general, South African adolescents report poor communication with parents about sexual matters and poor parent-child relationships increase sexual risk behaviour in youth. In the face of penury, some of the girls in the focus group agreed to have been involved in intergenerational sexual relationships for financial gain because their parents are unemployed and to be socially competent. Over two thirds of the participants cited to have been humiliated by their sexual partners upon their meetings (face-to -face) and asked to practice cybersex even when they are at home via video calls. These are the adolescent females who were initially influenced by peers to date online because of the benefits such as airtime. These findings are in line with the research that demonstrated that an exposure to social network is associated with irregular sleep (Cain & Gradisar 2010: 739), less time studying (Junco & Cotton 2012: 512), interference with family activities and greater parent- youth conflict (Shapiro & Margolin 2014: 03).

It could therefore be speculated that in addition to being exposed to sexually risk behaviours (e.g. contracting HIV/AIDS) because they reported to be forced to unsafe sexual practices, they are submissive and powerless. This creates a sense of impaired self-autonomy and diminished purpose in life owing to the fact that they are being manipulated by their older men. In other words, they have negative self-esteem and are unable to avoid their abusive partners they met on line for fear of reprisal. Also, it is probable that they ruminate about their ill-informed choices of sending nude photo to their sexual partners, although some respondents indicated to have changed their contacts and quit boyfriends who were violent. Drawing on research by Andreou & Svoli (2013:142) posting and sending pictures to potential

acquaintances further places female youths at risk of cyberbullying and sexual harassment. According to Jaishankar (2009: 24) sexting is mostly done by adolescents, though there are some cases of adult involved in it. Thus, this vulnerable group was being threatened and interrupted even when they study. Consequently, these learners’ school performance is likely to drop because on weekends they do not sleep at home since they should reciprocate their expression of their partners’ love through having sex since they have been financially supported.

Although study participants did not express their regrets of being in sexual relationships marked by power imbalances, their psychological distress was evident in hoarse voices and when they cry. When adolescent females lack power, their locus of control gets externalized and tend to display depressive symptoms, drink alcohol and resort to abortion when they find out that they have been impregnated by married men. Health and psychological problems such as HIV risk, physical abuse and depression are inevitable as cautioned by Kheswa & Pitso (2014: 564). Locus of control is a personality construct based on Julian Rotter’s (1954: 65) social learning theory and refers to an individual’s attribution tendency with respect to the cause or control of events. Jain & Singh’s (2015: 17) research confirmed that adolescent females with an external locus of control often resort to unsafe coping strategies when experiencing life challenges as compared to their counterparts whose locus of control is internalized. It is therefore important to note that parental guidance and awareness about online predators could enable adolescents to be assertive, emotionally intelligent and have robust internal locus of control. Hence, in the study, two respondents distinguished themselves as self-disciplined and swayed into risky sexual behaviour by their peers.

Conclusion

This paper highlighted the consequences of online dating by adolescent females and found that a plethora of intrapersonal (i.e. low self-esteem) and interpersonal factors such as poor parent- youth discussion on sexual matters and deviant peers place vulnerable youth at risk of risk sexual behaviour. Furthermore, diminished parental emotional support and growing up in dysfunctional environment characterized by poverty tend to disengage adolescent females who are addicted to social networks from being educationally competent. Despite the achievement of the research objectives, this study has limitations. First, the participant adolescent females were mired in intergenerational relationships and may not be a true representative of adolescent females in other townships in the Eastern

Cape. Secondly, the research could have yielded somehow different findings if the study was quantitative in nature and involved a large sample. However, the responses construed in this research were phenomenological and may be of significance to parents and educators for the health promotion of adolescents' sexual behaviour.

Since the rate at which cyberbullying, sexual abuse as well as abduction of children continues to escalate in many countries engulfed in poverty, this research proposes the following:

- Given that majority of adolescent females are inadequately equipped regarding sexual matters, especially in families embedded in cultural ideologies, there should be trust and open communication between the caregivers and their children.
- At school, the government should incorporate coordinated HIV curricula to prevent risk factors associated with online abduction of children. Amongst topics to be addressed, psycho-educational programmes which educate youth about sexual values and morality, gender equality, assertiveness and gender- stereotypes should be encouraged.
- Adolescent females should take responsibility of their lives and avoid being easily convinced by sexual partners whom they have met on social network sites. To improve their socioeconomic status of their families, they should seek employment from their neighbours during school holidays such as cleaning the house or babysitting rather than being risking their lives by having sex with older men.
- Finally, adolescent females who have multiple sexual partners should go for HIV test as they are at risk for STIs.

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