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The ZAZI HIV/AIDS Campaign on Intergenerational Relationships:

Views of Selected Men in Intergenerational Relationships

A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Humanities at the University of Johannesburg, in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master’s in Fundamental Communication
Abstract

This research study has investigated how selected black men in intergenerational sexual relationships experience the ZAZI Campaign – a leading national intervention that aims to change high risk health and relational behaviours. One of the aims of the ZAZI Campaign is to get young women and sugar babies to know themselves in such ways that they can take ownership of their choices with regards to HIV-related risks. Intergenerational relationships have been related to the proliferation of HIV/AIDS in and around universities in South Africa. At a university in South Africa, I will specifically focus on the views of selected older men (often referred to as sugar daddies) concerning messages of the campaign which warn younger women to avoid intergenerational sexual relationships, on the grounds that such sexual relations present a high risk as regards HIV infections. Other studies have not sought the views of men regarding communication that targets women in intergenerational relationships (Kriel, 2011; Tshibangu-Kalala, 2010; Gbalajobi, 2010), yet men do receive and form opinions on the messages of campaigns aimed at the young women they have sex with. Following a culture-centered approach and using in-depth interviews, I will give insights from interviews with ten men who are engaged in intergenerational relationships with younger women. Findings derived from a thematic analysis will be presented.

Keywords: communication, intergenerational relationships, sugar daddies, transactional sex, HIV and AIDS, health risks
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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

South Africa is at the epicentre of the Tuberculosis (TB) and the Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) and Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome (AIDS) epidemics (Hlabangane, 2014: 186; Rohleder, Braathen, Swartz & Eide, 2009: 52). In the years 2010 and 2011, HIV was ranked seventh, accounting for 3.4 per cent of deaths annually, and the HIV disease ranked sixth in 2012, accounting for 3.9 per cent of deaths, thereby claiming 18,663 lives. In the male category, HIV was the fifth-leading cause of death and was responsible for 3.8 per cent of fatalities, whereas the number of deaths amongst women was 3.9 per cent even though HIV was the seventh-leading cause of death (Statistics South Africa, 2014: 34–35). Of the 5.6 million individuals already infected with the virus, over 400,000 are newly infected annually (Bhana & Anderson, 2013: 550; CSIS, 2013: 1). Although 34 million people were estimated to be living with HIV globally at the end of 2011, the Sub-Saharan region in Africa is severely affected by this epidemic, as 5 per cent of people are currently infected with HIV, which means that one in every 20 adults has contracted the disease, accounting for nearly 70 per cent of people living with HIV globally (Tanser, de Oliveira, Maheu-Giroux & Barnighausen, 2014: 1).

HIV is ranked as the second cause of death after tuberculosis in South Africa. Statistics indicate that 1,092 individuals between the ages of 15 and 24 have died from HIV which makes up 4.7 per cent of the population in South Africa (Statistics South Africa, 2014: 42). Intergenerational sex is an issue of much concern as statistics indicate that young females whose ages range from 15 and 24 are about three to four times more likely to have been infected with HIV than men of the same age group (Hasler, 2013: 21; Bhana & Anderson, 2013: 550; Dworkin, Colvin, Hatcher & Peacock, 2012: 98; Groes-Green, 2011: 304; Sen & Ostlin, 2010: 19; Fiscian, Obeng & Goldstein, 2009: 67-68; Green, 2008: 233; Omungo, 2008: 81; Anderson, Beutel & Maughan-Brown, 2007: 98; Fox, Jackson, Hansen, Gasa, Crewe & Sikkema, 2007: 584; Luke, 2005: 6; Pettifor, Rees, Kleinschmidt, Steffenson, MacPhail, Hlongwa-Madikizela, Vermaak &
According to Higher Education South Africa (HESA) ‘intergenerational sex’ is defined as sex acts that occur where one partner is young and the other is usually 10 or more years older for those 20 to 25 years of age (HESA, 2010: 120). In a study conducted in 2012 by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC), roughly one out of five interviewees aged between 15-19 years (19.9 per cent) were involved in intergenerational relationships in which their sexual partner was more than 5 years their senior (HSRC, 2014: 31; Pettifor et al., 2005: 1531). Johns Hopkins Health and Education South Africa (2014: 50) found that amongst those with significant others 10 or more years their senior, only 36 per cent used condoms the last time they had sex. In addition, women around this age group were also more likely to engage in more sexual activities than men of the same age (Pettifor et al., 2005: 1531).

Communication to discourage intergenerational sexual relationships has been identified as a key national goal (HSRC, 2014: 116). Interventions that seek to reduce intergenerational relationships have been said to reduce HIV prevalence amongst young women and delay their sexual debut; on the other hand, there might be a rise in the HIV prevalence amongst younger men (Hallett, Gregson, Lewis, Lopman & Garnett, 2007: 50-52). One campaign that aims to address intergenerational relationships is named ‘ZAZI’ – playing on the Nguni word, zazi (know yourself). The Deputy Country Director at the USAID/JHU HIV Communication Programme, Bronwyn Pearce, states that the main aim of ZAZI is to encourage women to stand up and take ownership of their lives, in such a way that they stay true to their values and beliefs in order to pave their own path in life (ZAZI, 2014), in such a way, that they avoid relationships with older men (colloquially known as ‘sugar daddies’). The stereotypical sugar daddy is defined by Fox et al. (2007: 597), Luke (2005: 6), Defo (2004: 15) and Luke (2003: 67) as an older man who exchanges large amounts of money or gifts for sexual favours from a much younger woman, furthermore, sugar daddy relationships are associated with both age and economic asymmetries which are believed to limit young women’s powers to negotiate safer sex.

Communication for change that is aimed at women also reaches men with possible unintended consequences. This study seeks to investigate how selected men perceive
messaging on intergenerational sexual relationships in selected advertisements from the ZAZI Campaign. One of the aims of the campaign is to get women to know themselves in such a way that they can make a stand and take ownership of their choices regarding HIV-related risks.

The following questions will be addressed in the study:

1. What do selected men in intergenerational relationships say about intergenerational sexual relationships?

2. What are the views of selected men in intergenerational relationships about the selected campaign messaging on intergenerational sexual relationships in selected advertisements of the ZAZI Campaign?

3. What do selected men in intergenerational relationships know about HIV-related risks associated with being in intergenerational sexual relationships?

A nexus database analysis was conducted and it was found that other studies relating to sugar daddies did not seek the views of men regarding communication on intergenerational relationships (Kriel, 2011; Tshibangu-Kalala, 2010; Gbalajobi, 2010). Other Masters and PhD studies which did not share the sentiments of this research study were found on Google, in academic journals and Google Scholar and include research conducted by (Wyrod, Fritz, Woelk, Kellogg, Chirowodza, Makumbe, & Willi, 2011; Ott, Bärnighausen, Tanser, Lurie & Newell, 2011; Wood, Hutchinson, Kahwa, Hewitt Waldron, 2011; Leclerc-Madlala, 2008; Nkosana & Rosenthal, 2007). This study focuses primarily on men’s views concerning the “sugar daddy” phenomenon, as men have not been interviewed in scholarly articles about their relationships with younger women and, most importantly, they have not been asked about their thoughts on the communication practices of the campaigns or advertisements that warn younger women to stay away from older men because they pose a health risk to them.
1.2 CONCEPTUAL OVERVIEW

Communication expresses the power with which people create social worlds, it is a process of relating and creating meaning, which does not have to be intentional; only perceived (Hall, 2013: 103; Condit, 2006: 3-7; Miller, 2006: 36). As a fundamentally compliant enterprise, communication operates within the context of mutually assumed cooperative communicative motives, organizing the behaviours of individuals into a culturally shared set of conventions (Galantucci & Roberts, 2012: 1; Tomasello, 2010: 6). In recognition of this, the culture-centred approach localises culture at the centre of theorizing about communication processes (Hasler, 2013: 20-21; Dutta-Bergman, 2005: 116).

Culture can be defined by Hall (2013: 104) as the common sense shared by a community that informs them on how to behave, address each other and construct relationships, as well as how to make informed decisions that are effective and applicable in their social world. Culture is learned, shared and transmitted inter-generationally (Servaes, 2008: 63; Kreuter & Mcclure, 2004: 440; Wilson & Miller, 2003: 185).

Culture can impact on health and behaviour both positively and negatively because of its impact on beliefs and values regarding sexuality (Airhihenbuwa & Webster, 2012: 5; Cluver, 2012; Pieterse, 2005), polygamy (Nyathikazi, 2013; Gumani, 2005), and patriarchy (Wood, 2012; Matsumunyane, 2012; Curle, 2012; Baloyi, 2008; Molapo, 2005; Musapitso, 2002; Munnikhuis, 2002; Mdaka, 2002; De Matos-Ala, 1995). This indicates that those who communicate and educate others about HIV/AIDS should take a keen interest in how culture influences risk practices that are related to HIV/AIDS and sexual intercourse (Maluleke, 2012: 2; Sastry & Dutta, 2011: 437; Wilson & Miller, 2003: 190; Van Dyk, 2000: 65; Gupta, 2000: 5; Ubillos, Paez & González, 2000:70- 71).

A rich understanding of people’s cultures may explain how issues regarding traditional practices, gender inequality, and coercive sex, along with a lack of economic independence and information, as well as limited educational opportunities have put girls at a higher risk of HIV infection than young boys and men (Hasler, 2013: 23).
Such rich understandings of culture may also explain how women who are required to be submissive in patriarchal societies that also require respect for elders, may be encouraged to be part of intergenerational sexual relationships in which younger females have relationships with much older men (Dickerson, 2013: 103; Jegede, 2009: 131-132).

Although there are a number of cultures that allow and embrace the practice of intergenerational relationships – meaning that people who are regarded as ‘sugar daddies’ are widely accepted in Sub-Saharan Africa – these older men are one of the key contributors in the spread of HIV/AIDS (Morrell, Epstein & Molestane, 2012: 620; Luke, 2005: 6). According to HSRC (2014: 31-32), data that was obtained during the three last surveys conducted in 2005, 2008 and 2012 by the HSRC, shows a trend analysis of the steady increase in intergenerational sexual relationships among females aged 15 to 19 years, while this has hardly been a feature among their male counterparts over the period.

Besides culture, it can be argued that the reason these intergenerational sexual relationships occur is because older men tend to be able to provide these younger girls with material and other transactional benefits, yielding what is known as transactional sex (HSRC, 2014: 116; Zembe, Townsend, Thorson & Ekström, 2013; Selikow & Mbulaheni, 2013; Potgieter, Strebel, Shefer & Wagner, 2012; Dunkle, Wingood, Camp & DiClemente, 2010; Hawkinsa, Priceb & Mussác, 2009; Foreman, 1998: 28). A study conducted by HESA (2010: 18) states that transactional sex is widely acknowledged and spoken about which indicates that the general concept of trading sex for social and material gain is commonplace.

With regard to intergenerational relationships, older men, who are regarded as providers in a vast number of cultures, often trade material goods with their partners in exchange for sex; HESA (2010: 18) states that qualitative data provides confirmation that less direct forms of material transactions are pervasive and carry greater social acceptance. Older men are sources of social capital that young women may aspire to gain. According to Gauntlett (2011: 2), social capital is the sum of the assets, which can be tangible or virtual, that one accumulates by virtue of possessing a robust network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and acknowledgement.
This suggests that recreation, social aspiration and other self-made choices may lead young female students into high-risk transactional intergenerational sex. Intergenerational sexual relationships are regarded as key behavioural risk factors in the increase of HIV infection amongst young women; therefore there has been an urgent need for targeted social and behaviour change communication interventions to raise awareness and reduce high-risk behaviours associated with such relationships. This entails communicating with the intention to alter commonly held community customs that accept and promote such high-risk practices.

Communication creates social worlds which shape peoples behaviours into a culturally shared set of conventions. These social worlds create cultures which can be depicted as the common sense which is shared by a community, which also inform individuals on how they should act and react to one another. As people learn to understand the different cultures that they come across, it makes it easier for them to explain and comprehend certain issues pertaining to traditional practices, gender inequality and lack of communication regarding sex education. Cultural practices, such as intergenerational relationships in which younger women pursue relationships with older men for various reasons – such as security, the procurement of material goods and/or social and material gain – usually for the exchange of sex, will be addressed in this study. Following a cultural approach, this study seeks to understand how selected men perceive selected messaging on intergenerational sexual relationships which are targeted at young women.

1.3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

A qualitative research method will be used for this study as it is an inquiry process of understanding where and how a researcher reports detailed views of the interviewees which he/she conducts in a natural setting (Ivankora, Creswell & Clark, 2010: 259). In-depth interviews will be conducted, in which the respondents will be men who are currently studying at the University of Johannesburg (UJ), as well as working class men who are currently in romantic relationships with young women who are studying at the University of Johannesburg.

Interviews are considered as being the most common way of collecting data in qualitative research because they allow the researcher to collect meaning-making
According to Frels and Onwuegbuzie (2013: 88), in-depth open-ended interviews would be the best method for this study as the participants are given the opportunity to elaborate on their responses, which can result in new data being brought forward; this can lead to new themes in the study or a new area of concern may arise which can also be investigated and added to the study.

Sampling is a procedure whereby researchers take an unsystematic selection of individuals to partake in their research and are then able to make generalizations about the entire population (Babbie, 2011: 206; Seale, 2004: 173). Snowball sampling will be employed for this study, in which the subjects will be identified with the help of the female students who are easily accessible to the researcher, as they are currently studying at UJ and are involved in intergenerational relationships. Some female students who are in intergenerational relationships with older men are known to the researcher and they have indicated a willingness to act as participants in this planned study. This will be necessary as the men who are involved in intergenerational relationships may not be willing to participate and might not find the study to be socially desirable; therefore, the female students will be asked to intervene and ensure the men that they will remain anonymous if necessary.

Snowball sampling refers to a sampling process that enables the respondents to provide information about themselves and others (Handcock & Gile, 2011: 3; Noy, 2008: 330; Frank & Snijders, 1994: 53) in order to obtain a non-probability sample. According to Wimmer and Dominick (2006: 89) and Seale (2004: 173), a non-probability sample does not follow the procedures of a calculated probability.

Ten interviews will be conducted for this study as it will mimic the sample size used in the (Gbalajobi, 2010) study which is comprised of ten young women who are students at the University of the Witwatersrand. The ages of individuals within this group range from 20 to 27. The study explores how female students at the University of Witwatersrand construct sexual identities in relationships with sugar daddies.

This study will make use of the method of thematic analysis. According to Boyatzis (1998: 4), this is a method for encoding qualitative information, the coding involves an explicit ‘code’; which could be a list of themes – a multifaceted model with themes, or indicators and qualifications that are causally related – or something in-between these.
two forms. Boyatzis (1998: 4) defines a theme is an arrangement found in the data that interprets aspects of the phenomenon.

As a qualitative study, this proposed study is more likely to reflect internal validity. As a means of improving reliability of the findings, the researcher has to eliminate all possible sources of error in the way that the study is designed (Merrington, 2009: 90; Davies & Mosdell, 2006: 26). To this end, a pilot study will be conducted prior to the main interviews. Altman, Burton, Cuthill, Festing, Hutton and Playle (2006: 1) mention that this will hopefully reveal any deficiencies in the data collection procedure, enabling these possible sources of error to be rectified beforehand to ensure that resources are not wasted in the intended empirical study.

1.4 CONCLUSION

This study is of particular interest because it researchers how people who are not targeted by a communication campaign perceive its key messages, and its insights into how selected men view selected communication on intergenerational sexual relationships this is an important reminder that communication has possible unintended audiences and effects. Chapter Two discusses communication and culture and how these two terms constitute the good and the problematic. The following topics which are also included in this section are: cultural practices, gender and inequality in post-apartheid South Africa and a cultural approach to health communication.
CHAPTER TWO: COMMUNICATION, CULTURE AND HIV/AIDS

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses communication from a constructive perspective, as well as how human communication is a fundamentally cooperative enterprise that relies on symbolic interactionism for individuals to understand their world as well as the actions of others (Tomasello, 2010: 6). It discusses the idea that culture shapes and informs notions of masculinity and femininity, and thereby variously directs and composes gendered practice that deals with how people approach HIV/AIDS-related behaviours. The manner in which men and women behave are a result of their cultural upbringing and customs; culture can therefore be defined as a sense-making process that creates meaning in a group.

Gender roles play an important part in shaping world views, especially when it comes to issues regarding intergenerational relationships – as well as masculinity and femininity – as they provide culturally defined characteristics that are assigned to men and women. Gender roles bring about inequality that stems from gender relations of power; this type of inequality is one of the major key factors used to identify the reasons why younger females are more prone to acquiring the HIV disease as opposed to their male counterparts. Although younger women are more susceptible to HIV/AIDS, they still possess the power to choose the number of partners they want, when they want to have sexual relations with them and how long they want to pursue the relationship. Finally, this chapter discusses how HIV/AIDS can be understood in a cultural context by stating how HIV/AIDS communication programmes need to study and incorporate cultural behaviours into their campaigns in order to try and raise awareness about the disease.

2.2 COMMUNICATION

The term ‘communication’, as Craig (2006: 39) mentions, is used to discuss a variety of communication practices, such as speaking and listening, writing and reading, acting and observing, or generally doing whatever that includes sending and receiving ‘messages’ in any medium or situation. These communication activities are based on the unique human ability to create and use common conceptual ground, which is achieved by shared experience, joint attention and maintaining a common cultural
knowledge (Tomasello, 2010: 5; Tomasello, 2009: 13). In other words, human communication is an essentially cooperative initiative which also functions within the context of mutually assumed cooperative communicative motives as it organizes the behaviours of individuals into a culturally shared set of conventions (Galantucci & Roberts, 2012: 1; Tomasello, 2010: 6).

Human communication is constructive; it is imbued with the agency of people who use their freedom to create social worlds (Miller, 2006: 36). There are times when these worlds connect or collide with each other and when this happens we are given the opportunity to change our own construction or to understand other peoples’ constructions (Miller, 2006: 36), in on-going processes of relating and creating meanings which do not have to be intentional, only perceived (Hall, 2013: 103; Condit, 2006: 3). Hall (2013: 103) observes that this innovative communication practice is facilitated by symbols- which may be verbal or nonverbal- which permit shared meaning and coordinated action that surpass the here and now of physical experience.

There are three different kinds of signs according to Griffin (2012: 341), which are centred in their association between their sign vehicle and the other two components. Firstly, there are symbolic signs which bear no similarity to the objects to which they refer; for example, the meaning of the red light on a traffic signal, displays an arbitrary association and must be learned within the culture it represents (ibid.). Secondly, Griffin (2012: 341) goes on to say that there are iconic signs which have a perceived resemblance with the objects they represent. An example of this may be cartoon art or iconic signs that mimic the nature of their referents. Lastly, there are indexical signs which are directly related with their referents spatially, temporally or by cause and effect. An example would be that of the index finger, which points to the objects, actions or ideas to which they refer (ibid.).

With reference to symbols, Hartley (1992: 5-6) notes that reality is composed of objects which can categorised into: physical, social and abstract. Each object displays meaning which is communicated in a social context with other objects and/or symbols – this forms the basis of symbolic interactionism (ibid.). This type of social interaction occurs on two levels the first is non-symbolic – whereby individuals respond to the actions of others without interpreting them, such as a person flinching at the thought that someone wants to hit them, social interaction is symbolic, which is the second
level in which a person interprets the actions of others in order to produce meaning (Hartley, 1992: 5-6).

According to Hartley (1992: 5), George Herbert Mead first developed symbolic interactionism as a reaction against psychology’s “kinds-of-people theories” and sociology’s “kinds-of-situations theories”. Symbolic interactionism is comprised of five characteristics which include: a dismissal of antecedent mannerisms or conditions, behaviour as learned through the social interaction development, behaviour as the outcome of mental concepts; social reaction as a powerful factor in behaviour, and the study through empirical methods such as longitudinal participant observation (Hartley, 1992:5).

Symbolic interactionism can be described as the process that focuses on how individuals understand their world, based on the assumption that people do not only react to the actions of others, but that they also find a way to interpret those actions. The manner in which people understand their world and others is mediated by symbols, as symbols represent a learned meaning and value. It is important to note that communication plays an integral part in the development of the interaction which constructs meaning (Hartley, 1992: 5; Solomon, 1983: 2).

According to Hartley (1992: 5), symbolic interactionism consists of three basic premises which state that people react towards certain aspects based on how they interpret the meaning of those particular things. Secondly, the meaning of such things are derived from the social interactions that individuals have with each other. Lastly, an individual filters these meanings through an interpretive process that he/she uses to deal with the situations that they encounter. These three tenets can be best described by examining symbols, self and interaction (ibid.).

Furthermore, Hartley (1992: 6) states that symbols call out responses in the listener, in the sense that when a person finds meaning in a symbol based on their experience with it and then informs another person of its meaning, language is then established. Gestures are a combination of symbols which also represent certain meanings; for example, a form of greeting could be considered a gesture which is responded to by a return gesture, as gestures indicate what the other party should do (ibid.). When people use symbols it is required that they interpret them in two ways: namely as the speaker understands them and how the speaker assumes the receiver interprets
them. The individual is therefore an important part of this process as he/she creates meaningful symbols that are shared with others. In order to fully understand this concept, one would have to uncover the view of the self which is offered by symbolic interactionism (Hartley, 1992: 6), which will be elaborated on below.

Symbolic interactionism divides the self into two dimensions, Hartley (1992: 6-7) describes the first dimension as the ‘I’ which is the active portion of the self, as it enables people to perform actions in relation to the actions of others. Secondly, the ‘Me’ which is comprised of social influences as it represents the conceptions that the self has of others. This second dimension takes into consideration the attitudes of others, which is an integral part of decision making. Action is always a social process in symbolic interactionism due to the fact that people constantly engage in meaning construction and action when they are placed in a human society. Therefore, this clearly indicates that human behaviour is based on the contact that people have with each other, which brings us to the final section of symbolic interactionism which is interaction (ibid.).

Communication with others would require that the individual go outside the self in order to view the self through the eyes of others. Hartley (1992: 7) further states that the roles that a person can play include those of a specific other, a specific organised group or the generalised other. The generalised other can be identified as the typical members of a culture with whom the individual identifies himself and who influences him to act in a specific manner. This interaction forms the foundation for any social relationship of shared meanings, which in turn necessitates negotiation. According to Hartley (1992: 7), when people communicate, they are negotiating the purpose of the interaction, the nature of the setting, the identities of those in the interaction, the different relationships that can be formed, as well as the norms and values of the relevant social or cultural context.

Whether communication takes place between the ‘I’ and the ‘me’ or between an individual and some manifestation of the other, it can still be defined as an interaction (Hartley, 1992: 8). Culture is something an individual must know or believe in order to function in a manner that is comprehensible and acceptable to other members and the means by which this knowledge is created and conveyed (Hartley, 1992: 8-9). This is a useful definition when it comes to understanding culture from a symbolic
interactionism perspective as it places culture within members and their interactions (Hartley, 1992: 9).

With regard to culture, Hartley (1992: 12-13) concludes that symbolic interactionism places the significance of cultural study in the meanings that are generated by and for members of the particular culture/society. By concentrating on interactions, culture is regarded as a construction of group members as opposed to it being an isolated entity, culture has to be understood as a sense-making action because it is not done to individuals, but rather it is a way of creating meaning in a group. Hartley (1992: 12-13) also states that cultures comprise of standards which individuals interpret, based on their goals and perceptions of consequences. When culture is studied from a symbolic interactionism perspective, focus can be placed on processes by which an organisation is produced, preserved, and transformed (ibid.).

2.3 CULTURE

Anthropologists, who introduced the term ‘culture’ to the social sciences, continue to debate its meanings and boundaries (Wilson, & Miller 2003: 185). Airhihenbuwa and Webster (2012: 5) define culture as an organisation of unified principles in a given society that are dynamic and have the ability to effect and condition perception, decision making, communication and conduct. According to Liddicoat (2009: 117-118), in a cultural context, speakers are knowledgeable about the manner in which the world functions and how this is demonstrated and understood in acts of communication. Culture also appears to refer to a kind of ‘collective consciousness’ which appears to be shaped by a shared history, language and psychology (Airhihenbuwa, Makinwa & Obregon, 2000: 106-107). It is evident that Servaes (2008: 63), Kreuter and Mcclure (2004: 440), Wilson and Miller, (2003: 185) concur that cultures involve abstract ideas, are created by people, are learned, shared, transmitted inter-generationally; are embodied in values, beliefs, norms and traditions and are dynamic and adaptive.

Samovar, Porter and McDaniel (2010: 12) concur that when referring to a group of individuals as a culture, one is applying the term to the dominant culture that is established in most societies. The term dominant culture is used to define a group that has authority and has the most control over other cultures in terms of setting the agenda and the tone that the others will follow (Samovar et al., 2010: 12). A co-cultural
group subsists within a larger and dominant culture but differs from the governing culture in some substantial characteristic (Gamble & Gamble, 2010: 25; Pearson, Nelson & Titsworth, 2008: 170). According to Samovar et al. (2010: 13), co-cultures express their dissimilarities from the dominant cultures through their views, morals, beliefs and practices that are necessarily unlike in order to differentiate them from other groups.

Pearson et al. (2008: 170) refers to co-cultures as ‘marginalized groups’ because they are considered as ‘others’ by dominant cultures. Individuals who are recognised as belonging to a group that differs from the majority of others in a society are subject to the effects of that diversity, including subjugation and discrimination (Zastrow & Kirst-Ashman, 2010: 9). According to Gamble and Gamble (2010: 25), people who believe that they belong to an ostracised group have a number of options to choose from when it comes to interacting with members from a dominant culture (Gamble & Gamble, 2010: 25). Pearson et al. (2008: 171) state that these options include the use of incorporation whereby the ostracised group attempts to fit in with the main group, the use of accommodation in which the marginalized group upholds their co-cultural identity while establishing a relationship with the dominant group. Finally, this also includes the use of separation which means that the side-lined group relates more with its own co-cultural members than with affiliates of the dominant culture.

The view taken for the purposes of this research is that resolving the debate around the precise definition of culture is less important than establishing agreed-upon characteristics that constitute the definition of the concept. Hall (2013: 104) further states that in order to reduce ambiguity concerning the term ‘culture’, in this study, ‘culture’ will be defined as the common sense shared by a community that will ensure that members know what to eat, what attire to wear, how to address each other, how to; build relationships and to make decisions that are effective and appropriate in their social world (ibid.). Liddicoat (2009: 130) adds that communication can be interpreted as involving processes that use culturally formed codes in culturally shaped contexts to produce and construe culturally shaped meanings.

From the above, one may say that culture can be understood as a practice that forms communities of practice in which certain meanings are valued more than other, in ways which are significant to the purposes and histories of the communities of practice.
(Jegede, 2009: 129). One set of implications of this is that understanding knowledge is by nature complicated, as acts of knowing arise through specific instances of communication on common conceptual grounds, which are established through and in communication, which are fundamental. Another implication, one that is most important for this study, is that culture expresses how members of societies identify what is good and what is problematic (ibid.).

The above literature suggests that human beings can communicate with each other in ways that promote personal growth and well-being (Rogers, 1980: 7). This is to suggest that, to be human is to be related to other humans (Condit, 2006: 4-5). This is also suggested by the philosophy of Ubuntu, which suggests that to be human requires one to acknowledge other peoples' humanity in order for theirs to be affirmed (Viriri & Mungwini, 2010: 30; Vincent, 2006: 19) by their sense of personal efficacy, or it can promote feelings and experiences of helplessness (Abramson, Seligman & Teasdale, 1978: 50; Maier & Seligman, 1976: 3) that affect people’s motivations and actions in a given situation (Badhwar, 2009: 279).

2.4 CULTURE, GENDER AND MASCULINITIES IN POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA

Every culture has fundamental practices for upholding life-cycle evolutions, preserving community solidity or transferring traditional beliefs from one generation to another (Jegede, 2009: 129). Culture guides people to know what problems are and to act in ways that promote well-being, as this is defined by the society (Asamoah-Gyadu, 2010: 47). Developing an understanding of a population’s worldview makes it easier to work with it effectively, as a worldview can be described as a general design for living and a pattern for interpreting reality. According to Janey (2003: 5), gender role expectations has been acknowledged as playing a key role in shaping the world view of men and women, which emphasises the need for gender awareness and sensitivity.

The definition of gender provided by Beynon (2002, 7) will be employed for this study. Beynon (2002: 7) defines gender as the differences in how men and women behave as opposed to what their sexual orientation might be. If gender is cultural then both sexes can inhabit masculinity as a ‘cultural space’, one with its own fixed mannerisms. From this standpoint the masculine and the feminine embody a variety of culturally defined characteristics that are conveyable to both sexes (ibid.).
2.4.1 Gender and inequality

The main cause of gender inequality stems from gender relations of power as this is the leading social determinant of health (Sen & Ostlin, 2010: 1). As a result of them being so influential, they affect many aspects of people’s lives including how they live, work and relate to each other. Sen and Ostlin (2010: 1) mention that the following are therefore determined: whether or not the individual’s needs are recognised, whether they have a voice or some kind of control over their lives and their well-being, and whether or not they know their rights. In order to address the issues concerning gender inequality, action has to be taken from both inside and outside the health sector, as it would be beneficial to both men and women (ibid.); this can be achieved by taking a cultural approach to health communication, which entails understanding people’s cultural practices and finding a way to incorporate them into health communication programmes while accommodating both men and women and their needs respectively.

Gender is a culture-specific concept in the sense that there are substantial variances in what females can or cannot do in one’s culture in comparison to the males, and vice versa. For the consistency that is constantly present amongst cultures, there is always a clear distinction between women’s and men’s roles, admission to productive resources, and decision making (Wyatt, Gomez, Hamilton, Valencia-Garcia, Grant & Graham, 2013: 249; Turmen, 2003: 411; Gupta, 2000: 1). Moreover, gender is an important organizational structure that helps define gendered activities and access to power and resources, with notable gender inequalities.

According to Turmen (2003, 4112), AIDS was initially considered as a ‘gendered’ and social disease, but with racial/ethnic overtones that mainly related to men. Medical and government experts described the condition as the gay-related immunodeficiency disease, because it occurred predominantly among gay men and drug users. The fact that women were also presenting HIV-related symptoms was largely ignored. However, HIV/AIDS is now known to be present throughout all social strata (Wyatt et al., 2013: 252; Hollar & Snizek, 1996: 75). According to Gupta (2000: 4), in order to successfully address the juncture between HIV/ AIDS, gender and sexuality; interventions should, at the very least, not reinforce destructive gender and sexual stereotypes. Many of our past and, unfortunately, some of our current efforts have
adopted a predatory, violent, irresponsible image of male sexuality and portrayed women as powerless victims or as sources of infection (ibid.).

Issues of power inequalities and group subordination within the social construction of gender have become increasingly important in the transmission of HIV and other sexually transmitted diseases (Gupta, 2000: 1-2). Over the years research has shown that females have limited access and control over productive resources than men. These resources include: income, land, credit and education. Sexuality, on the other hand, is distinct from gender but is also intimately linked to it. Knowledge about sexuality can also be defined in political terms as it has constitutive power, which means that the knowledge associated with sexuality thus has the ability to impact on group consciousness (ibid.). The meaning-making found in sexuality can be attributed to the claim that symbolic power makes things with words, therefore sexuality can be defined as what it means to be human (Hlabangane, 2014: 182).

For over a decade, researchers have known that gender and sexuality are significant factors in the sexual transmission of HIV and that these factors have a major influence on treatment, care and support (Wyatt et al., 2013: 248; Snow, 2010: 47 & Gupta, 2000: 1). As a result of this, both of these terms have to be understood and used in an appropriate manner; as they are often used interchangeably and are prone to cause confusion in health research (ibid.). Gupta (2000: 1) states that gender is not a synonym for sex, but rather refers to the broadly shared expectations and standards within a society about appropriate male and female behaviour, characteristics and roles. It is a social and cultural construct that differentiates women from men and defines the ways in which women and men interact with each other (ibid.).

Hasler (2013: 23) concludes that gender inequity and inequality are basic factors in the transmission of the HIV infection. These issues which include gender inequality, traditional practices, and coercive sex, lack of economic liberation and information, as well as limited educational opportunities have put girls at a higher risk of HIV infection than young boys and men. Men historically control decision-making and have a higher status than women, which eases the spread of HIV. In many cultures, sexual fidelity is required for women but only given lip service for men (ibid.). According to Nussbaum and Sen (1993: 13), it is a known fact that women are not exposed to the same opportunities as men in most parts of the world. These inequalities and lack of
education and experience, which are often associated with women, affect their expectations since it is difficult to desire what one cannot imagine as a possibility.

2.4.2 Masculinities in post-apartheid South Africa

Masculinity is depicted as being a diverse, mobile, unstable construction when it is linked to culture. Beynon (2002: 2) further states that if ‘maleness’ is biological, then masculinity is cultural. Masculinity can never be separated from culture as it is formed and articulated contrarily at different times, circumstances and places by individuals and groups. Beynon (2002: 2) goes on to say that masculinity can be represented by factors such as class, subculture, age and ethnicity, and is therefore not a trait that men are born with; instead, it is something that they learn to reproduce in culturally appropriate ways because masculinity is composed of social codes of behaviour. It has also been argued that masculinity is portrayed as a fantasy about how men should conduct themselves, in the sense that it is a chemical construction that enables people to order and make sense of their lives (ibid.). Different cultures may have their own opinions when it comes to defining what it means to be a man, but a cross-cultural model has identified three elements of the male role which include; the protector who represents the guardian of the family or the country, the provider who brings in income and material goods and, lastly, the impregnator who assists with matters of fertility, virility and the prowess of women (Janey, 2003: 6). Masculinity itself can also be very damaging to men as it may lead them on a journey of addiction, success, power, profit-seeking and prestige.

Furthermore, the general outcome would be that men are no longer able to fully express their feelings or they become inept at disclosure as a result of being racked by anxiety regarding their levels of (under)achievement (Janey, 2003: 7; Beynon, 2002: 15). For example, one would note that during the colonial period, black men (also referred to as niggers/negroes) were suffering from an inferiority complex because they had the desire to be white. This desire stemmed from society’s belief that white people formed a superior race, which ultimately lead to a number of difficulties for people of colour, as they were faced with the dilemma of ‘turn white or disappear’ (Fanon, 1986: 100). As a result of this, over the past several years laboratories have earnestly attempted to produce a serum for ‘denegrification’ by sterilizing their test tubes, checking their scales and trying to find research that might
make it possible for the black man to unburden himself with the curse of being black by finding ways to whiten himself (Fanon, 1986: 111).

This type of anxiety that masculinity produces can result in undesirable penalties for men as well as the people with whom they might have personal relationships with. Findings by Janey (2003: 7) have suggested that these consequences may include; rape supportive myths, less condom use and concern about unwanted pregnancy, more frequent sexual encounters with less intimacy, homophobia, and psychological violence in courtship, as well as self-reported aggression in preadolescent boys. With regard to gender role conflict, these negative consequences may result in certain outcomes, such as depression, emotional isolation and various psychosomatic complaints and stress-related health issues (Janey, 2003: 7-8).

In order to counter this type of anxiety, ‘male-liberation’ is needed and this will be achieved by men questioning masculinity themselves in order to understand who they are, how they arrived at that place and what they can do about it (Beynon, 2002: 15). According to Edstrom, Das and Dolan (2014: 2), men are able to change their behaviour patterns and some are currently undergoing that process since masculinities are socially assembled, and can therefore be reconstructed. This does not mean that there is a desire to ‘turn men off’ or that there is a need to blame them individually for the discriminations and destructions of patriarchy. Furthermore, this also does not mean that ‘engaging men’ in gender equality struggles would be the result of altering masculinity by changing cultural standards that guide men’s behaviour (ibid.).

Research has found that patriarchy has revived the debates around masculinity and gender inequality; in addition to this statement, it has been noted that patriarchy may involve facets of male omnipotence, male privilege and the subservience of women; it is not reducible to either one of those (Edstrom et al., 2014: 3). One of the cultural practices that embody gender inequality is patriarchy which literally refers to the ‘rule of the father(s)’ (Edstrom et al., 2014: 2; Jegede, 2009: 131). Patriarchal cultures ensure that men have certain privileges and powers that are not available to women (Dickerson, 2013: 103 & Jegede, 2009: 131-132).

With regard to entitlement relations, they can be applied to ownerships in the sense that one type of ownership can connect to another repeatedly through certain rules of
legitimacy (Sen, 1981: 5). An example is the practice of ‘ukuthwala’ (bride capture) which is common in rural areas of the former Transkei, South Africa (Wood, 2005: 313). In this instance the man feels a sense of entitlement to the woman he has captured if her family accepts the trade; in other words, he feels as though he owns the woman because he has made an exchange with the family with something he has once owned. According to Sen (1981: 6), this is formally known as a trade-based entitlement because an individual is entitled to own what he/she obtains by trading an item/s of theirs with a willing party/parties (ibid.). This form of cultural practice demonstrates that women’s lack of consent cannot be depicted as an act of sexual coercion that has turned into rape; in some sporadic cases of ‘ukuthwala’, one may find that the woman being ‘abducted’ has conspired with her abductor and therefore the act was less forceful and more performative, thus resembling an elopement (Wood, 2005: 313).

In a patriarchal society, a woman is deemed as being submissive to a man, often accommodating and deferring to male interests. This may also be the case with intergenerational relationships in which we have a younger female pursuing a relationship with a much older man, or vice versa. According to Sen and Ostlin (2010: 7), highly biased population sex-ratios may result in the engagement of intergenerational relationships, and cases of kidnapping of brides or wife-sharing among brothers, which all have a negative impact on the women’s negotiating power within the home (ibid.).

Older men are sources of social capital that young women may aspire to gain. Gauntlett (2011:2), Gauntlett (2011: 12), Green (2008: 202), and Grootaert and van Bastelaer (2002: 2) agree that social capital is the accumulation of the resources – actual or virtual – that an individual can accrue by virtue of retaining a durable network, of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition (ibid.). It can be argued that the reason why these intergenerational relationships occur is due to the fact that older men have access to social capital and are therefore able to provide for these younger girls.

According to Schuurman (2003: 994), authors such as Pierre Bourdieu, James Coleman and Ronald Stuart Burt approach social capital from an individual’s perspective, and define social capital as the resources which an individual has access
to, which can also be used for their benefit (Schuurman, 2003: 994). Pierre Bourdieu combines social capital with factors such as symbolic, cultural, economic and physical capital, this suggests that class and culture, which are often neglected in social capital research, may be important factors to consider when measuring the social capital of individuals (Billett, 2012: 10 & Schuurman, 2003: 994). Guillen, Collins, England and Meyer (2001: 202) mention that social capital is the contextual compliment to human capital. Furthermore, Guillen et al. mention that the social capital metaphor states that individuals who do better are somehow better allied. Certain individuals or groups are associated to certain others, as they trust them, are obliged to support them, and are dependent on trade with these certain others. Holding a certain position in the structure of these exchanges can be an asset in its own right (ibid.).

Polygamy is another cultural practice which may be seen as contributing to gender inequality in South Africa. According to Ubillos, Paez and González (2000: 70-71), in the Western world, there is a prevalence of ongoing monogamy as opposed to concurrent partnerships. In Africa, certain forms of polygamous relationships are regarded as the norm, whereas in some of these cultures, polygamy, generally polygenia, is common in nearly 25–50 per cent of married couples (ibid.). Moreover, it is informally accepted that a man may have more than one partner; although in some parts of Asia, polygenia is also accepted but only 3–4 per cent of married couples engage in this practice (Ubillos et al., 2000: 70-71). In addition, Ubillos et al. (2000: 70-71) state that studies confirm that most sexually active adults are faithful, especially in Asia and that in some countries, especially Thailand, having sexual relations with prostitutes is socially acceptable. On a medium basis in the Western world, and only in Africa and the Caribbean is having more than one sexual partner important, although it is not widespread (ibid.).

In terms of the implications for AIDS education, polygamy often affords a healthy alternative to the problems that are inherent in certain cultural customs (Van Dyk, 2000: 63). In some African societies, for example, when a woman is pregnant she cannot engage in sexual intercourse with her husband as this abstinence is reserved till childbirth or, in some cases, even after the child is weaned; in such cases, polygamy inhibits husbands from turning to casual sex (ibid.). According to Van Dyk (2000: 63), polygamy is also appreciated in modern times when African men are often forced to find work in the cities - if a husband has several wives, he can afford to take one at a
time to live with him in the city, while the other wife/wives remain behind to care for the children, family and property (ibid.). Van Dyk (2000: 63) also mentions that in societies where polygamy is practiced, AIDS educators are wasting their time encouraging monogamy; whereas much more will be achieved by highlighting factors such as loyalty and fidelity between a husband and all his wives, and by discouraging sex outside that group.

Looking at the cultural factors in South Africa which include patriarchy, polygamy and bride-capture, amongst others, it is without a doubt that women are depicted as being subhuman and are therefore inferior to men. Women are depicted as being powerless, they do not have the authority to control decision making and that they cannot negotiate the terms and conditions laid down by their male counterparts. Numerous researchers in South Africa have identified that there is a high HIV prevalence amongst women and young girls and that it is more difficult for them to negotiate safer sex which increases their likelihood of being more vulnerable to HIV (Van Dyk, 2000: 63). The literature on sexual relationships of young women in Sub-Saharan Africa, that has been discussed thus far, has found that adolescent girls have limited negotiating power in the relationships that they choose to pursue.

Contrary to the above findings, Luke (2003: 74) has also found that young women have the power to choose the type and number of partners they want and often when they want to engage in sexual relations with them. According to Luke (2003: 74), several studies have found that these young girls would often offer ‘false promises’ to the men and this type of deception is said to delay their sexual relations. This is a common strategy used to heighten the chances of receiving material goods or other type of resources. It also gives the girl an opportunity to assess the man’s character so that they can discard men that they are not interested in. A study in Uganda found that secondary school students used a negotiating strategy called ‘detoothing’ in which they would milk wealthy men who often flaunt their monetary status for as much money as possible without giving sexual favours in return, (ibid.).

Secondly, Luke (2003: 74) notes that young women are able to control the duration of the relationship, as they have the power to refuse sexual advances or terminate the relationship completely if they do not continue to receive gifts or money from their partners. There have also been cases in which a young woman would claim to love
her partner and does not necessarily need the money, but she would insist that if the relationship were to continue, her partner would have to buy her gifts. It is rarely the case where these young women would want to terminate their relationships, but if they had to lose a partner they could easily substitute him with another who is willing to offer them the same material goods if not better (Luke, 2003: 74). Should one of these adolescent girls fall pregnant, research shows that they do have the ability to make decisions regarding their pregnancy, paternity and abortion. Falling pregnant can be advantageous to the girl as she can use that to prolong the relationship with her partner and also to receive financial support from him. As a result of this, condom use may be disregarded by most of these young women because it is easier to claim financial support for their own gain or for an abortion from a wealthier man, even if he is not the biological father (Luke, 2003: 74).

Although young women engaging in intergenerational relationships may have limited negotiating power in these relationships which includes the ability to choose to have sex, older men have the bargaining power to have the final say, thereby diminishing the girls’ power to negotiate safer sex and certain sexual activities, and more especially, they have little power to control the violence in their relationships.

2.5 CULTURE AND HIV/AIDS

Scholars such as Airhihenbuwa and Webster (2012: 5) understand that culture is the foundation on which health behaviour in general, and HIV/AIDS in particular, are conveyed and through which health must be defined and comprehended. This realisation of cultural centrality to health has resulted in the need to critically examine the assumption inherent in Western-based orthodox theories and models, which propose that health behaviour is a cultural component (ibid.).

According to Baxen and Breidlid (2004: 20), it has been known that often tradition is merged in modern practices and vice-versa. With this acknowledgment, pressure can still arise within communities that are still very traditional. For example, Mshana, Plummer, Wamoyi, Shigongo, Ross and Wight (2006: 48) state that within a traditional society, members of that community have very strong beliefs in supernatural phenomenon, such as witchcraft, which they believe is the ultimate cause of many of their illnesses, including being infected with HIV/AIDS (Mshana et al., 2006: 48). For most people, believing that a family member or themselves have been bewitched with
HIV/AIDS gives them some kind of hope that the illness can be manageable. This enables them to deny the illness and also to use the bewitchment as a strategy to help prevent stigma and rejection, because the blame for the illness can be externalized (Tenkorang, Gyimah, Maticka-Tyndale & Adeji, 2011: 1002-1003; Thomas, 2007: 282).

The above example further states that the African belief in witchcraft, according to Van Dyk (2000: 62), as the immediate and definitive causes of illness should, for example, be used in AIDS education programmes. Furthermore, programmes should ascertain the belief that the personal or ultimate cause of an illness may be witchcraft, but the fact should be emphasised that the immediate cause is a ‘germ’ which is sexually transmitted (ibid.). A close collaboration between AIDS educators and traditional healers in Africa should indeed be made; as a number of traditional healers are prepared to introduce new ideas and practices into their healing repertoire. Since some of them even have mechanisms to introduce unfamiliar objects, such as dildos and condoms, to the ancestral spirits to seek their approval before incorporating these objects as part of their standard healing instruments (Van Dyk, 2000: 64).

Traditional healing takes place in social settings in the various African cultures, in which patients are seen as members of families who are expected to be understood, supported and accepted. Van Dyk (2000: 64) strongly recommends that healing rituals which use family members and incorporate the supervision and assistance of the ancestors should also be used when treating AIDS patients. Dancing, singing, drumming, traditional rituals and ceremonies should be encouraged by medical practitioners as the dramatization enables patients to express their emotions, overcome anxiety and to accept what may seem like a threatening part of themselves (ibid.). Dance, storytelling and music have long been mediums for education in Africa to teach important cultural values, and should therefore also be used to explain the threat of AIDS to traditional Africans (Van Dyk, 2000: 64).

In order for young people to understand HIV/AIDS and sex-related issues, Baxen and Breidlid (2004: 24) state that certain beliefs and sexual practices need to be examined with urgency in order for this cultural knowledge to be incorporated in the field of education. The relationship between knowledge and conduct has been acknowledged as being complex and challenging; therefore, it is necessary for research to be placed within the situated contexts in which individuals create their sexual identities and make
sense of HIV/AIDS communication programmes, as opposed to them only being exposed to the basic nature of the disease (ibid.).

2.6 SUMMARY

This chapter discussed how communication is viewed as being constructive, which means that as a metaphor it represents agency and the ability and sovereignty to use communication to construct a desirable social world. Communication is the process of relating and creating meaning, which does not have to be intentional, only perceived. Condit (2006: 3) defines communication by stating that it is a continuous process of weaving observable and undetectable four-dimensional networks, which constantly establish matter and ideation as individuals, dialogue, and other beings within a vibrant field of many forces. Furthermore, this section has defined human communication as a fundamentally cooperative enterprise which operates within the context of mutually assumed cooperative communicative motives (Tomasello, 2010: 6). There are also a number of communicative practices which include reading, listening, writing, performing and generally anything that has to do with sending out messages in a given situation. These types of messages can also be found in signs and symbols which are explained in three categories; namely, symbolic, iconic and indexical signs.

George Herbert Mead (Hartley, 1992: 5) first developed symbolic interactionism; as a process that can be used to describe how individuals understand their worlds, based on the assumption that people do not only react to the actions of others, but that they also find a way to interpret those actions. The three basic premises of symbolic interactionism state that people act towards things on the basis of the meanings that the situations have for them; secondly, the meaning of such aspects arises from the social interactions that individuals have with others and, lastly, these meanings are filtered through an interpretive process to deal with the things that a person encounters. With regard to culture, symbolic interactionism emphasises the importance of culture during the study of the meanings that are created by and for individuals. By focusing on interactions, culture is regarded as a construction of group members as opposed to it being a separate entity in and of itself.

It was found that researchers have multiple ways of describing the notion of culture, but their characteristics are similar, in the sense that culture is learned, shared and transmitted inter-generationally(Servaes, 2008: 63; Kreuter & Mcclure, 2004: 440;
Wilson & Miller, 2003: 185). In any given culture, whether it is a co-culture or a dominant culture we find that realities are socially constructed. This means that social norms and traditions normalise people’s perceptions and behaviour gradually. On the other hand, culture can be defined as a group of people who live in the same time and place who share a common language and set of values and beliefs. When people engage in two-way communication, the participants feel enriched and as a result, communication can be seen as enabling people to be the best that they can be. On the other hand, there are situations in which one of the participants may feel diminished. This speaks to the theory of learned helplessness, in which people’s responses are not dependent on the features of a given situation, but on their construals of the situation (Pearson et al., 2008: 171). This section has also introduced communication as a culturally shaped code which is used to create meanings.

Furthermore, Beynon (2002: 15) states that culture guides how problems are identified and addressed while creating a worldview that can be used as a general design for living and a pattern for interpreting reality. Gender roles play an important part in shaping worldviews, especially when it comes to issues regarding masculinity and femininity, as they are both culturally defined characteristics that are assigned to men and women. With regards to masculinity, the role of the man can be identified in three elements which include the protector, the provider and the impregnator. Although masculinity can be damaging because it may lead men down the path of being addicted to achievement, power and prestige, it can also be countered by ‘male-liberation’ which enables men to understand who they are and how they can change their mannerisms.

African cultures are made up of many cultural practices; amongst them are cultures that believe in patriarchy, which is a practice that affords men certain privileges and entitlements that are not available to women. With reference to the practice of ‘ukuthwala’, the entitlement theory states that if a man exchanges his goods for a woman/bride, he therefore owns the captured woman because she was traded for something that was once his (Wood, 2005: 313). The practice of ‘ukuthwala’, commonly known as bride capture, is culturally legitimate in the Xhosa community as it states that a woman can be abducted by a circumcised (therefore adult) man in order to become his wife. In a patriarchal society where we find that the women are submissive to men, it is common to come across intergenerational relationships
because the older men are depicted as sources of social capital that young women may aspire to gain. Social capital can be defined as the resources that an individual has access to which can be used for their own benefit (Sen, 1981: 6).

With regards to polygamy, In Africa, certain forms of polygamous relationships are normative (Ubillos et al., 2000: 70-71). In some of these cultures, polygamy – generally polygenia – is a feature in approximately 25–50 per cent of married couples. Moreover, it is informally accepted that a man may have more than one partner. In terms of the implications for AIDS education, polygamy often provides a healthy alternative or solution to problems inherent in certain cultural customs. In societies where polygamy is practiced, AIDS educators are wasting their time when advocating monogamy. More will be achieved by emphasizing loyalty and fidelity between a husband and all his wives and by discouraging sex outside that group. Although women are deemed as being submissive and inferior to men, they still have the negotiating power in their relationships with older men as they are able to determine the duration of the relationship, how many partners they want to have, when to engage in sexual activities, as well as the power to make decisions regarding paternal issues (Ubillos et al., 2000: 70-71).

Gender inequality and sexuality are key factors in HIV infection. Issues such as gender inequality, traditional practices such as ‘ukuthwala’, coercive sex, lack of economic independence and information and limited educational opportunities have put girls at a higher risk of HIV infection than young boys and men. It is generally understood that culture is the foundation on which health behaviour in general and HIV/AIDS in particular is expressed and through which health must be defined and understood. In order to achieve this, people need to urgently understand HIV/AIDS and sex-related issues, deeply held beliefs, practices about sex and everyday sexual practices in such a way that this cultural knowledge can be used in a meaningful way in the field of education. AIDS educators and traditional healers should have a close collaboration with each other, as it was found that in many traditional societies people believe and blame witchcraft as the main cause of their illnesses; as they prefer consulting with traditional healers as opposed to medical practitioners because of their African belief systems. The process of healing in Africa takes the form of dancing, singing, drumming and traditional rituals and ceremonies should be encouraged because the
dramatization enables patients to express their emotions, to overcome anxiety and to accept what is threatening their health.

2.7 CONCLUSION

With reference to intergenerational relationships, this chapter has provided a cultural explanation as to how some of these relationships are initiated. It was found that researchers have multiple ways of describing ‘the notion of culture’, but the characteristics are similar in the sense that culture is learned, shared and transmitted inter-generationally (Servaes, 2008: 63; Kreuter & Mcclure, 2004: 440; Wilson & Miller, 2003: 185). Culture may be understood to refer to the common sense shared by a community, helping members know what to eat, what to wear, how to address each other and how to build relationships and make decisions that are effective and appropriate in their social world. Communication creates social worlds which organise the behaviours of individuals into a culturally shared set of conventions. Furthermore, culture guides how problems are identified and addressed while creating a worldview that can be used as a general design for living and a pattern for interpreting reality. Gender roles play an important part in shaping worldviews especially when it comes to issues regarding intergenerational relationships, as they provide culturally defined characteristics that are assigned to men and women.

With regard to masculinity, the role of the man can be identified in three elements which include the protector, the provider and the impregnator. In a patriarchal society, younger women are most likely to pursue relationships with older men as they have access to social capital resulting in these young women becoming dependent on the older men. The issue of younger women being more susceptible to HIV/AIDS comes into play where the younger women are usually inexperienced with issues relating to sexual intercourse; most importantly, they do not possess the power to negotiate safer sexual practices especially if they are involved in a polygamous relationship. In order to minimise younger women’s HIV/AIDS statistics, HIV/AIDS communication programmes need to study the cultural behaviours and practices of their target market before they can successfully educate the community on safer sexual practices.
CHAPTER THREE: A CULTURAL APPROACH TO HIV/AIDS COMMUNICATION

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Culture incorporates both positive and negative influences on health behaviours as culture is a key factor that influences the various ways that HIV/AIDS has had an impact on the African population (Airhihenbuwa & Webster, 2012: 5). These factors range from beliefs and values regarding sexuality, including when to become sexually active, the acceptable number of sexual partners one should have, and condom use in South Africa (ibid.). Airhihenbuwa and Webster (2012: 5) state that roles of culture and society in relation to illness and healing emphasise the use of language in the understanding of concepts related to illness, furthermore, they suggest that one’s cultural belief system influences one’s social roles and relationships when they are sick.

African cultural behaviours should be accepted and respected by Westerners, as these practices are unfamiliar to them because they do not pose as a major threat to ones’ health (Van Dyk, 2000: 64). Culture is said to be found operating within a society, where the influence of ideas, institutions and the work of individuals take place, not through domination but through consent (Said, 1977: 7). Some traditional practices that should be respected and not changed by AIDS educators include practices such as: polygamous marriages, cultural rituals, ceremonies and herbal remedies. These behaviours are important to African people because they play a vital role in their identity and corporate existence. However, the majority of AIDS educators are concerned with how these behaviours are conducted; hence they try to put a stop to a particular custom, such as circumcision, for instance, because they believe that it may be harmful to a person’s health (Van Dyk, 2000: 64).

Instead of trying to vilify and eliminate African culture, AIDS educators should suggest ways that would make African cultural practices the basis for addressing how HIV/AIDS is perceived and acted upon (Van Dyk, 2000: 64). According to Maluleke (2012: 2), traditional cultural practices mirror the morals and beliefs held by affiliates of a culture for periods often spanning generations. All of the social groups in the world have detailed traditional cultural practices and philosophies – some of which are
beneficial to all members – while others have become detrimental to a specific group, such as women, for example (ibid.). The sections in this chapter provide discussions on a cultural approach to health communication, a cultural approach to HIV/AIDS communication, women and men’s vulnerability to HIV, intergenerational relationships, transactional sex and, lastly, communication for social change regarding sugar daddies in South Africa.

3.2 A CULTURAL APPROACH TO HEALTH COMMUNICATION

Since the early 1990s, culture has been an essential lens through which HIV prevention has been understood. According to Wilson and Miller (2003: 184) many researchers view the transmission of HIV as a contextually bound social occurrence, furthermore, the belief that culture is a prominent contextual factor in the prevention of HIV related research is commonplace. It can be said that cultural scripts affect the knowledge and attitudes that impact HIV risk behaviours, furthermore, grounding HIV prevention in a particular cultural group ensures that the programme is logical and operational (ibid.). Despite an apparent consensus that culture is important, there is little discourse about the ways in which culture can and should be attended to in HIV prevention programing.

According to Hasler (2013: 20-21) and Dutta-Bergman (2005: 116), the culture-centred approach places culture in the middle of theorising about communication processes; therefore, communication theories are generated within the culture instead of originating from the outside. Within these cultures, complications are constructed and deconstructed; resolutions are produced and reworked based on the needs of the culture as defined by its members; examples of the community-based approach include campaigns such as PATH, Sonagachi, SWEAT and TTS (ibid.).

Five basic components exist within the culture-centred approach to health communication; Hasler (2013: 22) notes that the first is an interchange of information from both parties, secondly there is a verbal or nonverbal message that exists, we are also presented with the message that speaks about health related issues which is then communicated to the individual and/or culture, the process of gaining the trust of the person/culture is the next step, before one can finally access the particular culture in order to connect the members of the culture with the relief organisations or health practitioners (ibid.). Hasler (2013: 22) goes on to say that a health practitioner needs
to fully comprehend the requirements and desires of a culture when planning a programme for them, as culture is a significant factor of developing, executing and assessing one’s health.

Another cultural approach to health communication could be the PEN model that was proposed by Collins O Airhihenbuwa, Van Dyk (2000: 64) states that cultural health beliefs and mannerisms can be categorised as positive (P), exotic (E) or negative (N) and they are to be treated accordingly. Airhihenbuwa and Webster (2012: 6-7) elaborate that this model has been employed for the development and scrutiny of health intervention research related to cancer and cardiovascular risks reduction. Finally, the PEN model been used to guide an evaluation of cultural analyses and implications of the use of female condoms to reduce HIV/AIDS in South Africa (ibid.).

According to the PEN model, Van Dyk (2000: 64) mentions that constructive cultural theories and behaviours are principles and conduct which are known to be beneficial and should be encouraged and reinforced. Examples include; discouraging sex before marriage and sexual intercourse immediately after a woman gives birth or during her pregnancy, forbidding men to have sex with widows (whose husbands might have died of AIDS) as well as with women who have aborted or miscarried (ibid.). Van Dyk (2000: 64) notes that it is believed that having sex with a person who has contacted an STD is dangerous, and that traditional ‘thigh sex’ or other forms of non-penetrative intercourse, which is sometimes practiced by the youth, unmarried people and a wife who is menstruating, are encouraged. The collective existence of traditional Africans and the unity of the person with their culture are also positive cultural traits which should be kept in mind by AIDS educators (ibid.). Although the collective interest is very important to traditional Africans, Van Dyk (2000: 64) states that AIDS counsellors need to be sensitive to the issue of confidentiality in their work space. In Lie and Biswalo’s 1994 study, 98 per cent of the participants indicated that secrecy and confidentiality concerning AIDS are very important to them as they fear rejection by the community, and even death if their HIV status becomes known to the public (ibid.). According to Harrison, Smit and Myer (2000: 285) the core behaviour change strategies accessible for the prevention of the HIV infection include: raising awareness, educating the masses about the nature of the epidemic and prevention methods, promoting condom use and reducing high-risk behaviours. In order for this to be possible, these activities must incorporate skills development so that young
women, in particular, are able to effectively negotiate condom use and make other decisions regarding their involvement in sexual relationships (Harrison et al., 2000: 285).

3.3 A CULTURAL APPROACH TO HIV/AIDS COMMUNICATION

Wilson and Miller (2003: 185) state that the HIV prevention field’s commitment to the establishment of programmes that are culturally grounded are driven by lessons learned through implementing interventions, and by developing a rational stance that asserts that culturally informed programmes are better than those that are culturally inexperienced or lopsided. The unsuccessful and sometimes destructive effects of HIV prevention programmes that are designed for European Americans and then implemented in ethnic minority communities have highlighted the importance of culture as a factor that contributes to programme effectiveness (ibid.).

In terms of culture and HIV prevention, Wilson and Miller (2003: 190) mention that a culturally specific approach can be easily integrated into the Theory of Reasoned Action and its emphasis on normative beliefs about HIV risk. Because different populations may hold different beliefs, it is important to assess the specific belief systems. For example, would be analysing a culture of a given population before developing an HIV educational programme. Articulating how cultural concepts connect to HIV-related outcomes is critical in assessing the relative utility of different strategies for integrating culture into prevention programming.

The pandemic which we have come to know and have given the term ‘HIV/AIDS’ first emerged in the Lukunya village, on the Ugandan border during 1983, and it was known as ‘Juliana’s disease’ (Van Dyk, 2000: 60). A handsome Ugandan trader sold cloth for women’s kangoas patterned with the name Juliana, the girls from the villages would trade the stranger sex for a kanga because they had no money to give him. A few months after that, the first woman fell ill. According to Van Dyk (2000: 60), the woman had no appetite, could not retain any food inside her stomach and had constant diarrhoea, to which she felt great shame. In a few weeks she began to deteriorate, grew weak and had to be carried everywhere; before the girl passed away, two other women had suffered the same fate and the people of Lukunya came to a conclusion that the Ugandan trader was a wizard, and that Juliana’s cloth possessed evil powers (ibid.). In order to save their people, traditional healers laboured to remove the
stranger’s curse, but their attempts failed and the death toll continued to rise and was spread in neighbouring villages (Van Dyk, 2000: 60).

The risk factors that cause an increase in the number of females that contract the HIV infection in Sub-Saharan Africa have been recognised in the scholarly literature; Casale, Rogan, Hynie, Flicker, Nixon, and Rubincam (2011: 301) state that research on susceptibility to HIV infection cites diverse factors – such as biological, socioeconomic, cultural and contextual factors – that may place girls and women at greater risk. In South Africa, a particular focus of the literature on gender has been on ‘traditional’ social norms and constructions of gender and sexuality and how these constructions are understood and acted on by young individuals (Casale et al., 2011: 301).

3.3.1 Women’s vulnerability to HIV

From a biological point of view, women are more likely to be predisposed to HIV infection than men (Green, 2008: 232; Turmen, 2003: 411-412). Turmen (2003: 411-412) states that the transmission of HIV between male to female is between two and four times more effective than female to male. Furthermore, female adolescents are particularly prone to HIV infection through sexual intercourse as their immature genital tract are more likely to sustain tears during sexual activity, resulting in a greater risk of HIV transmission (Turmen, 2003: 411-412). Therefore, a gender-based approach to HIV/AIDS involves investigating how these biological and gender dynamics collaborate to heighten a woman’s risk of becoming infected (ibid.).

In order to survive, poverty stricken people should take or create power over their own lives (Green, 2008: 104). Their hardships may increase due to the individual risks that they take, which may result in exclusion and inequality. A study conducted in Malawi showed results in which the famine of 2001–2002 led to desperate women prostituting themselves in order to survive, which ultimately led to an increase in their chances of contracting HIV (Green, 2008: 200). There are cases in which climate change has a negative impact on poor people as it may result in people becoming vulnerable to contracting HIV, such as cases in which the droughts in Zambia have forced families to marry off their young daughters to older men who are most likely to have more than one sexual partner. Poverty and climate change are just two of the many factors that drive women into the sex industry (Green, 2008: 200-201).
There are a number of reasons why women are more susceptible and prone to acquiring HIV/AIDS compared to men. Firstly, Turmen (2003: 414) states that, because young women usually marry considerably older men, a power discrepancy is formed with regards to experience, authority and control over sexual activity and resources. This could also mean that girls are unable to further their studies or take employment, in addition to this, older men are usually more sexually experienced than their young brides, who are thus at risk of acquiring HIV and other STI’s (ibid.). Turmen (2003: 414) and Gupta (2000: 2) also mention there is a culture of silence that exists in numerous societies, that surrounds sex that dictates that ‘good’ women are expected to be oblivious about sex and flaccid in sexual interactions. This makes it difficult for women to be informed about risk reduction or, even when informed, makes it difficult for them to be proactive in negotiating safer sex (Turmen, 2003: 414 & Gupta, 2000: 2). Furthermore, Sen and Ostlin (2010: 20) state that females are often labelled as ‘sluts’ or ‘loose women’ in their attempts to seek information regarding safe sex or when trying to negotiate safer sexual practices, which may ultimately lead to a violent attack against them as a means of discipline due to social norms condoning such behaviour.

Secondly, Gupta (2000: 2) states that the traditional norm of virginity for single girls that exists in many societies, illogically escalates young women’s risk of infection because it limits their ability to obtain information regarding sex, out of fear that they will be perceived as being sexually active. Virginity also puts young women at risk of rape and sexual coercion in high prevalence countries, because of the specious belief that having sex with a virgin can cleanse a man of infection, and because of the erotic imagery that surrounds the purity and passivity associated with virginity (ibid.). In addition, Gupta (2000: 2) mentions that in cultures where virginity is praised, research has shown that some young women practice alternative sexual behaviours, such as anal sex, in order to preserve their virginity, although these behaviours may place them at increased risk of contracting HIV.

Thirdly, women also have restricted access to healthcare, or receive a more ‘second-rate’ quality of healthcare than men (Turmen, 2003: 412). Studies of other infectious diseases show that females recurrently wait longer than males before visiting health facilities (ibid.). Due to the strong customs of virginity and the culture of silence surrounding sex, accessing treatment services for sexually transmitted diseases can
be highly stigmatising for girls and women (Gupta, 2000: 2-3). The fourth reason mentioned by Gupta (2000: 3) is that in many cultures, because motherhood, like virginity, is considered to be a feminine ideal, using barrier techniques or non-penetrative sex as safer sex options presents a major predicament for women.

The fifth point, according to Green (2008: 238), Turmen (2003: 412), Luke (2003: 74) and Gupta (2000: 3), is that women's economic dependency increases their exposure to HIV. Research has shown that women are more likely to exchange sex for money or favours when they are economically vulnerable, less likely that they will succeed in negotiating protection and even less likely that they will leave a relationship that they perceive to be risky (ibid.). A woman’s economic vulnerability can result in her being highly exposed to infection while men risk infection due to the standards of masculinity associated with risk-taking and sexual conquest (Green, 2008: 238; Turmen, 2003: 412; Luke, 2003: 74; Gupta, 2000: 3).

Finally, the most alarming form of male power, being violence against women, contributes both directly and indirectly to women's vulnerability to HIV (Green, 2008: 233; Turmen, 2003: 413; Luke, 2003: 74; Gupta, 2000: 3). In population-based studies conducted worldwide, anything from 10 to over 50 per cent of women report physical assault by men with whom they are in relationships with; and one-third to one-half of physically abused women also report sexual coercion (ibid.). These violent acts affect the women’s power and ability to negotiate condom use as well as the conditions of sexual intercourse (Green, 2008: 233; Turmen, 2003: 413; Luke, 2003: 74; Gupta, 2000: 3).

Hallett et al. (2007: 50) states that most infections among females, particularly in Africa, are a result of unprotected heterosexual sex (Hallett et al., 2007: 50). Therefore, as Turmen (2003: 416) concurs, the majority of the new HIV infections (75 per cent) are transmitted via sexual intercourse; therefore it is rational to focus on preventing the sexual transmission of the virus. Turmen (2003: 416) and Foreman (1998: 8) claim that targeted intervention strategies directed at decreasing the number of sexual partners, encouraging condom use and treating sexually transmitted infections have accomplished some success, but they are insufficient when it comes to meeting the needs of the most vulnerable groups – in particular, women. According to Turmen (2003: 416), comprehensive tactics that include prevention efforts for women, as well
as for other vulnerable groups such as young people or migrants, need to be on a national scale; efforts to avert sexual transmission to individual women should focus on the biological and behavioural factors that increase their susceptibility to infection (ibid.).

According to Gupta (2000: 2), power is essential to both sexuality and gender. The imbalance of power in gender relations that favours men, translates into an unequal power balance in heterosexual interactions, in which male pleasure surpasses female pleasure. Furthermore, men have more control than women over when, where and how sex takes place. An understanding of individual sexual behaviour, male or female, thus demands an understanding of gender and sexuality as assembled by a multifaceted interaction of social, cultural, and economic forces that determine the dissemination of power (ibid.).

3.3.2 Men’s vulnerability to HIV

Some men and adolescent boys are also vulnerable to contracting HIV/AIDS. Turmen (2003: 412) and Foreman (1998: 10) mention that those who are younger, impoverished or physically or psychologically frailer are likely to contract HIV from other men through sexual intercourse, drinking alcohol or shared drug-injecting equipment; those who take the recipient role in anal sex are especially more vulnerable (ibid.). Transvestites, transsexuals and pre-adolescent children may also be constrained by force or circumstance into situations where they contract HIV from men (Turmen, 2003: 412 & Foreman, 1998: 10). Foreman (1998: 9) mentions that only prevention programmes that directly address men’s sexual and drug-taking behaviour can significantly lessen the rate at which the global HIV/AIDS epidemic spreads.

There are four ways in which men can become vulnerable before and during sexual encounters. According to Gupta (2000: 3) and Foreman (1998:11), there are prevailing norms of masculinity that expect men to be more knowledgeable and experienced about sex. These put men (particularly young men) at risk of infection because such norms prevent them from seeking information or admitting their lack of knowledge about sex or protection and coerce them into experimenting with sex in unsafe ways at a young age to prove their manhood (ibid.). Secondly, Sen and Ostlin (2010: 20) and Gupta (2003: 3) state that in many societies worldwide it is believed that variety in sexual partners is essential to men’s nature and that men will seek multiple partners
for sexual release. According to Foreman (1998: 9), men are more likely to have two or more concurrent or consecutive partners and are therefore at greater risk both of contracting the virus and passing it on; women are more likely to be faithful to men from whom they contract HIV and less likely to pass it on.

Thirdly, Gupta (2000: 3) mentions that notions of masculinity that emphasise sexual domination over women as a defining characteristic of manhood contribute to homophobia and the stigmatisation of men who have sex with men. The resulting stigma and fear force men who have sex with men to keep their sexual behaviour secret and deny their sexual risk, thereby increasing their own risk as well as the risk of their partners, female or male (ibid.). Lastly, men in many societies are socialised to be self-reliant, not to show their emotions and not to seek assistance in times of need or stress (Gupta, 2000: 3). This expectation of invulnerability associated with being a man runs counter to the expectation that men should protect themselves from potential infection and encourages the denial of risk (ibid.).

In addition to increasing the vulnerability of women and men to HIV, Gupta (2000: 40 and Foreman (1998: 10) agree that the power imbalance that defines gender relations and sexual interactions also affects women’s access to and use of services and treatments. Women’s social and economic vulnerability and gender inequality also lie at the root of their painful experiences in coping with the stigma and discrimination associated with HIV infection (Gupta, 2000: 4; Foreman, 1998: 10). HIV positive women bear a double burden: they are infected and they are women (Gupta, 2000: 4). In many societies, being socially ostracised, marginalised, and even killed are very real potential consequences of exposing one’s HIV status (ibid.). Yet, HIV testing is a critical ingredient for receiving treatment or for accessing drugs to prevent the transmission of HIV from a woman to her child (Gupta, 2000: 4). Green (2008: 232) states that, as a cure for AIDS has not yet been discovered, certain measures have to be taken in order to reduce women and/or poor people’s vulnerability, which includes investigating what makes them vulnerable in their social and economic lives. Once this has been achieved, steps to eradicate the sources of these risks have to be implemented (ibid.); this leads us to a cultural approach to HIV/AIDS communication.

Vulnerability may be similar to poverty, but it differs in the sense that its main focus is on relationships, as it provides more insight on the use of power, connections and
exclusions that take place in society. Within marginalised groups, we come across the most vulnerable people who are said to constitute the ‘chronic poor’ (Green, 2008: 203). For the purpose of this study, women are focused on as the marginalised group as they are more vulnerable to contracting HIV, followed by a discussion of why men are also vulnerable to HIV. Sen and Ostlin (2010: 18) define vulnerability as an individual’s ability to avoid, respond to, cope and/or recover from certain exposures; one’s ability to retain or deflect these exposures with differing health effects and social consequences rely on a number of normative and structural social processes (ibid.).

Gender systems vary in terms of the features that they have, but they are not the same across different societies. Women are known to have less than men when we compare the amount of wealth, land and property between the two, but they are heavily burdened when it comes to matters such as working in the economy of ‘care’, which means that they have to ensure the survival, reproduction and security of people in different age groups. Furthermore, most girls are fed less, educated less and are more physically restricted, whereas women are usually placed in occupations that pay less, are less secure and are more informal. People’s lives are governed by a gender hierarchy which tells them how to live, what to believe and what they should claim to know about being males or females (Sen & Ostlin, 2010: 4-5; Salazar, Figueroa, Giron & Caceres, 2009: 48).

Women and girls are often classified as being less capable or able, but on the other hand they are also known as being the pride of the family or the self-respect of communities (Sen & Ostlin, 2010: 5). It is therefore normal to restrict their physical mobility, sexuality and reproductive capacity. In many instances, violence against women is condoned and as a result, women are depicted as objects in their own homes or communities because they are regarded as being lesser beings or ‘second-class’ citizens – this is reflected in the norms of behaviour and codes of conduct that are enforced by men (ibid.). Bearing in mind that there are places where gender inequality may not be extreme, women often have less access to political power and lower participation in political institutions, from the local municipal council or village to the national parliament and the international arena (Sen & Ostlin, 2010: 5).

Basic capabilities refer to the ability to satisfy certain basic and undeniably important functions up to certain levels. This type of capability enables people to do some basic
things which may be necessary to escape poverty as a means of survival. Basic
capabilities are important factors for studying the well-being of the majority of people
in poor countries, as they are crucial for poverty analysis (Morris, 2010: 69-70; Walker
& Unterhalter, 2007: 25). Issues of basic capabilities have been discussed in Amartya
Sen’s (1992) analysis of poverty, in which he maintains that poverty or income
inadequacy should rather be referred to as ‘basic capability failure’ due to the fact that
individuals and communities are unable to choose or do the things that are basic to

These basic actions may result in younger women getting involved in intergenerational
relationships in which the female partner may exchange sex for money or material
goods in order to survive if she is poverty stricken. Or in other cases she could simply
engage in these kinds of transactions to maintain herself. This kind of dilemma could
be eradicated if educating young girls was mandatory in all countries, therefore
ensuring that they are self-aware, are able to get decent jobs, as well as identifying
other means for providing for themselves or their families without resorting to engaging
in sexual relations for the sake of obtaining money or gifts when their men have been
pleased. Education may be the key to minimising this problem, as well as
communication for social change.

3.4 INTERGENERATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS

‘Intergenerational sex’ (also known as age-mixing or age-disparate) refers to sex acts
where one partner is young (aged between 20 to 25 years of age) and the other is
usually 10 years older, and also if the other partner is considerably older (usually five
years or older for teenagers) (Ott, Bärnighausen, Tanser, Lurie & Newell, 2011: 2;
HESA, 2010: 82). Researchers have identified that pursuing a sexual relationship with
a significantly older partner is one of the major contributing factors to the spread of
HIV/AIDS, while other research has noted that these types of relationships are usually
motivated by financial and material gain by the younger partner (ibid.). In a study
conducted by Ott et al. (2011: 2), findings stated that the male respondents’ age gaps
increased before the age of 50 in casual relationships, and decreased after 50. With
regard to women, their age gaps increased until their early 30s and after this they
decreased rapidly. The female respondents and their current partners reached an age
gap of 4.5 years in women above the age of 40.
Furthermore, Ott et al. (2011: 3) states that in a South African context, age-gaps in spousal relationships may be caused by the need for men save up money over a long period of time so that they are able to pay lobola, which is the traditional bride price in many cultures. When these men can eventually pay lobola, they might have engaged in numerous relationships with casual partners which might put them and their future wives at a high risk of contracting HIV (ibid.). These statistics clearly indicate that most women prefer to be in relationships with older men but that the age gap decreases by 5 years when comparing the women at age 20 and then again at age 40 (Ott et al., 2011: 3).

In a study conducted by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) (2014: 40), it was found that in 2012 about one-fifth of all respondents aged 15–19 years (19.9 per cent) were involved in age-disparate relationships involving a sexual partner who was more than five years their senior (HSRC, 2014: 31). Johns Hopkins Health and Education South Africa (2014: 40) found that amongst those with a partner 10 years or older than themselves, only 36 per cent used a condom the last time they had sex. Statistics indicate that females between the ages of 15 and 24 are about three to four times more likely to have been infected with HIV than their male counterparts (Hasler, 2013: 21; Bhana & Anderson, 2013: 550; Dworkin, Colvin, Hatcher & Peacock, 2012: 98; Groes-Green, 2011: 304; Leclerc-Madlala, 2010: 5; Evans, Delva & Pretorius, 2010: 7; Sen & Ostlin, 2010: 19; Fiscian, Obeng & Goldstein, 2009: 67-68; Green, 2008: 233; Omungo, 2008: 81; Anderson, Beutel & Maughan-Brown, 2007: 98; Fox, Jackson, Hansen, Gasa, Crewe & Sikkema, 2007: 584; Luke, 2005: 6; Turmen, 2003: 412; Buseh, Glass & McElmurry, 2002: 174; Harrison, Smit & Myer, 2000: 285).

The reason why these young girls are infected more than boys of the same age is due to the high incidence of consensual, unsafe intergenerational sexual relationships that they engage in with older men who are five or more years older than they are (CSIS, 2013: 9; Nobelius, Kalina, Pool, Whitworth, Chesters & Power, 2011: 253; Dupas, 2005: 2). Older men have a higher chance of being infected with HIV than teenage boys because they have been sexually active for longer; therefore, intergenerational relationships are more likely to put young girls at risk of contracting HIV/AIDS and a large age gap between partners makes it more difficult for younger women to negotiate safer sex (Leclerc-Madlala, 2010: 5; HESA, 2010: 82; Sen & Ostlin, 2010: 20; Dupas, 2005: 2). One study estimated that for every year’s increase in the age difference
between partners, the chances of unprotected sex rose by 28 per cent (ibid.). Other reasons why young women are more likely to get infected with HIV are due to sociocultural factors such as poverty, lack of education, high cultural value of childbearing, low social standing, lack of empowerment, poor knowledge about the disease, misperception of low vulnerability and fatalism (Leclerc-Madlala, 2010: 6; Fiscian et al., 2009: 67-68).

A sugar daddy as defined by Fox et al. (2007: 597), Luke (2005: 6), Defo (2004: 15) and Luke (2003: 67) is as an older man who exchanges large amounts of money or gifts for sexual favours from a much younger woman. Sugar daddy relationships are linked with both age and economic asymmetries which are said to limit young women’s power to negotiate safer sexual behaviour (ibid.). According to Leclerc-Madlala (2010: 6), young women see many benefits when it comes to having a sugar daddy, one of which is that some of these young women aim for marriage, because older men are depicted as being more serious and better potential marriage partners than men their own age. Furthermore, across southern Africa, young women are encouraged to seek older men as partners and husbands (ibid.). Their families would often caution them against having relations with men their own age as this is believed to increase the risk of marital instability (Leclerc-Madlala, 2010: 6).

Intergenerational relationships are common and widely accepted in Sub-Saharan Africa and are one of the major contributors in the spread of HIV/AIDS (Morrell et al., 2012: 620; Leclerc-Madlala, 2010: 5; Luke, 2005: 6). The reason why these adult men are so keen on dating young girls is because they get the pleasure of labelling her as a trophy girlfriend and, most importantly, these older men believe that young girls are uninfected. Whereas a third of these men may already carry the virus and most of them believe that sleeping with a virgin will rid them of the infection (Leclerc-Madlala, 2010: 5; Chase, 2004: 1-2; Luke, 2003: 73). According to Smith (2007: 1001), married men prefer the pretty, urban, educated young women, who are seen as the most desirable girlfriends, to provide not only sex but also the opportunity of having more stylish, exciting, and modern sex than what they have with their wives (ibid.).

Research has also found that African men believe that it is a ‘natural right’ to have more than one partner, usually younger than them, as the ability to attract these young women inflates their egos and makes it easier for them to ‘conquer’ women (Luke,
It has also been said by Smith (2007: 1001) that masculinity is created and expressed both in men's relationships with women, as well as in their relationships with other men. In male dominated social settings such as social clubs, sports bars, sections of the marketplace and particular bars and eateries, it is common for men to show off their girlfriends and to discuss them with other men (ibid.). Therefore, male peer groups are one of the significant factors that motivate other men to engage in extramarital relationships (Smith, 2007: 1001).

In addition, Leclerc-Madlala (2010: 7) and Luke (2003: 73) state that studies have shown that notions of manhood in the region are closely tied to a man's ability to attract and maintain sexual partner. Some of the drivers of men's sexual involvement with younger women include the need for entertainment, as well as variety and relief from domestic and workplace-related stress (ibid.). Nobelius et al. (2011: 253), Leclerc-Madlala (2010: 5) and Luke (2003: 73) state that the reason why young women engage in sexual intergenerational relationships is due to the fact that they view these older men as 'safe' partners because they appear to be less risk-taking, more responsible and also more stable. Young women are more afraid of becoming pregnant or in some cases being 'found out' about their relationships with older men, as opposed to being more afraid of contracting STIs or HIV (Nobelius et al., 2011: 253; Leclerc-Madlala, 2010: 5; Luke, 2003: 73).

Young women in particular can be pressured into sex, with consequences that range from emotional hardship to unwanted pregnancies and the devastation of a lifelong infection with HIV and probable early death (Foreman, 1998: 30). Patterns of sexual behaviour differ from culture to culture, in the sense that poverty may force many young African women into sexual activities with older men, whereas in Latin America young women are more likely to be pressured into sex by men of a similar age, with unwelcome emotional consequences (ibid.).

Young women in rural areas are more directly subjected to traditions that guide relations between generations and between men and women (Leclerc-Madlala, 2010: 6). This means that young women are expected to be dutiful, obedient and respectful towards older men (ibid.). Leclerc-Madlala (2010: 6) goes on to say that these cultural prescriptions have been found to play an important role in undermining young urban women's ability to resist older men's advances and to negotiate safe sex. On the other
hand, it has been noted that in urban areas, young women engage in sexual intergenerational relationships as a means of material gain, and for the sake of entertainment and having fun. Although some young women have parents who provide them with the necessities of life, engaging in such relationships is not about meeting subsistence needs, but about acquiring a ‘top-up’ that helps boost their status in the eyes of peers (Leclerc-Madlala, 2010: 6).

3.5 TRANSACTIONAL SEX

For public health researchers, such as Stoebenau, Nixon, Rubincam, Willan, Zembe, Tsikoane, Tanga, Bello, Caceres, Townsend, Rakotoarison and Razafintsalama (2011: 2), what is known outside of formal prostitution or sex work as ‘transactional sex’ or sex for gift exchange by its participants was regarded in the mid-1990s as a key factor of HIV transmission, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa. Stoebenau et al. (2011: 2) go on to mention that in an article entitled ‘The materiality of everyday sex’ as Mark Hunter explained: transactional sex has numerous comparisons to prostitution, [but] transactional sex varies in important ways: the individuals in the relationship are constructed as “girlfriends” and “boyfriends” ... and the exchange of favours for sex is part of a larger set of obligations that might not involve a prearranged payment (ibid.).

Literature on transactional sex, as Luke (2003: 73) claims, suggests that gifts are considered as a symbol of the young woman’s value and the older man’s interest. Therefore, most young women who do receive money or gifts in return after engaging in sexual intercourse with a man are most likely to feel very offended. As opposed to a study conducted in Burkina Faso which found that these young women would feel demeaned and insulted if they received nothing in return after sleeping with men, as the exchange of material goods or money for sexual favours is considered unremarkable (ibid.). What was also concluded in the study was that none of these young women associated their transactions with prostitution, which they regard as being socially unacceptable (Luke, 2003: 73).

Transactional relationships, sex and prostitution are regarded as lying on a spectrum, according to Jewkes, Morrell, Sikweyiya, Dunkle and Penn-Kekana (2012: 2). At one end, transactional sex bears many resemblances to the practice of prostitution, especially when money is exchanged for sex from one partner to another, or in the
case where there is a relationship that involves numerous sexual encounters that are completely based on receiving a material reward thereafter (ibid.). On the other hand, interpreting the continuum becomes somewhat more problematic as there is literature that shows that in many parts of sub-Saharan Africa, sex given without material reward is perceived as being demeaning for women (Jewkes et al., 2012: 2).

Besides culture, it can be argued that these intergenerational sexual relationships occur because older men tend to be able to provide these younger girls with material and other transactional benefits, yielding what is known as transactional sex (HSRC, 2014: 116; Zembe, Townsend, Thorson & Ekström, 2013: 2; Selikow & Mbulaheni, 2013: 87; Potgieter, Strebel, Shefer & Wagner, 2012: 193; Dunkle, Wingood, Camp & DiClemente, 2010: 91; Hawkinsa, Priceb & Mussác, 2009: 171; Luke, 2003: 73; Foreman, 1998: 28). Reflecting back on the link to HIV, Stoebenau et al. (2011: 2) and Weckesser (2011: 56) state that transactional sex is often associated with multiple concurrent partnerships, which are more conducive to the spread of HIV than serial monogamous sexual relationships. One of the reasons why young women are at a high risk of being infected and are currently infected with HIV is due to the fact that they enter such relationships with much older, wealthier men as a means to survival (ibid.).

Eight per cent of sexually active people reported engaging in transactional sex, which means that they were either giving or receiving gifts and/or money in exchange for sex with any of their sex partners. Furthermore, JHHESA (2014: 41) makes note that 5 per cent of all relationships conducted by survey participants over the last year contained the provision of sex in exchange for money or goods, whereas 7 per cent involved receiving sex in return for favours or resources. Overall, the study found that there was no difference in condom use at last sex amongst respondents who had transactional sexual relationships and those who did not (JHHESA, 2014: 41).

A study conducted by HESA (2010: 80) states that the degree to which transactional sex is recognised and spoken about shows that the overall concept of exchanging sex for social and material gain is commonplace. Stoebenau et al. (2011: 2), Weckesser (2011: 56), HESA (2010: 80) and Defo (2004: 15) state that transactional sex is usually associated with scarceness. The effect of Western consumerism, social and political
conditions, variances in economic power between men and women and the failure of traditional African marriage customs involving bride wealth (ibid.).

The act of giving involves social contracts and reciprocity which are used to maintain social and moral order as a collective act performed by groups (Weckesser, 2011: 68). Furthermore, it is through the exchange of gifts that a hierarchy is established in which individuals are connected to the larger society (Weckesser, 2011: 68). It is also worthwhile noting that women do not only engage in sexual relationships for the exchange of money in the sense that some women co-habit with their partners. Thus receiving gifts which are a sign of affection from their partners who frequently discuss sexual pleasure and physical attraction with them (ibid.). Weckesser (2011: 68) goes on to say that although it is common to hear of stories of women pursuing material relationships (for either money, food or clothes), it is also common to hear stories involving love letters and signs of affection.

According to HESA (2010: 80), transactional sex takes many forms, including prostitution, as well as relationships where the prospect to have sex is provided in exchange for favours, gifts and recreational or travel opportunities, but it is not necessarily known as a form of direct payment. Furthermore, the study conducted by HESA (2010: 80) found that very few pupils and staff said that they often expect money or gifts in exchange for sex, while there were a few scholars who mentioned that they often engaged in commercial sex work to support their studies, while others mentioned that they did so in order to support their drug habits (ibid.).

With regard to the above-mentioned forms of exchange, HESA (2010: 81) further states that young females will also engage in transactional sex with older men who possess social status, in order to achieve esteem and social acceptance. The qualitative data found in this particular study suggests that, even if not expected, material support is a strong part of many sexual relationships and in some respects the commitment of resources to a relationship secures the relationship and creates obligations within it (ibid.). Furthermore, HESA (2010: 81) mentions that in most cases the material provision is from men seeking sexual favours, as opposed to women who are not only motivated by sex but rather the acquisition of opportunity or material gain.

Ubillos, Paez and González (2000: 70) stat that stable relationships between married men and semiautonomous women, who obtain economic rewards in exchange for
having sexual relationships with men, is a frequent resource in polygamous societies. Foreman (1998: 28) states that in Nigeria, sexual interactions are also depicted a form of economic networking because it provides women with added financial security, while East African schoolgirls regularly engage in sexual activities with older men for economic gain. Researchers and the likes of Stoebenau et al. (2011: 2) have argued that in the rural Malawian context, it has almost become acceptable that well-off men are obliged to engage in manifold, transactional sexual relationships in order to distribute their wealth as an extension of patron-client notions of citizenship.

Sexual relationships between students and teachers are very common in most African countries. Even though some people may view this matter as a type of abuse, others place more agency on the reasons why these young women are involved in such relationships. Morrell et al. (2012: 620) and Leclerc-Madlala (2010: 5) found that the main reason for pursuing a relationship with an older man was due to the fact that young women lived in impoverished circumstances and therefore felt the need to pursue a relationship with an older men and engage in ‘transactional sex’ which involved the sugar daddies giving them money and gifts.

The following definitions provided by Schuurman (2003: 994) will be employed in this study to describe transactional relationships: the first can be described as a social relationship in which an individual has the means to acquire various types of institutional resources and support. Secondly, transactional sexual relationships can be defined as the organisation of human resources that can be used to expand flows of future income (ibid.).

Relatively less poor young women have become active agents in seeking out wealthier men in order to access consumer items and a modern lifestyle (Stoebenau et al., 2011: 2). What this then means is that this type of consumption has become a means by which to access ‘social power’ (ibid.). Transactional sex has now paralleled certain traditional practices. For example, Stoebenau et al. (2011: 2) claim that a man displays his amount of wealth through the number of wives he can support or through the price of the bride wealth that can be paid; through transactional sex, he can now display how wealthy he is through the number of girlfriends that he can support.

Transactions between older men and young women can include a wide range of elements of social capital. This suggests that social aspiration, recreation and other
non-forced choices may lead young women and students into high-risk transactional intergenerational sex. Intergenerational sexual relationships are regarded as the main behavioural risk factor associated with the transmission of the HIV infection to young women; hence, the urgent need for targeted social and behaviour change communication interventions to raise awareness and reduce high-risk behaviours associated with such relationships. This entails communicating to amend widely held cultural customs that accept and promote such high-risk practices. If these young women are taught that sleeping with an older man is not the only solution to their problems because it may result in them contracting sexually transmitted diseases and/or infections, falling pregnant or being assaulted. Young women may think twice about pursuing a relationship with an older man for financial support; therefore, communication for social change regarding sugar daddies is an important factor when educating young women about the dangers of pursuing a relationship with an older man.

3.6 COMMUNICATION FOR SOCIAL CHANGE REGARDING SUGAR DADDIES IN SOUTH AFRICA

Communication for social change is defined by Servaes (2008: 14-15) as a dialogical process in which individuals from both public and private spheres define who they are, state their needs and the manner in which they go about obtaining the things that they need in order to improve their own lives. Communication for social change makes use of dialogue that leads to collective problem identification, decision making as well as a community-based implementation of resolutions to development issues (ibid.). According to Buseh, Glass and McElmurry (2002: 174), a question that is often asked is: why is it so challenging to decrease the development of new HIV/AIDS cases in Africa? Buseh et al. (2002: 174) state that the response to this question requires knowledge of the traditional and cultural factors that have to be considered when constructing African health promotion programmes. Researchers suggest that deep-rooted cultural traditions are major factors in progressing the spread of AIDS in the rural areas of Africa; yet it is challenging to produce appropriate prevention programmes for various subpopulations as there are limited studies on cultural and gender-related issues (ibid.).
There is an urgent need to identify the risk perception of young women in intergenerational relationships (Leclerc-Madlala, 2010: 8). This can be achieved by older peers playing a role in encouraging, mentoring and supporting young women on how to successfully resist getting involved with such relationships (ibid.). In order to reduce the risk of young girls being infected with HIV, they have to be provided with information regarding the HIV prevalence disaggregated by gender and age group. In Southern Africa, women are held responsible for sex-related issues such as reproduction and contraception. Therefore, Dupas (2005: 3) states that addressing intergenerational sex should demand that older men discontinue engaging in potentially-exploitative relationships with younger women, and to recognise that relationships with younger women constitute an abuse of power and status.

According to African popular discourse, researchers and health care workers have all sounded the alarm over sugar daddies, stating that their main goal is to seek out young women because they believe that they might not be infected with HIV (Luke, 2005: 6). Health organisations have created campaigns that caution young women to keep their distance from sugar daddies because they pose as a major health concern in the area of HIV/AIDS (ibid.). Luke (2005: 6) goes on to mention that this major health concern has often been branded as ‘the sugar daddy syndrome’, ‘the sugar daddy trap’ or ‘the sugar daddy phenomenon’, in which female adolescents often bear most of the risk. As a result of this, the UNAIDS Global Coalition on Women and AIDS advocates the development of effective programmes to educate and empower young women regarding HIV prevention as well as an increase their economic security (Fiscian et al., 2009: 67-68). Campaigns such as ZAZI, It Begins With You, Soul City, Love Life, just to mention a few, can be regarded as effective health communication campaigns that have helped to raise the awareness of HIV amongst many other social issues in and around our communities.

AIDS awareness campaigns are strongly felt at universities. Omungo (2008: 81) mentions that this is done either through the student’s own initiative and coordination or through the office of the Dean of Students. The university medical services have also taken a leading role in promoting AIDS awareness through educative materials (ibid.). According to Omungo (2008: 81), some members of the medical staff have always received invitations from student organisations to participate in their AIDS awareness activities. Student associations have also been encouraged to include
some AIDS education activities in their agenda. Incoming students are educated on the seriousness of the HIV infection in the context of their social life at the university (ibid.).

According to Omungo (2008: 81), HIV and AIDS related services such as condom distribution and counselling have been established at universities. Condoms are readily available free of charge at the university health clinics as well as at the dispensers that are placed at student recreation centres and halls of residences (ibid.). Omungo (2008: 81) goes on to say that AIDS education materials on condom use are available at the clinics as well as a means for students can collect condoms at their own discretion. Kiosk owners within the halls of residences are allowed to stock condoms because students reside on the campuses and there are no administrative, social or environmental inhibitions to student interaction (ibid.).

The critique that can be provided here is that condoms are not very popular in Africa, Van Dyk (2000: 63) postulates that many Western authors erroneously ascribe this lack of condom use in Africa to promiscuity, permissiveness and to a lack of moral and religious values. This clearly illustrates a lack of understanding of the African philosophy behind sexuality as well as some form of disrespect for cultural beliefs (ibid.). Van Dyk (2000: 63) mentions that apart from social and political problems, there are deep rooted cultural beliefs against the use of condoms in Africa. The challenge is not to condemn Africa, but to make the hidden cultural logic behind the resistance to condoms known, and to find ways to work with or around it (ibid.). Some of the cultural reasons for not using condoms, and the implications for AIDS education are discussed below, as condoms are believed to block the “gift of self” (Van Dyk, 2000: 63).

According to Van Dyk (2000:64), there is a widespread belief in many parts of Africa – such as East Africa, Zaire and among the Zulus in South Africa – that repeated contributions of semen are needed to form or ‘ripen’ the growing foetus in the womb and that condoms therefore interfere in the process of natural foetal development. It is also believed that semen contains important vitamins which are necessary for the continued physical and mental health, beauty and future fertility of women (ibid.).
3.7 SUMMARY

With regard to health communication, the point is that the cultural impact on health and behaviour is both positive and negative; the factors range from beliefs and values regarding sexuality. Cultural behaviours that are practised within societies, such as cultural rituals and the use of herbal remedies, should be respected by Westerners as they do not pose as major threats to one’s health. The culture-centred approach locates culture at the centre of theorising about communication processes. The five basic components to the culture-centred style of health communication include exchange of information, message, and the actual act of communication, as well as rapport and access. With regard to HIV/AIDS in Africa, South Africa is the epicentre of the HIV/AIDS pandemic as there are approximately 5.6 million people living with the virus and over 400,000 people are newly infected annually (Hlabangane, 2014: 186; Rohleder, Braathen, Swartz & Eide, 2009: 52). Statistics indicate that young women between the ages of 15 and 24 on average are roughly about three to four times more likely to have been infected with HIV than men of the same age group (Statistics South Africa, 2014: 42).

Campaigns such as ZAZI, It Begins With You, Soul City, and Love Life can be regarded as effective health communication campaigns that have helped to raise the awareness of HIV, amongst many other social issues in and around our communities. The PEN 3 model has been used to guide an evaluation of cultural interpretations and meanings of the use of female condoms to reduce HIV/AIDS in South Africa. It has also been used to describe the planning, implementation and evaluation of health interventions. According to the PEN model, positive cultural beliefs and behaviours are values and behaviours which are known to be beneficial and should be encouraged and reinforced. A cultural approach to HIV/AIDS communication states that in order for an HIV prevention campaign to be successful, the different cultures of a given population have to be studied and analysed beforehand.

The risk factors that predispose women and girls to increased risk of HIV infection, which was first noticed in 1983 in a village called Lukunya on the Ugandan border in Sub-Saharan Africa, have been well established in the scholarly literature. Research on vulnerability to HIV infection cites biological, socioeconomic, cultural and contextual factors that may place females at a greater risk of contracting the virus. On the other
hand, men’s vulnerability to HIV is based on masculinity, concurrent partners, sexual domination over women and self-reliance. Gender and sexuality are significant factors in the sexual transmission of HIV and these factors have a major influence on treatment, care and support. Both of these terms (gender and sexuality) have to be understood and used in an appropriate manner, as they are often used interchangeably and are prone to cause confusion in health research.

Vulnerability may be similar to poverty but it differs in the sense that its main focus is on relationships, as it provides more insight on the use of power, connections and exclusions that take place in society. Within marginalised groups, we come across the most vulnerable people who are said to constitute the ‘chronic poor’. Gender systems vary in terms of the features that they have but they are the same across different societies. Women are known to have less than men when we compare the amount of wealth, land and property between the two, but they are heavily burdened when it comes to matters such as working in the economy of ‘care’, which means that they have to ensure the survival, reproduction and security of people in different age groups.

Furthermore, the capability approach is used by scholars in order to determine how well a person’s life is going. This approach considers, for example, the well-being of a person, whether or not they are disease free, if they have self-respect and whether they have access to education among other things. Therefore, basic capabilities refer to the ability that one has to satisfy certain basic functions at a certain level and this then relates to how poverty stricken women will resort to engaging in transactional sexual relationships with older men in order to survive. It has been stated that young women may turn to intergenerational relationships as a means of survival because they lack basic skills such as education which would help them become self-aware and expose them to other ways of providing for their families. A question that is often asked is: Why is it so difficult to reduce the development of new HIV/AIDS cases in Africa? The response to this question requires knowledge of the traditional and cultural factors that must be considered, when designing African health communication programmes. In terms of culture and HIV prevention, a culturally specific approach can be easily integrated into the theory of reasoned action and its emphasis on normative beliefs about HIV risk.
While many married women remain faithful to their husbands, wives in poorer countries such as Uganda may have several sexual partners in exchange for shelter, food or other means of survival. In Nigeria, sexual networking is also economic networking because it provides women with additional financial security, while East African schoolgirls frequently have sex with older men for economic gain. Sugar daddies are common and widely accepted in Sub-Saharan Africa bearing in mind that they are one of the major contributors in the spread of HIV/AIDS. The reason as to why these adult men are so keen on dating young girls is because they get the pleasure of labelling her as a trophy girlfriend, and most importantly, these older men believe that young girls are uninfected, whereas a third of these men may already carry the virus. It can be argued that the reason why these intergenerational relationships occur is due to the fact that older men have access to social capital, and are therefore able to provide for these younger girls. In order to reduce the risk of young girls being infected with HIV, they have to be provided with information regarding the HIV prevalence disaggregated by gender and age group.

Communication for social change can be defined as a dialogical process in which people from both public and private spheres define who they are, what they need and how to get what they need in order to improve their own lives. The HIV prevention field’s commitment to the creation of programmes that are culturally grounded is driven by lessons learned through implementing interventions, and from a philosophical stance that asserts that culturally informed programmes are better than those that are culturally naïve or mismatched. In terms of culture and HIV prevention, Wilson and Miller (2003: 190) mention that a culturally specific approach can be easily integrated into the theory of reasoned action and its emphasis on normative beliefs about HIV risk.

3.8 CONCLUSION

‘Intergenerational sex’, refers to sex acts where one partner is young and the other is usually 10 years older for those 20 to 25 years of age and/or if the other partner is considerably older (usually five years older for teenagers). Researchers have identified that pursuing a sexual relationship with a significantly older partner is one of the major contributing factors to the spread of HIV/AIDS. The older man in the relationship is usually referred to as a sugar daddy and is defined as an adult male
who exchanges large amounts of money or gifts for sexual favours from a much younger woman. Across Southern Africa, young women are encouraged to seek older men as partners and husbands, as their families believe that having relations with men their age increases the risk of marital instability.

Intergenerational relationships are common and widely accepted in Sub-Saharan Africa but they are also considered as one of the major contributors in the spread of HIV/AIDS. The reason why these adult men are so keen on dating young girls is because they get the pleasure of labelling them as trophy girlfriends, and most importantly, these older men believe that young girls are uninfected. These cultural prescriptions have been found to play an important role in undermining young urban women’s ability to resist older men’s advances and to negotiate safe sex. On the other hand, younger women have their own reasons for pursuing relationships with older men as it has been noted that in urban areas young women engage in transactional sex with these older men as a means for material gain. Although some young women have parents who provide them with the necessities of life, engaging in such relationships is a simple way of boosting their status in the eyes of their peers.

Within marginalised groups, one comes across the most vulnerable people who are said to constitute the ‘chronic poor’ because they are unable to obtain the basic capabilities that are considered necessary to ensuring one’s well-being. Women are known to have less than men when we compare the amount of wealth, land and property between the two, but they are heavily burdened when it comes to matters such as working in the economy of ‘care’. This means that they have to ensure the survival of people in different age groups, which is often forces them to pursue relationships with older and wealthier men. The majority of women who find themselves in these relationships find it difficult to negotiate safer sexual practices, because they fear that if they speak up the men will no longer provide for them, regardless of the fact that they might be at risk of contracting HIV/AIDS and/or spreading it to their other partners.

There is an urgent need to identify the risk perception of young women in intergenerational relationships. This can be achieved by older peers playing a role in encouraging, mentoring and supporting young women on how to successfully resist getting involved with such relationships. Campaigns such as ZAZI address issues
relating to intergenerational relationships by implementing communication for social change. This is a dialogical process in which people from both public and private spheres define who they are, what they need and how to get what they need in order to improve their own lives. HIV/AIDS awareness campaigns have made large investments in protecting and educating students in universities about the disease as they are the ones who frequently engage in intergenerational relationships by providing free condoms, educative materials on HIV/AIDS, counselling and free testing, because students are not prohibited from interacting with each other or older men sexually or otherwise. It is therefore better to provide them with the means to protect themselves sexually, as opposed to being ignorant to the fact that they are partaking in numerous forms of sexual relations.
CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the methodological issues that are relevant to this study which, with reference to the ZAZI Campaign, enquire into how selected men in intergenerational relationships view sexual relationships. A brief description of the selected campaign will be provided in order to contextualise the selection of a qualitative methodological orientation. Methods and issues pertaining to the data gathering and analysis will be discussed. In addition, key ethical issues of relevance will be discussed. This study focuses on men’s views concerning intergenerational relationships as well as the “sugar daddy” phenomenon, as men have not been interviewed in scholarly articles about their relationship with younger women. Most importantly, they have not been asked about their thoughts on the communication practices of the campaigns or advertisements that warn younger women to stay away from older men, because they pose a health risk to them.

4.2 METHODOLOGICAL ORIENTATION

Qualitative research methodology will be used for this study since it is an inquiry process that seeks to enhance how the research topic is understood. According to Denzin and Lincoln (2011: 30); Ivankora, Creswell and Clark (2010: 259) a researcher reports detailed views of informants and conducts the study in a natural setting (ibid.) using methods such as interviews, case studies, politics and ethics, participatory inquiry, interpretive analysis, focus groups, narratives and ethnography (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011: 3; Keyton 2010: 269). Quantitative research methodology was not selected for this study simply because it requires a larger sample which is representative of the entire population being researched. This would have been difficult to obtain as most men are not comfortable with revealing matters of their private lives to strangers. Quantitative research is usually conducted by mail, surveys, telephonically or even through the Internet as it is conducted on a larger scale (Seller, 1998: 2). According to Glesne (2006: 4), the data is then reduced to quantifiable bits of information, which are analysed statistically in order to make generalisations from the group that is being studied.
For communication scholars, qualitative research has the advantage of giving insights into how people interpret and construct communication experiences (Du Plooy, 2002: 29). Denzin and Lincoln (2011: 3) state that qualitative research is a field of inquiry in its own right as it crosscuts disciplines, fields and subject matter. A complex, interconnected family of terms, concepts and assumptions surrounds qualitative research (ibid.). According to Denzin and Lincoln (2011: 3), these reveal aspects of traditions associated with foundationalism, positivism, post-foundationalism, post-positivism, post-structuralism, postmodernism, post-humanism; and the many qualitative research perspectives and methods connected to cultural and interpretive studies.

Qualitative researchers seek to understand and deduce how the various partakers in a social setting create the world around them (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011: 3; Glesne, 2006: 4-5). According to Glesne (2006: 4-5), in order to do this, the researchers must gain access to the numerous perspectives of the participants through methods such as in-depth, long-term interactions with the relevant people in one or several sites. Qualitative researchers often look for patterns in their study, but they do not try to reduce the multiple interpretations to a norm (ibid.). Glesne (2006: 4-5) adds that final write-ups are descriptive in nature with only minor use of numerical indices. Lindlof and Taylor (2002: 18) state that qualitative researchers seek to preserve and analyse the situated form, content and experience of social action, rather than subject it to mathematical or other formal transformations, actual talk and gestures just to mention a few, which are the raw materials of analysis (ibid.).

### 4.3 DATA GATHERING

Data gathering, according to the Responsible Conduct in Data Management (2005: n.p.), is the process of collecting and measuring information on variables of interest in a manner that enables one to answer stated research questions, test hypotheses and evaluate outcomes. With regard to research, data gathering is common to all fields of study and while methods vary by discipline, the emphasis on ensuring accurate and honest collection remains the same (ibid.). The participants will be identified through snowball sampling and the data will be interpreted using a thematic analysis with the answers acquired from the transcribed in-depth interviews (Responsible Conduct in Data Management, 2005: n.p.).
A qualitative design is appropriate when one intends on examining the properties, values, needs or characteristics that distinguish individuals, groups, communities, organisations, events, settings or messages (Du Plooy, 2002: 83). The method of reasoning is usually inductive; meaning that, based on specific assumptions, one would start with observations and end with descriptions of what was observed or continue to formulate a theory that explains what was observed (ibid.). Du Plooy (2002: 83) states that the methods and techniques that can be used to collect data include participant observation and surveys, as well as open-ended questions in questionnaires or in interview schedules. According to Buddenbaum and Novak (2001: 12), inductive research begins with observation; those observations become the raw materials for developing propositions that in time may be combined to create theories, which are then subject to further testing. Whether theory should come before or after observation is subject to endless debate (ibid.).

4.3.1 Data gathering instrument

Interviews are the most common method used for collecting data in qualitative research (Frels & Onwuegbuzie, 2013: 88). An interview is a method of collecting data in which quantitative or qualitative questions can be asked. Quantitative questions are closed-ended, whereas qualitative questions are open-ended where participant’s respond using their own words. Furthermore, interviews are the most frequently used method of data collection in qualitative research and their popularity is related to it being perceived as ‘talking’ and ‘responding’ in a natural manner (Doody & Noonan, 2013: 28).

Furthermore, in qualitative research, Doody and Noonan (2013: 28); Lindlof and Taylor (2002: 173) postulate that interviews are practically well-suited to understand the social actor’s experience and perspectives. Researchers usually select participants for interviews only if their experience is central to the research problem in some way (ibid.). They may be recruited for their expertise in a skill or discipline, or because their role in the scene or in critical events created a unique body of knowledge (Doody & Noonan, 2013: 28; Lindlof & Taylor, 2002: 173). This study will conduct in-depth interviews in which men who are currently involved in intergenerational relationships will be asked four open-ended questions, with four possible follow-up questions of which the responses will be recorded with a Samsung and I Phone mobile device.
4.3.2 In-depth interviews

In-depth interviewing, according to Boyce and Neale (2006: 3), is a qualitative research technique that involves conducting intensive individual interviews with a small number of participants to explore their individual perspectives on a particular idea, programme or situation. In-depth interviews are useful when you require detailed information about a person’s thoughts and behaviours or want to explore new issues on an in-depth level (ibid.). Boyce and Neale (2006: 3) state that interviews are often used to provide context to other data (such as outcome data), offering a more complete picture of what happened in the programme and why. These interviews should be used instead of focus groups if the potential participants may not be included or comfortable to talk openly in a group, or when you want to distinguish individual (as opposed to group) opinions about the programme (ibid.). They are often used to refine questions for future surveys of a particular group (Boyce & Neale, 2006: 3).

The primary advantage of in-depth interviews, as mentioned by Boyce and Neale (2006: 3), is that they provide much more detailed information than what is available through other data collection methods, such as surveys. They may also provide a more relaxed atmosphere in which to collect information; people may feel more comfortable having a conversation with you about their programme as opposed to filling out a survey (ibid.). However, Boyce and Neale (2006: 3) further elaborate that there are a few limitations and pitfalls in the sense that interviews can be a time-intensive evaluation activity because of the time it takes to conduct and transcribe them as well as analysing the results.

In addition to the above mentioned, Boyce and Neale (2006: 4) state that the interviewer must be appropriately trained in interviewing techniques, which means that the interviewer must make the participant comfortable and appear interested in what they are saying. They must also avoid the use of questions that lead to ‘yes/no’ replies, which means that follow up questions should be formulated in order to encourage participants to elaborate on their responses. The interviewer should also use appropriate body language and keep their personal opinions in check (ibid.). Lastly, Boyce and Neale (2006: 4) mention that when in-depth interviews are being conducted, generalisations about the results are usually not able to be made because small samples are chosen and random sampling methods are not used. However, in-
depth interviews provide valuable information for programmes, particularly when supplementing other methods of data collection (ibid.). It should be noted that the general rule on sample size for interviews is that when the same stories, themes, issues and topics are emerging from the interviewees, then a sufficient sample size has been reached (Boyce & Neale, 2006: 4).

4.3.3 Semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviewing is an umbrella term that is used to describe a range of different forms of interviewing, as noted by Mason (2004: n.p), that are more commonly associated with qualitative research. Semi-structured interviews are known for possessing a flexible and fluid structure which is usually organised around an interview schedule (ibid.). Mason (2004: n.p) mentions that the interview schedule contains topics, themes or areas to be covered during the course of the interview, rather than a sequenced script of standardised questions. The aim is to ensure that there is flexibility in the manner in which the questions are asked, as well as in how particular areas might be followed up and developed with different interviewees (ibid.). According to Key (1997: n.p), semi-structured interviews are flexible in such a manner that the interviewee is given a license to speak freely if a certain topic arises – as the open-ended questions enable him/her to do so. They are carefully designed to elicit the interviewee’s ideas and opinions on the topic of interest, as opposed to leading the interviewee toward preconceived choices (ibid.). In some instances, as Key (1997: n.p) mentions, the information is obtained in such a casual manner that the respondents are not aware that they are being interviewed. Semi-structured interviews rely on the interviewer following up with probes to get in-depth information on topics of interest (ibid.).

Key (1997: n.p) states that the advantages of semi-structured interviews are that one can penetrate behind initial answers, follow up unexpected clues, redirect the inquiry into more fruitful channels, and they are very helpful in the exploratory stage of research. On the other hand, Key (1997: n.p) goes on to say that the disadvantages are that it is difficult to quantify the accumulated qualitative data, one usually cannot make generalisations that are universally applicable because of the non-uniform tactics employed and semi-structured interviews are not ordinarily employed when testing and verifying hypotheses (ibid.).
4.3.4 Interview schedule

An interview, according to Du Plooy (2002: 175), is a transitory relationship between an interviewer and an interviewee. It is transitory in terms of its duration and the question-and-answer type of conversational exchange (ibid.). The responses to interviews are recorded by the interviewer ticking off a checklist, making notes and/or using audio or videotape (Du Plooy, 2002: 175). An interview schedule or interview guide used during telephone or personal interviews contains both open-ended and closed-ended items (ibid.).

Open-ended questions will be employed in this study to which the participants will get a chance to elaborate on their answers. This can result in new information being brought forward that can lead to new themes in the study or a new area of concern may arise which can also be investigated and added to the study. According to the Sociological Research Skills (2013: 1), open-ended questions enable the researcher to build a relationship with the interviewee and the interview thus becomes a conversation. As a result of this, the interviewer may ask questions when he or she feels it is appropriate to ask them; these questions may either be prepared or they may be questions that occur to the researcher during the interview (ibid.). The way in which these questions are asked may not necessarily be the same for all respondents (Sociological Research Skills, 2013: 1).

4.4 POPULATION AND SAMPLING

According to Castillo (2009: 1) and Du Plooy (2002: 29), sampling involves following a rigorous procedure when selecting units of analysis from a larger population. The term 'population' not only refers to people, but can also be defined as any group or aggregate of individuals, groups, organisations, social artefacts/objects or social interactions and events (Castillo, 2009: 1; Du Plooy, 2002: 29). In order to collect accurate data about all the members of a population, we could question, analyse or investigate every member, this is referred to as a census (ibid.). However, Castillo (2009: 1) and Du Plooy (2002: 29) state that due to constraints such as time, costs and geographic distances, a census in communication research is usually impractical. In qualitative research, a sample of the population must be drawn in such a way that it is representative of that population (ibid.). According to Oulte (2011: 2), the
advantages of sampling are that it takes less time to collect, manage and organise data, it is inexpensive and more accurate data is collected because of its limited size.

The study will involve as many interviews as required for data saturation or at least the sample size used in the Gbalajobi (2010) study which was comprised of ten young women who are undergraduate and postgraduate students at the University of the Witwatersrand. The reason for mimicking this sample size is based on the fact that the two studies are similar in nature as the (Gbalajobi, 2010) study explores how female students at the University of Witwatersrand construct sexual identities in relationships with sugar daddies, whereas this study focuses on the perspectives of the ten male participants who are currently involved in intergenerational relationships, with female students who are studying at the University of Johannesburg at the Kingsway campus, and who are assumed to be less than ten years younger than their older male partners.

The following researchers; Thompson (2012: 2), Babbie (2011: 206) and Seale (2004: 173) concur that sampling is generally known to be distinguished from observational studies, in which one has hardly any control over how the observations on the population are or were obtained. In sampling, the researcher has the opportunity to deliberately select the sample, which means that he/she can avoid many of the factors that result in data being observed by coincidence, convenience or other uncontrolled means that are unreliable (ibid.).

Drawing a non-probability sample, according to Du Plooy (2002: 113), means that every unit in the population does not have an equal and therefore probable chance of being selected as part of the sample, implying that the sample will not necessarily have the same factors as the population (Du Plooy, 2002: 113). In most cases, the researcher predicts or controls the choice of the unit analysis (ibid.). If every possible combination of units cannot be drawn from the sampling frame, thus creating a sampling bias; and if the sample is not representative of the target population resulting in no external validity, then one will not be able to compile a sampling frame (ibid.).

For the purpose of this study, the sampling method that will be used – derived from non-probability sampling – will be snowball sampling, in which the subjects will be identified with the help of the female students who are easily accessible. Some female students who are in intergenerational relationships with older men are known to the researcher and they have indicated a willingness to act as participants in this planned
study as they currently attend lectures at the University of Johannesburg and are currently involved with these older men.

Snowball sampling can be described as the process in which a researcher identifies the ideal participant for their study; in turn, that participant refers the researcher to other individuals who might also be of interest and/or who fit the criteria for the study (Handcock & Gile, 2011: 3; Noy, 2008: 330; Lindlof & Taylor, 2002: 124; Buddenbaum & Novak, 2001: 74; Frank & Snijders, 1994: 53).

Lindlof and Taylor (2002: 124) state that several situations commend the use of this method. Snowball sampling may be the only way to reach an elusive population such as illegal drug users; and it may also be used to engage people about a sensitive subject. It is also a method well-suited to studying social networks, subcultures or dispersed groups of people who share certain practices or attributes (ibid.). The sample begins when the researcher locates a participant who is willing to serve the dual role of interviewee and guide them to potential new interviewees (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002: 125). This person recruits people from the community or his or her circle of acquaintances who fit the criteria for the study sample. According to Lindlof and Taylor (2002: 125), contrary to popular belief, snowball samples do not always lead to satisfactory results. Locating members of low social visibility in a population and training them as ‘research assistants’ in the recruitment of other respondents can be time-consuming and uncertain work. It is not uncommon for the snowball to hit a dead end or to ‘melt’ prematurely. Researchers also need to monitor the sampling process in a disciplined manner.

4.5 UNIT OF ANALYSIS

During data analysis, Lindlof and Taylor (2002: 211) state that the qualitative researcher will aim to make progress with data management, data reduction and conceptual development. Gaining some control over data that tend to grow rapidly is the goal of data management. Without tools for categorising, sorting and retrieving data, the job of finding one’s way around these materials would be a forbidding prospect indeed (ibid.).

A thematic analysis, according to Boyatzis (1998:4), is a process for encoding qualitative information. The coding requires an explicit ‘code’. This may be a list of
themes – a complex model with themes, indicators and qualifications that are causally related – or something in-between these two forms (ibid.). A theme is a pattern found in the information that at the maximum interprets aspects of the phenomenon (Boyatzis, 1998: 4).

A theme, Boyatzis (1998: 4) notes, may be identified at the manifest level (directly observable in the information) or at the latent level (underlying the phenomenon). The themes may be initially generated inductively from the raw information or generated deductively from theory and prior research (ibid.). The compilation or integration of a number of codes in a study is often called a codebook (Boyatzis, 1998: 4). The four stages in developing the ability to use thematic analysis are, according to Boyatzis, 1998: 11), sensing themes (recognising the codable moment), doing it reliably (recognising the codable moment and encoding it consistently), developing codes, and lastly, interpreting the information and themes in the context of a theory or conceptual framework (contributing to the development of knowledge) (ibid.).

Thematic analysis can be used with thought samples from projective tests, life histories or open-ended essays (Boyatzis, 1998: 11). Boyatzis (1998: 12) concludes by mentioning that thought samples can also be drawn from behaviour samples from interviews, videotaped encounters, and simulations, transcripts of speeches, memos, personal letters, or personal diaries. These can also extend to interactions from videotapes, audiotapes or transcripts of conversations; as well as historical documents, such as songs, literature, folktales, hymns, children’s readers, art, films, memos and personal letters (ibid.).

4.6 RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY

One of the key terms to take into account when designing a good empirical study is validity and reliability in a study (Davies & Mosdell, 2006: 23-24). Reliability ensures that results will be reproducible. Validity offers assurance that the findings are real and not the result of some artefact in the way the study was conducted. Internal validity addresses whether the findings really answer a study’s research question or test its hypotheses (Buddenbaum & Novak, 2001: 31). According to Struwig and Stead (2001: 18), validity in quantitative research included the application of statistics to questionnaire construction and the use of statistical hypothesis testing (ibid.). External validity can be defined as; when a study is externally valid, one can apply its findings
to other similar people in similar texts and situations, who did not take part in the study (Merrington, 2009: 90; Davies & Mosdell, 2006: 25; Du Plooy, 2002: 85; Buddenbaum & Novak, 2001: 31).

Leedy and Ormrod (2010: 92) state that validity takes different forms, such as; face validity, construct validity, criterion validity and construct validity. The reliability of a measurement instrument is the extent to which the instrument yields consistent results when the characteristic being measured has not changed (ibid.). Leedy and Ormrod (2010: 93) also mention that reliability takes on different forms which include; interrater reliability, internal consistency reliability, equivalent forms reliability and test-retest reliability (ibid.). As a qualitative study, this proposed study is more likely to reflect internal validity.

The following researchers; Merrington (2009: 90), Davies and Mosdell (2006: 26), and Du Plooy (2002: 84), state that the internal validity factors that may affect the outcome of the hypotheses to be tested or the research questions to be answered. According to Du Plooy (2002: 85), factors that threaten the validity of a research design are influences by the time-dimension, which can either be cross-sectional or longitudinal.

Buddenbaum and Novak (2001: 32) state that the threats to internal validity include: history (events that occur during the study that may affect the results of the study), maturation (changes in subjects’ biological and/or psychological characteristics during the course of the study that may affect the results), testing (effects occurring when the same or similar measures are used two or more times with subjects during the course of the study), instrumentation (the use of different measures and/or changes in the measuring ‘instrument’ during the course of the study), statistical regression (the tendency for individuals who receive very high or very low scores on a test to score closer to, or regress toward, the mean on a subsequent test), selection (effects caused by the way subjects are chosen to participate in a study and/or the way they are assigned to treatment groups) and morality (effects attributable to subjects who drop out of a study before it is completed) (Buddenbaum & Novak, 2001: 32).

To this end and in order to achieve internal validity, the participants would be required to have similar responses during the interviews regarding their thoughts on behaviour change campaigns and their relationships with younger women. A pilot study has been conducted prior to the main interviews, as a pilot study, as defined by Altman, Burton,
Cuthill, Festing, Hutton and Playle (2006: 1), is a small experiment designed to gather information prior to a larger study in order to improve the latter’s quality and efficiency. A pilot study reveals any deficiencies in the design of a proposed experiment or data collection procedure, enabling them to then be addressed before time and resources are wasted in the intended empirical study studies (Altman et al., 2006: 1).

4.7 ETHICAL CONCERNS

There are numerous factors that have to be taken into consideration when conducting research; for example, bringing no harm to the participants, informing participants about the nature of the research, indicating the limitations of your findings and the methodological constraints that determine the validity of such findings in the conclusion, making sure that you do not change the data or observations in any way and lastly, the researcher should be prepared to disclose their methodology and techniques of analysis (Babbie & Mouton, 2007: 522-526).

4.7.1 Informed consent

Lindlof and Taylor (2002: 92) state that the procedure for interacting with potential subjects is at least as important as the content of the informed consent. Only those persons who give their consent verbally and in writing should be allowed to participate (ibid.). The researcher should make use of simple terminology in the consent form that the lay person can easily understand. Potential subjects should be allowed to ask questions about the research and their role in it, and have these questions answered to their satisfaction (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002: 92). Recording conversations before the consent is given violates the spirit and policy of consent. There are also good practical reasons for having an early consent briefing (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002: 92; Buddenbaum & Novak, 2001: 24-25).

Prior to the interview, a private and quiet location will be chosen such as an empty classroom, so that the interviewees can watch the video clip of the selected advertisement of the ZAZI Campaign in silence, in order for them to answer the questions during the interview without any disturbance. This will ensure that there will not be any interferences during the recording of the interview. According to Bell (2010: 160) and the College Research Ethics Committee (2002: 1), a consent form, which is a form given to the participant in order to obtain permission from them to participate in your study, states the nature of the study and provides the participants with an option
to remain anonymous (ibid.). This will be issued to the interviewees before the interview commences in order to obtain permission to record and transcribe their interviews. Participants can opt out if they feel uncomfortable with being a part of the study, and the consent form will not include any of the participant’s personal details so that they can feel more at ease when signing the form (Bell, 2010: 160; College Research Ethics Committee, 2002: 1). In order to gain the permission of the men in the intergenerational relationships, the female students will be asked to speak to their partners and explain the nature of the study to them before the interviews can take place.

The limitations in this study could include the male participants not being comfortable answering the questions, as some of them are of a sensitive nature, the female students might be hesitant with asking their older male partners to participate in the study as it can be seen as an invasion of their privacy, and lastly, the male participants may choose not to disclose full details of their relationships, based on the questions asked, as they might fear that the interviewer might judge them.

4.8 CONCLUSION

The qualitative research method will be used for this study. It is an inquiry process that seeks to enhance how the research topic is understood. The study will be conducted in a natural setting, in which the data will be collected through interviews. The data is then reduced to assessable bits of data, which are analysed statistically in order to make generalisations from the sample being study. During the data analysis, the qualitative researcher aims to make progress with data organisation, reducing the data and conceptual development by using a list of themes. A theme is a pattern found in the data that at the maximum interprets characteristics of the phenomenon. The themes may be initially produced inductively from the raw information or generated deductively from theory and previous research. An interview is a system of gathering data in which quantitative or qualitative questions can be asked. This study will conduct semi-structured in-depth interviews in which men who are currently involved in intergenerational relationships will be asked four open-ended questions with four possible follow-up questions from the interview schedule. The responses will be recorded with a Samsung and an I Phone mobile device. In-depth interviews are
beneficial when you seek comprehensive information about a person’s thoughts and mannerisms or when you want to explore new issues in depth.

Sampling involves following a rigorous procedure when selecting units of analysis from a larger population. Mimicking the Gbalajobi (2010) study, the selected sample for this study will therefore be ten men who are currently involved in intergenerational relationships with female students who are studying at the University of Johannesburg and who are assumed to be more than ten years younger than their male partners. For the purpose of this study, the sampling method that is— derived from non-probability sampling – will be snowball sampling, in which the subjects will be identified with the help of the female students who are easily accessible.

Snowball sampling can be described as the process in which a researcher identifies the ideal participant for their study, and in turn that participant refers the researcher to other individuals who might also be of interest and/or who fit the criteria for the study.

One of the key terms to take into account when designing a good empirical study is validity. Reliability ensures that results will be reproducible, whereas validity offers assurance that the findings are real and not the result of some artefact in the way the study was conducted. Internal validity addresses the question of whether the findings really answer a study’s research question or test its hypotheses. In order to achieve internal validity, the participants would have to have similar responses during interviews regarding their thoughts on behaviour change campaigns and their relationships with younger women. A pilot study will be conducted prior to the main interviews, as a pilot study is a trial designed to collect data prior to conducting a larger study in order with the intention of improving the latter’s quality and efficiency.

Numerous factors have to be taken into consideration when conducting research. These include acquiring a private and quiet location so that the interviewees can watch the ZAZI advertisement without any disturbance, issuing a consent form stating the purpose of the study which also provides the interviewees with an opportunity to remain anonymous, and, finally, distributing a consent form requesting the permission of participants to record and transcribe their interviews. Participants can opt out if they feel uncomfortable being a part of the study, and the consent form will not include any of the participant’s personal details so that they can feel more at
ease when signing the form. In order to gain the permission of the men in the intergenerational relationships, the female students will be asked to speak to their partners and explain the nature of the study to them before the interviews can take place. The limitations in this study could include the male participants not being comfortable answering the questions, the female students might be hesitant with asking their older male partners to participate in the study, and lastly, the male participants may choose not to disclose full details of their relationships as they might feel slightly ashamed or embarrassed.
CHAPTER FIVE: DATA REDUCTION AND THEMES

5.1 INTRODUCTION

For the purpose of this study, ten participants were chosen to participate in the in-depth and semi-structured interviews. A pilot study was conducted, which took place in the surrounding areas of the University of Johannesburg. In order to effectively organise the data, a thematic analysis was used. According to Boyatzis (1998: 11), in order to make use of thematic analysis one has to follow four steps; firstly, raw material has to be gathered from the interviews, in which the responses will be grouped according to their similarities or differences; secondly, the researcher has to identify the themes in the study according to what he/she has gathered from the raw materials. Interpreting the themes is the third step, followed by analysing the pre-existing literature and the findings from the themes, in order to develop a new theory. The first step of thematic analysis is data reduction. In this section, the study will be reducing the data according to how the participant’s responded similarly to the questions that were asked during the interviews.

5.2 DATA REDUCTION

The aim of the interviews was to find out how selected men in intergenerational relationships perceive messaging on intergenerational sexual relationships, with reference to the selected advertisement from the ZAZI Campaign. Within this section, the responses from the participants will be reduced or summarised with particular attention to similarities, differences and odd findings, said by participants. The findings from these responses will then be grouped in four different themes which will be discussed in the analysis section.

5.2.1 Interview question 1

In response to the question: *In most of the African cultures it is acceptable for an older man to be in a relationship with a younger woman, yet most people would refer to men in such relationships as ‘sugar daddies’. What are your thoughts on this matter?* It has been noted that some of the participants agree that the term “sugar daddies” is a Westernised concept that recently surfaced in Africa to confuse black people into believing that they are sugar daddies therefore this practice is unacceptable. Three of the participants (two, four, five and seven) responded to this question by stating that intergenerational relationships are common amongst African cultures:
I think that people are too Western these days so in our culture, if you look at our history as African people we would even choose a wife before that person is even old enough to be a wife, so we would choose a child while they are still 6 years old or whatever, based on the family background and the values that that family has, so it is nothing taboo for us. It is just Western concepts that are being transferred and they are trying to confuse our people, we are not sugar daddies (Participant Five).

Well that has been the norm. the term ‘sugar daddies’ is really recent, it’s a recent term and it’s not like a term that has been there for 50 years, it’s like been around for like 15 years or so, but right now the term ‘sugar daddies’ is used for those type of men of take advantage of younger women by luring them with money and material things. (Participant Seven).

Well that’s true, honestly speaking, looking at the culture, normally our old people used to get married to young girls so that they can get financial freedom and all that, and as the way of their civilization to show strength as the father, so they did date older men like we see from our parents mostly, you find that they were way younger, look at Madiba (Nelson Mandela) for instance, he was 20 years older than Whinney (Whinney Mandela) so that is true but is this because more older guys are advanced, financially advanced and they can provide protection so normally it is like that, culturally (Participant Two).

In my culture those people are not referred to as sugar daddies, it’s totally acceptable to date a younger woman because these women now a days they grow faster so it’s totally acceptable in Zulu culture, they must be 5-10 years younger than the man (Participant Four).

Participant Eight mentions below that one of the reasons why intergenerational relationships are acceptable could be a result of the women aging faster men:

My thoughts on this matter is that it is acceptable, the reason behind that is because old people think that women get older faster than men so that’s the reason why it is acceptable (Participant Eight).

The other common response to the question: Is it acceptable for older men to be in relationships with younger women? Found that three interviewees (Three, Six and Eleven) stated that intergenerational relationships are acceptable depending on the age gap of the parties involved. The quotes below indicate that the participants thought there should be a specific age gap which would constitute the relationship as being acceptable, due to the fact that if the woman is too young then the man could be seen as taking advantage of an immature mind which is unhealthy:

There must be a specific age difference, we don’t expect an 18 year old to be dating a 30 year old, remember those two have different understandings of the world. So now if you see that a 17 year old is dating a 45 year old man, that’s not acceptable according to my understanding,
but then if an older guy is dating a younger female, there is, according to African cultures, a specific age difference so it’s acceptable… (Participant Three).

It depends on the age group, remember if the age is too huge then it is problematic as such, that’s number one… It also depends on the stage of the young female, if she is below 18 then an age gap of more than 10 years is not healthy, but if she is above the age of 25 then an age gap of more than 10 years is good, it is healthy, and then if she is above 30 then an age gap of 15 is not an issue. I think it’s a question of not taking advantage of an immature mind so to speak… (Participant Six).

My definition on young and old will probably have something to do with the level of maturity, so I feel if there are people involved then it depends on a certain level of maturity that is in a way complimentary and then it shouldn’t be a problem…if I had an 18 year old then that could work but if don’t think it would work if… if feel like the age difference is more involved if the people are older. Like if the age difference was 10-15 and the guy was 50 and the lady is 35 then that could work, but now if you are 25 and she is 15 then that wouldn’t work… (Participant Eleven).

5.2.1.1 Interview question 1.1

When the participants were asked: How would you define a sugar daddy? Three of the participants (One, Nine and Eleven) stated in the quotes below that being a sugar daddy means that you are an older man in a beneficial relationship with your partner that is not based on love:

...a sugar daddy is someone that is in a relationship with a younger person, with the purpose of sort of, the aim is to benefit each other, whereas the woman benefits financially from the relationship. So if there is no financial benefit I would not say that the person is a sugar daddy (Participant One).

A sugar daddy is someone that is older than you and it’s not about love when you met, it’s about what he has that you want (Participant Nine).

I think a sugar daddy, in my books, is when the relationship is based mostly on something to gain, either the love is dead, where the two parties involved have something to gain, where the lady has to gain financial security and all of that, and then the guy has something to gain that power from lacking something, maybe so say that he is not receiving enough attention at home or not being able to settle down during the stages of maturing (Participant Eleven).

Participants Two, Four and Eight have mentioned in the comments below that in order to be a sugar daddy, one has to be an older man who has a lot of money that can be used to support the woman/women with whom they are in a relationship with:
A sugar daddy well obviously, you can’t be a sugar daddy and be broke so a sugar daddy has to a guy that is older, way older but has money as well...Well we can say roughly more than 10-15 years or even maybe less than that, but a sugar daddy has to be old enough so that you can see that he is able to adopt that girl or something like that, and obviously that guy must have money. You must be financially well off, you must have resources because as the sugar daddy you must be able to take care of the younger girl that you are dating, so that’s a sugar daddy (Participant Two).

A sugar daddy, there in my culture there is no sugar daddy but here in Jozi (Johannesburg) you can define a sugar daddy as a person, as a man that is older his girlfriend, he has money, has resources, drives a nice car (Participant Four).

According to me a sugar daddy is an older person that this dating a younger person, but the main reason for the relationship is because of the handing out of cash, and usually the cash is from the older person (Participant Eight).

The other four participants (Three, Six, Seven and Ten) responded to this question by stating in the quotes below that a sugar daddy is an older man who abuses his power as a wealthy man by using his resources to lure younger women in order to take advantage of them because he knows that he can provide them with the material things that they desire in exchange for their sexual services:

A sugar daddy can be someone who is like a 45 year old dating an 18 year old, that’s definitely a sugar daddy. So you understand there is the adolescent stage, there is 35 going up where people say if you are 35 and going up, that’s when life starts, so you can’t be dating a lady which is still in the adolescent stage while you are in the 35 and above category. So a sugar daddy is that kind of a person who happens to take advantage of younger girls (Participant Three).

…a sugar daddy is someone that flaunts their money in order to entice a woman to get into a relationship with her and uses the money as a main attraction, and as a means to owning and sustaining the relationship (Participant Six).

A sugar daddy is someone that uses material things to lure young women to sleep with them or to be in a relationship with them, so for me that’s the most correct definition that I have for a sugar daddy (Participant Seven).

A sugar daddy is someone who takes advantage of what they can do for the other person in order to have a relationship with them...Let’s say for instance there was some young lady that was poor and she was in need of money and these days there is so much technology and gadgets, that when you have friends that are rich or come from rich families, you feel pressure and the need to have an I Phone and a tablet and this and that, and that’s why most young girls get into relationships with older men or people who can maintain them you
see, so men take that advantage and say: you know what? I can do this for her because she wants money, I can get into her pants (Participant Ten).

5.2.2 Interview question 2

With regard to the question: What is more attractive about being in a relationship with a younger woman as opposed to one with a woman closer to your age? four of the participants (Two, Three, Seven and Ten) stated in the quotes below that being in a relationship with a younger woman is more attractive than one closer to their age group because the younger women are easier to control and they will not challenge your decisions, and at the end of the day these men just want to have fun with these younger women (Participant Four):

Well obviously it’s because with younger girls it’s easier in a sense to deceive them, because when I am older it means that I am more mature and all the stuff, but apart from that they can be easier to handle, for instance you might find that younger girls are not as complicated as old people, like the teenagers, they probably won’t be talking about marriage and all that, all they want is just to have fun and that’s what we’re probably looking for as well. So hence we would probably go for a younger girl than people of your age, who will start talking about marriage, so younger girls are more nicer and more chilled, it’s all about fun (Participant Two).

...you know when you are a guy you want to be in control so that’s some kind of bullying, you want to be in a relationship whereby you set goals, you don’t want to be challenged so you opted to go for younger girls because whatever you say it will happen, so you are in control...Remember that if you are a guy you would want to be in control, if you are in control you have to take care of her, so the moment you start to date someone in your age group you have to pop up cash, but a younger girl, even if you don’t spend much it’s still fine (Participant Three).

I think that a woman more or less closer to your age is there to challenge you, and then when you get into a relationship with a younger woman you feels as though you are imparting some kind of knowledge and you’re dominant, you’re the dominant figure and in a way they are scared of you more than someone who is closer to your age. Someone closer to your age is confrontational in an argument whereas someone younger than you won’t be confrontational in an argument, expect for when they feel that this is the end of it (Participant Seven).

I believe that when you are with someone younger you also feel young, so there are people who don’t want to be with people their own age because they feel challenged you see, so they feel as if they are more in control when they are with a younger person (Participant Ten).

Four of the other participants (Five, Six, Eight and Eleven) stated below; that they prefer being in relationships with younger women because they are more physically
tighter, in the sense that they believe that these women have not slept around as much as older women and therefore there vaginas are still desirable. These participants also stated that younger women are fresher than older woman, because women age faster than men, therefore in terms of their appearance they know how to maintain themselves and have not yet been damaged physically or emotionally:

A woman that is closer to my age is obviously the best in terms of a wife and companionship and all of that, but when it comes to issues of the centre (vagina), a younger woman is tighter etc. etc. (Participant Five).

...as a human being before you make a decision it's the way that you grow up, surely you have a way of doing things in life, it shapes your thoughts, it shapes your options...so for some men it would be like: oh I love the fresh skin, most men it's like that actually. In fact 90% of the men they, as a man it's human nature that you get attracted to the fresh skin, but then it depends on your character...it's more of a green field when you date someone who is younger, she still has a beautiful outlook of life, she has not been that destroyed or damaged so it's up to you whether you want to treat her like gold and make the most out of it, or maybe it's because you want to take advantage of that, her innocence, but it's quite refreshing, it's safer... (Participant Six).

Younger women are fresh and in most cases where an older man is dating a younger woman he is the one in charge of everything and the younger women don't have much to say... They have fresh pussies (vaginas), not so many guys have went through them, their pussies are fresh and there will be more interest in them (Participant Eight).

...I feel that a relationship with a younger women is more attractive and it's probably because of the whole set up I was raised in. We have this mentality that women tend to mature way faster than guys, we are trying to avoid a situation where when you fall in love with that person and you stay with them for years then they quickly overtake you, and that also applies to how their body matures as they grow up, they tend to age quicker than you. So you don’t want now to feel like you’re not attracted to the person anymore because you are seeing that out there in the world there are younger people... (Participant Eleven).
Different views arose when the participants were asked: *Are you pursuing younger women because you have romantic feelings for them or is it solely for pleasure purposes?* Although five of the participants stated that it was for pleasure purposes, the participants provided different reasons as to why they preferred pursuing relationships with younger women. Participant Four stated the following:

> They maintain themselves, they are sexy, they perform, they dance…They wear nice, they know fashion, they are like perfect, so most of us older men get attracted to them because of their niceness. Just imagine an older woman, they don’t care of themselves, they eat too much, they get big bellies, some of them forget to put on makeup, they don’t wear nice, and we like to be merry and go out with beautiful ladies (Participant Four).

Participants Three and Five agreed that they were pursuing younger women because of pleasure purposes due to the fact that they are unable to relate with these women because they are young, therefore they do not share the same views as they are in different stages of their lives:

> I think it’s because you want to have pleasure… Sexual pleasure, because you can’t say that you are dating a younger girl because you see that she can take you somewhere. Remember that that person still has to explore and see what life has in store for her… (Participant Three).

> No I don’t have romantic feelings for children obviously, like I said, I have romantic feelings for someone my age, someone I can talk to, relate to, have decent conversations with, those ones are purely for centre (sex) (Participant Five)

Participants Seven and Eight stated that they are pursuing younger women for pleasure purposes, in the sense that as an older man you want to have the pleasure of teaching the younger woman something new in the bedroom, because older women already have vast sexual experience:

> It was purely based on pleasure purposes because I had to teach her something…Something in the sack, in the bedroom, so that was the attraction more than anything else, not to have a relationship with her because I wouldn’t like to be seen in public with her because it was a mismatch… the age difference and the interest in things, sometimes I felt as though I had to dumb myself down to talk to her, so I just felt like I had to dumb myself down because I think that in some relationships where you’re dating a younger girl, the older person has to sometimes dumb themselves down to their level, of the younger person in the relationship… (Participant Seven).
It’s for pleasure, and sometimes you won’t find that with a woman closer to my age...I find older women boring because they know a lot and I love teaching (Participant Eight).

Six of the other participants also had differing views about the reasons as to why they are pursuing younger women, but the majority of them agreed that they had romantic feelings for them. Participants mentioned the following:

I have pursed a younger woman because of love, yea (Participant One). No it’s romantic feelings (laughs) I didn’t hear the other alternative but it should be romantic feelings (Participant Eleven)

In my case it’s not for pleasure purposes, I’ve out grown seen women as a sex object so even if I wanted to pursue a relationship for pleasure purposes, I’d rather go for someone who is going to challenge me, someone who I won’t feel that I am taking advantage of, so if I go for someone younger it’s more like I’m trying to build something that can be a long term, it’s more of that, but if I want to go for pleasure purposes then I would go for my equivalent, then I know that at least it is someone who has the ability to say ‘no’ and my intentions are short term whether she is extremely qualitative or not, it’s immaterial (Participant Six).

It will be just to feel loved, just to feel a connection because young people love more than older people (Participant Ten).

Participants Two and Nine were the only interviewees who stated that they were pursuing these younger women because they had both romantic and sexual feelings for them. These participants mentioned the following:

Well it goes both ways, at times obviously it could be for pleasure purposes, in fact most of the times it is for pleasure purposes and at times it could be because you are attracted to her for romantic purposes so maybe you want to date that person and be in a serious relationship, but it’s rare, but there are cases or incidences where you date a younger girl because you are so deeply devoted and you really love that person, or you really love that girl, but in most cases I would do it just for pleasure because as I said, it’s just for fun and to chill and be merry and have joy just being with her and with life, so that’s the whole idea (Participant Two).

For both, it has to be for both (Participant Nine).
5.2.3 Interview question 3

In relation to the questions: Are you familiar with the ZAZI Campaign and its advertisements that warn young girls to stay away from older men? What do you think about such advertising? Four of the participants (Two, Four, Eight and Nine) agreed that the efforts made by the ZAZI Campaign to warn young women to stay away from older men is somewhat fruitless, because these young women are free to be in relationships with whomever they please and it is most likely to be with older men because they can provide these women with the things that they need:

Well given the contemporary situation, it’s really rare these days where young girls won’t fall for these old guys, or sugar daddies, remember that we are living in this modern society where people are so materialistic and they are so attracted to material and wealth and finance and all that, because when we have money, power and status you are the big dog, so normally it is rare when you find that girls won’t go for someone that is well established or financially well off. Yes it is true, I saw the video, but it’s not really possible in most cases to avoid that, because young girls they want things and they would definitely go for sugar daddies but morally it is not good because there are those days when you know that with these guys, what they normally do with these young girls, they aren’t normally devoted to one girl or go out with that one girl, they probably do that with all their young girls of which it is more riskier, so they should stay away from it, but what are the chances that will happen? (Participant Two).

Yea that’s a nice advertisement, but younger women they won’t take that advertisement seriously cause all women are attracted to good stuff, they want status, they want money. Once upon a time my lecture told me that the first rule in life is to follow the money, of which, us older men, have the money so obviously they will follow us (Participant Four).

Isn’t it a person’s choice to date whoever they want to date? So I don’t support that advert (Participant Eight).

Well, the advertising is very right but you can’t really control it, you can’t really control anybody, you can advertise it, you can do anything that you want but when that stage comes, whatever that she wants, she’s going to get it. Whether you are going to tell her not to and you’re going to give her all the reasons why she shouldn’t date older men, but if she wants it then she is going to go for it whether you like it or not”. (Participant Nine).

Although some of the participants who have been quoted above have mixed feelings towards the ZAZI advertisement, participant Six has stated that the advertisement is misleading because it gives people the idea that older men pose a higher health risk to young women, but it fails to mention that men in the same age group as these
younger women could also pose a possible threat to them. Participant Six had the following to say:

It’s not wrong, it’s true, but it’s grossly misleading, it gives the impression that it’s prominent and dominant. It’s programming the youngsters, it has got a negative impact which has not been well considered, it gives the impression that it is good for youngsters to get into multiple relationships with people of their age, and that they will only get HIV/AIDS and STD’S from the older generation or from the sugar daddies. Maybe if they phrased it differently to show other painful encounters and experiences that may come out of intergenerational relationships, like being pregnant for someone who’s as old as your father and knowing that your parents will not approve of that then you will be forced to do an abortion. So for me that is not practical right, and not misleading but it gives the real issue, or maybe being exploited because mentally and intellectually you’re not there yet and this guy has been around so he can be problematic and controlling, and psychologically he can exploit you, but there are incidences whereby there will be the transfer of HIV/AIDS, but I feel like it kind of misses the point in a way and it gives the blanket statement that it’s cool for them to be promiscuous with men their age as long as it’s not intergenerational. (Participant Six).

Participant Three agreed that the ZAZI Campaign is a good initiative but he also criticised the campaign by stating that it will not have a major impact on its target market if it is not exposed to people in rural areas, because not all of the people residing in the rural areas have a television set to educate them on health related issues. Participant Three had the following to say:

It’s a good initiative but remember that if you go to places such as Johannesburg, North West, Free State, like if you don’t go deep into the rural areas with those kind of campaigns, I don’t think that it’s serving its purpose in the outskirts, in the peripheral villages because you know sometimes these campaigns we only see them on T.V but then why don’t you take them all over the country so that people can be exposed to such things rather than showing them on T.V only (Participant Three).

One of the participants strongly agree with the message in the ZAZI advertisement because they believe that young women should pursue relationships with men their own age, and also that this type of awareness needs to be raised so that young women can know that they are being targeted because older men believe that they are not carriers of well-known illnesses such as HIV/AIDS. Participant Ten mentioned the following:
Well I think it’s good cause most situations where young women get into relationships with older guys are many and that’s how they end up getting sick cause older men believe that just because the woman is young means that she hasn’t been around so they definitely don’t have any illnesses so they take that risk (Participant Ten).

5.2.3.1 Interview question 3.1

The majority of the participants (One, Two, Three, Four and Seven) showed that they agree that older men pose a higher health risk to young women, when they were asked: *Do you agree that older men pose higher health risks for young girls as opposed to men their own age?* The reason for this is that most of these men engage in multiple relationships with other women, whereas men who are in the same age group as the younger women have not had as much sexual partners. With regard to the above question, the participants had the following to say during the interviews:

...sugar daddies pose or present that higher risk for women, because these sugar daddies, see I’m trying to avoid saying older men, let’s call them sugar daddies, they are very sexually active in that they use young girls for sexual pleasure in return for financial assistance, and obviously at times they might be irresponsible with them when engaging in sexual intercourse and not using a condom and so on… (Participant One).

Yes that is true, because given the fact that now you see that I am financially well off, I am old enough, I have lived, I have had interactions with a lot of people, then in that case I have been exposed to a lot of people, probably I’ve slept with a lot of people compared to guys their own age, so they are more susceptible to those illnesses, and because I have wealth and finances it means that I can have anyone that I want and at any time, so it’s easier for me because I’m older and I’m in the position where I can date a lot of people at the same time because I have resources, so I am more riskier than someone of their age and it’s easier for me to transfer whatever it is that I have and transmit it to the young ones because I may not be really protecting myself (Participant Two).

Yes I do, because with these people you cannot just go for a younger lady surely 80% of the chance is that you have someone that you are dating, and then the moment when you go for a younger lady it’s just for pleasure and then you are exposing that younger lady to diseases and stuff (Participant Three).

Obviously, yes, since us we are older to them which means that we are exposed to many things in life, to many people we have interacted with, with people we have dated and to many things… we have different experiences like drugs, some of us have dated many women, some of us we do all these sort of things, not the good ones, so it’s a risk for women to go for sugar daddies because sometimes we do mistakes while having pleasure… besides not using a condom, these condoms they aren’t strong enough, since I said that some of
these women are flexy (flexible), the youngsters are flexy so sometimes it gets rough (Participant Four).

If you look at guys that are much closer to say maybe a first year, or a guy that is in first year, guys in their first years are not as sexually active as guys who are much older or someone that is working. Someone that is working might have a young girl and other girlfriends in other places, so in that sort of relationship where you have an older guy dating a younger girl is more or less dangerous because the older guy is more or less used to having a lot of sexual partners, so you will find that you are most likely to experience reckless sexual behaviour in a relationship where you are dating an older person. So for me the sexual risks are higher when you are dating someone who is a lot older than you, because for me, although I was dating that person, I won’t lie, I was looking elsewhere as well because as I said: my intentions were not to be in a relationship with that person, so there was no need for me to be as faithful as being in a committed relationship with someone who is your equal, so at the time, for me, I was just someone who was there and I could look elsewhere if I wanted to and I could meet people and she wouldn’t know, obviously, and because she was young there was no way that she could challenge me (Participant Seven).

Participant Ten mentioned that the reason as to why these younger women are more at risk of contracting a sexually related disease or infection, is due to the fact that these older men believe that younger women have not slept with multiple partners therefore they are disease free. Participant Ten made the following remark:

Yes that’s true because as I said; older men believe that younger girls have not been around too many people so obviously the chances of them being sick or getting an illness are very minimal (Participant Ten).

The rest of the participants disagreed with the question as they claimed that it is not necessarily true that older men pose a higher health risk to younger women because unlike younger men they know what they are doing, therefore they are safer. Participant’s Eight, Five, Nine and Eleven mentioned the following during the interview:

No I don’t think so… They are not dangerous to them because it’s not they are like the guys who the girls are dating at their same age… They know what they are doing, they are teaching what they know, they have experience for what they are doing (Participant Eight).

…what I know is that sugar daddies are more safer than youngsters, youngsters go clubbing and sugar daddies don’t know that, they going clubbing, the youngsters get drunk and they don’t remember what happened last night, you wake up with three girls, sugar daddies will never do that (Participant Nine).
Like I said, it’s Western concepts being transferred into the African arena, but I must also be honest, there are older men out there who are being with younger children to impregnate them and to give them illnesses and to get them to stop going to school, that should be cautioned, that is wrong and that is not what our culture is about (Participant Five).

I don’t think that that is necessarily true, no why? Because right now we are talking about STI’s right, no I don’t think that’s necessarily true unless of course maybe the statistics of the infection caught my eye as to where the highly or frequent rate is high, but from my understanding I think that regardless of the irresponsible behaviour through the whole spectrum, so it’s not only the senior members who pose a higher risk, no, not necessarily (Participant Eleven).

5.2.4 Interview question 4

In response to the question: Have you ever given your girlfriend money or gifts during the course of your relationship? If so, what were the reasons? The majority of the interviewees (One, Two, Three, Four, Five, Six, Eight, Nine and Ten) state that they have given money or gifts to their partners during the course of their relationship, and the reasons vary as some of them say that it was requested or it was for jewellery. The above-mentioned participants had stated the following:

I have once, it wasn’t even a gift, it was requested, R300 was requested for transport, so I had to assist because we were in this together, I cannot not assist someone when I am in a relationship with, and obviously there would be the occasional going out on dates like couples do. Sugar daddies when they go out on dates it relates to sex, I mean if you go on a date he might even buy flowers just to be romantic, and on your birthday then there is that requirement to take out a person (Participant One).

Yes I have (laughs) the reason was that she was going to a wedding, so she had to look good so I gave her money to do her hair (Participant Three).

Ya, ya I enjoy handing out money because I am trying to buy them so that they won’t be scared when they are around me (Participant Eight).

Yes I have, the reason was, she told me that she was pregnant. She told me she was pregnant and I was like: ok uhm if you’re pregnant then what? She was in UJ (the University of Johannesburg) so she was like: no ways my parents are going to fight with me blah blah blah, and I was like: you know what I’m not going to support what you want to do, if you’re pregnant then I’m not fighting with that, who said that you need to have an abortion? And because it was on her side it was a bit of a stress so I said: look I’ll give you this (money) and I don’t want to know what you did with it. Yes it was money but I knew I had to do it even though it was a thousand and something. I’ve done that in several cases anyway, it was always the same excuse and what I found out was that in most cases when that
happened that would be the end of it, we don’t go on anymore (Participant Nine).

Yes I have, I just felt that she needed what I bought for her, it wasn’t to please her in any way… just jewellery (Participant Ten).

The reason why the remaining half of these men have given their partners money or gifts during the course of their relationships was simply because they believe that as a man you are obligated to provide for your woman; therefore they would cater to their partners’ needs and/or wants. Participants Two, Four, Five and Six made the following remarks:

Yes, yes it happens, you know we grew up in a way where we were taught that as a man you have to spend money on a woman, so I have, several times where I would say, out of a good heart, not because she was demanding it, I would give it because I see that you probably need something, there have been girls who have asked because they want to do their hair and stuff like that, then I would actually give them money and say: ok here’s funding, go do your hair, go do this, go buy yourself this, you know whenever we would go out to the mall, or probably go watch movies and she would see something nice, and she would ask me: can you please buy me this? And I would definitely do it. So I have given a girl that I have dated funding and stuff like that (Participant Two).

Ya, that one is a must, you must provide for your woman if you care for her. Why? It’s just normal, a man must provide (Participant Four).

Of course, eh like I said to you, as a moneyed person like me, part of our responsibility is to give back to our communities, so of course I would give money, what else would I give? Remember at my age we have a lot of problems like sugar diabetes, this comrade (his penis) does not stand for a long time anymore, so they don’t get satisfaction from me sexually, I know that, but at least they get money, and what is more important, comrade or money for a starving child? I’m helping these children to get an education (Participant Five).

…. it’s standard for a man, you have to spend on a woman, especially for us black people. So if you are not prepared to spend on your woman it’s like weird for me, but I don’t rent a relationship, so if you give a woman money in the way that you’re renting a relationship, that is something else, but to surprise your woman and to buy her this or that then yeah I’ve done that (Participant Six).

Participants Seven and Eleven have stated that they have not given their partners any money or gifts during the course of their relationships because they are still students and should therefore not be expected to provide material things for their partners. These participants stated the following:
I didn’t give her money, what she did was that she took a top of mine but I didn’t really give her anything or money (Participant Seven).

Actually not really hey. I wouldn’t say, probably buying lunch, no not to that extent, no. I think probably because we’re both students in a way so it’s not like the whole reason for the relationship is because, well let me not say the whole reason, I think it’s because she wouldn’t be in a place to think that this person has a lot of money so let me ask, no, and from my personal experience, the girl last year used to ask me for money and I told her that I come from an unprivileged background, so with the person I’m currently with they don’t see a need to ask me for money, so no (Participant Eleven).

5.2.4.1 Interview question 4.1

When asked the question: How much money or gifts have you given to your girlfriend?

Seven of the participants who agreed to giving their girlfriends money during the course of their relationships have stated that the amount that they have given out ranges from R100 to R5,000. These participants made the following remarks below:

…R300 was requested for transport, so I had to assist because we were in this together… (Participant One).

…I would give her a few hundreds to go and do her hair and stuff like that, so it shouldn’t be more than a few thousands (Participant Two).

Remember I have not been dating this lady for a long time so I think R500 (Participant Three).

It depends on the situation, sometimes you might have a one night stand so it gets to a time where I have to pay her, but I don’t say: this is the money because I klapped (engaged in sexual relations) you, I say: no this is money for transport. So I would give her, let’s say her transport will cost R8 but I won’t give her exactly R8 I would give her about R500 for transport (Participant Four).

On average, R5,000 per month, because they must buy groceries and they must buy nails and hair, because they buy hair these days, we are opposed to it by the way because it is a Western phenomenon, but even you, you have it so I guess it happens, such things, ya, ya (Participant Five).

Yes it was money but I knew I had to do it even though it was a thousand and something. I’ve done that in several cases anyway… (Participant Nine).

All in all I wouldn’t know but the most amount that I have given her at once was probably R1,300 or so (Participant Ten).
5.2.4.2 Interview question 4.2

Just as the amount varied for how much these participants would spend on their partners, so did the reasons why certain occasions would warrant the amount of money being given to their partners. The following question was asked: **On what occasions have you given your girlfriend money or gifts?** The responses below are those of which have already not been stated in the previous answers. Participants Four, Five, Six, Eight and Ten stated the following:

Yea sometimes I would say: I’m hungry, and after that I would say we’re both hungry, just buy yourself something to eat, take this maybe R1, 000 and we would go our separate ways. I don’t necessarily mean that I am paying her for giving me sex ( Participant Four).

For me we have an official transaction where every month they get an allowance, a stipend (Participant Five).

Every girlfriend will hate you if you forget their birthday, that’s number one, and then I’m not a valentines guy; I don’t like the fashion statement that is everyone’s cup of tea. I will ignore the valentines but I will find a way of making up for not doing anything for her for valentines, preferably then I will find a way to take her out, not that I want to be all romantic by surprising her, nah, it’s when I feel she needs it the most, maybe if she is going through a lot of strain and stress and she’s not talking about it, then it’s a way of intervening and releasing the pain and frustration, or the birthday of course or of I’m in a good mood and I just want to spoil her for no good reason (Participant Six).

Even if they didn’t ask I can give them money (Participant Eight).

When she was travelling home, so it was just for logistics (Participant Ten).

5.2.4.3 Interview question 4.3

Conflicting views arose when the participants were asked: **Would it be fair to say that you have sometimes given money or gifts to a younger woman, with whom you are in a relationship with, after a sexual encounter?** Participants Two and Seven agreed that they have engaged in such practices because they feel as though they were offered a service and therefore felt obliged to give their partners something in return after they engaged in sexual intercourse. Participants Two and Seven made the following remarks:

Ya, no definitely that has to happen, in some sort of a: yoh look we had a good time, so obviously she would expect something in return, that’s the whole purpose. I mean I have been on dates whereby I know my intentions which is to have fun, which we spoke about, and pleasure which could be sex or entertainment, in the sense that we should be having sexual
intercourse but as well as the, my girl who is way younger than me, you do expect something from me and that could be money. So whenever we engage in “bonking exercises” or activities, I’ll definitely give you something, just to say: hey thanks, we had fun, it was pleasurable, it was nice, and we enjoyed it, but here you go (Participant Two).

For me at the time I didn’t think of it as a gift, because I felt as though I took something from her and this was my way of just giving back something even if it was just a burger from McDonalds or a pizza from Debonairs or something (Participant Seven).

The majority of the participants (One, Six, Eight, Ten and Eleven) agreed that giving their partners money after having a sexual encounter with them is equated to prostitution and therefore they have not engaged in such practices. The statements below were provided by the five above mentioned interviewees:

No, have I given gifts to someone after intercourse? Just because you had sex and then the next day you’re transferring money? Hai that’s now like prostitution, paying for that service, no it has not happened (Participant One).

No that’s stupid and whoever does that is a stupid guy, you’re treating your woman as if she is a prostitute, you never do that. Like if you wanted to buy a prostitute why don’t you go and buy a prostitute. You don’t treat your woman like a prostitute, like it’s deeming to give woman money after sexual intercourse. If maybe I am dating her and I have money that I was planning to give to her, I would delay it for a long while than to give it to her after making love because I don’t want to firstly program her into thinking that every time she has finished making love to me she is going to pick up my wallet, but then at the very same time I hate it when a woman uses sex to try and control me, so it can create a situation whereby she will think that whenever she wants money from you, she must sleep with you, for me it’s more pleasant to give it to her before, way before, or even if I had planned to give her the money I would prefer it if we didn’t make love that day cause it sends out the wrong impression so I am totally against that option of giving your woman money immediately after sex (Participant Six).

Sometimes but I don’t normally do that. It’s like I’m buying her and that’s why I don’t like giving money after having sex (Participant Eight).

No, that would be prostitution (Participant Ten).

No that would be paying a prostitute (laughs) definitely not (Participant Eleven).

Participants Three and Four have also disagreed by stating that they are in a relationship with these people and should therefore not pay them after engaging in sexual intercourse. The following comments were given by the above mentioned participants:
No I cannot give money to people I am not dating… I don’t give her money because I have sex with her, remember now I am in a relationship with her so it’s not all about sex and money (Participant Three).

If I am in a relationship with her I would not give her money after sex, it just happens. Sometimes she would just say I’m hungry and I would ask: what do you like my love? Then I would give her money (Participant Four).

Participant Nine also disagreed to giving his partner money after engaging in sexual relations with her, as he said that he would rather spend the money with his partner then giving it to her after sex because he is stingy. The following statement was made:

I’m a bit stingy so I don’t think that I would have given her anything, but I think that we would spend it together, in such a way that we could have a weekend out. The money that I’m going to use, I’m also going to enjoy it, not to say that I pop out R3, 000 just for a Brazilian, no ways, I can’t there, I’ll pop out money, we’ll enjoy it together, we’ll go to the movies, go to lunch or whatever, if she is buying a sandal then I’m going to buy a sneaker, you know things like that, that is how I do it.

5.3 IDENTIFICATION OF THEMES

The second step in thematic analysis requires one to identify the themes from the responses of the participants, according to how they were grouped based on their similarities and differences in the data reduction section. Boyatzis (1998: 4) states that a theme is a pattern found in the information that at the maximum interprets aspects of the phenomenon. A theme may be identified through what was observed in the information or in the underlying the phenomenon. The themes that were used in this study were pre-determined as they stemmed from the theory that was used in the literature review; therefore the themes were generated deductively. The pre-determined themes comprise of issues regarding intergenerational relationships in African cultures, the sugar daddy phenomenon, the critique of the ZAZI Campaign and health risks associated with the intergenerational relationships.
5.3.1 Theme 1: ‘We are not sugar daddies’

This theme is based on intergenerational relationships and seeks to investigate how the selected men perceive intergenerational relationships and why they prefer engaging in such relationships. The title of this theme is fitting, as this section and the findings and analysis section will discuss the acceptance of intergenerational relationships within African cultures, as well as issues regarding sugar daddies. The participants have described intergenerational relationships as those that occur between a matured female, who is above the age of 18 and whose partner is 10–15 years older than her. Participant Eleven has illustrated this point by stating that:

My definition on young and old will probably have something to do with the level of maturity, so I feel if there are people involved then it depends on a certain level of maturity that is in a way complimentary and then it shouldn’t be a problem… I would also like to think that it depends on which state of life they are currently at, let’s say if someone who is… or let’s just say that if I had an 18-year-old then that could work but I think it would work if… if feel like the age difference is more involved if the people are older. Like if the age difference was 10-15 and the guy was 50 and the lady is 35 then that could work, but now if you are 25 and she is 15 then that wouldn’t work. So that also depends on which stage now the people are.

Participants have also mentioned that intergenerational relationships are acceptable in African cultures and therefore these men cannot be labelled as ‘sugar daddies’ as that is a Western concept that does not apply to African cultures. Participant Five has mentioned that:

I think that people are too Western these days so in our culture, if you look at our history as African people we would even choose a wife before that person is even old enough to be a wife, so we would choose a child while they are still 6 years old or whatever, based on the family background and the values that that family has, so it is nothing taboo for us. It is just Western concepts that are being transferred and they are trying to confuse our people, we are not sugar daddies.

Participants have stated that the reason why these younger women are pursued by older men is because they are physically attractive, as it is believed that women age faster than men and, most importantly, these selected men have stated that younger women do not challenge their decisions and the men are therefore able to control the relationship. The following remark was made by Participant Seven:

I think that a woman more or less closer to your age is there to challenge you, and then when you get into a relationship with a younger woman you
feels as though you are imparting some kind of knowledge and you’re dominant, you’re the dominant figure and in a way they are scared of you more than someone who is closer to your age. Someone closer to your age is confrontational in an argument whereas someone younger than you won’t be confrontational in an argument, expect for when they feel that this is the end of it.

5.3.2 Theme 2: ‘You can’t be a sugar daddy and be broke’

This theme on sugar daddies aims to identify how the participants define a “sugar daddy” based on their knowledge of the term. The title of this theme incorporates many different aspects of the sugar daddy phenomenon that will be discussed in the findings and analysis section. Issues that have been raised regarding this theme include: defining and criticising sugar daddies, as well as the health risks associated with sugar daddy relationships. The participants have defined a sugar daddy as an older man, who is usually married and has a number of resources, which he exchanges with his younger partner in order to receive sexual favours from her. Participant Four has defined a sugar daddy in the following way:

A sugar daddy, there in my culture there is no sugar daddy but here in Jozi (Johannesburg) you can define a sugar daddy as a person, as a man that is older his girlfriend, he has money, has resources, drives a nice car.

Participants have also mentioned that sugar daddies take advantage of younger women because they know that they have the ability to provide them with financial assistance in exchange for sexual favours. Participant Ten has stated the following:

A sugar daddy is someone who takes advantage of what they can do for the other person in order to have a relationship with them...Let’s say for instance there was some young lady that was poor and she was in need of money and these days there is so much technology and gadgets, that when you have friends that are rich or come from rich families, you feel pressure and the need to have an I Phone and a tablet and this and that, and that’s why most young girls get into relationships with older men or people who can maintain them you see, so men take that advantage and say: you know what? I can do this for her because she wants money, I can get into her pants.
5.3.3 Theme 3: ‘Young women can’t be controlled’

This theme is based on health communication, as it intends on uncovering how health communication campaign strategies, such as the ZAZI Campaign, are criticised by the participants. The title of the theme was extracted from the response to Question Three based on the ZAZI campaign. Many participants found flaws in the campaign, which will further be discussed in the findings and analysis section. The findings below indicate that the participants believe that the ZAZI Campaign is a good initiative, but one cannot ignore the fact that we are living in a materialistic world which is mostly embraced by younger women, and therefore campaigns warning them to stay away from older men may fall on deaf ears because at the end of the day these women are going to do whatever it is that pleases them, even if it means sleeping with an older, wealthier man to gain material goods. Participant Two has illustrated this point by stating that:

Well given the contemporary situation, it’s really rare these days where young girls won’t fall for these old guys, or sugar daddies, remember that we are living in this modern society where people are so materialistic and they are so attracted to material and wealth and finance and all that, because when we have money, power and status you are the big dog, so normally it is rare when you find that girls won’t go for someone that is well established or financially well off. Yes it is true, I saw the video, but it’s not really possible in most cases to avoid that, because young girls they want things and they would definitely go for sugar daddies but morally it is not good because there are those days when you know that with these guys, what they normally do with these young girls, they aren’t normally devoted to one girl or go out with that one girl, they probably do that with all their young girls of which it is more riskier, so they should stay away from it, but what are the chances that will happen?

Participant Six mentioned that the ZAZI Campaign is misleading because it does not state what the potential dangers of dating older men are; it also gives the impression that it is alright for younger women to engage in promiscuous relationships with men their age, as they were only cautioned to stay clear of relationships with older men. The following statement was provided by Participant Six:

It’s not wrong, it’s true, but it’s grossly misleading, it gives the impression that it’s prominent and dominant. It’s programming the youngsters, it has got a negative impact which has not been well considered, it gives the impression that it is good for youngsters to get into multiple relationships with people of their age, and that they will only get HIV/AIDS and STD’S from the older generation or from the sugar daddies. Maybe if they phrased it differently to show other painful encounters and experiences that may come out of
intergenerational relationships, like being pregnant for someone who’s as old as your father and knowing that your parents will not approve of that then you will be forced to do an abortion. So for me that is not practical right, and not misleading but it gives the real issue, or maybe being exploited because mentally and intellectually you’re not there yet and this guy has been around so he can be problematic and controlling, and psychologically he can exploit you, but there are incidences whereby there will be the transfer of HIV/AIDS, but I feel like it kind of misses the point in a way and it gives the blanket statement that it’s cool for them to be promiscuous with men their age as long as it’s not intergenerational.

5.3.4 Theme 4: ‘There’s no need to be faithful’

This theme is based on health risks and how they are associated with intergenerational and sugar daddy relationships. The title of the theme speaks to the overall message that was communicated by the participants in the interviews. It was therefore fitting as most of the responses were centred on multiple sexual relationships, which will be discussed further in the findings and analysis section. According to the participants, older men do pose a higher health risk to younger females, because they are more sexually active than their younger counterparts and they have the perception that younger women are not extremely sexually active, therefore they do not have any diseases which enable these older men to engage in reckless sexual practices. Participant Seven has stated the following:

If you look at guys that are much closer to say maybe a first year, or a guy that is in first year, guys in their first years are not as sexually active as guys who are much older or someone that is working. Someone that is working might have a young girl and other girlfriends in other places, so in that sort of relationship where you have an older guy dating a younger girl is more or less dangerous because the older guy is more or less used to having a lot of sexual partners, so you will find that you are most likely to experience reckless sexual behaviour in a relationship where you are dating an older person. So for me the sexual risks are higher when you are dating someone who is a lot older than you, because for me, although I was dating that person, I won’t lie, I was looking elsewhere as well because as I said my intentions were not to be in a relationship with that person, so there was no need for me to be as faithful as being in a committed relationship with someone who is your equal, so at the time, for me, I was just someone who was there and I could look elsewhere if I wanted to and I could meet people and she wouldn’t know, obviously, and because she was young there was no way that she could challenge me.

Participant Eight disagrees with these statements, as he states that older men do not pose as a health risk for younger women, because they are more sexually experienced and therefore they know what they are doing. The following remark was made:
They are not dangerous to them because it’s not they are like the guys who the girls are dating at their same age…they know what they are doing, they are teaching what they know, they have experience for what they are doing.

54. FINDINGS AND INTERPRETATION OF THEMES

Following the third step in thematic analysis, this section will provide a brief summary and/or interpretation of the key ideas that were highlighted in the themes.

Theme 1: ‘We are not sugar daddies’. Within this theme, participants perceive intergenerational relationships as those that occur between a matured female, who is above the age of 18 and whose partner is 10–15 years older. Participants have also clearly expressed that intergenerational relationships are acceptable in African cultures, and that referring to them as ‘sugar daddies’ is incorrect as that term is a Western concept that was introduced to African people some years ago. Therefore, the concept does not apply to their culture. It is well known that women tend to age faster than men; therefore, one of the reasons why these older men pursue younger women is that younger women are physically more attractive, enjoy having a good time, but more importantly, the older men are able to control the direction and nature of the relationship with their younger counterparts, because younger women do not challenge them intellectually or otherwise and it is therefore easier for the men to control them.

Theme 2: ‘You can’t be a sugar daddy and be broke’. Participants have defined a sugar daddy as an older man, who is usually married and has a number of resources – such as money or cars – which he exchanges with his younger partner in order to receive sexual favours from her. Furthermore, participants have also mentioned that sugar daddies use their vast resources in order to take advantage of younger women, because they know that they have the ability to provide these needy or impoverished young women with financial assistance in exchange for sexual favours.

Theme 3: ‘Young women can’t be controlled’. Based on the manner in which the participants criticised the ZAZI Campaign, this theme saw the ZAZI Campaign containing more flaws than positive health communication strategies, in the sense that the participants acknowledge that this particular campaign is a good initiative, but the actions of these younger women cannot be controlled. Participants have indicated that we are living in a materialistic world which is mostly embraced by younger women.
Therefore, campaigns warning them to stay away from older men may fall on deaf ears because at the end of the day these women are going to do whatever it is that pleases them, even if it means sleeping with an older, wealthier man to gain material goods. Furthermore, this campaign has also been criticised for being misleading as it does not state what the potential dangers of dating older men are, and it also gives the impression that it is acceptable for younger women to engage in promiscuous relationships with their male counterparts, as they were only cautioned to stay clear of relationships with older men.

Theme 4: ‘There’s no need to be faithful’. With regard to the health risks associated with intergenerational and sugar daddy relationships, the participants have suggested that older men do pose a higher health risk to younger women, because their resources and worldly knowledge afford them the ability to engage in multiple sexual relationships. The reason why these older men pose as a health risk to younger women is that they are more sexually active than their younger counterparts. In addition, older men have the perception that younger women are not extremely sexually active, and therefore do not have any diseases; this enables these older men to engage in reckless sexual practices with them, such as not using condoms for instance. On the other hand, a few of the participants have mentioned that older men do not pose a health risk to younger women because of their vast worldly experience, which means that when it comes to matters regarding the bedroom and sexual activities, they are experienced in the things that they do and therefore know how to be cautious, in terms of practicing safe sex.

5.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter has discussed the analysis of the findings from the eleven interviews that were conducted, based on the responses provided by the male participants engaged in intergenerational relationships. Using thematic analysis, this data was then first reduced by grouping all of the similar findings together according to the responses from the interviews. The second step of thematic analysis was then employed, in which four themes were identified from the findings. The first was based on intergenerational relationships: ‘We are not sugar daddies’. The second theme was based on sugar daddies: ‘You can’t be broke and be a sugar daddy’. The third theme spoke about the criticism of the ZAZI Campaign: ‘Young women can’t be controlled’ and the final theme
was based on the health risks that are associated with intergenerational relationships: ‘There’s no need to be faithful’. The titles of these themes were derived from the responses of the participants in the interviews, as these quotes spoke to the nature of the study and certain topics that will be discussed in the analysis chapter. The third step in thematic analysis is to interpret the themes and the overall interpretation of the combined themes found the following: Participants perceive intergenerational relationships as those that occur between a matured female who is above the age of 18 and whose partner is 10–5 years older. Participants have also clearly expressed that intergenerational relationships are acceptable in African cultures and that referring to them as “sugar daddies” would be incorrect. One of the reasons why these older men pursue younger women is that younger women are physically more attractive, enjoy having a good time, but more importantly, the older men are able to control the direction and nature of the relationship. Participants have defined a sugar daddy as an older man, who is usually married and has a number of resources, which he exchanges with his younger partner for sexual favours. Participants have also mentioned that sugar daddies use their vast resources in order to take advantage of younger women, because they know that they have the ability to provide these needy young women with financial assistance in exchange for sexual favours.

The ZAZI Campaign was criticised for containing more flaws than positive health communication strategies. Participants acknowledge that this particular campaign is a good initiative, but the actions of these younger women cannot be controlled, as they are going to do whatever it takes to get the things that they want, even if it means sleeping with an older, wealthier man to obtain material goods. This campaign has also been criticised for being misleading as it does not state the potential dangers of dating older men. With regard to the health risks associated with intergenerational relationships, the participants have suggested that older men do pose a higher health risk to younger women, because they engage in multiple sexual relationships, are more sexually active than their younger counterparts and because older men have the perception that younger women are not extremely sexually active; they therefore do not have any sexually transmitted diseases. This enables older men to engage in reckless sexual practices with them. On the other hand, a few of the participants have mentioned that older men do not pose as a health risk to younger women because of their worldly experience, which means that when it comes to matters regarding sexual
activities, they are more cautious. The next chapter will discuss the final step in the thematic analysis, which entails analysing the pre-existing literature and the findings from the themes in order to develop a new theory.
CHAPTER SIX: ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSION

6. INTRODUCTION

Following the fourth and final step of the thematic analysis, this chapter will develop a new theory by analysing the literature and comparing it to the findings derived from the themes. The analysis section will interpret the themes by answering the research questions, thereby creating a new theory from the findings of the themes, as well as the pre-existing literature. In this chapter, the findings from the interviews and themes will be compared and/or contrasted with the pre-existing literature. The only clear distinction between them is that the findings are based on the responses from the male participants, whereas the pre-existing literature comprises of findings that are mostly based on research conducted on female participants. These findings will then determine whether or not there are similarities or contradictions between the current findings and the pre-existing literature, in order to generate a new theory.

This research has focused on how selected black men in intergenerational sexual relationships perceive the ZAZI Campaign. One of the aims of the ZAZI Campaign is to get young women and sugar babies to know themselves in such a way that they can take ownership of their choices with regards to HIV-related risks. Specific focus has been on the views of selected older men who, in most cases, are referred to as sugar daddies, concerning messages of the campaign which warn younger women to avoid intergenerational sexual relationships on the grounds that such sexual relations present a high risk as regards HIV infections.

Other studies that have been conducted by (Kriel, 2011; Tshibangu-Kalala, 2010; Gbalajobi, 2010) have not pursued the views of men regarding communication on intergenerational relationships, as they have not considered that these men do receive and form opinions on the messages of campaigns aimed at the young women with whom they have sexual relations with. Following a culture-centred approach and using in-depth interviews, insights from interviews with the eleven selected males will be given. In this chapter, findings that draw on earlier identified themes to answer the research questions will be presented. An analysis of the findings, which critically draws on the literature to produce new theory, will also be presented. Thereafter conclusions and recommendations will be offered.
6.1 ANALYSIS

This section will discuss the findings of the research by systematically addressing the research questions below, using data from the identified themes above. The purpose of this analysis is to identify whether or not the pre-existing literature relates to the above empirical findings. It will produce new theory by critically combining and interrelating the empirical findings with insights from the literature.

1. What do selected men in intergenerational relationships say about intergenerational sexual relationships?

2. What are the views of selected men in intergenerational relationships about the selected campaign messaging on intergenerational sexual relationships in selected advertisements of the ZAZI Campaign?

3. What do selected men in intergenerational relationships know about HIV-related risks associated with being in intergenerational sexual relationships?

The overall findings from the analysis of the new theory found that intergenerational relationships are acceptable in African cultures and that the term ‘sugar daddies’ is a Western concept that was transferred to African culture in order to challenge pre-existing beliefs. The definition for intergenerational relationships provided by (Ott et al., 2011: 2; HESA, 2010: 82) are those in which one partner is young and the other is usually 10 years older for those 20 to 25 years of age. Participants have mentioned that there is a clear distinction between men who are engaged in intergenerational relationships and those who are sugar daddies. Sugar daddies are defined as older men who have access to social capital; that they use to entice younger women with the intentions of forming sexual relationships with them (Fox et al., 2007: 597; Luke, 2005: 6; Defo, 2004: 15; Luke, 2003: 67). This practice is described as transactional sex – some of the participants have suggested that exchanging money or gifts to sex is equivalent to prostitution, Jewkes et al. (2012: 2) state that transactional relationships, sex and prostitution are regarded as lying on a continuum. Jewkes et al. (2012: 2) further state that at one end, transactional sex bears many similarities to the practice of prostitution, especially when money is given to the other partner after a single act of sex. Or in the case where there is a relationship that involves multiple sexual encounters that is entirely based on receiving a material reward thereafter. On
The reasons why these older men pursue younger women is because these women are more physically attractive. They are sexually active, they know how to have a good time and, most importantly, they will not challenge their male partners. Patriarchy is one of the defining factors in African culture, therefore, the role of a submissive woman is very appealing to older men as it gives them a sense of control over their relationships. According to Edstrom et al. (2014: 3), research has found that patriarchy has revived the debates around masculinity and gender inequality. In addition to this statement, it has been noted that patriarchy may involve aspects of male supremacy, male privilege and the subordination of women and is not reducible to either one of those (ibid.). Hasler (2013: 23) and Turmen (2003: 414) indicate that issues such as gender inequality and lack of economic independence and information have resulted in young women being more at risk of contracting the HIV infection than their male counterparts.

According to Leclerc-Madlala (2010: 8), there is an urgent need to identify the risk perception of young women in intergenerational relationships. This can be achieved by older peers playing a role in encouraging, mentoring and supporting young women on how to successfully resist getting involved with such relationships (ibid.). The aim of the ZAZI Campaign is to create a movement that encourages women to stand up to the silence that allows the pain in their lives to thrive, as well as for women to define their own values and paths in life (ZAZI, 2014) in such a way that they avoid relationships with older men. The participants have criticised this campaign for not stating the dangers of dating older men and detailing what the potential health risks may be in that particular advertisement. The other criticism was that although the campaign has good intentions, these young women cannot be stopped from pursing the relationships that they want to have. More especially so because they know that they have something to gain from dating an older man who can provide them with financial security. According to Green (2008: 238), Turmen (2003: 412), Luke (2003: 74) and Gupta (2000: 3), research has shown that the economic vulnerability of women makes it more likely that they will exchange sex for money or favours, less
likely that they will succeed in negotiating protection and even less likely that they will leave a relationship that they perceive to be risky (ibid.).

It was found that older men do pose a higher health risk to younger women simply because they have had many sexual encounters with women in the past and some of them do not always practice safe sex. Studies that were conducted projected that for every year’s increase in the age difference between partners, chances of unprotected sex rose by 28 per cent (Leclerc-Madlala, 2010: 5; HESA, 2010: 82; Sen & Ostlin, 2010: 20; Dupas, 2005: 2). Older men in intergenerational relationships have multiple sexual relationships with women which drastically increases the chances of both parties contracting HIV and/or STIs or STDs. Transactional sex is often associated with multiple concurrent partnerships, which are more conducive to the spread of HIV than serial monogamous sexual relationships (Stoebenau et al., 2011: 2; Weckesser, 2011: 56). One of the reasons young women are at a high risk of being infected and are infected with HIV is due to the fact that they enter such relationships with much older, wealthier men as a means to survival (ibid.).

6.1.1 Response to research question 1

In response to the following research question: What do selected men in intergenerational relationships say about intergenerational sexual relationships? The majority of the participants (One, Two, Three, Four, Six, Nine and Eleven) acknowledged being in what the literature describes as intergenerational sexual relationships. This is not surprising since, as noted in the methodology section, participants were selected in such a way that they represent individuals in relationships in which the man has to be 10–15 years older than the woman. Participant Nine states that:

Scientifically it has been proven that women and men, ok let me just take it more further, let me say I am 70, right, and you are in your fifties, that is a nice match because what happens is, when I’m 75 and you’re 73 you’re no longer interested in sex anymore, so I would say it’s from up there going downwards. So I’m like 30 and she’s 20, nice match, nice match! For in case if our relationship lasts long, I’m safe with that (Participant Nine).

What is interesting is that the male participants were keen to point out that in their relationships the younger women had reached a stage of maturity that made it unfair to accuse them of taking advantage of the young women’s relative youth. To illustrate
this point, the men were keen to point to the fact that the women, with whom they were in relationships with, were of an age that gave them legal consent. According to participant Six:

It depends on the age group, remember if the age is too huge then it is problematic as such...It also depends on the stage of the young female, if she is below 18 then an age gap of more than 10 years is not healthy, but if she is above the age of 25 then an age gap of more than 10 years is good, it is healthy, and then if she is above 30 then an age gap of 15 is not an issue. I think it’s a question of not taking advantage of an immature mind so to speak... (Participant Six).

The definition which was offered at the start of this research suggests that intergenerational relationships are those in which one partner is young and the other is usually 10 years older for those 20 to 25 years of age and/or if the other partner is significantly mature (usually five years older for teenagers) (Ott et al., 2011: 2; HESA, 2010: 82). However, the above views appear to suggest that a rigid and inflexible definition such as this may not yield fair basis for beginning to think systematically about judging how relationships involve or do not involve older men who ‘take advantage of younger women’. It may be more useful to consider a view of intergenerational relationships that takes more factors into account. One those factors include the distinction between intergenerational relationships, as well as being a sugar daddy. Participants One, Four and Five state that intergenerational relationships occur between men who are 10–15 years older than their partners, who are mature enough to be in relationships, as this is common in African cultures, and therefore they cannot be classified as sugar daddies. Participant One supported this statement by saying that:

...If the person is like 20 years older than you and the person is married, it also depends on how old you are, so for example, as a woman, if you are 30 and the guy is 50 or 40 that could be an intergenerational relationship I think, it depends on how you define it. If you are 30 and I am 40 you are old enough, I cannot be said to be a sugar daddy then... (Participant One).

6.1.1.1 Intergenerational relationships in African cultures

Intergenerational relationships are common and widely accepted in Sub-Saharan Africa and these types of relationships have been said to be one of the major contributors in the spread of HIV/AIDS (Morrell et al., 2012: 620; Leclerc-Madlala, 2010: 5; Luke, 2005: 6). Participants Four and Five have agreed with this statement,
as they have stated that intergenerational relationships are acceptable in African cultures and that labelling these men in these types of relationships as ‘sugar daddies’ is a foreign concept to Africans, because this term was brought about by Westerners in order to confuse or challenge pre-existing African cultural norms and beliefs.

Participants Four and Five made the following remarks:

In my culture those people are not referred to as sugar daddies, it’s totally acceptable to date a younger woman because these women now a days they grow faster so it’s totally acceptable in Zulu culture, they must be 5-10 years younger than the man (Participant Four).

I think that people are too Western these days so in our culture, if you look at our history as African people we would even choose a wife before that person is even old enough to be a wife, so we would choose a child while they are still 6 years old or whatever, based on the family background and the values that that family has, so it is nothing taboo for us. It is just Western concepts that are being transferred and they are trying to confuse our people, we are not sugar daddies (Participant Five).

According to Van Dyk (2000: 64) African cultural behaviours should be accepted and respected by Westerners; as these practices are unfamiliar to them and do not pose as a major threat to ones’ health. The reason why these adult men are so keen on dating young girls is, according to Leclerc-Madlala (2010: 5), Chase (2004: 1-2) and Luke (2003: 73), is because they get the pleasure of labelling her as a trophy girlfriend and, most importantly, these older men believe that young girls are uninfected, whereas a third of these men may already carry the virus and most of them believe that sleeping with a virgin will rid them of the infection. According to Participant Eight:

…there are sangomas (witch doctors/traditional healers) that tell old people to go find young women to cure their HIV, so the sangoma will tell you to sleep with a younger woman so that you can get cured (Participant Eight).

In addition to the above mentioned, Participants Two and Three have stated that they prefer to be in a relationship with a younger woman because they are easier to control as they will respect their positions as men by not challenging them. Gender inequity and inequality have been identified as key factors in HIV infection. Hasler, (2013: 23) and Turmen (2003: 414) indicate that issues such as gender inequality and lack of economic independence and information have put girls at a higher risk of HIV infection than younger boys and men. Younger women, who find themselves in intergenerational relationships that require them to be submissive, find themselves more at risk of contracting STIs and HIV because they are unable to negotiate safer
sexual practices. The other reason why older men prefer being in relationships with younger women is due to the fact that men historically control decision-making and have a higher status than women, which helps facilitate the spread of HIV. Janey (2003: 5) goes on to say that a worldview can be described as a general design for living and a pattern for interpreting reality. Gender role expectations have been recognised as playing an important role in shaping the worldview of men and women, which emphasises the need for gender awareness and sensitivity. Participants Two and Three have illustrated this point by stating the following:

Well obviously it’s because with younger girls it’s easier in a sense to deceive them, because when I am older it means that I am more mature and all the stuff, but apart from that they can be easier to handle, for instance you might find that younger girls are not as complicated as old people, like the teenagers, they probably won’t be talking about marriage and all that, all they want is just to have fun and that’s what we’re probably looking for as well. So hence we would probably go for a younger girl than people of your age, who will start talking about marriage, so younger girls are more nicer and more chilled, it’s all about fun (Participant Two).

…you know when you are a guy you want to be in control so that’s some kind of bullying, you want to be in a relationship whereby you set goals, you don’t want to be challenged so you opted to go for younger girls because whatever you say it will happen, so you are in control…Remember that if you are a guy you would want to be in control, if you are in control you have to take care of her, so the moment you start to date someone in your age group you have to pop up cash, but a younger girl, even if you don’t spend much it’s still fine (Participant Three).

6.1.1.2 The portrayal of masculinity and gender roles in intergenerational relationships

Research has found that patriarchy has revived the debates around masculinity and gender inequality. In addition to this statement, it has been noted that patriarchy may involve aspects of male supremacy, male privilege and the subordination of women; it is not reducible to either one of those (Edstrom et al., 2014: 3). Although it has not been mentioned by the participants, their responses in the interviews give the impression that the role of the younger women is for them to be submissive – regardless of the fact that we are living in a modern society – as these men believe that they cannot be challenged by a younger woman because she does not have much worldly experience.
Different cultures may have their own way of defining what it means to be a man but a cross-cultural model has identified three elements of the male role which include the protector who represents the guardian of the family or the country, the provider who brings in income and material goods and, lastly, the impregnator who assists with matters of fertility, virility and the prowess of women (Janey, 2003: 6). Some of the participants have mentioned that in their culture, their role as a man means being the provider for their partners, as it is a man’s duty to do so. Participant Six has mentioned the following:

…it is standard for a man, you have to spend on a woman, especially for us black people. So if you are not prepared to spend on your woman it’s like weird for me, but I don’t rent a relationship, so if you give a woman money in the way that you’re renting a relationship, that is something else, but to surprise your woman and to buy her this or that then yeah I’ve done that (Participant Six).

It can also be said that masculinity is created and expressed both in men’s relationships with women and in their relationships with other men. In male dominated social settings, such as social clubs, sports bars, sections of the marketplace and particular bars and eateries, it is common for men to show off their girlfriends and to discuss them with other men. Therefore, male peer groups are one of the significant factors that motivate other men to engage in extramarital relationships (Smith, 2007: 1001). Participant Four concurs with this statement as he has mentioned the following:

It’s actually nice to have a proper woman on your side, like not just a normal woman but a nice woman, a beautiful woman. Like if we can take a look, every man in this world they go for these proper women, the nice ones, the cute ones, the sexy ones, not the boring ones (Participant Four).

The findings from the interviews state that the other common reason why these older men prefer pursing relationships with younger women is because women age faster than men; therefore, these younger women are more physically attractive because their skin is still fresh. Furthermore, these men also believe that these younger women have not engaged in sexual intercourse with many men, and also that they are great to have around because they know how to have fun. According to Smith (2007: 1001), married men prefer the pretty, urban, educated young woman who is seen as the most desirable girlfriend to provide not only sex but also the opportunity, or at least the fantasy, of having more stylish, exciting and modern sex than what they have with their wives. Participants One and Five have stated the following:
...it would possibly be that the person is more attractive, or is perceived as being more attractive than your wife. So the attractive thing would be how the person looks, and that would attract you to the relationship, but you can love her as long as the person is above 18 because we don’t want to be molesting them (Participant One).

A woman that is closer to my age is obviously the best in terms of a wife and companionship and all of that, but when it comes to issues of the centre (sex), a younger woman is tighter etc., etc. (Participant Five).

Instead of trying to vilify and eliminate African cultural customs, AIDS educators should suggest ways that would make African cultural practices the basis for addressing how HIV/AIDS is perceived and acted upon (Van Dyk, 2000: 64). Traditional cultural practices reflect the values and beliefs held by members of a community for periods often spanning generations. Every social grouping in the world has specific traditional cultural practices and beliefs, some of which are beneficial to all members, while others have become harmful to a specific group, such as women (Maluleke, 2012: 2).

6.1.1.3 Sugar daddies

It has previously been mentioned that there is a clear distinction between intergenerational relationships as well as sugar daddy relationships, in that it was said that intergenerational relationships are acceptable in African cultures bearing in mind that the younger woman has to be of a mature and consenting age. According to Fox et al. (2007: 597), Luke (2005: 6), Defo (2004: 15) and Luke (2003: 67) a sugar daddy is defined as an adult male who exchanges large amounts of money or gifts for sexual favours from a much younger woman. Participants Two and Eleven concur with these statements by defining sugar daddies in the following way:

A sugar daddy well obviously, you can’t be a sugar daddy and broke so a sugar daddy has to a guy that is older, way older but has money as well….Well we can say roughly more than 10-15 years or even maybe less than that, but a sugar daddy has to be old enough so that you can see that he is able to adopt that girl or something like that, and obviously that guy must have money. You must be financially well off, you must have resources because as the sugar daddy you must be able to take care of the younger girl that you are dating, so that’s a sugar daddy (Participant Two).

I think a sugar daddy, in my books, is when the relationship is based mostly on something to gain, either the love is dead, where the two parties involved have something to gain, where the lady has to gain financial security and all of that, and then the guy has something to gain that power
from lacking something, maybe so say that he is not receiving enough attention at home or not being able to settle down during the stages of maturing. The point is that it’s a mutual benefit, in that so say that both parties have something to gain… (Participant Eleven).

The findings from the interviews also mention that sugar daddies use their resources to their advantage in such a way that they take advantage of younger women who may be in need of something material or otherwise in order to receive sexual favours from them in return. Participant Ten claims that:

A sugar daddy is someone who takes advantage of what they can do for the other person in order to have a relationship with them… Let’s say for instance there was some young lady that was poor and she was in need of money and these days there is so much technology and gadgets, that when you have friends that are rich or come from rich families, you feel pressure and the need to have an I Phone and a tablet and this and that, and that’s why most young girls get into relationships with older men or people who can maintain them you see, so men take that advantage and say: you know what? I can do this for her because she wants money, I can get into her pants (Participant Ten).

It can be argued that the reason why these intergenerational relationships occur is due to the fact that older men have access to social capital and are therefore able to provide for these younger girls. These very same findings have also been mentioned by various sources as they state that on the other hand it has been noted that in urban areas young women engage in sexual intergenerational relationships as a means for material gain, as entertainment and fun were the leading causes of such unions. Although some young women have parents who provide them with the necessities of life, engaging in such relationships was not about meeting subsistence needs, but about acquiring a ‘top-up’ that helps boost their status in the eyes of peers (Leclerc-Madlala, 2010: 6).

Furthermore, some of the participants have claimed to have given money or gifts to their partners after having sexual intercourse with them because they know that she expects something in return after sleeping with them, because these men feel as though they have taken something from her which means that she is owed something in return; as this may be the case for most sexual intergenerational relationships. This practice is well illustrated by Participant Two who states that:

Ya, no definitely that has to happen, in some sort of a: yoh look we had a good time, so obviously she would expect something in return, that’s the whole purpose. I mean I have been on dates whereby I know my intentions which is
to have fun, which we spoke about, and pleasure which could be sex or entertainment, in the sense that we should be having sexual intercourse but as well as the, my girl who is way younger than me, you do expect something from me and that could be money. So whenever we engage in “bonking exercises” or activities (sexual intercourse), I’ll definitely give you something, just to say: hey thanks, we had fun, it was pleasurable, it was nice, and we enjoyed it, but here you go (Participant Two).

A study conducted by HESA (2010: 80) states that the degree to which transactional sex is acknowledged and spoken about indicates that the general concept of exchanging sex for social and material gain is commonplace. Stoebenau et al. (2011: 2), Weckesser (2011: 56), HESA (2010: 80) and Defo (2004:15) state that transactional sex is usually associated with poverty, the influence of Western consumerism, social and political conditions, differences in economic power between men and women and the breakdown of traditional African marriage customs involving bride wealth.

Participants One and Six believe that such acts are associated with prostitution – because a man is paying for a service that is being rendered by the younger woman. Stoebenau et al. (2011: 2) describe this act as transactional sex, in which these sources have mentioned that for public health researchers, what is known outside of formal prostitution or sex work as ‘transactional sex’ or sex for gift exchange by its participants was regarded in the mid-1990s as an important determinant of HIV transmission, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa. In an article entitled ‘The materiality of everyday sex’ as Mark Hunter explained, ‘transactional sex has a number of similarities to prostitution, [but] transactional sex differs in important ways: participants are constructed as “girlfriends” and “boyfriends” ... and the exchange of gifts for sex is part of a broader set of obligations that might not involve a predetermined payment’. Participants One and Six agree that giving their partners money after engaging in sexual intercourse with them is equated to prostitution, as they have stated the following:

No, have I given gifts to someone after intercourse? Just because you had sex and then the next day you’re transferring money? Hai that’s now like prostitution, paying for that service, no it has not happened (Participant One).

No that’s stupid and whoever does that is a stupid guy, you’re treating your woman as if she is a prostitute, you never do that. Like if you wanted to buy a prostitute why don’t you go and buy a prostitute. You don’t treat your woman
like a prostitute, like it’s deeming to give woman money after sexual intercourse... (Participant Six).

Transactional relationships, sex and prostitution are regarded as lying on a spectrum. At one end, transactional sex bears many similarities to the practice of prostitution, especially when money is given to the other partner after a single act of sex, or in the case where there is a relationship that involves multiple sexual encounters that is entirely based on receiving a material reward thereafter. On the other hand, interpreting the spectrum becomes somewhat more difficult as there is literature that shows that in many parts of sub-Saharan Africa it is sex given without material reward that is perceived to be demeaning for women (Jewkes et al., 2012: 2).

6.1.2 Response to research question 2

In response to the following research question: What are the views of selected men in intergenerational relationships about the selected campaign messaging on intergenerational sexual relationships in selected advertisements of the ZAZI Campaign? One campaign that aims to address intergenerational relationships is named ZAZI and its aim is to create a movement that encourages women to stand up to the silence that allows the pain in their lives to thrive, as well as for women to define their own values and paths in life (ZAZI, 2014) in such a way that they should avoid relationships with older men (colloquially known as ‘sugar daddies’).

Participants Two and Four agree that the ZAZI Campaign is a good initiative, but they went on to say that at the end of the day one cannot control the choices that a person is going to make. In this instance, the young women might be warned about the dangers of pursuing older men but whether they decide to follow suite cannot be determined, because the current generation is very materialistic therefore they will do just about anything to get the things that they want, which usually involves getting into transactional sexual intergenerational relationships. Women’s economic dependency increases their vulnerability to HIV. According to Green (2008: 238) Turmen (2003: 412), Luke (2003: 74) and Gupta, (2000: 3), research has shown that the economic vulnerability of women makes it more likely that they will exchange sex for money or favours, less likely that they will succeed in negotiating protection, and even less likely that they will leave a relationship that they perceive to be risky. A woman’s lower status can leave her more exposed to infection while men risk infection because of ideals of
masculinity associated with risk-taking and sexual conquest. Participants Two and our have made the following comments:

Well given the contemporary situation, it’s really rare these days where young girls won’t fall for these old guys, or sugar daddies, remember that we are living in this modern society where people are so materialistic and they are so attracted to material and wealth and finance and all that, because when we have money, power and status you are the big dog, so normally it is rare when you find that girls won’t go for someone that is well established or financially well off. Yes it is true, I saw the video, but it’s not really possible in most cases to avoid that, because young girls they want things and they would definitely go for sugar daddies but morally it is not good because there are those days when you know that with these guys, what they normally do with these young girls, they aren’t normally devoted to one girl or go out with that one girl, they probably do that with all their young girls of which it is more riskier, so they should stay away from it, but what are the chances that will happen? (Participant Two).

Yea that’s a nice advertisement, but younger women they won’t take that advertisement seriously cause all women are attracted to good stuff, they want status, they want money. Once upon a time my lecture told me that the first rule in life is to follow the money, of which us older men have the money, so obviously they will follow us (Participant Four).

According to African popular discourse, researchers and health care workers have all sounded the alarm over sugar daddies, stating that their main goal is to seek out young women as they believe that they might not be infected with HIV. Health organisations have created campaigns that warn young women to stay away from sugar daddies because they pose as a major health concern in the area of HIV/AIDS (HSRC, 2014: 116; Luke, 2005: 6). This major health concern has frequently been labelled as ‘the sugar daddy syndrome’, ‘the sugar daddy trap’ or ‘the sugar daddy phenomenon’ in which female adolescents often bear most of the risk (ibid.). As a result of this, the UNAIDS Global Coalition on Women and AIDS advocates the development of effective programmes to educate and empower young women regarding HIV prevention as well as increase their economic security (Fiscian et al., 2009: 67-68). The ZAZI Campaign was also criticised by Participant Six who mentioned that this campaign is misleading as it does not go on to say what the potential dangers of dating older men are, and does not highlight key issues such as HIV/AIDS, STDs and forced abortion, just to mention a few. The following remark was made by Participant Six:

…but then from the video (ZAZI Campaign) the video seems to be giving the impression that HIV/AIDS and standards are only prevalent and prominent in an intergenerational relationship, that is misleading… it gives
the impression that it’s prominent and dominant. It’s programming the youngsters, it has got a negative impact which has not been well considered, it gives the impression that it is good for youngsters to get into multiple relationships with people of their age, and that they will only get HIV/AIDS and STD’S from the older generation or from the sugar daddies. Maybe if they phrased it differently to show other painful encounters and experiences that may come out of intergenerational relationships, like being pregnant for someone who’s as old as your father and knowing that your parents will not approve of that then you will be forced to do an abortion. So for me that is not practical right, and not misleading but it gives the real issue, or maybe being exploited because mentally and intellectually you’re not there yet and this guy has been around so he can be problematic and controlling, and psychologically he can exploit you, but there are incidences whereby there will be the transfer of HIV/AIDS, but I feel like it kind of misses the point in a way and it gives the blanket statement that it’s cool for them to be promiscuous with men their age as long as it’s not intergenerational.

According to Leclerc-Madlala (2010: 8) there is an urgent need to identify the risk perception of young women in intergenerational relationships. This can be achieved by older peers playing a role in encouraging, mentoring and supporting young women on how to successfully resist getting involved with such relationships. Dupas (2005: 3) states that, in order to reduce the risk of young girls being infected with HIV, they have to be provided with information regarding the HIV prevalence disaggregated by gender and age group. In Southern Africa, women are held responsible for sex-related issues such as reproduction and contraception. Therefore, addressing intergenerational sex should demand of adult men to stop engaging in potentially-exploitative relationships and to recognise that liaisons with young women are an abuse of power and status.

6.1.3 Response to research question 3

In response to the following research question: What do selected men in intergenerational relationships know about HIV-related risks associated with being in intergenerational sexual relationships? Participants One, Three and Four agreed that younger women who are involved in intergenerational sexual relationships are more at risk of getting sexually transmitted infections and diseases from their older partners. The reason why these young girls are infected more than their male counterparts is due to the high incidence of consensual, unsafe intergenerational sexual relationships that they engage in with older men who are five or more years older than they are (CSIS, 2013: 9; Nobelius et al., 2011: 253; Dupas, 2005: 2). Older men have a higher chance of being infected with HIV than teenage boys because they have been sexually
active for longer. Therefore, intergenerational relationships are more likely to put young girls at risk of contracting HIV/AIDS, and a large age gap between partners makes it more difficult for younger women to negotiate safer sex. Studies that were conducted estimated that for every year’s increase in the age difference between partners, the chances of unprotected sex rose by 28 per cent (Leclerc-Madlala, 2010: 5; HESA, 2010: 82; Sen & Ostlin, 2010: 20; Dupas, 2005: 2). The following statements were provided by Participants One, Three and Four:

No, older men, sugar daddies pose or present that higher risk for women, because these sugar daddies, see I’m trying to avoid saying older men, let’s call them sugar daddies, they are very sexually active in that they use young girls for sexual pleasure in return for financial assistance, and obviously at times they might be irresponsible with them when engaging in sexual intercourse and not using a condom and so on, but in a way, because the man is more matured than the woman, if he is a sugar daddy then he poses a higher risk, but if he is not a sugar daddy then he is not posing a health risk in any way. Then risk then is equal to the risk I am exposed to in a relationship with a person my age (Participant One).

Yes I do, because with these people you cannot just go for a younger lady surely 80% of the chance is that you have someone that you are dating, and then the moment when you go for a younger lady it’s just for pleasure and then you are exposing that younger lady to diseases and stuff (Participant Three).

Obviously, yes, since us we are older to them which means that we are exposed to many things in life, to many people we have interacted with, with people we have dated and to many things…we have different experiences like drugs, some of us have dated many women, some of us we do all these sort of things, not the good ones, so it’s a risk for women to go for sugar daddies because sometimes we do mistakes while having pleasure (Participant Four).

6.1.3.1 Contributing factors to health risks associated with intergenerational and/or sugar daddy relationships

The other reasons that were provided by the sources in the literature review as to why younger women in intergenerational relationships are more likely to get infected with HIV is due to sociocultural factors such as poverty, lack of education, high cultural value of childbearing, low social standing, lack of empowerment, poor knowledge about the disease, misperception of low vulnerability and fatalism (Leclerc-Madlala, 2010: 6; Fiscian et al., 2009: 67-68). Participants Two and Seven stated that the reasons why this could be the case is due to the fact that these older men might not condomise as much as they should, but most importantly, these older men have had many interactions with different women and there is a high possibility that they are
pursuing sexual relationships with multiple partners. The following remarks were made:

Yes that is true, because given the fact that now you see that I am financially well off, I am old enough, I have lived, I have had interactions with a lot of people, then in that case I have been exposed to a lot of people, probably I’ve slept with a lot of people compared to guys their own age, so they are more susceptible to those illnesses, and because I have wealth and finances it means that I can have anyone that I want and at any time, so it’s easier for me because I’m older and I’m in the position where I can date a lot of people at the same time because I have resources, so I am more riskier than someone of their age and it’s easier for me to transfer whatever it is that I have and transmit it to the young ones because I may not be really protecting myself (Participant Two).

If you look at guys that are much closer to say maybe a first year, or a guy that is in first year, guys in their first years are not as sexually active as guys who are much older or someone that is working. Someone that is working might have a young girl and other girlfriends in other places, so in that sort of relationship where you have an older guy dating a younger girl is more or less dangerous because the older guy is more or less used to having a lot of sexual partners, so you will find that you are most likely to experience reckless sexual behaviour in a relationship where you are dating an older person… (Participant Seven).

Besides culture, it can be argued that the reason why these intergenerational sexual relationships occur is due to the fact that older men tend to be able to provide these younger girls with material and other transactional benefits, yielding what is known as transactional sex (HSRC, 2014: 116; Zembe, Townsend, Thorson & Ekström, 2013: 2; Selikow & Mbulaheni, 2013: 87; Potgieter, Strebel, Shefer & Wagner, 2012: 193; Dunkle, Wingood, Camp & DiClemente, 2010: 1; Hawkinsa, Priceb & Mussác, 2009: 171; Luke, 2003: 73; Foreman, 1998: 28). Reflecting back on the link to HIV, transactional sex is often associated with multiple concurrent partnerships, which are more conducive to the spread of HIV than serial monogamous sexual relationships. One of the reasons why young women are at a high risk of being infected and are infected with HIV is due to the fact that they enter such relationships with much older, wealthier men as a means to survival (Stoebenau et al., 2011: 2; Weckesser, 2011: 56).
6.2 CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In the findings and analysis section, the themes that emerged from the data reduction were used to answer the following research questions:

1. What do selected men in intergenerational relationships say about intergenerational sexual relationships?

2. What do selected men in intergenerational relationships know about HIV-related risks associated with being in intergenerational sexual relationships?

3. What are the views of selected men in intergenerational relationships about the selected campaign messaging on intergenerational sexual relationships in selected advertisements of the ZAZI Campaign?

This chapter has discussed the findings from the themes with regard to how they relate to the theory that was used in the literature review in order to identify whether or not the pre-existing literature relates to the current findings that were derived from the interviews in order to answer the above research questions. The overall findings from the analysis of the new theory found that intergenerational relationships are acceptable in African cultures and that the term ‘sugar daddies’ is a Western concept that was transferred to African cultures in order to challenge pre-existing beliefs. Sugar daddies are defined as older men who have access to social capital that they use to entice younger women, with the intentions of forming sexual relationships with them.

The other reasons why these older men pursue younger women is because these women are more physically attractive, they are sexually active, they know how to have a good time and, most importantly, they do not challenge the older men that they are in relationships with. The ZAZI Campaign has been criticised for not stating the dangers of dating older men or detailing what the potential health risks may be in that particular advertisement. The other criticism was that although the campaign has good intentions, these young women cannot be stopped from pursuing the relationships that they want to have, more especially so because they know that they have something to gain from dating an older man who can provide them with financial security. Lastly, it was found that older men do pose a higher health risk to younger women simply because they have had many sexual encounters with women in the past, and some of
them do not always practice safe sex. Last but not least, these older men have multiple sexual relationships with women which drastically increases the chances of both parties contracting HIV and/or STIs or STDs.

Based on the findings of this research, it is recommended that the ZAZI Campaign rework its campaign by providing more information on the dangers of pursuing relationships with older men; for example: it should state what constitutes an intergenerational relationship? What health risks are involved when one is in a relationship with an older man? What are the driving forces that encourage and/or lead people into pursuing intergenerational relationships? It would also be recommended that a follow up study be done on the female (sugar baby) responses to the questions that were answered by the male participants in this research in order to create new theories and literature based on intergenerational relationships that focus on both the male and female perspectives of the given phenomenon.
CHAPTER SEVEN: SUFFIX: SUMMARY OF THE STUDY

7.1 INTRODUCTION

AIDS is ranked as the second cause of death after tuberculosis in South Africa (Statistics South Africa, 2014: 42). Intergenerational sex is an issue of much concern as statistics indicate that young women between the ages of 15 and 24 are about three to four times more likely to have been infected with HIV than their male counterparts (Hasler, 2013: 21).

According to HESA, ‘intergenerational sex’, refers to sex acts that occur between one partner who is usually 10 years older than the other – for those 20 to 25 years of age (HESA, 2010: 120). In a study conducted by the HSRC, it was found that in 2012 about one-fifth of all respondents aged 15–19 years (19.9 per cent) were involved in age-disparate relationships involving a sexual partner who was more than five years older than they were (HSRC, 2014: 31; Pettifor et al., 2005: 1531). JHHESA (2014: 50) found that amongst those with a partner 10 years or more older than the females, only 36 per cent had used a condom during their last sexual encounter and that women around this age group were also most likely to engage in more sexual activities than their male counterparts (Pettifor et al., 2005: 1531).

Communication to discourage intergenerational sexual relationships has been identified as a key national goal (HSRC, 2014: 116). Interventions that seek to reduce intergenerational relationships have been said to reduce the HIV prevalence amongst young women and delay their sexual debut, but on the other hand there might be a rise in the HIV prevalence amongst young men (Hallett, Gregson, Lewis, Lopman & Garnett, 2007: 50-52). One campaign that aims to address intergenerational relationships is named “ZAZI”. This campaign aims to create a movement that encourages women to stand up to the silence that allows the pain in their lives to thrive, and also for women to define their own values and their own paths in life (ZAZI, 2014) in such a way that they avoid relationships with older men, otherwise known as ‘sugar daddies’. The stereotypical sugar daddy is an adult male who exchanges large amounts of money or gifts for sexual favours from a much younger woman. Sugar daddy relationships are associated with both age and economic asymmetries which are believed to limit young women’s powers to negotiate safer sexual behaviour (Fox et al., 2007: 597; Luke, 2005: 6; Defo, 2004: 15; Luke, 2003: 67).
This study has investigated how selected men perceive messaging on intergenerational sexual relationships in selected advertisements from the ZAZI Campaign. One of the aims of the campaign is to get women to know themselves in such ways that they can make a stand and take ownership of their choices with regard to HIV-related risks. The decision to focus on men was informed by the common sense ecological observation that, in a media-ecology, communication for change that is aimed at women also reaches men— with possible unintended consequences. Other studies relating to sugar daddies that did not seek the views of men regarding communication on intergenerational relationships include studies conducted by (Kriel, 2011; Tshibangu-Kalala, 2010; Gbalajobi, 2010). More specifically, the following questions were addressed:

1. What do selected men in intergenerational relationships say about intergenerational sexual relationships?

2. What are the views of selected men in intergenerational relationships about the selected campaign messaging on intergenerational sexual relationships in selected advertisements of the ZAZI Campaign?

3. What do selected men in intergenerational relationships know about HIV-related risks associated with being in intergenerational sexual relationships?

7.2 SUMMARY OF THE CONCEPTUAL APPROACH

According to Fox et al. (2007: 597), Luke (2005: 6), Defo (2004: 15) and Luke (2003: 67), a sugar daddy is an adult male who exchanges large amounts of money or gifts for sexual favours from a much younger woman. Although there are a number of cultures that allow and embrace the practice of intergenerational relationships, meaning that sugar daddies have become common and widely accepted in Sub-Saharan Africa, these older men are major contributors in the spread of HIV/AIDS (Morrell, Epstein & Molestane, 2012: 620; Luke, 2005: 6). Trend analysis of data obtained during the three last surveys conducted in 2005, 2008 and 2012 by the HSRC shows that there was a steady increase in intergenerational sexual relationships among young women aged between 15
and 19 years, while this has hardly been a feature among their male counterparts over the period (HSRC, 2014: 31-32).

Besides culture, it can be argued that the reason these intergenerational sexual relationships occur is due to the fact that older men tend to be able to provide these younger women with material and other transactional benefits, yielding what is known as transactional sex (HSRC, 2014: 116; Zembe, Townsend, Thorson & Ekström, 2013; Selikow & Mbulaheni, 2013; Potgieter, Strebel, Shefer & Wagner, 2012; Dunkle, Wingood, Camp & DiClemente, 2010; Hawkinsa, Priceb & Mussác, 2009; Foreman, 1998: 28). A study conducted by HESA (2010: 18) states that the degree to which transactional sex is acknowledged and spoken about indicates that the general concept of exchanging sex for social and material gain is commonplace.

With regard to intergenerational relationships, older men, who are regarded as providers in a vast number of cultures, often trade material goods with their partners in exchange for sex. Qualitative data provides evidence that less direct forms of material transactions are pervasive and carry much greater social acceptance (HESA, 2010: 18). Older men are sources of social capital that young women may aspire to gain. According to Gauntlett (2011: 2), social capital can be defined as the sum of the resources which can be actual or virtual, that adds to an individual by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition.

This suggests that social aspiration, recreation and other non-forced choices may lead young females into high-risk transactional intergenerational sex. Intergenerational sexual relationships are considered a major behavioural risk factor for HIV infection among young women; hence, the urgent need for targeted social and behavioural change communication interventions to raise awareness and reduce high-risk behaviours associated with such relationships. This entails communicating to change widely held community norms that accept and promote such high-risk practices.

AIDS educators should continue to investigate how African cultural practices intertwine with how relationships that bear on HIV/AIDS are perceived and acted upon (Van Dyk, 2000: 64). After all, traditional cultural practices reflect the values and beliefs held by members of a community for periods often spanning generations.
The cultural norms of all social groupings include practices that can be harmful or at least unhelpful (Maluleke, 2012: 2). Intergenerational relationships appear to be traditionally acceptable in African cultures, yet as HESA notes, ‘intergenerational sex’, which involves sex acts where one partner is usually 10 years older than the other – for those 20 to 25 years of age – are a major vector of the HIV/AIDS epidemic (HESA, 2010: 120).

7.3 METHODOLOGY

After verification of the viability of an interview schedule that was established through the application of a pilot study and informed by an earlier study by Gbalajobi (2010), for this study, eleven in-depth interviews were conducted at the University of Johannesburg. These men were identified using the snowball sampling technique following initial contact with men who were introduced to the researcher by informants, who identified them as people who were willing to discuss the fact that they are involved in intergenerational relationships. The ages of participants within this group ranged from 29 to 35 years of age. Findings were analysed for themes using a method of thematic analysis outlined by Boyatzis (1998).

7.4 THEMES

Four themes were recurrent in the reading of the interview data. These themes are discussed below:

7.4.1 Theme 1: ‘We are not sugar daddies’

Within this theme, participants perceive intergenerational relationships as those that occur between a matured female, who is above the age of 18 and whose partner is 10–15 years older. Participants have also clearly expressed that intergenerational relationships are acceptable in African cultures, and that referring to them as ‘sugar daddies’ would be incorrect as that term is a Western concept, that was introduced to African people some years ago and therefore the concept does not apply to their cultures. It is well known that women tend to age faster than men; therefore, one of the reasons why these older men pursue younger women is that these younger women are physically more attractive, enjoy having a good time, but more importantly, these older men are able to control the direction and nature of the relationship with
their younger counterparts, because younger women do not challenge these men intellectually or otherwise and it makes it easier for the men to control them.

7.4.2 Theme 2: ‘You can’t be a sugar daddy and be broke’

Participants have defined a sugar daddy as an older man who is usually married and has a number of resources which he exchanges with his younger partner in order to receive sexual favours from her. Furthermore, participants have also mentioned that sugar daddies use their vast resources in order to take advantage of younger women, because they know that they have the ability to provide these needy or impoverished young women with financial assistance in exchange for sexual favours.

7.4.3 Theme 3: ‘Young women can’t be controlled’

Based on the manner in which the participants criticised the ZAZI Campaign, this theme saw the ZAZI Campaign containing more flaws than positive health communication strategies. The participants acknowledge that this particular campaign is a useful initiative, but the actions of these younger women cannot be controlled. Participants have indicated that we are living in a materialistic world which is mostly embraced by younger women, therefore campaigns warning them to stay away from older men may fall on deaf ears because at the end of the day these women are going to take what they deem as necessary steps, to get the material goods that they seek; even if it means sleeping with an older, wealthier man. Furthermore, this campaign has also been criticised for being misleading as it does not state the potential dangers of pursuing relationships with older men and it also gives the impression that it is alright for younger women to engage in promiscuous relationships with their male counterparts, as they were only cautioned to stay clear of relationships with older men.

7.4.4 Theme 4: ‘There’s no need to be faithful’

With regard to the health risks associated with intergenerational and sugar daddy relationships, the participants have suggested that older men do pose a higher health risk to younger women, because their resources and worldly knowledge afford them the ability to engage in multiple sexual relationships. The reason why these older men pose as a health risk to younger women is that they are more sexually active and experienced than their younger counterparts. In addition, older men have the perception that younger women are not extremely sexually active and therefore do not
have any diseases – this enables these older men to engage in reckless sexual practices with them. On the other hand, a few of the participants have mentioned that older men do not pose as a health risk to younger women because of their vast worldly experience, which means that when it comes to matters regarding the bedroom and sexual activities, they are experienced in the things that they do, therefore they know how to practice safer sex.

7.5 DISCUSSION

In summary, the findings of the research are discussed by systematically addressing the research questions that were stated in the introduction, using data from the above identified themes. The purpose of this analysis is to identify whether or not the pre-existing literature relates to the above empirical findings. It will produce new theory by critically combining and interrelating the empirical findings with insights from the broad literature.

7.5.1 Selected men’s views regarding intergenerational sexual relationships

In response to the research question: What do selected men in intergenerational relationships say about intergenerational sexual relationships? The majority of the interviewed participants acknowledged being in what the literature describes as intergenerational sexual relationships. This is not surprising since, as noted in the methodology section, participants were selected in such a way that they represent individuals in relationships in which the man has to be 10–15 years older than the woman. Participant Nine states that:

Scientifically, it has been proven that women and men, ok let me just take it more further, let me say I am 70, right, and you are in your fifties, that is a nice match because what happens is, when I’m 75 and you’re 73 you’re no longer interested in sex anymore, so I would say it’s from up there going downwards. So I’m like 30 and she’s 20, nice match, nice match! For in case if our relationship lasts long, I’m safe with that (Participant Nine).

What is interesting is that the male participants were keen to point out that in their relationships the younger women had reached a stage of maturity that made it unfair to accuse them of taking advantage of the young women’s relative youth. In particular, and to illustrate this point, the men were keen to point to the fact that the women they were in relationships with were of an age that gave them legal consent. According to Participant Six:
It depends on the age group, remember if the age is too huge then it is problematic as such...It also depends on the stage of the young female, if she is below 18 then an age gap of more than 10 years is not healthy, but if she is above the age of 25 then an age gap of more than 10 years is good, it is healthy, and then if she is above 30 then an age gap of 15 is not an issue. I think it’s a question of not taking advantage of an immature mind so to speak... (Participant Six).

The definition which was offered at the start of this research suggests that intergenerational relationships are those in which one partner is young and the other is usually 10 years older – for those 20 to 25 years of age – and/or if the other partner is much older (usually five years older for teenagers) (Ott et al., 2011: 2; HESA, 2010: 82). However, the above views appear to suggest that a rigid and inflexible definition such as this may not yield a fair basis for beginning to think systematically about judgements of how relationships involve or do not involve older men who ‘take advantage of younger women’. It may be more useful to consider a view of intergenerational relationships that takes more factors into account. Those factors should include the distinction between intergenerational relationships, as well as sugar daddy relationships. Participants have stated that intergenerational relationships occur between men who are 10–15 years older than their partners who are mature enough to be in relationships; as this is common in African cultures therefore they cannot be classified as sugar daddies. Participant One supported this statement by saying that:

…If the person is like 20 years older than you and the person is married, it also depends on how old you are, so for example, as a woman, if you are 30 and the guy is 50 or 40 that could be an intergenerational relationship I think, it depends on how you define it. If you are 30 and I am 40 you are old enough, I cannot be said to be a sugar daddy then... (Participant One).

It appears that intergenerational relationships are common and widely accepted in Sub-Saharan Africa and these types of relationships have been said to be one of the main contributors in the spread of HIV/AIDS (Morrell et al., 2012: 620; Leclerc-Madlala, 2010: 5; Luke, 2005: 6). Participant Five agrees with this statement as he has stated that intergenerational relationships are acceptable in African cultures, and that labelling these men in these types of relationships as ‘sugar daddies’ is a foreign concept to Africans, because this term was brought about by Westerners in order to confuse or challenge pre-existing African cultural norms and beliefs. Participant Five made the following remark:
I think that people are too Western these days so in our culture, if you look at our history as African people we would even choose a wife before that person is even old enough to be a wife, so we would choose a child while they are still 6 years old or whatever, based on the family background and the values that that family has, so it is nothing taboo for us. It is just Western concepts that are being transferred and they are trying to confuse our people, we are not sugar daddies (Participant Five).

According to Van Dyk (2000: 64) African cultural behaviours should be accepted and respected by Westerners. These practices are unfamiliar to them, but they do not pose as a major threat to ones’ health. These adult men are keen on dating young girls because, according to Leclerc-Madlala, (2010: 5), Chase, (2004: 1-2) and Luke (2003: 73), they get the pleasure of labelling her as a trophy girlfriend, and most importantly, these older men believe that young girls are uninfected, whereas a third of these men may already carry the virus and most of them believe that sleeping with a virgin will rid them of the infection (ibid.). Participant Eight supports this statement by mentioning the following:

…there are sangomas (witch doctors/traditional healers) that tell old people to go find young women to cure their HIV, so the sangoma will tell you to sleep with a younger woman so that you can get cured (Participant Eight).

In addition to the abovementioned, participants have stated that they prefer to be in relationships with younger women because they are easier to control – as they will respect his position as a man by not challenging him. Gender inequity and inequality have been identified as key factors in HIV infection. As Hasler (2013: 23) and Turmen (2003: 414) indicate, that issues such as gender inequality and lack of economic independence and information have put girls at a higher risk of HIV infection than younger boys and older men. Younger women who find themselves in intergenerational relationships that require them to be submissive, find themselves more at risk of contracting STIs and HIV because they are unable to negotiate safer sexual practices (Hasler, 2013: 23; Turmen, 2003: 414). The other reason why older men prefer being in relationships with younger women is due to the fact that historically decision-making was controlled by men because they have a higher status than women, which helps expedite the spread of HIV (ibid.). Janey (2003: 5) goes on to say that a worldview can be described as a general design for living and a pattern for interpreting reality. Gender role expectations have been recognised as playing an important role in shaping the worldview of men and women, which emphasises the
need for gender awareness and sensitivity. Participant Two has illustrated this point by stating the following:

Well obviously it’s because with younger girls it’s easier in a sense to deceive them, because when I am older it means that I am more mature and all the stuff, but apart from that they can be easier to handle, for instance you might find that younger girls are not as complicated as old people, like the teenagers, they probably won’t be talking about marriage and all that, all they want is just to have fun and that’s what we’re probably looking for as well. So hence we would probably go for a younger girl than people of your age, who will start talking about marriage, so younger girls are more nicer and more chilled, it’s all about fun (Participant Two).

It is known that patriarchy involves both blatant and hidden manifestations of male supremacy, male privilege and the subordination of women; it is not reducible to either one of those (Edstrom et al., 2014: 3). Although it has not been mentioned by the participants, their responses in the interviews give the impression that the role of the younger women is for them to be submissive regardless of the fact that we are living in a modern society, as these men believe that they cannot be challenged by a younger woman because she does not have much worldly experience.

Different cultures may have their own way of defining what it means to be a man but a cross-cultural model has identified three elements of the male role which include the protector who represents the guardian of the family or the country, the provider who brings in income and material goods and the impregnator who assists with matters of fertility, virility and the prowess of women (Janey, 2003: 6). Some of the participants have mentioned that in their culture, their role as a man means being the provider for their partners, as it is a man’s duty to do so. Participant Six has mentioned the following:

…It is standard for a man, you have to spend on a woman, especially for us black people. So if you are not prepared to spend on your woman it’s like weird for me, but I don’t rent a relationship, so if you give a woman money in the way that you’re renting a relationship, that is something else, but to surprise your woman and to buy her this or that then yeah I’ve done that (Participant Six).

Smith (2007: 1001) states that masculinity is produced and conveyed both in men’s relationships with women, as well as in their connections with other men. In male dominated social settings, such as social clubs, sports bars, sections of the marketplace etc., it is common for men to show off their girlfriends and to discuss them with other men. Therefore, male peer groups are one of the significant factors that
motivate other men to engage in extramarital relationships (Smith, 2007: 1001). Participant Four concurs with this statement as he has mentioned the following:

It’s actually nice to have a proper woman on your side, like not just a normal woman but a nice woman, a beautiful woman. Like if we can take a look, every man in this world they go for these proper women, the nice ones, the cute ones, the sexy ones, not the boring ones (Participant Four).

The findings from the interviews suggest that a common reason why these older men prefer pursing relationships with younger women is because they believe that women ‘age’ faster than men. In other words, they think that dating younger women ensures that they will still be physically attracted to the women as they enter old age. Furthermore, these men believe that the younger women with whom they elect to be in relationships with have not engaged in sexual intercourse with many men, and also that these young women are great to have around because they know how to have fun. According to Smith (2007: 1001) married men prefer the attractive, urban, sophisticated young women who are seen as the most wanted girlfriends to provide not only sex but also the prospect of having more fashionable, exhilarating and modern sexual intercourse, than that which they have with their wives (ibid.). Participant One stated the following:

…it would possibly be that the person is more attractive, or is perceived as being more attractive than your wife. So the attractive thing would be how the person looks, and that would attract you to the relationship, but you can love her as long as the person is above 18 because we don’t want to be molesting them (Participant One).

For some men, it is attractive to be in relationships with younger women because in those relationships they feel respected and powerful. They admit that some of this respect and power flows from the fact that sugar daddies have financial resources to throw into the relationship that younger women value. Participants Two concurs with these statements by defining sugar daddies in the following way:

A sugar daddy well obviously, you can’t be a sugar daddy and broke so a sugar daddy has to a guy that is older, way older but has money as well...Well we can say roughly more than 10-15 years or even maybe less than that, but a sugar daddy has to be old enough so that you can see that he is able to adopt that girl or something like that, and obviously that guy must have money. You must be financially well off, you must have resources because as the sugar daddy you must be able to take care of the younger girl that you are dating, so that’s a sugar daddy (Participant Two).
Sugar daddies spoke of using their financial resources to take advantage of younger women who may be in need of something material or otherwise, in order to receive sexual favours from her in return. Participant Ten claims that:

A sugar daddy is someone who takes advantage of what they can do for the other person in order to have a relationship with them… Let’s say for instance there was some young lady that was poor and she was in need of money and these days there is so much technology and gadgets, that when you have friends that are rich or come from rich families, you feel pressured and the need to have an I Phone and a tablet and this and that, and that’s why most young girls get into relationships with older men or people who can maintain them you see, so men take that advantage and say: you know what? I can do this for her because she wants money, I can get into her pants (Participant Ten).

It can be argued that the reason these intergenerational relationships occur is due to the fact that older men have access to social capital and are therefore able to provide for these younger girls. These very same findings have also been mentioned by various sources; they state that on the other hand, it has been noted that in urban areas young women engage in sexual intergenerational relationships as a means for material gain – whereas entertainment and fun were the leading causes of such unions. Although some young women have parents who provide them with the necessities of life, Leclerc-Madlala (2010: 6) mentions that engaging in such relationships was not about seeking a means to survival, but about obtaining a ‘top up’ that helps boost their status in society (Leclerc-Madlala, 2010: 6).

Furthermore, some of the participants have claimed to have given money or gifts to their partners after having sexual intercourse with them because they know that the women expect something in return for sleeping with them, because they feel as though they have taken something from her, therefore she needs to be repaid, as this may be the case for most sexual intergenerational relationships. This practice is well illustrated by Participant Two who states that:

Ya, no definitely that has to happen, in some sort of a: yoh look we had a good time, so obviously she would expect something in return, that’s the whole purpose. I mean I have been on dates whereby I know my intentions which is to have fun, which we spoke about, and pleasure which could be sex or entertainment, in the sense that we should be having sexual intercourse but as well as the, my girl who is way younger than me, you do expect something from me and that could be money. So whenever we engage in ‘bonking exercises’ or activities (sexual intercourse), I’ll definitely give you something, just to say:
hey thanks, we had fun, it was pleasurable, it was nice, and we enjoyed it, but here you go (Participant Two).

A study conducted by HESA (2010: 80) states that the degree to which transactional sex is acknowledged and spoken about indicates that the general concept of exchanging sex for social and material gain is commonplace (ibid.). Stoebenau et al. (2011: 2), Weckesser (2011: 56), HESA (2010: 80) and Defo (2004: 15) state that transactional sex is usually associated with poverty, the influence of Western consumerism, social and political conditions, differences in economic power between men and women and the breakdown of traditional African marriage customs involving bride wealth (Stoebenau et al., 2011: 2; Weckesser, 2011: 56; HESA, 2010: 80; Defo, 2004: 15).

Certain participants believe that acts of transactional sex are associated with prostitution, in such a way that a man is paying for a service that is being rendered by the younger woman. Stoebenau et al. (2011: 2) describe this act as transactional sex, in which these sources have mentioned that for public health researchers, what is known outside of formal prostitution or sex work as ‘transactional sex’ or sex for gift exchange by its participants was regarded in the mid-1990s as an important determinant of HIV transmission, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa (ibid.). In an article entitled ‘The materiality of everyday sex’, Mark Hunter explained: ‘transactional sex has a number of similarities to prostitution, [but] transactional sex differs in important ways: participants are constructed as “girlfriends” and “boyfriends” … and the exchange of gifts for sex is part of a broader set of obligations that might not involve a predetermined payment’ (Stoebenau et al., 2011: 2). Participant Six agrees that giving his partner money after engaging in sexual intercourse with her is equated to prostitution, as he has stated the following:

No that’s stupid and whoever does that is a stupid guy, you’re treating your woman as if she is a prostitute, you never do that. Like if you wanted to buy a prostitute why don’t you go and buy a prostitute. You don’t treat your woman like a prostitute, like it’s deeming to give woman money after sexual intercourse… (Participant six).

According to Jewkes et al. (2012: 2), transactional relationships, sex and prostitution are regarded as lying on a spectrum. At one end, transactional sex bears many similarities to the practice of prostitution, especially when money is given to the other partner after a single act of sex or where there is a relationship that involves multiple
sexual encounters that are entirely based on receiving a material reward thereafter (ibid.). On the other hand, Jewkes et al. (2012: 2) also mention that interpreting the spectrum becomes somewhat more difficult as there is literature that shows that in many parts of sub-Saharan Africa it is sex given without material reward that is perceived to be demeaning for women (ibid.).

7.5.2 Selected men’s views regarding messaging on intergenerational sexual relationships from the ZAZI campaign

In response to the research question: What are the views of selected men in intergenerational relationships about the selected campaign messaging on intergenerational sexual relationships in selected advertisements of the ZAZI Campaign? – one campaign that aims to address intergenerational relationships is named “ZAZI”, of which its aim is to create a movement that encourages women to stand up to the silence that allows the pain in their lives to thrive, as well as for women to define their own values and their own paths in life (ZAZI, 2014) in such a way that they avoid relations with older men.

Participants agree that the ZAZI Campaign is a useful initiative but they add that one cannot control the choices that a person is going to make. In this instance, the young women might be warned about the dangers of pursuing older men but whether they decide to follow suite cannot be determined, because the current generation is very materialistic and will therefore do just about anything to get the things that they want, which usually involves getting into transactional sexual intergenerational relationships. According to Green (2008: 238), Turmen (2003: 412) Luke (2003: 74) and Gupta (2000: 3), women’s economic dependency increases their vulnerability to HIV, as research has shown that the economic vulnerability of women makes it more likely that they will exchange sex for money or favours, less likely that they will succeed in negotiating protection, and even less likely that they will leave a relationship that they perceive to be risky (Green, 2008: 238; Turmen, 2003: 412; Luke, 2003: 74; Gupta, 2000: 3). A woman’s lower status can leave her more exposed to infection while men risk infection because of ideals of masculinity associated with risk-taking and sexual conquest (ibid.). Participant Two made the following comment:

Well given the contemporary situation, it’s really rare these days where young girls won’t fall for these old guys, or sugar daddies, remember that
we are living in this modern society where people are so materialistic and they are so attracted to material and wealth and finance and all that, because when we have money, power and status you are the big dog, so normally it is rare when you find that girls won’t go for someone that is well established or financially well off. Yes it is true, I saw the video, but it’s not really possible in most cases to avoid that, because young girls they want things and they would definitely go for sugar daddies but morally it is not good because there are those days when you know that with these guys, what they normally do with these young girls, they aren’t normally devoted to one girl or go out with that one girl, they probably do that with all their young girls of which it is more riskier, so they should stay away from it, but what are the chances that will happen? (Participant Two).

According to African popular discourse, researchers and health care workers have all sounded the alarm over sugar daddies, stating that their main goal is to seek out young women, believing they might not be infected with HIV (HSRC, 2014: 116; Luke, 2005: 6). Health organisations have created campaigns that warn young women to stay away from sugar daddies because they pose as a major health concern in the area of HIV/AIDS (HSRC, 2014: 116; Luke, 2005: 6). This major health concern has frequently been labelled as the sugar daddy syndrome in which female adolescents often bear most of the risk (ibid.). As a result of this, the UNAIDS Global Coalition on Women and AIDS advocates the development of effective programmes to educate and empower young women regarding HIV prevention and increase their economic security (Fiscian et al., 2009: 67-68). The ZAZI Campaign was also criticised by Participant Six who mentioned that this campaign is misleading as it does not say what the potential dangers of dating older men are, as it does not highlight key issues such as HIV/AIDS, STDs and forced abortion, just to mention a few. The following remark was made by Participant Six:

…but then from the video (ZAZI Campaign) the video seems to be giving the impression that HIV/AIDS and standards are only prevalent and prominent in an intergenerational relationship, that is misleading… it gives the impression that it’s prominent and dominant. It’s programming the youngsters, it has got a negative impact which has not been well considered, it gives the impression that it is good for youngsters to get into multiple relationships with people of their age, and that they will only get HIV/AIDS and STDs from the older generation or from the sugar daddies. Maybe if they phrased it differently to show other painful encounters and experiences that may come out of intergenerational relationships, like being pregnant for someone who’s as old as your father and knowing that your parents will not approve of that then you will be forced to do an abortion. So for me that is not practical right, and not misleading but it gives the real issue, or maybe being exploited because mentally and
intellectually you’re not there yet and this guy has been around so he can be problematic and controlling, and psychologically he can exploit you, but there are incidences whereby there will be the transfer of HIV/AIDS, but I feel like it kind of misses the point in a way and it gives the blanket statement that it’s cool for them to be promiscuous with men their age as long as it’s not intergenerational (Participant Six).

According to Leclerc-Madlala (2010: 8) there is an urgent need to identify the risk perception of young women in intergenerational relationships. This can be achieved by older peers playing a role in encouraging, mentoring and supporting young women on how to successfully resist getting involved with such relationships (ibid.). Dupas (2005: 3) states that, in order to reduce the risk of young girls being infected with HIV, they have to be provided with information regarding the HIV prevalence disaggregated by gender and age group. In Southern Africa, women are held responsible for sex-related issues such as reproduction and contraception (ibid.). Therefore, Dupas (2005: 3) mentions that addressing intergenerational sex should demand of adult men to stop engaging in potentially-exploitative relationships and to recognise that liaisons with young women are an abuse of power and status (ibid.).

7.5.3 Selected men’s views regarding HIV risks in intergenerational sex relationships

In response to the research question: What do selected men in intergenerational relationships know about HIV-related risks associated with being in intergenerational sexual relationships? Certain participants agreed that younger women who are involved in intergenerational sexual relationships are more at risk of getting sexually transmitted infections and diseases from their older partners. The reason why these young girls are infected more than boys the same age is due to the high incidence of consensual, unsafe intergenerational sexual relationships that they engage in with older men who are five or more years older than they are (CSIS, 2013: 9; Nobelius et al., 2011: 253; Dupas, 2005: 2). According to Leclerc-Madlala (2010: 5), HESA (2010: 82), Sen and Ostlin (2010: 20), and Dupas (2005: 2), older men have a higher chance of being infected with HIV than teenage boys because they have been sexually active for longer. Therefore, intergenerational relationships are more likely to put young girls at risk of contracting HIV/AIDS, and a large age gap between partners makes it more difficult for younger women to negotiate safer sex (Leclerc-Madlala, 2010: 5; HESA, 2010: 82; Sen & Ostlin, 2010: 20; Dupas, 2005: 2). Studies that were conducted
estimated that for every year’s increase in the age difference between partners, chances of unprotected sex rose by 28 per cent (ibid.). The following statement was provided by Participant Four:

Obviously, yes, since us we are older to them which means that we are exposed to many things in life, to many people we have interacted with, with people we have dated and to many things...we have different experiences like drugs, some of us have dated many women, some of us we do all these sort of things, not the good ones, so it’s a risk for women to go for sugar daddies because sometimes we do mistakes while having pleasure (Participant Four).

The other reasons that were provided by the sources in the literature review as to why younger women in intergenerational relationships are more likely to get infected with HIV, is due to sociocultural factors such as poverty, lack of education, high cultural value of childbearing, low social standing, lack of empowerment, poor knowledge about the disease, misperception of low vulnerability and fatalism (Leclerc-Madlala, 2010: 6; Fiscian et al., 2009: 67-68). Participant Seven stated that the reason why this could be the case is due to the fact that these older men might not condomise as much as they should, but most importantly, these older men have had many interactions with different women and there is a high possibility that they are pursuing sexual relationships with multiple partners. The following remark was made by Participant Seven:

If you look at guys that are much closer to say maybe a first year, or a guy that is in first year, guys in their first years are not as sexually active as guys who are much older or someone that is working. Someone that is working might have a young girl and other girlfriends in other places, so in that sort of relationship where you have an older guy dating a younger girl is more or less dangerous because the older guy is more or less used to having a lot of sexual partners, so you will find that you are most likely to experience reckless sexual behaviour in a relationship where you are dating an older person… (Participant Seven).

Besides culture, it can be argued that the reason why these intergenerational sexual relationships occur is because older men tend to be able to provide these younger girls with material and other transactional benefits, yielding what is known as transactional sex (HSRC, 2014: 116; Zembe, Townsend, Thorson & Ekström, 2013: 2; Selikow & Mbulaheni, 2013: 87; Potgieter, Strebel, Shefer & Wagner, 2012: 193; Dunkle, Wingood, Camp & DiClemente, 2010: 1; Hawkinsa, Priceb & Mussáć, 2009: 171; Luke, 2003: 73; Foreman, 1998: 28). Reflecting back on the link to HIV,
Stoebenau et al. (2011: 2) and Weckesser (2011: 56) state that transactional sex is often associated with multiple concurrent partnerships, which is more conducive to the spread of HIV than serial monogamous sexual relationships. One of the reasons why young women are at a high risk of being infected with, and are infected with HIV is due to the fact that they enter such relationships with much older, wealthier men as a means to survival (Stoebenau et al., 2011: 2; Weckesser, 2011: 56).

### 7.6 CONCLUSION

The chapter summarises the conceptual and methodological issues, as well as the findings presented in this study. The overall findings indicate that intergenerational relationships seem to still be acceptable in African cultures and that the derogatory term ‘sugar daddies’ challenges pre-existing beliefs. Sugar daddies are defined as older men who have access to social capital that they use to entice younger women, with the intention of forming sexual relationships with them.

The study indicates that sugar daddies may pursue relationships with younger women on the grounds that these women are seen to be physically more attractive than older women. They are regarded as being sexually more active, more interested and capable of having a ‘good time’, and more importantly, they are thought to be unlikely to challenge their older male partners.

The ZAZI Campaign has been criticised for not stating the dangers of dating older men or detailing what the potential health risks may be in that particular advertisement. The other criticism was that although the campaign has good intentions, these young women cannot be stopped from pursuing the relationships that they want to have, more especially so because they know that they have something to gain from dating an older man who can provide them with financial security. Lastly, it was found that older men do pose a higher health risk to younger women simply because they have had many sexual encounters with various women in the past, some of them do not always practice safe sex, and last but not least, these older men have multiple sexual relationships with women which drastically increases the chances of both parties contracting HIV, STIs or STDs.

Based on the findings of this research, it is recommended that the ZAZI Campaign provide more information on the dangers of pursuing relationships with older men, for example: What constitutes an intergenerational relationship? What health risks are
involved when one is in a relationship with an older man? What are the driving forces that encourage and/or lead people into pursuing intergenerational relationships? It would also be recommended that a follow-up study be done on the female (sugar baby) responses to the questions that were answered by the male participants in this research, in order to create new theories and literature based on intergenerational relationships that focus on both the male and female perspectives of the given phenomenon.
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Selikow, T., & Mbulaheni, T. (2013). “I do love him but at the same time I can't eat love”: Sugar daddy relationships for conspicuous consumption amongst urban


Appendix A: Interview Schedule

1. In most of the African cultures it is acceptable for an older man to be in a relationship with a younger woman, yet most people would refer to men in such relationships as ‘sugar daddies’. What are your thoughts on this matter?

1.1 How do you define a sugar daddy?

2. What is more attractive about a relationship with a younger woman as opposed to one with a women closer to your age?

2.1 Are you pursuing younger women because you have romantic feelings for them or is it solely for pleasure purposes?

3. Are you familiar with the ZAZI Campaign and its advertisements that warn young girls to stay away from older men? What do you think of this advertising?

3.1 Do you agree that older men pose higher health risks for young girls as opposed to men their age?

4. Have you ever given your girlfriend money or gifts during the course of your relationship? If so, what would the reason be?

4.1 How much money or gifts have you given to your girlfriend?

4.2 On what occasions have you given your girlfriend money or gifts?

4.3 Would it be fair to say that you have sometimes given money or gifts to a younger woman with whom you are in a relationship after a sexual encounter?
Appendix B: Interview Release Form

The questions that will be asked during the interview will be based on the research conducted by Amy Maphagela at the University of Johannesburg regarding “How Selected Men in Intergenerational Relationships View Intergenerational Relationships: With Reference to the ZAZI Campaign”.

I ________________________________ (name and surname) hereby agree that this researcher ________________________________ (name and surname) can record and transcribe this interview and I understand that I will not get paid in any form for participating in this interview.

____________________         ______________
Signature        Date

For participants/ interviewees who wish to remain anonymous please place your signature below stating that you agree to the terms and conditions of this interview, which imply that the researcher can record and transcribe the interview and that no participant will be paid in any form for participating in this interview.

__________________________     ________________
Participants signature       Date