

https://dspace.org/

Multiple concurrent partnerships and sexual dissatisfaction - an exploratory study among black women in South Africa.

Rassool, Rayana

2011-03-31
http://hdl.handle.net/10539/9295

Downloaded from a DSpace repository. https://dspace.org/

Multiple Concurrent Partnerships and Sexual Dissatisfaction – An Exploratory Study Among Black Women in South Africa

Rayana Rassool – 0611259F

This research report is submitted as a partial fulfilment for the Degree of

Master of Arts by coursework and research in Development Studies,

Johannesburg 2010

ABSTRACT

This research report focuses on the linkages between multiple concurrent partnerships and sexual dissatisfaction in a sample of black women. Multiple Concurrent Partnerships has been identified as a key driver of HIV/AIDS in Southern Africa and it has been posited that one of the factors contributing to MCP is women's sexual dissatisfaction; the focus of this research.

The research was firmly entrenched in a social constructionist paradigm strongly rejecting a biomedical approach to understanding sexuality.

The research was located in a qualitative framework. Data was collected though focus groups and in depth interviews with young women aged 18 – 35 in an urban township in Johannesburg.

A sexually satisfying relationship is an important component of women's lives. Where main partners did not provide sexual satisfaction, many women sought pleasure elsewhere. However sexual dissatisfaction is also interwoven with other complex social issues such as gender based violence, transactional sex and poverty.

This study calls for greater attention to be paid to the ways in which women want to

maximise their sexual enjoyment and minimise sexual harm.

Declaration

I declare that the research report is my own unaided work. It has been submitted for the degree of Master of Arts: Development Studies to the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before, for any other degree or examination, to any other university

Signed: _____

Student: Rayana Rassool

Date: 1 November 2010

Student no.: 0611259F

Degree: Developments Studies

School: Social Sciences

Faculty: Humanities

-

Acknowledgements:

I would especially like to thank Professor Leah Gilbert and Dr Terry-Ann Selikow for their thorough supervision, support and motivation in completing this project.

Thanks to Adele Mostert at Infusion for helping me to access my research subjects and all the research participants for sharing so openly during this process.

To my parents, Jean and Josie, as well as my grandmother, for their love and support, and their dedication to my goals.

To the rest of my family (you know who you are), for all the support and patience with my mood swings through this process. I love you all.

A big thank you to my work colleagues, especially Harriet Perlman, for being supportive when I was on my last nerve.

And, finally, special thanks to my partner, Wilson Johwa, whose love and patience got me through some of the trying times of this process.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS **4**

1. INTRODUCTION **6**

1.1 Rationale 8

2. LITERATURE REVIEW **11**

2.1 Measuring MCPs 12
2.2 Other drivers of MCP 16
2.3 Deconstructing Pleasure 24

3. THEORETICAL & CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK **35**

4. METHODOLOGY **38**

4.1 Limitations of the study 42
4.2 Study Site and Population 43
4.3 Data Collection 45
4.4 Data Analysis 47
4.5 Ethics Clearance 50
4.6 Confidentiality 51

5. ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS **52**

5.1 What is happening in Tembisa with regard to MCPs 53
5.2 Reasons for sex: 64
5.2.1 Sex is important: 64
5.2.2 Sexual dissatisfaction 66
5.2.3 Good Sex 71
5.2.4 Sex to prevent infidelity 77
5.3 Communication about sex 79
5.3.1 Talking about sex 79
5.3.2 Not talking about sex 79
5.4 Condom Use 81

6. GENERAL DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION **84**

7. REFERENCES **90**

ABBREVIATIONS

AIDS: Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome

CADRE: Centre for AIDS Development, Research and Evaluation

HIV: Human Immunodeficiency Virus

LGBTI: lesbian, gay, bisexual, transsexual, intersex

MCPs: multiple concurrent partnerships

NGO: non-governmental organisation

SADC: Southern African Development Community

STIs: sexually transmitted infections

UNAIDS: Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS

2. 1. INTRODUCTION

The focus of this research is sexual dissatisfaction among women and how this contributes to the practice of MCP in the context of HIV/AIDS. The Southern African region, where approximately 40% of people live with HIV/AIDS, has become the epicentre of the disease (UNAIDS, 2008). The latest national survey of the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC, 2009) shows that South Africa has a maturing epidemic, with prevalence rates of 10.3%, as calculated in 2008, and found the rates to be stabilising, as, in the previous survey, in 2005, 10.8% of all South Africans over the age of two were found to be living with HIV/AIDS. While the report says that HIV is predominantly contracted through heterosexual sex, the spread is uneven among South Africa's nine provinces and differs significantly according to age and sex.

In this context, multiple concurrent partnerships (MCPs) have been identified as a key driver of HIV/AIDS in Southern Africa – a finding that is consistent with other studies (Soul City, 2008; Parker et al, 2007). More than a third of South African men admitted that they were unfaithful. The 2009 HSRC report states that 32% of men and almost 10% of women said that they had had more than one sexual partner in the previous year. It was found that there was a significant increase in MCPs among young women across South Africa since 2005. What has become evident over the last

few years is that young women and girls are most at risk of contracting HIV. Prevalence among women is more than twice as high as that of males in the age groups 20–24 and 25–29. Among the age group 25–29, one in three females (32.7%) was HIV positive in 2008. The 2009 HSRC study reported that the overall prevalence among African respondents increased slightly from 12.9% in 2002 to 13.3% in 2005. The HIV prevalence figure for black women in the in the 25 – 29 age group was 24.4% in 2005.

A most recent study focusing on sexual practices in higher institutions reported the prevalent practice of MCP (HEAIDS, 2010). The survey measured MCPs where people had had more than one partner in the prior month, and found that 19% of male students and 6% of female students reported that this applied to them. According to this study, female students had a prevalence of 4.7% and were three times more likely to be HIV positive than males, at 1.5% (HEAIDS, 2010). These findings – in addition to the 2009 statistics estimate that about 10.6% of the total South African population is HIV positive and, of this, about one-fifth of South African women in their reproductive ages are HIV positive (Statistics SA, 2009) – call for urgent further research to understand all the underlying factors of this phenomenon. It is to this area that this study aims to contribute.

While South Africa has the highest number of people living with HIV/AIDS on antiretrovirals, almost two-thirds of people living with the virus are not able to access them (HSRC, 2009). The Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS) has estimated that if the epidemic continues at its current infection rate, more than 20 million people worldwide will need treatment by 2020 (UNAIDS, 2008). The above figures have prompted many governments to refocus efforts on prevention. One key area identified as a priority in prevention initiatives is the reduction of MCPs.

Due to their centrality as a potential preventative area and the dearth of information about this topic, this study aims to further explore MCPs and the factors related to them – particularly sexual dissatisfaction among black urban women. While there is not a great deal of information, two South African studies of note are the Soul City Institute research and the research by CADRE.

1. Rationale

Prevention programmes across South Africa are focusing on MCPs to try to reduce the number of new infections. Communication programmes like Soul City and Johns Hopkins have used campaigns to highlight the dangers of MCP. The 2009 HSRC study showed concern for the high levels of new infections among young women and has advocated for renewed prevention efforts aimed

at young women.

Recent prevention interventions across Southern Africa have focused on MCP. Targeting MCPs, two reports have interrogated some of the drivers behind them and found that sexual dissatisfaction could drive women to seek out additional partners (Soul City, 2008 and Parker et al, 2007). Other factors that also contribute to the practice of MCPs are negative cultural practices, gender inequalities, gender-based violence, poverty and unemployment, particularly among women. Although these factors will not be discussed in depth in this thesis, there is much research into these issues.

This exploratory study, therefore, aims to delve into the link between sexual dissatisfaction and MCPs to decipher what role dissatisfaction plays in influencing people to have MCPs. In addressing this issue it is necessary to examine in a nuanced manner some of the factors pertaining to women specifically.

What does sexual dissatisfaction mean for women in South Africa? In particular, this study explores issues of sexual dissatisfaction among a group of black women. As all studies have so far identified black women as a most at risk population', this study's focus is on the understanding of sexual satisfaction

among this group.

While many HIV/AIDS studies have focused on black women in particular, none of them have focused on the sexual desires or needs and wants of this population group (Smit, 2008). It is this gap that this study aims to fill in its exploration of the sexual needs and wants of black women and whether they are being sexually fulfilled in their core relationships.

In the context of a dearth of literature on black women's sexuality, the approach adopted here is that of a 'sex as pleasure' perspective rather than a 'sex as danger' one.

While many studies have posited theories that focus on an economic model, maintaining that most poor women will use sex to gain material benefits, others have shown that while some engage in sex for economic gains they are also prompted to seek out good sexual partners (Leclerc-Madlala 2007, Soul City 2007, Parker et al, 2007). The reason for seeking out good sexual partners outside of the core relationship was not having fulfilling sexual interactions within it. One study, by Woodsong and Alleman (2008), argues that sexual pleasure is seen as 'sex without pain'. Women themselves also articulate that

they needed 'good sex' in order to have a fulfilling life (Soul City, 2008).

It is therefore of importance to explore the barriers to pleasure for women in relationships in order to find out how to overcome them. While the literature does explore sexual dissatisfaction, it is very minimal and does not necessarily delve deeper into the key reasons for it – which is one of the aims of this study.

4. 3. LITERATURE REVIEW

In 2006, the Southern African Development Community (SADC) called on the region to focus on MCPs as a key driver of the AIDS pandemic. At a think-tank meeting in Lesotho, the SADC identified MCPs as a contributor to unprecedented levels of HIV/AIDS in the region (SADC 2006). Various additional studies have shown empirically over the last few years that MCPs exist and are highly prevalent. Quantitative studies from various sources have shown that people in the Southern African region have had more than one sexual partner at the same time but these relationships have tended to be concurrent rather than sequential (HSRC 2009, Lesotho NAC 2008, Mah and Halperin 2004, NERCHA Report 2008, UNAIDS 2009). MCPs relate specifically to 'having more than one partner at the same time' (Parker et al, 2007).

There are many reasons why people have MCPs. These vary and include sexual exploration, peer pressure, economic advancement and – most importantly for the purposes of this study – sexual dissatisfaction (Soul City, 2008 & HSRC 2008). Sexual dissatisfaction among women has been identified as a key motivator in Soul City's research (2008) as to why women seek out MCPs.

2. 1. Measuring MCPs

Several studies conducted across Africa have found that having concurrent sexual partners is common among many populations in various countries (Colvin 1998, Carter 2007, Mah 2008). It is of significance to note in this context that the predominant method of HIV transmission in Southern Africa is through heterosexual sex (Oomman 1998 & Djamba 1997). Further, the practice of participating in MCPs has been identified by the SADC, UNAIDS and other regional role-players as being relevant to the epidemic in Southern Africa, in an environment of low condom usage and low levels of male circumcision.

MCPs have been defined as 'relationships where an individual has two or more sexual relationships that overlap in time' (Mah and Halperin 2008). Mah and Halperin point out that experts use different time frames to describe MCPs, including concurrent relationships that last one month or longer and relationships that have been active in the previous three months.

UNAIDS has developed some definitions in their strategic considerations around MCPs. They include the following:

- Multiple concurrent sexual partnerships: having more than one sexual partner over a period of time. These can be either serial partners (one after the other), or concurrent partners (different sexual partners that overlap in time).
- Concurrency: overlapping sexual partnerships where sexual intercourse with one partner occurs between two acts of intercourse with another partner.

Lurie and Rosenthal (2009) have questioned whether concurrency is really driving the HIV epidemic in Africa. They have suggested that concurrency theory is controversial because there is insubstantial evidence to suggest that levels of concurrency are higher in Africa than anywhere else. They also question whether the observed levels of concurrency explain the epidemic and add that efforts to understand these dynamics are further complicated by the fact that concurrency is difficult to measure and quantify, and often vaguely and inconsistently defined.

MCPs are said to link all partners into a sexual network (Morris & Kretzschmar 1995). According to Thornton (2008), sexual networks are complex, dynamic structures of sexual interactions. These networks have been described by Epstein (2007) as a 'superhighway' for HIV. These networks are formed and given shape by the number of sexual partners that people have, the frequency

with which they have sex and the timing of their sexual encounters.

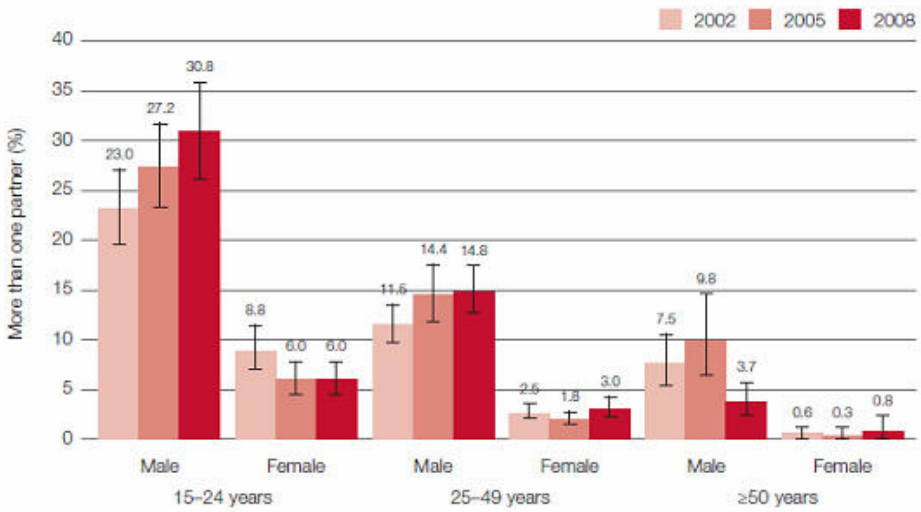
Many experts believe that a small reduction in the number of partners people have can reduce the chances of becoming infected. This has emerged from epidemiological modeling (Morris & Kretzschmar, 1997) that examines various scenarios of serial monogamy and sexual concurrency and compares them in various ways (UNAIDS, 2009). The results of these mathematical formulae show that having concurrent partnerships increases the number of infected individuals and the growth rate of the epidemic during its early phases.

The issue of measurement, as already mentioned, is being debated vigorously. While it is a highly contested area, there is the realization that MCPs contribute to fueling the spread of the epidemic and therefore more research is being done on MCPs to provide a more nuanced understanding of and better insight into the exact nature of them within a given context and at a particular time.

Some studies have found a direct link between concurrency and an increased incidence or prevalence of sexually transmitted infections (STIs). A United Kingdom study focusing on males and sexual behavior found that male heterosexuals were more likely to have multiple concurrent sexual partners in

the 30 days prior to presentation at a health centre (Daker-White, 1997). Gorbach (2002), Foxman (2006), and Drumright (2004) all found links between concurrency and STIs. Work on concurrency in Africa has gained momentum over the last few years. Colvin (1998), Parker (2008) and Mah (2008) have found that sexually active men in parts of the Southern African region were more likely to report having had more than one partner concurrently. Mah's study in Khayelitsha, a township in Cape Town, South Africa, found a frequency of 16.8% concurrency among study subjects, with men more likely to report concurrency than women. Colvin's study reported that 40% of sexually active South African men in a rural area of the country report having had concurrent sexual partners. Parker (2008) found that concurrent partnerships are common among South African youth (aged 20–30). The latest 2009 HSRC study on HIV/AIDS in South Africa shows that while men have the bulk of MCPs, women also have them.

Figure 3.5: Percentage of adults who reported having more than one sexual partner in the past 12 months by age group, South Africa 2002, 2005, and 2008



(HSRC, 2009)

4. 3. Other Drivers of MCPs

Numerous reasons have emerged why people have many partners. One of these, as discussed above, has been the theory that women exchange sex for money. It has also emerged through a number of studies that one kind of sex exchanged for money, labeled 'survival sex', is different from prostitution or commercial sex work. While commercial sex work involves a pre-determined contract, usually a monetary payment for sex is provided.

UNAIDS describes sex workers as 'female, male and transgender adults and young people who receive money or goods in exchange for sexual services, either regularly or occasionally' (De Zalduondo et al, 1991). UNAIDS also specifies that sex work may vary in the degree to which it is formalised by government or policy or in the way it is organised. It also varies from other social and sexual relationships and types of sexual-economic exchanges.

Transactional sex is not a straightforward cash transaction. This means that the exchanges that occur are more complex and involve various other material goods or favours (Leclerc-Madlala, 2004). Until recently, the studies had explored transactional sex as a survival mechanism, whereby women exchanged

sex because they were poor and economically dependent on men. A qualitative study covering 12 sub-Saharan African countries explored the reasons why young men and women had transactional sex (Chatterji et al, 2004). The studies found that young women exchanged sex to get funds to cover education-related expenses and gain connections in social networks. Some research relates this to the survival sex mentioned above but increasingly it is being found that extreme poverty is not a predominant factor in leading young women to exchange sex for money or gifts (Leclerc-Madlala 2004, Chatterji et al 2004, Masvawure 2009, Selikow et al 2002).

Masvawure's study (2009) at a Zimbabwean university showed that female students on campus desired 'flashy' things for themselves. The girls on the campus were not necessarily poor and came from a good economic background. However, they desired more and they gained materially from relationships with older men. Masvawure points out, though, that while the relationships were transactional in nature, she found that the 'intimate' and the 'material' straddled one another in ways where it was impossible to separate the two. The exchange of goods, Masvawure asserts, is commonly used as an indicator of partner commitment in much of Africa. Masvawure's study showed that the women in her study had boyfriends as well as sugar daddies, and almost all the women had active sex lives with their boyfriends but not

necessarily with their sugar daddies.

Leclerc-Madlala (2004) posits the theory that this form of sexual exchange is largely created by the media and globalisation. Women's exposure to global media means that they have identified 'needs' that should be fulfilled in order to live a more modern life.

There is also the question of intimacy that is being reframed within a modern world. Giddens (1990) deduced that intimate relationships have been irreparably altered though the process of globalisation. In his examination he found that the move away from traditional communities towards a more modern society created cracks in the way relationships were conceptualised and added dimensions of advantage and risk. While some have critiqued Giddens as being too optimistic about his conceptualisation of what he calls the 'pure relationship', it is useful to apply his analysis to this research (Gross & Simmons, 2002). Giddens described the pure relationship as one where:

> a social relation is entered into for its own sake, for what can be derived by each person from a sustained association with another; and which is continued only insofar as it is thought by both parties to deliver enough satisfaction for each individual to stay within it

When Giddens conceptualised the pure relationship he analysed it as a shift

away from the ideal of 'romantic' love to that of pure or 'confluent' love. When he looked at the history of romantic love, the narrative provided, especially for women, was 'a quest … in which self-identity awaits its validation from the discovery of the other' (Gross & Simmons, 2002). The pure relationship differs from the original conception of the romantic love relationship whereby the person/s involved in the relationship were really only there as long as they felt that they were being satisfied.

However, Giddens' conception of the pure relationship also has its flaws when analysed within the South Africa context. In townships created over a number of years where labour migration is high, many people have lost some of the bonds of trust developed in more traditional communities. The prevalence of high unemployment, crime and domestic violence could contribute to this lack of trust.

Giddens' pure relationship thesis works to a certain degree in the context of South Africa, where women are increasingly being more discerning about what they want and when they want it. They yearn for the ability to be honest with and equal to their partners, but they cannot act to attain this because they have no negotiating power besides sex. "'Where large areas of a person are no longer

set by pre-existing patterns and habits, the individual is continually obliged to negotiate life-style choices'" (Giddens, 1992).

While transactional sex has been a predominant reason put forward for why women have many partners, some recent studies have pointed to sexual dissatisfaction among women as a significant reason as well (Soul City 2008, Parker et al 2007). To gain a nuanced understanding of sexual dissatisfaction as a driver of MCPs, there is a need to examine literature related to sexuality and pleasure. This enables us to better understand the meanings we can attach to sexual dissatisfaction.

The key discourse around sexuality for the last two centuries has revolved around the biomedical understanding of sexuality, or 'essentialism', versus social constructionism (Weeks, 1986 & Parker et al, 1995). The essentialist understanding of sexuality emerged within the mid 19th to early 20th centuries, with the understanding that sexuality was a result of natural biology. By the 1960s this essentialist way of thinking was beginning to be challenged; theorists began asserting that sex carried meaning (Parker et al, 1995) and these meanings were given significance by social context.

Week's (1986) definition of sexuality challenged the essentialist way of thought, concentrating more on the social meaning behind sexuality:

> "an historical construction which brings together a host of different biological and mental possibilities – gender identity, bodily differences, reproductive capacities, needs, desires and fantasies – which need not be linked together, and in other cultures have not been."

The tensions around studying sex emerged almost a quarter of a century ago when Carole Vance published a collection of her works called *Pleasure and Danger* (1984). Vance explored the differences between danger and pleasure as key components in women's lives and their sexuality. This continues to stir debates, especially around HIV/AIDS and the discourses that have emerged (Vance, 1984).

> "To focus only on pleasure and gratification ignores the patriarchal structure in which women act, yet to speak only of sexual violence and oppression ignores women's experience of sexual agency and choice and unwittingly increases the sexual terror and despair in which women live" (Vance, 1984, pg 26)

Vance's words are now more relevant than ever over two decades later, where many have become overly focused on the aspects of violence in sexual interaction and have relegated the pleasure aspects to another time and place (Shefer & Foster 2001, Beasley, 2008). Lewis (as cited in Cornwall, 2006 p8) is of the opinion that public policy in South Africa limits itself to 'technical and

biomedical language that ignores what is subversive, imaginative, erotic, human and complex'.

It is worth going back to the 'sex wars' and an understanding of the different standpoints taken by modern feminists around sex at the time. The 'sex as danger' understanding is increasingly espoused by some as a response to hierarchical forms of dominance by males (Beasley, 2008). It was in some ways a stance that was preoccupied with the dangers of sex at the expense of the pleasures of sex. The arguments were valid though, in the sense that how they understood sexuality was against a backdrop of gross gender inequality, where men were dominant and women were victims (Correa, Petchesky & Parker, 2008).

This gender inequality allowed women to be exploited and objectified. The gender/sexuality connection is an important one and the two are not easily separated (Weeks, 1995). While much has been written on alternative sexualities (eg. lesbian, gay, bisexual, transsexual and intersex or LGBTI), it is best to limit this review to the study of heterosexual sexuality, which has been identified as a key marker for gender inequality.

Other works have called for gender and sexuality to be seen as different from one another (Dowsett, 2003). This point of view has specifically been in response to the predominance of HIV/AIDS and expresses concern for using gender as the only dominant framework from which to analyse issues. This argument puts forward that gender could actually overshadow the sexuality aspects, thus obscuring some of the more important debates that need to be had. Some of these debates revolve around men as being more important in the sexuality discourse. This comes from the perspective that men have little control over their sexuality and are unable to control their desire. The underlying perception of this approach is that women are passive recipients of male desire (Ryan 2000, Shefer & Foster, 2001). This implies that the woman's pleasure is secondary to that of the male. This thinking has dominated the field of sexuality for many decades with a heavy emphasis on the superiority of men or the inherent patriarchy in society.

Women, on the other hand, see sex as bound up with emotion, relating sex to relationships and love (Shefer & Foster 2001). This assertion underpins the thinking that female sexuality is constructed as asexual and almost in conflict with male sexuality. This facilitates the thinking that men are essentially highly sexualised and women are ultimately always sexually dissatisfied.

Segal (in Kippax et al, 1990) observes that 'we should be talking about expanding people's notions of sexual relationships and the types of sexual practice which are both possible and pleasurable when we are uncertain whether we or our partners are free from the AIDS virus' (Segal, 1987, p.9). Segal was pointing to the discourse around relationships which prevented women from negotiating sex. Holland et al (2004) point out that women can generally only negotiate the terms of their sexual encounters through social constraints which legitimise sexual pressure from men, including violence. This ideology is how sexuality has been analysed from the 80s on, particularly by feminists.

Perhaps more importantly, another movement was emerging in the United States during the 1960s and 70s. This was indicated as a move away from sexual morality, which took a judgemental approach to sexual behaviour (Moneymaker & Montanino, 1978). This manifested itself as a move away from virginity being valued (in both men and women; it had not really been an issue with men before) and an almost acceptance of pre-marital sex and non-marital sex. This was a move towards a more relaxed sexual environment where sexuality was celebrated.

My study focuses on women who respond to their sexual needs and in doing so strive for independence but for whom, at the same time, this independence is potentially compromised by a deadly sexually transmitted disease.

5. Deconstructing Pleasure

> "For some, the dangers of sexuality … make the pleasures pale by comparison. For others, the positive possibilities of sexuality, exploration of the body, curiosity, intimacy, sensuality, adventure, excitement, human connection … are not only worthwhile but provide sustaining energy." (Vance, 1994, pg 17)

There is a dearth of discourse focusing on female heterosexual sexual desire or pleasure in the predominant literature of sex and sexuality (Arnfred, 2004, Walker & Reid, 2004). The prevailing discourse has focused on men and their sexual needs as well as the assumption that male sexual needs are more important that female ones. This assumption is rooted in the dominant cultural patriarchy. Even when there is discourse around women's desire and pleasure, it is focused more on the danger women are subject to and their disempowerment than on their ability to have agency over their own sexuality (Vance, 1984).

An examination of adolescent girls' sexuality, and within that their sexual desire, found that girls' pleasure and desire was an unexplored but much needed field of research (Tolman, 2002). Young girls were able to express their sexual desires through words that were distinctly sexual and not, as mainstream thought has characterised it, through the desire for a relationship. The desire for sex and the need for pleasure through sex were key requirements in these girls' sexual lives. However, when a group of young girls' relationships with their mothers were examined in Cape Town, it was found that the girls were not able to communicate with their mothers about their sexual desires. The impression created by the lack of communication about sex between mothers and daughters was that sex was dangerous (Lesch & Kruger 2005). The absence of any concentration on feelings or desires or even exploration meant that girls went ahead and had sex but did not tell their mothers. Lack of communication is a key area that needs to be addressed across relationships, be they between wife and husband, mother and daughter, father and son, and so on. Addressing the lack of communication is imperative in light of the fact that communication is key not only in sexual pleasure but in negotiating condom usage as well.

Some theorists have called for a better understanding of women's sexual desire and pleasure. As noted above, while much research has been done about male

desire and what spurs men into taking risky actions because of it, more needs to be done to understand why and how women seek out sexual pleasure and what contribution it makes to their risky sexual behaviour (Higgins & Hirsh 2006). The sexual desires of women have so far mostly been studied from a biomedical perspective.

> 'Sexual desire has traditionally been viewed, and mostly measured, as spontaneous sexual thoughts and fantasies and biological urges creating a need to self-stimulate or initiate sexual activities with a partner' (Wood; Koch et al; 2006 pg 14).

This description of sexual desire is one I would like to use more broadly and to add to this a review of literature about pleasure. In examining desire we have to look at what constitutes a lack of desire, which could lead to sexual dissatisfaction.

Patriarchy can be considered as a norm in South Africa and restricts women's power and their ability to make decisions about their own lives (Lerner 1986: pg 239). Patriarchy is responsible for the lack of agency that characterises women's actions across South Africa.

This means that the sexual script in Southern Africa is strictly dominated by

male sexual pleasure as well as male well-being. Even women who are marginally independent still adhere to a patriarchal sexual script (Spronk, 2005). When exploring MCPs, it is important to note that the sexual scripts in marriage or core partnerships are different to those of the second stable partner or casual or commercial sexual partner. When a man has sex with someone who is not his regular partner, he is looking for something different from when he has sex with his regular partner (Woodsong & Alleman, 2008). An exploration of pleasure in the same literature finds clear differences in how men and women see pleasure. During individual interviews, men and women felt that pleasure should be equal for both sexes but in follow-up questions both men and women felt that male pleasure was more important. This is consistent with universal literature where often a woman's pleasure is in giving the man pleasure (Jolly, 2007).

Women also experienced pleasure as a 'lack of pain' rather than associating it with feelings of arousal. Some women mentioned that using lubricants (in the case during a microbicide trial in Zimbabwe and Malawi) meant that the pain was less and the pleasure was increased (Woodsong & Alleman, 2008).

An article in medical journal *The Lancet* (Philpott, Knerr & Maher, 2006)

speaks to the fact that enjoyment is a key reason why people pursue sex. Enjoyment needs to be addressed as a key motivator for people who seek out good sex. Pleasure or sexual satisfaction has not been a highlight of much sexual information over the last few decades. In light of new research about MCPs, one needs to look at the issues of pleasure that are driving the phenomenon. Two studies that have examined MCPs in South Africa (Parker et al, 2007 & Soul City, 2008) found that sexual dissatisfaction has emerged as a reason for both men and women finding other partners while retaining their main partner.

Both studies explored sexual dissatisfaction of men and women and found that a lack of communication in the sexual area was a key driver of why couples experienced a lack of sexual satisfaction. This relates to some of the broader structural drivers of the HIV/AIDS epidemic in Southern Africa, such as gender inequality, negative cultural influence and poverty, among others.

Some have argued that the discourse of development is so hazardous to sexuality that it alienates sex for pleasure altogether (Jolly, 2007) and is almost controlling in how it sees sexual objectives. With the HIV/AIDS epidemic raging in Southern Africa, this discourse has become even more entrenched.

However, using sexuality to empower women is a newer discourse put forward to widen the scope of development debates on the subject (Jolly, 2007).

Vance (1984) was right in pointing out that pleasure and danger co-exist and more so in Southern Africa, where sex has become perceived as a vector of disease rather than a source of pleasure. Has HIV/AIDS merely added to the guilt-ridden, overarching belief by women that sex is wrong and should not be considered a pleasurable activity?

Ryan (2001) recognises that women's ability to have safe and pleasurable sex is partly related to their own control over the bodily experience of sex. Part of this is the recognition of heterosexual sex as penetrative intercourse. This is then seen as a natural outcome of sexual desire. Ryan's analysis reflects on the concerns of this because most of the time it is difficult for women to orgasm through coitus alone. Where non-penetrative and oral sex *is* accepted as part of the sexual activity, they are understood typically as being foreplay rather than the main event (Ryan 2001).

While several studies have pointed to the emergence of sexual dissatisfaction as a driver of MCPs, there are limited studies that investigate the depth of the

dissatisfaction and lack of pleasure in core relationships, especially with regard to women. Even studies that interrogate the drivers of MCPs lack research on sexual satisfaction or dissatisfaction as well as pleasure within the discourse. Women are often presented as victims and this has been pointed out as a barrier to women communicating their own sexual needs. An inability to communicate their needs, be they physical or emotional, leaves women vulnerable to making choices that can be dangerous to them.

A study of MCPs in Lesotho (Sigamoney 2009) interrogated norms that linked MCPs and secrecy. The study points out that the veil of secrecy surrounding MCPs makes it difficult to witness them, prove they exist, or identify with certainty those who indulge in the practice. Secrecy, the report states, helps to keep MCPs relatively anonymous and invisible, and facilitates continuance of the practice.

Secrecy was also an indicator of self-respect as well as respect for others, most significantly the family of the person involved in an MCP. Secrecy helps to keep them protected from any shame and humiliation associated with the practice.

Thus, as long as MCPs remain hidden, they can continue unchecked and thus nobody is hurt or disrespected. The language of secrecy surrounding the

practice assists in depersonalising it. So, while people can speak generally about the practice and that it happens, nobody knows exactly who is doing it and when. Thus, by depersonalising it, communities do not have to take ownership of the practice and can also then distance themselves from the consequences and the associated shame and humiliation.

An examination of men and their extramarital affairs in Northern Nigeria showed that men's motivations for keeping these affairs hidden included not only the desire to maintain peace and uphold the appearance of fidelity to their wives but also entailed a need to uphold their own social reputation (Smith DJ, 2007). Reputation seemed to be very important in both the Lesotho and Nigeria studies. Any threat to topple the good reputations of the men involved needed to be quelled. They feared that they would lose social standing within the community, the church and their family, and they would no longer be considered important.

Selikow et al (2002), in their study of young people in Alexandra, South Africa, showed that, for men, having many partners was a status symbol. But there was also an element of secrecy in that the men would sometimes distinguish between the main girlfriend and the other girlfriends. The 'other relationships'

were usually kept secret from the 'main partner' or wife, as they were seen to hurt the integrity of the main relationship. This seemed to be an understood concept in all the other relationships. Even among the men who generally wanted to show off their girlfriends to their male friends, there was a tendency to hide these relationships from their wives, main girlfriends, communities and families. Thus, there was a need to balance their social reputation with the need to show their social standing through many partners. This conflict shows the complexity of MCPs and the need to understand how the 'secret' is an open one that can only be talked about within certain circles.

An additional reason for the secrecy surrounding MCPs is their connection with a person's ability to sexually please and be pleased by his or her main partner. In the case of women who have MCPs, there is a communication barrier to their discussing sexual issues with their main partners. Such discussions could threaten their partners' manhood and impact on other benefits they may receive from them (Soul City 2008).

Hunter (2005) examines the prevalence of MCPs from a historical perspective and explores three factors that jointly lead to transactional sex in the context of MCPs. First was the privileged position of men, rooted in their access to the

most lucrative segments of the formal and informal economy, as well as housing (skewed labour and housing markets in favour of men). Second was the idea that men placed great value on having multiple partners, which enhanced their own social standing. Hunter notes, though, that sexualities are unstable and contested and produced through men and women's practical engagement with shifting economic, cultural and spatial conditions and relations. Third and finally, Hunter hones in on the issue of women's agency. Women, he says, approached transactional relationships not as passive victims but in order to access power and resources in a way that could both challenge and reproduce patriarchal structures.

The need to be fashionable and modern, rather than backward or unintelligent, has perpetuated the practice of MCPs and has led to the almost normalisation of what is called transactional sex. Sex therefore is seen as something that can be easily transacted for things of social value and status. Sex for women in this instance then becomes a resource, a tool to gain access to otherwise inaccessible assets and social spaces. With the transformation of social and economic spaces within South Africa, women have channelled their own agency into developing new ways of climbing the social ladder.

The concept of secrecy also needs to be understood within 'the cultural milieu in which sexual partnering practices are located and produced' (Leclerc-Madlala p103). In her study, Leclerc-Madlala found that sexual cultural scripts that support MCPs have been preserved and are given a 'cultural legitimacy'. Her study focused on the predominant cultural scripts supporting MCPs that were in force across Southern Africa, including South Africa.

Simon and Gagnon (1987 pg 12) argue that 'sexual behaviour is socially scripted' and assign sex and sexuality a significance brought about by social context. Leclerc-Madlala has urged a more thoughtful assessment of the cultural scripts that influence behaviour. The sexual 'scripts' referred to are made up of three levels: cultural scenarios, interpersonal scripts and intra-psychic scripts (Simon & Gagnon, 1987 pg 15).

Leclerc-Madlala asserts that the prevailing cultural script in Southern Africa at the moment is the tendency to affirm and normalise MCPs. She further adds that these scripts can shape people's behaviour and also contextualise their expectations and assumptions.

In a nation like South Africa, where sex in the pre-apartheid era was a political

tool for many years, freedom has brought a proliferation of sexual freedom to discourses around sex (Posel, 2004). While this freedom has centred on a rights-based discourse, it has also focused on open sexuality and the utility of sex.

South Africa's post 1994 freedom, while delivering on rights associated with sexuality, also plays a part in the suppression of sexuality. Ex-President Thabo Mbeki's denialist stance around HIV and AIDS not only did a disservice to prevention and treatment efforts but also affected the ability to talk about sex more openly.

Under Jacob Zuma's presidency, the discourse of HIV/AIDS has taken a turn for the better in that treatment is being addressed. However, the improvement in discourse around MCPs has been limited, given Zuma's history of having sexual relations outside his marriages. More recently, in an exposé in a Sunday newspaper (Times Online 2010), it was revealed that the president had fathered a child with a woman that was not one of his five A prominent AIDS activist NGO, the Treatment Action Campaign, stated that the president's actions undermined all those who were trying to meet the country's prevention target of halving new HIV infections by 2011. Zuma's behaviour has also constrained

a national government campaign to target MCPs, which government has had to overlook because of the politicised nature of the topic.

While there is full recognition and no denial of some of the key structural forces that shape sexual behavior in South Africa – like poverty, material possession, power and others – serious consideration is required with regard to the emergence of dissatisfaction and of pleasure as a deep need within the population. In order to understand sexual dissatisfaction, specific empirical research is needed to fill the gaps in understanding what women perceive as sexual dissatisfaction or pleasure in core relationships, as explored in this study.

6. 5. THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Much has been written about the need to move beyond a purely essentialist way of viewing sexuality (Beasley 2008; Reddy & Dunne, 2007, Oomman, 1998). The critique of essentialism is that it really only focuses on a biomedical understanding of sexuality, thus reducing sexuality to reproduction and ignoring other aspects of sex, such as the right to sexual pleasure. Sayer (1997) critically assesses essentialism, stating that it views social phenomena as having fixed identities, which deterministically produce fixed, uniform outcomes.

The move towards a more social constructionist approach means that an understanding of the social, economic and cultural needs to be integrated into how we see sexuality. This approach takes into account that people are not creatures of determinism, whether natural or cultural, but are socially constructed and constructing.

This study acknowledges that any physical sexual acts are motivated not only by a biological urge but also by social factors, and that these acts are not only physiological in nature but that the place, time and history of a person, as well as their personal circumstances, all contribute to how the person performs the sexual act (Vance, 1991

p 880).

The debate between the two approaches has been a heated one through the decades. The essentialism viewpoint, while advocating for sexual rights of women, does not address the positive aspects of sex but rather places it in a risk framework.

This research study adopts a critical realist approach, which aims to combine an essentialist and social constructionist approach. Critical realism is most commonly associated with the works of Roy Bhaskar (Archer & Bhaskar et al, 1998). Bhaskar acknowledges that social phenomena are intrinsically meaningful and hence that meaning is not only externally descriptive of them but constitutive of them (though of course there are usually material constituents too).

The approach embraces the view that women are sexual pleasure seekers but the space in which they can seek sexual pleasure is extremely limited. While we are aware of the overarching structural drivers within Southern Africa, such as gender inequality and the inherent patriarchy where men are considered the people with all the decision-making power, women are slowly taking steps to claim back their power. This reclamation, however, comes at a cost in an environment where HIV/AIDS exists. While it is good to argue that essentialist ways of thinking are outdated and

more is needed than a mere biomedical approach to sex, social construction takes it too far. Thus it does not fully capture the essence of the dilemma between biomedical, essential approaches and social constructionist ways of thinking. If we explore social construction as the only framework we can lose sight of the nuanced understanding of women's agency and power within the current environment.

Therefore, if we only focus on the two extremes of biomedical and social construction, we will miss the finer distinctions of the possibilities between. This study uses critical realism to understand both dimensions (biomedical and social aspects) of sexual dissatisfaction in relation to MCPs. While several studies have pointed to the emergence of sexual dissatisfaction as a driver of MCPs, there are limited studies that investigate the depth of the dissatisfaction and lack of pleasure in core relationships, especially with regard to women. Women are often presented as victims and this has been pointed out as a barrier to women communicating their sexual needs.

While we understand some of the key structural reasons people have sex in South Africa, such as poverty, material possession and power, we have to take into consideration pleasure as a deep need within population, and that not having this need fulfilled may lead to dissatisfaction. In order to understand sexual dissatisfaction, specific empirical research is needed to fill in the gaps with regard to what women

perceive as sexual dissatisfaction or pleasure in core relationships. This will enable us to gain further insights into the links between sexual dissatisfaction and MCPs.

8. 7. METHODOLOGY

> "Words are not only more fundamental intellectually; one may also say that they are necessarily superior to mathematics in the social structure of the discipline. For words are a mode of expression with greater open-endedness, more capacity for connecting various realms of argument and experience, and more capacity for reaching intellectual audiences" (Collins, 1984: pg 353 in Neuman, 1997)

Qualitative research techniques were employed for this study. It did not employ quantitative methods and thus chose not to engage with the measurement of MCPs, but instead opted to look at the understanding of sexual dissatisfaction and links the latter has to MCPs. The purpose here was to understand why women have MCPs and whether sexual dissatisfaction was a factor in driving them towards seeking other partners. I examined the nuances and complexities of the behaviour using a qualitative approach, characterised by descriptive social enquiry, as opposed to a quantitative approach, through which one deals with quantities and quantifications (Weiss; 1995). Quantitative methods were not suitable for my purpose as meaning and depth can be lost when the aim is to gain an understanding of 'how many people' are doing it rather than 'why they are doing it' (Greenstein, 2003). Therefore, a more appropriate qualitative research approach was adopted in this study.

Qualitative research is generally more concerned with issues of meanings, beliefs and cultures, as well as how and why things happen (Neuman 2006, Rabiee 2004). The

purpose of qualitative research is to interrogate the current state of society and to explore the reasons why certain things happen at certain times. It is essentially about people and how they interact with their environment and context. As Rossman and Rallies (2003) observe, research is about 'the creation of new knowledge or understandings'. Qualitative research is the exploration of the 'how', 'why' and 'what' of the eventual knowledge and understanding.

An analysis of Durkheim's 'social fact' leads to the importance of narrowing the research sphere into something definable, which makes it easier to differentiate one study from another. Durkheim (1895) defined social facts in two ways: first as 'every way of acting … capable of exercising on the individual and external constraint'. These instances refer to the broader social realms that govern behaviour by individuals. They would include religion, culture and customs. The 'social fact' speaks to some of the 'norms' in society that are created through broader social systems. The second part of Durkheim's approach centred on a more general approach to social facts. He understood that any thoughts or action in a society could be social facts as long as they manifested themselves independently of the individual. The shared belief structures that were dubbed common or created norms in society needed to be independent of the individual. It is important to be cognisant of the broader context when embarking on social research as this understanding lends structure to the

research intervention.

Research design is imperative in any exploration. The design of qualitative research needs to be flexible, evolving and emergent (Merriam Merriam, 1988). This particular study employed the use of focus groups and in-depth interviews. The objective was to explore the linkages between sexual dissatisfaction and MCPs among black South African women. This was done through the use of two different mechanisms for gaining data, one being the focus group and one being in-depth interviews. De Vaus (2001) states that 'the evidence obtained enables us to answer the initial question as unambiguously as possible'. Research design is therefore the guideline that enables the study to be carried out logically. As in this case, it should be conducted in a setting that is natural and familiar.

Rabiee (2004) asserts that qualitative methods such as focus-group discussions and in-depth interviews are more valuable than quantitative interventions. The former allow the researcher to explore and study various experiences, behaviours and processes in people's lives. This means participants are able to describe their feelings and experiences in their own words and give voice to their context.

Focus-group discussions are described by Rabiee (2004, p656) as a method able to

'provide information about a range of ideas and feelings that individuals have about certain issues, illuminating the differences in perspective between groups of individuals'. Focus groups in the study consisted of either five or six participants. The small numbers were meant to ensure that the groups were not unwieldy or uncontrollable. The main advantage of a focus group is that it allows a large amount of information to be the gained within a relatively short period of time. Participants were exclusively women above the age of 18.

In addition to the focus groups, in-depth interviews were also conducted. The reason for choosing this additional tool was because in-depth interviews facilitate access to very private information that women do not wish to speak about within a public setting. They allow interviewees to speak about their lives in greater depth. An interview allows for tapping into very personal aspects of a participant's feelings. However, skill is required for the interviewer to build trust and rapport with the interviewee. The interviews were held at safe, comfortable places chosen by the interviewees.

The design also took into consideration the sensitivity of the subject. Sexuality research has been identified as a delicate area, not without complications (Gune & Manuel, 2007). Thus, it was important to be flexible when structuring interviews.

Questions needed to be focused while the participants had to be as comfortable as possible. Privacy and sexual practices go together and interviewees are thus normally cagey.

The issue of tape recording needed to be given some thought because if a researcher has to handle many interviews, capturing the essence of each one can be difficult. While a tape recorder may seem intrusive, it can be seen as a way of giving the interviewer more freedom to sit up and take notice of any meanings that may be expressed through facial expressions or body language (ibid) that would have been lost had the researcher been too preoccupied with note-taking.

2. 1. Limitations of the Study

While focus groups and in-depth interviews are great ways of working directly with people and gaining first hand information, there are limitations to the methodologies. The main difficulty with the techniques was in recruitment: it was hard to recruit in an unfamiliar area. Thus, recruiting participants was best done through local people well-known in the community. Still, the process was not without its problems. In one or two instances the 'fixer' got a participant below the age of 18. This resulted in the cancellation of the focus group for another time since it could not proceed with too few people in the group.

It is generally agreed that participants should not have prior knowledge of one another within a focus group as this may hinder spontaneous responses (Rabiee 2004). In one of the focus-group discussions, a participant was uncomfortable with not knowing anybody around the table. However, she subsequently opened up later in the discussion.

Another limitation was that the local 'fixers' indicated that the participants wanted to be paid. Upon speaking to other researchers it emerged that this was normal practice and thus consensus was reached on a small amount for the

participants' cooperation.

Language was another limitation among some of the participants. In certain instances the participants' command of the English language was so shaky that conversation could only continue with large doses of Sesotho. As a result, close translations were required. However, this did not always work well as English was a second or third language such that even those who spoke it relatively well frequently struggled to express themselves.

While these were limitations within the general process of the focus groups and in-depth interviews, the issues did not significantly affect the quality of the data.

3. Study Site and Population

The research was conducted in Tembisa, a large township north of Johannesburg, whose name translates to 'promise' in English. The township was established in 1957 as a labour port serving the areas between Pretoria and Germiston during a time when white capital needed a reservoir of black labour. According to a local NGO (Lovetrust, 2010) over 10% of the adult population in the area have had no schooling at all. Less than 5% have tertiary education.

Only 35% of the economically active population are formally employed.

The interviews took place at a local venue that was not used during the day. On weekends it served as a local restaurant and could also be rented out for private functions. The focus groups and interviews generally took place on a weekday morning. All of the participants came from the area and did not have to use public transport to get to the venue.

5. 4. Data Collection

To gain insight into the topic, seven sexually active black women above the age of 18 were interviewed. The interviews were conducted using a discussion guide of themes and data collection questions. These were more refined than the actual research questions. The interviews were flexible enough to allow the researcher to work with the answers and to probe further for anything new that emerged.

The first step of the research was collecting data through focus-group discussions and face-to-face in-depth interviews. Subsequently, the collected data was analysed using a series of codes extracted from the text. These codes were then grouped according to the same concepts and from these concepts, categories were formulated as suggested by Neuman (2006).

The issue of 'place' was of high importance as the participants needed to feel comfortable in their surroundings in order for them to give the best information. Therefore, the interviewer needed to assess the location of the interview carefully. The intention was to gain insight into the participants' lives (with regard to the topic) and to gain rich insights rather than a superficial

understanding.

It is worth noting here that to further the understanding of this situation one has to also keep in mind the broader societal objectives. These mean that even though you are engaging individuals, they make up the society and inevitably our sociological research aims to ultimately study individuals within society (Mills, 1959; Durkheim, 1895). The research explores the 'social facts' (Durkheim, 1895) that exist around sexual dissatisfaction and whether the latter play a role in driving women into having MCPs.

Gaining informed consent from the participants is a fundamental ethical consideration in line with any research project (Neuman, 2006). A participant informed consent form was prepared so that each participant had information on the study. Data collected through the individual and focus-group interviews did not have any connections to the personal details of the participants.

The confidentiality of each participant in the face-to-face in-depth interviews was guaranteed through the use of pseudonyms and coded names. However, it is harder to guarantee confidentiality within a focus-group discussion. Therefore, I reminded the participants that conversations related to the study

were confidential. Such a clause was also included in the informed consent form. All participants were then bound by confidentiality not to disclose the contents of the discussion to anyone outside of the group.

Focus Group Discussions (FGD)	***Gender***	***Age***	***Place***
7 groups (5 women per group)	Women	18–35	Tembisa, Ekurhuleni
In-depth Interviews (IDI)	***Gender***	***Age***	***Place***
7 interviewees	Women	18–35	Tembisa, Ekurhuleni

6. *Data Analysis*

The preference for qualitative over quantitative data – and vice-versa – has been the source of an age-old battle. Quantitative researchers have long brushed aside qualitative research in favour of the statistical domain while proponents of the qualitative approach have strongly protested that quantitative data does not capture the detail required to provide proper insight into a problem or situation. However, the debate has in some ways subsided and there seems to be mutual respect on both sides.

Even so, the analytical processes for qualitative and quantitative data throw up stark differences. Qualitative analysis is less standardised than quantitative study, and many would argue that quantitative analysis provides more structure.

Instructively, analysis was described by Strauss and Corbin (1998) as 'the interplay between researchers and data'. This 'interplay' intimates a link between the two methods, thereby creating a common relationship between them. The aim of the MCP analysis was to establish if there were common patterns to aid the development of a theoretical understanding of sexual dissatisfaction as a driver of MCPs.

Qualitative research generates a huge amount of data, especially focus groups and in-depth interviews. The research is generally produced in the form of words, phrases or symbols and these in turn describe various actions, people and other life phenomena (Neuman, 1997). The focus groups and in-depth interviews were transcribed verbatim. Once the transcriptions were complete, the researcher was able to work with them and to move onto the actual analysis.

The aim of the analysis was to reduce the data into sizeable chunks. Krueger and Casey (2000) speak to this idea, believing that 'analysis begins by going back to the intention of the study and survival requires a clear fix of the purpose of the study'. This realistic insight, though, does not entirely capture the other complex processes that need to be accomplished in data analysis. The researcher needs to attain the goal of organising the data almost like a puzzle:

finding the proper pieces to insert into the relevant places.

The organisation of the data or 'sorting' can be done in various ways. Krueger and Casey (2000) recommend using a long table or computer-based programme for cutting, pasting, sorting, arranging and rearranging and comparing the relevant information.

After reading through my transcripts I assigned open codes to different pieces of text. Open coding is a grounded and systematic process where the labels for the codes are usually taken from the text (Holstein & Gubrium, 2003). After coding the data, I grouped the codes into broader categories, as envisaged by Neuman (2006). I then used these themes to build on a discussion of the findings. This process is usually referred to as axial coding, where the linkages are created between the codes and themes, where key analytic categories are discovered. It is possible to sort through the data by focusing on themes or units of analysis by open coding, which assigns initial codes or labels. This approach can help the researcher to outline new concepts and create conceptual definitions. Coding classifies certain similarities into thematic areas. This coding revealed many similarities between the group and in-depth interviews. In many cases, the issues the women dealt with were repeated or closely related.

It is important to look at the linkages between the different codes and how they relate to one another. Drawing these linkages allows one to contextualise the data better. This qualitative coding is an integral part of the data analysis process, as opposed to the application of the same coding in a quantitative process, where it really is an administrative task.

7. Ethics Clearance

All interviews were recorded on tape. Participants were satisfied with this arrangement and everyone signed a disclosure form and received an information sheet and a briefing from the researcher.

Recruitment of participants had been a difficult task. I was unable to ensure recruitment through my original plan to work with non-profit organisations in the area as most of the non-profit organisations I worked with were care-giving organisations. Instead, I worked through a research company with a record of including local women in research projects. This company was able to recruit

women in the 18–35 age group. During recruitment, the research company informed me that the women wanted to be paid for their time. Together with the agency, I agreed on the amount of R20.00 per person: enough to take care of the participants' time, and to cover the cost of some snacks for them.

There is always a danger that payment could induce embellished statements or interviews. While not all of my reservations were eliminated, I felt the size of the amount, along with the my preference to pay the amount at the end of each interview, minimised the risk.

8. Confidentiality

No data collected through the individual or focus-group interviews has any connections to the personal details of the participants. The confidentiality of each participant in the face-to-face in-depth interviews was guaranteed through the use of pseudonyms and coded names. However, it was much harder to guarantee confidentiality within a focus-group discussion.

10. 9. ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

As discussed earlier, MCPs have been found to be commonplace in South Africa and also a driver of the HIV/AIDS epidemic (Epstein & Halperin, 2004). MCPs are increasingly recognised as important contributors to the transmission of sexually transmitted infections, particularly of heterosexual HIV transmission in Africa. Modelling and empirical evidence suggest that the concurrency component of the relationship, as opposed to the serial component, can increase the size of the epidemic (Mah, 2008).

Quantitative and qualitative sexual behaviour studies suggest that MCPs are more common and socially acceptable in sub-Saharan Africa than other regions of the world. While recent qualitative studies exploring the reasons behind MCPs have identified many drivers, this study aims to explore specifically the aspect of sexual dissatisfaction among black women and how it contributes to the prevalence of MCPs (Parker et al, 2007; Mah, 2008, Soul City, 2008).

The risk in concurrency comes about because a man or woman has more than one partners at the same time. All partners are now included in a broader sexual network. If one partner in the network is infected with HIV, the infection spreads more rapidly

to others in the network.

In a number of studies (Soul City 2007 & Parker et al 2007), sexual dissatisfaction was cited as a one of the reasons why both men and women found sexual partners other than their main partner. This study explores the link between sexual dissatisfaction and MCPs among black women further.

This chapter presents the findings generated from the raw data. These findings are presented and analysed under the following broad themes: perceptions of MCP and what is happening on the ground, MCP and secrecy; and where sexual dissatisfaction fits in.

1. What is happening in Tembisa with Regard to MCPs?

Participants confirmed that MCPs are fairly widespread in Tembisa; they spoke about the fact that women were sleeping with many partners at the same time. Many of the participants spoke about MCPs as something that happened outside of their own lives. In other words, they spoke about MCPs as happening to someone else, about them being a part of their friends' lives but not their own.

At the end of one of the focus groups, one participant, Lerato, stated that her friend, Refiloe, who was also in the focus group, had four partners. Refiloe admitted, embarrassed, that she slept with the five men for various reasons on a regular basis. She was open to speaking about it once the information was revealed by Lerato.

Lerato: *Can I please tell you because I am staying with her. Eeh she is going with Brian and from here she is going to meet Solly, then at night she is going to Abram and there are other two Suno and Petros*
Facilitator: *Is this true?*
Refiloe: *Yes*
Facilitator: *Which one is the best in bed?*
Refiloe: *Solly is the best he hits it everytime,*
(FGD 6)

Lerato's revelation about Refiloe in this context said a lot about her friend. Refiloe was having sex with four men at the time but expressed that she was in love with Solly. By saying that he 'hits it everytime' she meant that he provided pleasure for her every time they had sex. While Refiloe was having sex with Solly for sexual pleasure, her relations with Petros or Suno were not for the pleasure of it. Those relationships, as explained by her friend, were more for money or clothes.

The relationships the women had with the different men were kept

hidden and secret and they ensured that the men did not know about one another. This was again emphasised when one of the participants spoke about her MCPs.

Nelisiwe: *Then you have the after 9*
Facilitator: *After 9, at night? Why?*
Nelisiwe: *It's dark, no one sees you, you just hold that serious relationship, because you can see the other one is not serious*

(FGD 2)

> *'Let me make an example – you see her over there (pointing to another participant in the focus group) Her boyfriend of four years they have a baby together, Everyday 6 o clock … GATE! He is there. She does not have fun at all. If she wants to go out we have to sneak her out, like grab her fast before he comes so we can run away. Even when we are there, what time is it, she goes out the door … she is not free … Lets say we find Mr Entertainer at Daveyton … Then when he leaves she says she is going to her aunts place but we know she is going to Daveyton to have fun! With this other person, she finds sex exciting, with her boyfriend it is normal'*
>
> Tembi (FGD 2)

Tembi was speaking about her friend in the focus group who would sneak away from her boyfriend to go to Daveyton to have sex with someone else. Tembi implied her friend needed this because her current boyfriend did not provide her with any sexual excitement. The friend then kept her other relationships secret from her boyfriend.

The discourse of secrecy was one that was woven through the women's speech

about MCPs. The participants kept the fact that they had MCPs hidden from their various lovers, especially the one they felt was their main boyfriend.

While the literature reviewed suggests that men keep their relationships secret because they want to uphold their social standing and reputations, the findings suggest that women keep their relationships hidden for a number of reasons. Participants revealed that the main reason for keeping the relationships hidden from their various lovers or boyfriends was that they feared the repercussions. Some of the women spoke about being 'beaten' if they were found to have other partners.

The threat of violence resonates strongly with Tamara and Shefer's (2001) exploration of women's heterosexuality in South Africa. They discuss the silence surrounding female sexuality, asserting that women's sexual desires are silenced through a representation of women's desires as dangerous. The covert nature of women's MCPs suggests a sexual script that acknowledges the hegemony of male desire.

> *'I think that not being honest with him. Sometimes when other girls show their bodies, the men go wild, the men forget that you're with them'*
>
> (Puleng – FGD 3)

> *'I have a boyfriend who sleeps with me everyday. I don't want sex everyday, but he want, so I have sex and make sure I satisfy him so he don't get another girlfriend.*
>
> (Paseka – FGD 3)

Historically, the practice of having many partners has always been seen as a male domain. Men were generally associated with having many partners and women were allocated a more permissive role. This permissiveness generally translated into a construct of submission by women to men. For example, Hunter (2005), in exploring Zulu men and MCPs, discusses Zulu women who come from a particular history where, if they had an additional partner, could be ostracised from the tribe or area and classified as a 'loose woman' or *izifebe*. If a woman was classified as being 'loose', she was not given respect and was considered 'undesirable to marry'.

While the women spoke about their MCPs it was clear that they had these relationships for many reasons, one of which was sexual exchange.

According to the participants, transactional relationships were a common occurrence in Tembisa. The respondents justified this morally by seeing it as a form of agency on their part. This finding is consistent with other studies, where faithfulness was often seen as stupid and 'unstrategic', and women

needed to know that their needs would be taken care of (Leclerc-Madlala, 2007).

This came out strongly as a reason why women have sex outside of their core relationships as well.

> *'Maybe you call them minister of transport, minister of food. You know that when you calling minister of food he will bring pizza or Debonairs [Pizza], whatever you want to eat, when you are calling Minister of finance he will give you the R300.00 and then Minister of transport will take you whenever you want to go'*
>
> (Oatile – FGD 5)

> *'Us girls want beautiful things like cell phones, cash and cars and that's why we have different partners, and not of the same age'*
>
> (Lillian – FGD 3)

> *'Sometimes, uh, in most cases you find that some women like money so if they don't have a boyfriend that gives her the money, they decide aah let me try someone else'*
>
> (Karabo – FGD 1)

Hunter (2005) further emphasised that women approach transactional relationships not as passive victims but in order to access power and resources in a way that can both challenge and reproduce patriarchal structures. The need of the women to be fashionable and modern, rather than backward or unintelligent, has perpetuated the practice of MCPs and has led to the almost normalisation of what is called transactional sex.

These transactional sexual relationships operate under different circumstances but all the women want some or other form of relationship that they perceive as 'perfect'. The women conceptualised their own needs and wants with regard to the relationships they embarked on. The need to be and feel respected was for the participants something they wanted in a relationship. The perfect relationship for them was one where there was a mutual respect as well.

> *'Communication, going out together, spending time, maybe he can cook for you … He even cleans the house'*
>
> (Kabane – FGD 1)

Karabo: *He must be good looking, nice and clean … Clean is important*
Lebo: *Cash and soul food*
Lebohang: *But I think you should love a person who will respect you. Treat you as a woman, you should study a person, maybe going out, see him.*

(FGD 1)

The 'perfection' was packaged differently for the women, in that some wanted a man who would be romantic with them by bringing them flowers and taking them out on dates, while others wanted a more equal relationship: they wanted a man who could help them in the house or cook for them. Similarly, while some women looked at the material aspects of the perfection, like cars, cash and cell phones, others looked at a more progressive form of intimacy which centred on characteristics like respect, honesty and communication. The quest

for perfection was thus also a yearning for equality, for a partner that could understand their emotional needs. These relational aspects are all closely linked to elements of trust. However, trust in most of the participants' relationships, bar a few, seemed to be noticeably absent. Some of the participants were still with their partners even though they suspected that they were cheating. If they had cheated on their own partners, they did not reveal this information to them. Therefore, despite the fact that the women yearned for a more open and honest relationship, they could not attain it because they were themselves unable to apply some form of agency in expressing their needs in the relationship. Thus, they would find these needs through other channels.

One participant believed that these things embodied perfection for her.

> *'When it comes to sex, I love this guy but he can't satisfy me. I can't leave this guy because of sex. If you go around, how many people are you going to sleep with until you find the person who would satisfy you? I have to look till I find someone to satisfy me. It's not luck. Sometimes you have everything. You have the guy who has the car and the money, but you can't find the guy who loves you. Are you going to search the whole world to find the person to satisfy you the way you want? He can be good looking but he can't be everything. He can't be perfect'*
>
> (Mohau – FGD 4)

The participants' understanding of perfection was rooted in their own perceptions about how life should be and this was in turn underscored by the

desire to have a man who fulfilled various needs. To them, the partner they needed had to fulfil all their needs, financial and emotional. However, as the quote from Mohau above illustrates, even though the participants might yearn for the ideal, they had to accept the reality that one partner could simply not fulfil all their needs and that they had to compromise.

Was having MCPs a compromise? Did the participants feel that if they could not get it all from one man, they could find a missing quality in another man, thus finding various qualities in different men? The ideal partner for these women conformed to perceptions of the modern lifestyle – in other words, he would be a man who could provide for them materially as well as physically and emotionally. Thus, if they could find love, sex and someone who could cater for them emotionally, they would have fulfilled their notions of an ideal relationship.

This view was emphasised further when participants spoke about what constituted romantic relationships. They felt that romance was an integral part of a relationship.

> *'Taking a person out on a date, buying them roses, cooking them dinner, you know? Somebody who cares about you, who listens when you have*

trouble, he doesn't have to be about money, it's the thought that counts'
(Leabua – FGD 2)

The romance that the participants spoke of was characterised by various acts, such as giving roses, making dinner, and so on, even cleaning the house or kitchen. They also romanticised sex, speaking about it as a bonding experience and a feeling of connectedness.

'They say it [sex] is important, it is the way you bond with the partner. It is where you connect, the feeling that can't go away'
(FGD 4)

'Good sex means that it don't have to be a quick thing then go to sleep, must take slow steps, like kiss, stay close, feel each other. Most of us black people, that's what we do, we don't do the slow thing, we do it fast and then go to sleep. That's why some of us don't enjoy having sex with one partner. They want to see, does this one know how to do it and do it more romantically than the other one'
(Lillian FGD 3)

Romance and good sex intersected, as Neliswe above outlines it, through what happened during the act. Nelisiwe wants slow sex, interspersed with kisses and feelings. She felt that most black people had sex that was fast and then immediately went to sleep, and for her this was not really satisfying.

The participants went on to speak about how they were attracted to different

kinds of men. There seemed to be a special attraction to 'bad boys' or 'charmas' as they called them. The 'charmas' were described by the women as outgoing, charming and fun loving. These were also the men who had money and were able to take the women out and buy them things. The exercise of perceived control cited in the quote below illustrates how Maleratodi made choices about who she would see and when. For her, sex with Mr Entertainer was infinitely more exciting than with Mr Serious.

> *'You know what happened to me … neh, I had Mr. Serious and Mr. Entertainer … so I was having too much fun with Mr. Entertainer … I eventually forgot about Mr Serious … no more phone calls, I don't go to him anymore, I'm always with this one every morning, every night, when he calls I get irritated … when he says even one tiny thing bad I am gone … and then when Mr Entertainer gets to a point where he says no we are done … first thing I think of Mr Serious … first thing in the morning I go there … [I tell him] I was feeling kinda stressed lately … then we get back together again and then maybe two months down the line the same thing happens again.'*
>
> (Maleratodi – FGD 2)

> *'Mr Entertainer, he plays with you in sex. And you have to feel him and he have to feel you again, so you can enjoy the playing. The other one, Mr Serious, you just sleep, you don't enjoy the mood for sex.'*
>
> (Maleratodi – FGD 2)

In describing Mr Serious, Maleratodi said that he was boring in bed. She said that all she did with him was sleep, whereas with Mr Entertainer she played with him sexually and enjoyed herself more. The division of the two men shows two opposites and she spoke about how she divided her time accordingly. She

would prefer to spend her time with Mr Entertainer but when he made the decision to call an end to the relationship she went running back to Mr Serious. The relationship with Mr Entertainer was relegated to a more hidden and secretive place.

Splitting her time between the two men also showed how she was splitting up her own personality to suit each man. She felt that when she was with Mr Serious she also had to change her own personality to accommodate this. She could only show her other side to Mr Entertainer, because he would not be judgemental of this other side of her personality. This reveals a duality within her that she is creating by having two men because she cannot be altogether herself with either man.

> *'Let's say you have a serious boyfriend, and he is Mr Serious, he doesn't even go out, doesn't drink alcohol, doesn't smoke. Then there is this one, is is out, smokes, drinks. So this one is Monday to Thursday. This one is Friday to Sunday. I can be serious with Mr Serious. And have fun from Friday to Sunday'*
>
> (Maleratodi – FGD 2)

The discourse under which this discussion falls is again one of choice. Maleratodi believed that she was choosing to have these two men in her life and that she was gaining different things from them. Ironically, while she saw her decision as her choice, she did not necessarily have control over the relationship

she had with Mr Entertainer. The relationship with Mr Serious was also characterised by a lack of honesty and openness. Maleratodi was trying to assert her autonomy of choice by being able to juggle the two men, but the relationship Maleratodi has with her two lovers, which on the surface shows a woman who is able to have sex on her own terms, is misleading because her ability to negotiate both relationships is informed by the man making the decisions. Holland et al (2004) suggest that 'Women lose control of sexual encounters to men through self surveillance of their own bodies and desires'.

3. 2. Reasons for Sex

In order to further understand the issues of sexual dissatisfaction it is necessary to probe into the reasons why the participants have sex. There are several reasons, as outlined below.

1. Sex is Important

Sex proved to be of much importance for most of the participants. Sex was discussed by the participants in two ways – one was emotional and one was physical. One woman felt that sex was natural and something that needed to be enjoyed. Equating sex with enjoyment meant that there was a satisfaction element to it and that sex needed to be pleasurable. From the emotional perspective, sex was strongly linked to feelings of bonding and love. The linkage of sex to love is not an uncommon one. The feeling that sex equals love also meant that it was a commitment to stay together.

'It is really important. Sex is something natural, something you enjoy. Something you have to put some effort to show the other person. It is really important. I would say that sex counts for more than half of the relationship, maybe 60%. It is really, really important because it is like you making your love important.

(Disebo – IDI 3)

'They say it is important; it is the way you bond with the partner. It is where you connect, the feeling that can't go away'

(Mohau – FGD 4)

'According to me neh … sex is important to show the other person how much you love them and to stick to the relationship … like to show your boyfriend how much you love them … Its making love'

(Mpho – FGD 5)

The above statements show that women see sex as very important in their relationships. They also see sex as a way of showing how much you love another person. This resonates with previous studies where women felt that sex represented 'something more' than just the act (Shefer & Foster, 2001, Meston & Buss, 2009). Discourse about women and sex essentially says that sex is used by women as a tool to get things from men. This resonates with other studies done of adolescent girls and young women (students), where both groups felt they had to confirm male expectations of them through sex (Kahn, 2005; Shefer & Foster, 2001, Reddy & Dunne, 2007). The 'if you love me, you will sleep with me' discourse is still present. This script is one that is still prevalent through adolescence into young womanhood. Male sexuality and women's response to it is still a dominant construction.

Many of the women spoke of using condoms within the first few months of the relationship. However, once they got to know the

person better they stopped using the condoms because they felt that they had built up a level of trust. The discontinuance of condoms within the relationship put the women at risk of contracting HIV, but they were aware of this risk.

'Because if one of the partners maybe gets a disease like have an STD or HIV he can easily pass it to the next partner easy. Because if I have my after nine and I have my man then this after nine he also has a partner, and you don't know what his partner is doing, it's a circle.'
(Leabua – FGD 2)

So, while the risks were recognised, the women were willing to take the risk.

While the women recognised that sex was important they linked sex to a much bigger picture of love. If we examine this 'love' in more detail we can see that love is linked to sexual, emotional and financial fulfilment. The women are looking for a certain kind of man to fulfil all their needs but they are also aware that he does not exist and that they have to compromise. As mentioned above, these compromises take the form of multiple partnerships where they are able to fulfil different needs with different men.

2. Sexual Dissatisfaction

The findings show that sexual dissatisfaction in relationships plays a significant role in influencing one's decision to engage, or not to engage, in an MCP. Sexual dissatisfaction was spoken about by most of the participants as something they experienced as well as something that drove them to have MCPs. However, in some cases the dissatisfaction was linked to broader issues. One such broader issue is cheating. It emerged that if the woman was dissatisfied she would look elsewhere for satisfaction. This resonated with the decisions men would take if they were in the same situation.

Women also spoke about knowing that their partners were cheating on them and how this impacted on their ability to have pleasurable sex.

Facilitator: *Give me an example of dissatisfying sex?*
Lebo: *When you know your partner is cheating, that sex is no longer pleasurable as it was before because here you are, you are doing things, and you are thinking of this other girl that is doing this with me and maybe doing this with him, and there is this quick quick because this is happening because of this and the most thing that comes into your mind, especially when your man is cheating, you no longer find that sex is enjoyable*
(FGD 1)

If we use the definition of Rye and Meaney (2007), sexual pleasure involves the positive feelings that arise from sexual stimuli. In analysing how these women talked about sex, we see a slight departure from previous studies where women identified various situations in which they would be sexually dissatisfied.

'And that is where cheating comes in cos if I am not satisfied then I will go seek somewhere else where I will get the pleasure'
(Limpho – FGD 2)

'Dissatisfaction is when you're not getting enough sex'
(Nelisiwe – FGD 3)

Facilitator:	*Do you think there are times sleeping with another person other than your own partner is ok?*
Setene:	*Yes sometimes*
Facilitator:	*But why?*
Setene:	*Because he didn't satisfy you and you love the guy obviously, someone else would do it [sex] better*

(FGD 7)

Facilitator:	*What would leave you dissatisfied?*
Lebo:	*A quickie one!*
Facilitator:	*Isn't four minutes a quickie?*
Kabane:	*It is but you have to start with romance but when you reach orgasm that's four minutes.*
Interviewer:	*What is the difference?*
Kabane:	*With a quickie the whole thing is four minutes. And he MUST scream my name!*

(FGD 1)

'I did have multiple partners and my reason was because of satisfaction. If you have a boyfriend who spends more time with his friends, and you feel lonely, that's why'

(Limpho – FGD 2)

The women also spoke about a biological aspect to their dissatisfaction when they spoke about men and sex. They did not like sex that was rushed and felt that it needed to last longer so that they could have more time to start feeling more in the mood.

While the women were aware of what caused their dissatisfaction and were eager redress it, they could not do this and some of them either endured the dissatisfaction or found other partners who better fulfilled their sexual needs.

Another biological reason for dissatisfaction that the women brought up was that it could be caused by incompatible private parts. The women spoke about men who had small penises and were thus unable to satisfy them sexually.

Leabua: *The small one is a no-no!*
Facilitator: *Is size a problem?*
Itumeleng: *I like guys with big soldiers.*
(FGD 2)

Facilitator: *How important is sex?*
Mokheti: *How are you going to solve the problem, if the pippy is too small?*
Phumla: *There is medication, you can use to massage …*
(FGD 4)

The women were, however, willing to try to solve this problem. One woman had heard about medication and was willing to use massage. The trouble that was identified, though, was the inability of the woman to communicate this particular problem to her partner, as it was bound up in the symbol of the male partner's very masculinity. The penis also represents the power of a man to sexually please a woman. There is a perception that 'real men' have big penises, which are perceived as the source of a man's power. The potency of the penis was related to the potency of the man to also provide for the woman and to take care of her.

One participant spoke about sex and men as flavours, and about needing variety.

Thuli:	*The flavours, nee, if my boyfriend nee doesn't satisfy me ne I move on to another boyfriend who is gonna satisfy me yabona so*
Facilitator:	*satisfy you how?*
Thuli:	*kissing hugging laughs*
Facilitator:	*And will you keep your boyfriend if you find someone else?*
Thuli:	*Yeah*

(FGD 6)

The women were generally not shy to speak about their sexual lives

and experiences. They were very keen, even asking the facilitator questions after the focus-group discussions. They seemed to enjoy being able to speak about their sexual exploits within the group but made it clear that they would not speak to any of their partners about these things.

They wanted to play and be satisfied, have fun in the process, as was made clear earlier when one of the participants said she preferred to date the more fun man rather than the serious boyfriend. The enjoyment with which the women spoke about their sexual experiences pointed to an exploration of it, almost as if it was newly discovered.

The women also wanted to know more about sex, although they came across as quite knowledgeable. They were trying new sexual things and they understood what an orgasm was. They also understood how much foreplay was needed to get them in the mood and how long was needed for them to have a pleasurable sexual experience.

4. 3. Good Sex

Sex plays an important role in the women's lives. The women spoke about good sex in predominantly two ways: they spoke about the emotional bonds of sex and also the physical aspects. They felt that sex was something you could not live without and they also felt it was a way of showing men that you loved them. In terms of the emotional thread, all the women equated sex with love. There was also a feeling that sex needed to be slow and special and not fast.

'You can't live without sex'

(Puleng – FGD 3)

'Good sex means that it don't have to be a quick thing then go to sleep, must take slow steps, like kiss, stay close, feel each other. Most of us black people, that what we do, we don't do the slow thing, we do it fast and then go to sleep. That's why some of us don't enjoy having sex with one partner. They want to see, does this one know how to do it and do it more romantically that the other one …'

(Lillian – FGD 3)

This display fell into the dichotomy of wanting love present but also of using sex to hold onto a partner. Being able to 'make love' made the sex special in some ways. There was a

perception that if the sex was special and it formed a bond, partners would stay in the relationship. This contradiction was somewhat startling within the research: while the women spoke about the links between sex and love, they also emphasised that they would have relationships for material gain as well.

The women's understanding of 'good sex' was also related to feelings of intimacy, represented by 'slow steps', 'kisses', staying close and feeling each other. The need to imbue sex with these feelings of intimacy also wanted to create a feeling of specialness. The desire to enhance or create a bond with their partners through these acts illustrated that sex was not merely a physical but more than that.

Kissing was an integral part of good sex for the participants. They felt that through kissing they were making a stronger connection. It was also a precursor or 'starter' for to what was to come.

Facilitator: *What part [of sex] do you enjoy the most?*

Refiloe: *when we are kissing and feeling each other*
Facilitator: *why is kissing fun?*
Mbali: *You don't just go having sex without kissing, it's a starter*
Lerato: *its kissing, you know kissing is the most lovely thing that can happen to a person.*
Refiloe: *a good kisser is a person who don't rush, takes things easy, slowly but surely*
(FGD 6)

Here again the emphasis was put on taking things slowly, without rushing. Stressing the importance of slow kissing was potentially a way of taking control of the situation as opposed to what was inferred earlier.

As discussed earlier, while in the past great emphasis was placed on a more essentialist or biological approach to sexuality, more recently sexuality has also been shown to be socially constructed. In a study examining this construction, Basson (2001a) showed that women's sexual desire could be reduced through a lack of tenderness, mutuality, respect, communication, or pleasure from sexual touching (Basson in Wood et al 2005).

There was a general feeling among all the groups that sex was

penetration of the vagina by the penis. This sex act or intercourse was the only way women spoke about sex. Even when they had oral sex, whether giving or receiving, the act of penis-into-vagina intercourse still needed to happen.

Paseka: *I have… with the father of my baby, we do have nice sex. He plays around, we play around. We kiss, we lick each other, we have oral sex.*
Mpho: *I don't like giving oral sex! I will never do it … I hate it, and finger fucking, I hate it.*
Paseka: *I like it to me …*
Facilitator: *When you have sex what needs to happen?*
Mpho: *These are extras, we have to have SEX. With his penis inside of me.*
(FGD 2)

As mentioned previously, the women were quite knowledgeable about how they perceived good sex and how they felt good sex needed to happen.

Facilitator: *What is the good sex*
Rethabile: *Good sex? Foreplay*
Teboho: *First foreplay then feeling each other*
Tsela: *Change styles*
Setene: *Sucking*
Teboho: *Blow job*
Rethabile: *Sucking, dog style* nani futi *[what else]… yaa*
(FGD 7)

Puleng: *There is a place that when he touches you, you climax*
Facilitator: *Where is that place?*
Puleng: *We all have different places*

Nelisiwe: *Me I feel when he touches my breast, that feels good*
Naomi: *And when it's good you hear yourself, you can't control yourself*
Puleng: *It makes you want to scream*
(FGD 3)

The women seemed to be quite familiar with different positions and styles of having sex and they were also quite familiar with the feeling of what they called a 'climax' or orgasm. While there is a representation here of the orgasm as the pinnacle of sexual intercourse and the outcome of the sex act, there is an openness from the women in expressing their need to be sexually satisfied. While these quotes are illustrative of the more physical act of sex, they are explicit in how women want to enjoy sex. Women who were in longer term relationships seemed more able to express their needs to their partners.

Women also felt that their boyfriend needed to be adventurous.

'I remember there was a day neh…It's like I was when my boyfriend then what happened is we were having issues then we solved our issues after solving our issues he said "can you come to my place?" I said "I will come". That thing was a surprise because I never expected that he would do something like that because he had never done it before. He bought Ultra

Mel and Yoghurt he mixed them together as I was lying on the bed busy kissing he poured that Ultra Mel and Yoghurt on my body and started sucking. I felt like I was in heaven'

(Paseka – FGD 5)

Participants showed a willingness to perform different positions in their various relationships. This willingness showed that they were adventurous and that they were able to keep the interest of their partners by providing them with variety.

Oatile: *My boyfriend enjoys women on top and dog style*
Facilitator: *And do you also enjoy that?*
Oatile *No I don't enjoy it because I can't and I am fat so I get tired so fast. What I enjoy is that I just sleep and he will be busy pumping, pumping … I enjoy that because you are not working, you are not moving*

(FGD 5)

'I think at that moment let's try this and if this style does not work let's try another one. Then you end up talking bout it … love how was it? it was nice?'

(Karabo – FGD 1)

Facilitator: *What styles are better for you?*
Mohau: *I like being on top.*
Phumla: *As long as I get it.*
Pulane: *dog style*
Mokheti: *also dog style.*
Neo: *Dog style is hard and painful, I like my boyfriend on top of me.*

(FGD 4)

Pornography was used to introduce variety into sex for the

women. They accessed pornography through various means.

' … one day we were watching a porno … I can't remember which day and I seen a girl like doing it and my concentration was on the girl so after watching that porno and I did it and he enjoyed it and sometimes we will do it like in the bathroom, maybe like taking a bath together, we wash together like everyday'

(Karabo – FGD 1)

'Twice in a month. I would say say lets try this. Cos my boyfriend used internet at work so he will print me some new things like baby "I've seen something on the internet lets try and see if its good or not good the I say OK, lets try it then"

(Kabane – FGD 1)

'There is this Emmanual *on ETV late at night and it's a porn so when they busy, love you see what they doing, can we try it?'*

(Maleratodi – FGD 2)

Some women also felt forced into watching pornography:

'It felt awkward but I had to watch it so that he cannot go out looking for other girls'

(Matlakala – IDI 5)

6. 5. Sex to Prevent Infidelity

Participants spoke about having sex with their partners every day. While some women had these demands for daily sex from their partners they were happy to comply. Having sex every day seemed to have two reasons. One was to keep their partner happy so that he would not cheat on them. But some women also felt that if their partners wanted sex every day then this meant that the men did not trust the women.

'If you are married, I do love sex, we have to have sex each and every day. As long as they are together then there. He must get it in the morning so that he must not cheat'

(Lebohang – FGD 1)

'I have a boyfriend who sleeps with me every day. I don't want sex every day, but he want, so I have sex and make sure I satisfy him so he don't get another girlfriend'

(Nelisiwe – FGD 3)

'He doesn't trust you … if he wants sex every day he does not trust you. Cos I thought that when he goes to work you sleep outside with another man so when he comes back he wants to have sex'

(Kgotso – FGD 1)

'I do it every day … every single day, when I see his bum, wow … to tell you the honest truth I just like sex more than anything. I am ready at any time'

(Leabua – FGD 2)

Having sex every day was a way of protecting their relationships

because it helped to keep their partners sexually satisfied, thus preventing them from looking elsewhere for satisfaction.

So, having sex every day was also linked to a lack of trust in the relationship on both the part of the woman and the man.

But if we analyse it further we see that there is a tacit acceptance of this lack of trust. This acceptance is the exertion of a perception of control through sex. By having sex every day, they are performing a sexual act that is not produced as a result of pleasure but more out of a sense of fear. Although both partners are aware of their own pleasure needs, they have produced a regiment by which they feel that they can control the other's sexual needs. This provides a tension between the understanding of the physical needs of the body and the social construction of what underpins the sexual needs of both partners (Holland et al, 1994).

There are severe costs to losing a partner because a woman could lose her social status if dumped. Being dumped is also linked to losing certain benefits, including having a steady partner, a regular income if he is working and access to some resources that a woman would not have if she was alone.

5. 4. Communication about Sex

Communication about sex is generally difficult in many relationships. The participants themselves raised these difficulties and cited many reasons why it was difficult to talk or not talk about sex.

1. Talking about Sex

Talking about sex was something the participants said was very difficult to do with their partners.

'But when you are starting its hard to say take off your pants, then that's hard'

(Rethabile – FGD 7)

Lerato did speak to her partner about what her needs were and he was willing to try new things with her:

'Sometimes even me and my boyfriend, sometimes he don't satisfy me I do talk to him about things that doesn't make me happy and he will say I maybe do it this way'

(Lerato – FGD 6)

2. Not Talking about Sex

Setene found it difficult to initiate sex with her partner:

'Sometimes it is difficult because sometimes you want to have sex but you can't make the first move'

(Setene – FGD 7)

She also said that initiating sex meant that she was taking away a key role that she felt belonged to the man. She believed that, as a woman, she needed to only show her desire in response to her partner, and only when he showed that he wanted to have sex.

When the women did not feel secure enough to make the first move, they let their partners know they wanted sex by showing them. Puleng, for example, showed her partner that she wanted sex through gestures:

'Ah ah, I don't make the first move … I would make gestures … like rub his back …'

(Puleng – FGD 3)

This insecurity about making the first move is related to the fact, discussed earlier, that there is often a lack of trust in relationships. Other research has shown that if women made the first move they were seen as forward or loose (Meston & Buss, 2009); they were seen as taking away the control from the male. This presents the woman with a dilemma in that she wants to have sex but needs to wait for the man to ask her or make the first sexual move. This resonates strongly with a study by Shefer and Foster (2001) that focused on young students

speaking about how they negotiate heterosexual sex. Shefer and Foster found that women relegated their own desires to the background in favour of men's simply because they were taught that their own desires were not important. Women, they found, were constructed as less sexual than men. This follows an almost prescribed sexual script and, by asking for sex, women are breaching this script. They are transcending the control of men.

Ironically, among the women from Tembisa who spoke so fervently about their sexual desires and sexual needs, there were also women that despite speaking about their needs in the group could not voice these needs to their partners.

6. Condom Use

Condom usage was spoken about in most of the focus groups and the women were generally knowledgeable about how condoms worked and why they needed to use them. They also discussed condoms in relation to preventing HIV/AIDS, especially when they suspected that their partners had other sexual partners.

'Maybe in other words you will think what he has done to you, maybe he

> *did not use a condom with that girl [and she had] HIV and AIDS and then you have to make up and take some blood tests. I used to do it! And in the room there were so many condoms only to find out that girl was pregnant.*
>
> (Lebohang – FGD 1)

Kabane: *Yes I do I am condomising now. Cos I don't trust men, when he tells you he loves you I think oh god here comes HIV*
Facilitator: *Do you generally always use condoms with your men?*
EVERYONE: *Yes*
Kabane: *No condom, no pillow*

(FGD 1)

Trust was an issue that played a big part in whether a condom was used or not. The women spoke about using condoms when they did not trust a partner.

> *'If you have one partner and you are honest to him, you don't use a condom, if you have lots of partners, then you use a condom or you suspect your partner has another partner. I trusted my boyfriend from the start so I did not use a condom.*
>
> (Naomi – FGD 3)

Trust was a complex matter for the participants because they felt that if it was a longer term partner then they could trust that person and this related strongly to non condom use. However, if they suspected that their partner had other partners then they insisted that they use condoms. Naomi, though, said that she had trusted her boyfriend from the start. This gives the impression that trust is not necessarily linked to longevity in relationships.

So trust was linked to many factors in the use of condoms. Here, the issue was again related to suspicion of their partner having other sexual partners:

Facilitator: Is it scary in some way? Are you not scared of having sex with somebody who has other people
Leabua: No. The other who got many girlfriends [I] sleep with him with a condom then the one who is serious, no condom.
(FGD 2)

The complexity of trust was raised again with regard to relationships of some length where women saw using condoms past a certain time as incompatible with a loving, committed relationship. If a man stayed with a woman for six months or longer, this meant that he belonged to her, according to Limpho:

> *"And another thing you can't always use a condom, ok let's say you have been going out for six months and he feels that I think you should skip the condom. Even you now you are telling yourself this is your man … this is my man'*
> (Limpho – FGD 2)

> *'It's like when someone tells you that if you want to use condom it means you don't trust me, maybe you are doing something'*
> (Setene – FGD 7)

12. 11. GENERAL DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

It has been suggested that MCPs fuel the spread of HIV in South Africa. Therefore, in an attempt to reduce levels of infections, a more nuanced understanding of the key factors related or linked to the phenomenon of MCPs is crucial. As indicated earlier, the main aim of this study was to focus on one of these factors, sexual dissatisfaction, and to explore the link between sexual dissatisfaction and MCPs.

Studying sexual behaviour in Africa has become an area of necessary research given the high levels of HIV/AIDS across the continent and given that the disease is transferred predominantly through heterosexual sex. It has also been established that sex research is still an under-researched area and more knowledge is needed about sexual behaviour to interrogate the high levels of HIV (Djamba, 1997, Arnfred, 2004, Reid & Walker, 2005).

South Africa itself is home to the world's largest population of people living with HIV – 5.7 million in 2007 (UNAIDS 2007). Evidence has shown that women aged 15–19 are disproportionally affected by the disease, and make up almost 60% of new infections in the country (SANAC Strategic Plan 2007 – 2011).

The issue of sexual dissatisfaction was uncovered in two research studies in South

Africa and my project wanted to isolate this issue and see if a link exists for black women between sexual dissatisfaction and MCPs.

The core objectives of the study were to explore:

a. what sexual dissatisfaction means for black women in South Africa;
b. how this group understood sexual satisfaction; and
c. the sexual needs and wants of black women and whether they are being fulfilled in their core relationships.

The guiding theoretical framework of this study, critical realism, aims to combine an essentialist and social constructionist approach. Within this approach I take the view that women are sexual pleasure seekers but the space in which they can seek the pleasure is extremely limited. While we are aware of the overarching structural drivers within Southern Africa, such as gender inequality and the inherent patriarchy where men are considered the people with all the decision-making power (Gilbert and Selikow, 2010), women are slowly taking steps to claim back their power.

Traditionally, research in Africa, when focusing on sexuality, has tended to lean more towards a male understanding of sexuality (Richardson, 1988). This has applied not only in the understanding of sexuality but also from a pleasure perspective, especially

around sexual desire.

The participants showed that they understood what MCPs were and at the same time were unanimous in acknowledging that they happened in their community. This is in line with other qualitative studies across Southern Africa, and in South Africa, which have identified concurrent partnerships as an issue.

It emerged, though, that MCPs are complex relationships that may be made up of many layers , which fulfilled some or other needs for women.

The participants were quite clear about what they thought was good sex and what they thought was bad sex. Predominantly, they viewed sexual dissatisfaction – and by extension sexual pleasure and satisfaction – through two lenses: the physical and the emotional.

Under the emotional lens, the participants presented a dominant discourse around love and its association with sex. They were adamant that they had to have sex with someone they loved. So, in some ways, sex was sex until it meant something more (Shefer & Foster, 2001). This 'something more' was the ideal they created around romantic relationships and perfect relationships. This resonates with the idea that women 'want sex to be a place in which they can experience love, care and affection

from their partners' (Ryan, 2000). The perfect relationship was one where key features of the man ranged from his being good looking through to his respecting woman. Paradoxically, many of the women were not in these kinds of relationships.

The issue of having sex every day also came up. Some women felt that they needed to provide sex for their partners every day because otherwise the partner might cheat on them.

Other women felt that they were forced by their partners to have sex every day because the partners thought the women might cheat. This created a trust barrier between the two parties. Trust was also an issue that emerged strongly in the discourse around condom usage. Women showed that they had knowledge about condoms and how they protect against HIV/AIDS.

Transactional sex, or using sex in exchange for goods and services, also appears common among the women (Leclerc-Madlala, 2004). Much of the transactional sex, though, appeared to be geared more towards luxury goods rather than basic survival needs, such as food or shelter. The women spoke about wanting 'cars, cash and cell phones', which resonates with other studies (Leclerc-Madlala, 2004).

Debates about sexuality have been stuck between an either/or paradigm of essentialist

vs social constructionism. The two, however, connected strongly and clashed within the same domain, where sex was intricately linked with both the physical and the emotional. For the participants these spheres existed almost simultaneously within their lives.

What was apparent within the discussions was a high level of knowledge about sex and sexual needs. The women were very aware of their own sexual needs and wants. Despite restrictions within their sexual lives, the women seemed to be writing their own scripts (Simon & Gagnon, 1987). One of the women said that when she was younger she had understood that sex only happened 'after dark'. As a grown woman, she loved sex and wanted it 'all the time', anywhere, and she also wanted variety. In fact, variety was key to how many of the participants wanted sex, amd kissing seemed to be integral to any sex act.

The participants were generally aware of the terminology of sex and were quite open about speaking about 'licking', 'sucking', 'finger fucking' and 'orgasms'. They understood that during a sex act there was a spot that needed to be 'hit' in order for them to enjoy that sex act. Abrahamson and Pinkerton (2005) define sexual pleasure broadly as the involvement of the positive feelings that arise from sexual stimuli. This is in line with how the women spoke about sex from a physical perspective. They

generally had pleasurable feelings about sex. They also had definite feelings about what they did not want. This was evidenced by the discussion around 'a quickie' and what that term meant, as well as what the differences were between a quickie and early sex peak. The women were of the opinion that they did not want a quickie but wanted something longer and more meaningful. This also related strongly to sex being linked to romance.

Despite the women showing extensive knowledge about sex, the actual act in relationships was still dominated by men. This was evidenced by the inability of one woman 'to make the first move'. The inability to communicate about needs and wants plagued almost all the sexual relationships the participants had with men. They felt that they could not voice their sexual needs, and this left them sexually unsatisfied.

This is compounded by the belief that men's uncontrollable sexual desires need to be satisfied in relationships and that women need to tolerate, endure and forgive men's mistakes, including having other sexual partners.

The research has shown that in order to work towards curbing the spread of HIV/AIDS and reducing the prevalence of MCPs, a deeper understanding of women and sexual dissatisfaction is needed. However, further research needs to be done

within the complex set of circumstances in which women find themselves, and should be related to other drivers, which may be linked to gender-based violence, transactional sex, the kinds of relationships that women desire and their drive to be independent and modern.

Further research is needed to explore the links between the sexual relationships that women have and the covert nature of these relationships. Higgens and Hirsch (2007) call for greater attention to be paid to the ways in which women want to maximise their sexual enjoyment and minimise sexual harm.

14. 13. REFERENCES

Arnfred S (2004) Re-thinking Sexualities in Africa, Sweden, Almqvist & Wiksell Tryckeri

Beasley C (2008) The Challenge of Pleasure: Re-imagining Sexuality and Sexual Health, *Health Sociology Review* 17: 151-163

Archer M, Bhaskar R, Collier A, Lawson T, Norrie A (eds) (1998) Critical Realism: Essential Readings, Routledge, London

Caldwell J, Caldwell P, & Quiggin P (1989) The Social Context of AIDS in Sub-Saharan Africa, *Population and Development Review* 15, no 2

Carter MW, Kraft JM, Koppenhaver T, Galavotti C, Roels TH & Kilmarx PH (2007) "A Bull cannot be contained by a Single Kraal": Concurrent Sexual Partnerships in Botswana. *AIDS Behavior*, 11, 822-830

Colvin M, Abdool K, Connolly C & Hoosen A.A (1998) HIV Infection and asymptomatic sexually transmitted infections in a rural South African community. *International Journal of STD & AIDS*, 9(9), 548-550

Correa S, Petchesky R, & Parker R (2008) Sexuality, Health and Human Rights, New York and London, Routledge Taylor & Francis Group

Cornwall A (2006) Development's Marginalisation of Sexuality: Report of an IDS Workshop', *Gender & Development* 14:2, 273-289, Brighton: IDS

De Vaus D (2001) Research Design in Social Research, California: Sage. 1-52

Djamba Y K (1997) Theoretical Perspectives on Female Sexual Behaviour in Africa: A Review and Conceptual Model, *African Journal of Reproductive Health*, Vol. 1, No. 2, pp. 67-78

Dowsett G (2003) Some Considerations on Sexuality and Gender in the context of AIDS, *Reproductive Health Matters*, 11(22) 1-9 2003

Durkheim E (1895) "What is a Social Fact?" in *The Rules of Sociological Method*. Pp 50-59

Epstein H (2007) *The Invisible cure: Africa, the west, and the fights against AIDS* (First Edition). New York, NY: Farrer, Straus and Girous

Giddens A (1992) The Transformation of Intimacy: Sexuality, love and eroticism in modern societies. Stanford: Stanford University Press

Gilbert L. and Selikow T.A. (2010) Gender and HIV/AIDS in: Ellen Kuhlmann and Ellen Annandale, Handbook of Gender and Healthcare, London: Palgrave.

Govender P (2010) Zuma fathers baby with Irvin Khoza's daughter, Times Online, http://www.timeslive.co.za/sundaytimes/article284367.ece, accessed 29/09/2010

Gune E & Manuel S (2007) Doing Research on Sexuality in Africa: Ethical Dilemmas and the Positioning of the Researcher, culled from OSSREA Bulletin June 2007

http://www.ossrea.net/publications/newsletter/jun07/article8.htm accessed 15 May 2009

Greenstein R (2003) Qualitative Research Methods, Pages 1 – 39

Gross N & Simmons S (2002) Intimacy as a Double-Edged Phenomenon? An Empirical Test of Giddens: *Social Forces*, Vol. 81, No. 2, Published by: University of North Carolina Press.

Halperin DT & Epstein H (2004) Why is HIV prevalence so severe in Southern Africa? *The Southern African Journal of HIV Medicine, 26, 19-23*

HEAIDS, 2010, HIV prevalence and Related factors – Higher Education Sector Study, South Africa, 2008 – 2009, Pretoria: Higher Education South Africa

Higgins JA & Hirsh JS (2007) The Pleasure Deficit: Revisiting the "Sexuality Connection" in *Reproductive Health, International Family Planning Perspectives*, Vol 33, No. 3

Holland J, Ramazanoglu C, Sharpe S & Thomson R (2003) When bodies come together: Power, control and desire. In J Weeks, J Holland & M Waites (eds) Sexualities and society: A Reader. Cambridge: Polity Press

Human Sciences Research Council (2005) South African National HIV Prevalence, Incidence, Behaviour and Communication Survey

Human Sciences Research Council (2009) South African National HIV Prevalence, Incidence, Behaviour and Communication Survey, 2008, A turning Tide among Teenagers?

Humphreys S, Undie C & Dunne M (2008) Gender, sexuality & development: Key issues in education and society in Sub-Saharan Africa. In Dunne, M. (ed) Gender, Sexuality & Development: education and Society in Sub-Saharan Africa, Rotterdam, Sense publishers

Jolly S (2007) Why the development Industry Should get over its Obsession with Bad Sex and start to think about pleasure. IDS Working Paper 283, Sussex University

Leclerc-Madlala S (2009). Cultural scripts for multiple and concurrent partnerships in southern Africa: Why HIV prevention needs anthropology. *Sex Health, 6*(2), 103-110.

Lesch E & Kruger L (2005) Mothers, daughters and sexual agency in one low-income South African community, *Social Science & Medicine* 61 pp 1072-1082

Lurie M & Rosenthal S (2009). Concurrent Partnerships as a Driver of the HIV Epidemic in Sub-Saharan Africa? The Evidence is limited. *AIDS Behaviour*, Vol 14, No. 1/Feb 2010

Mah T (2008) Dangerous Liaisons: Concurrent Sexual partnerships and the South African HIV/AIDS Epidemic. Harvard AIDS Research Projects

Mah T L & Halperin DT (2008). Concurrent sexual Partnerships and the HIV epidemics in Africa: Evidence to move forward. *AIDS and Behavior*, 22. Epub ahead of print.

Mills C W (1959) "The Promise" in *the Sociological Imagination*. New York: Oxford University Press: PP.3-18

Moneymaker J & Montanino J (1978) The New Sexual Morality: A society comes of Age in: The Sociology of Sex, An introductory Reader (ed): Henslin J., M & Sagarin E., New York, Schocken Books

Morris M & Kretzschmar M (1995) Concurrent Partnerships and transmission dynamics in networks. *Social Networks*, 17, 299-318

Morris M & Kretzschmar M (1997) Concurrent Partnerships and the spread of HIV. *AIDS*, 11(5), 641-648

Neuman WL (2006) Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches Boston: Pearson International: p135

New Scientist, June 2008, http://www.newscientist.com/article/mg19826614.100-bad-guys-really-do-get-the-most-girls.html

Oomman N (1998) Sexuality: Not just a Reproductive Health Matter, *Reproductive Health Matters* Vol 6, No. 12 pg 10-12

Parker W, Makhubele B, Ntlabati P & Connolly C (2007) Concurrent Sexual Partnership amongst young adults in South Africa: Challenges for HIV Prevention Communication: research conducted by Centre for AIDS Research, Development and Evaluation

Parker RG & Gagnon JH (eds) (1995) Introduction in Conceiving Sexuality: Approaches to Sex Research in a Postmodern World; New York & London, Routledge

Philpott A, Knerr W & Maher D (2006) Promoting protection and pleasure: amplifying the effectiveness of barriers against sexually transmitted infections and pregnancy, *The Lancet*, Dec 2 – Dec 8, 368, 9551 pg. 2028

Posel D (2004) 'Getting the Nation talking about Sex: Reflections on the discursive constitution of sexuality in South African since 1994'. *Agenda,* December

Rabiee F (2004) Focus-group interviews and data analysis, *Proceedings of the Nutrition Society* (630, 655 – 660)

Reddy S & Dunne M (2007) Risking it: Young Heterosexual Femininities in South African context of HIV/AIDS, *Sexualities,* 10, 159

Ryan A (2001) Feminism and Sexual Freedom in an age of AIDS, *Sexualities*, SAGE, Publications (London, Thousand Oaks, CA and New Delhi, Vol 4 (1): 91-107

Rye BJ & Meaney GJ (2007) "The Pursuit of Sexual Pleasure." *Sexuality & Culture* 11 (1): 28-51.

SADC (2006) Expert Think Tank Meeting on HIV Prevention in High Prevalence Countries in Southern Africa, Maseru, Lesotho

Selikow T, Zulu B, Cedras E (2002) The Ingagara, the Regte and the Cherry: HIV and AIDS and Youth Culture in Contemporary Urban Townships, *Agenda,* No. 53, pp 22-32, Published by: Agenda Feminist Media

Shefer T & Foster D (2001) Discourses on women's (hetero) sexuality and desire in a South African context, *Culture Health and Sexuality*, Vol 3, No 4, 375 - 390

Sigamoney V (2009) The language of Multiple Concurrent Partners, Sex and HIV and AIDS in Lesotho: Opportunities for Dialogue Promotion, Research Report

Simon W & Gagnon JH (1987) A sexual scripts approach. In JH Greer & W.T.O'Donahue (Eds), Theories of human sexuality (pp.363-83) NY: Plenum

Soul City: IHDC (2007) A Nine Country Integrated Report – HIV Prevention: Multiple and Concurrent Sexual Partnerships among Youths and Adults in Southern Africa

Spronk R (2005) Female Sexuality in Nairobi: Flawed of Favoured? *Culture, Health and Sexuality*, Vol 7, No.3, African Sexualities, pp 267 – 277

Statistics South Africa (2009) Mid Year Population South Africa Report

Strauss A & Corbin J (1990) Basic Considerations in Basics of Qualitative Research: Grounded Theory Procedures and Techniques. Califonia: Sage Pp 17-27

Thornton R (2008) Unimagined Community, University of California Press, Berkeley

Tolman D (2002) Dilemmas of Desire, Teenage Girls Talk about Sexuality, USA, President and Fellows of Harvard College, pg 118 - 133

UNAIDS (2008) Multiple Concurrent Partnerships Campaigns and Communications, Towards a Coordinated Regional Response, Meeting of HIV Prevention Communications Practitioners 17-18 September, Johannesburg, South Africa

Vance CS (1984) Pleasure and danger: exploring female sexuality, Routledge & K. Paul

Vance CS (1991) Anthropology rediscovers sexuality: A theoretical comment, *Social Science and Medicine*, Vol 3, No 8, pp 875 – 884

Walker L, & Reid G (2005) Sex and Secrecy: A focus on African Sexualities, *Culture, Health and Sexuality*, 7(3): 185 - 194

Weeks J (1986) Sexuality, New York and London: Routledge

Weiss R (1995) Learning from Strangers: The Art and Method of Qualitative

Interview Studies. New York: Free Press. Chapters 1,3,4,5,6

Wood J M, Koch PB, Mansfield PK (2006) Women's sexual desire: a feminist critique, *Journal of Sex Research*, Aug; 43 (3): 236-44

Woodsong C & Alleman (2008) Sexual Pleasure, Gender Power and Microbicide Acceptability in Zimbabwe and Malawi, *AIDS Education and Prevention* 20(2), 171-187