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A critical inquiry into sexual networks in Marange District, a case study of Johane Marange Apostolic Church community in Marange, Zimbabwe.

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2009-03-06T06:40:41Z
http://hdl.handle.net/10539/6629

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CHAPTER ONE - INTRODUCTION

1.1 BASIC OVERVIEW

The HIV/AIDS epidemic has become a global health concern as well as a development challenge. According to a report by the National Aids Council and Ministry of Health of Zimbabwe, two transmission mechanisms account for most new HIV infections in the country: sexual contact and mother to child transmission with sexual contact contributing 84%, mother to child transmission contributing 15% and other methods of transmission like blood transfusion contributing only 1% (2004:3). This state of affairs brings into perspective the need to focus on sexual networks as the highway of transmission.

A report produced by the Poverty Reduction Forum on Zimbabwe in 2003 also revealed that HIV infection in Zimbabwe is mainly spreading through sexual networks. According to the Zimbabwe Human Development Report 2003, HIV transmission can be adequately explained by the concept of sex networks. In the report a sex network is defined "as a complex map or web of sexual relationships or patterns which bring many sexual partners of a diverse background, status, behaviors and other attributes into direct (or immediate) and indirect (or remote) sexual contact" (2003:3**)**. Sexual networks and not individuals are the transmission lines through which HIV flows across the country.

This research thus focused on sexual networks in Marange Apostolic church community in Zimbabwe. The case study being an apostolic community, apostolic church, called the Johane Marange Apostolic church is considered one of the biggest African Independent churches, with an estimated ten million followers worldwide. The research report is therefore about sexual

networks in Marange, the type of networks in the area and the determinants of these sexual networks.

The paper will discuss the two co-existing sexual networks in the community; the clustered- sub network and the multiply interlinked sexual network structure. These two networks co-exist in the community because the network structure is undergoing a transition or a change from being clustered to being multiply interlinked. The change of network structure is therefore an important part of the research paper. The paper discusses the change of sexual network structure and shape in Marange apostolic community. The paper further discusses the impact of changing economic networks, trade networks, communication networks, social network and the emergence of the diamond trade network in Chiadzwa, on the structure and configuration of the sexual network in Marange.

The main argument of this paper is that sexual network structure and composition is important in understanding the dynamics of HIV transmission and that sexual networks are defined by the social structure of a community, nation or region. In the case of Marange the changing social structure has contributed in many ways to the ongoing transition of network structure. The problem of HIV can thus be dealt with by changing those social structures which make HIV transmission easier and developing social structures that impede HIV transmission.

1.1.1 RESEARCH AIMS

The research aimed at studying sexual networks in the apostolic church community of Eastern Zimbabwe, in order to understand the determinants of sexual networks in the area, so that my audience can come up with policies or strategies based on an understanding of sexual networks in the context of HIV/AIDS.

- To identify the sexual networks in Marange Apostolic church community
- To investigate the determinants of sexual networks in the area

This research is aimed at developing a relatively new approach of sexual networks, to an area which has never been studied this way, hence generate new knowledge.

It should however be noted that the researcher acknowledges that HIV is transmitted through other ways like drug injections, but for the purpose of this research focus was only on sexual contact.

1.1.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. What types of sexual networks are found in Marange Apostolic community?
2. What are the determinants of sexual networks in Marange and why?
3. How powerful are these determinants in shaping sexual networks in the area?

1.2 DEFINITION OF KEY CONCEPTS

Sexual networks

There is a very small difference between sexual networks and social networks, most of their characteristics are similar. Sexual networks are part of social networks and are webs of sexual relationships through which infections can be channeled. A social network on the other hand is a social structure made of nodes (which are generally individuals or organizations) that are tied by one or more specific types of relations, such as values, visions, ideas, financial exchange, friends, kinship, dislike, conflict, trade, web links, sexual relations, disease transmission (epidemiology), or airline routes (Morris et al, 1995:299). A sexual network is therefore another form of a social network.

Sexual networks are therefore 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. This determines how efficient the network will be in transmitting the virus (Thornton, 2008:264).

According to Prof. R.J Thornton HIV is transmitted not as categories or as nations but as social actors within local communities, networks or institutions. Therefore, the categories in terms of which data is collected which is sex, age, region, and nation do not reflect processes through which infection is transmitted. (2007:3). He further argues that the population that is susceptible to HIV infection are not stratified by category but rather structured by a network of relations. Sexual networks are therefore complex dynamic structures of sexual interactions.

Concurrency

Concurrency is of key interest to HIV/AIDS researchers who study sexual networks. For this research concurrency is defined as partnerships overlapping in time, one partnership begins before another ends. Other descriptions have been used in some studies that can lead to confusion, such as "multiple sex partners at one time" which may refer to group sexual situations or a series of 1-time sexual encounters during a short period.

There are six types of concurrency in relationships as illustrated in the table below;

Table I: Types of Concurrency

Experimental	• Multiple exploratory relationships and no primary partner, i.e., dating • Condom use common with all partners
Separational	• Relationships that occur when an individual's primary partner works in another location or is in school, the military, or jail • Condom use low or nonexistent with primary partner and variable with other partners
Transitional	• Multiple relationships that occur as a partnership ends or as an individual moves out of dating and toward having a primary partner • Condom use low with former and new partners
Reactive	• Relationships galvanized by a partner's not being monogamous • Condom use low or nonexistent with primary partner and variable other partners
Reciprocal	• Open relationships or mutual non-monogamy within a primary relationship • Condom use low or nonexistent with primary partner and variable with other partners
Compensatory	• Multiple short relationships or one-night flings outside of primary relationship • Condom use low or nonexistent with primary partner and variable with other partners

Source: Gorbach et al. (2002)

However the above typology by Gorbach et al. does not sufficiently explain the case study scenario. In Marange apostolic community the following typology emerged;

Table II: Types of Concurrent Relationships in Marange

Polygamy	• Multiple wives or marriages for example a man who is married to 2 or more wives is practicing polygamy.
Polygyny	• Multiple wives and their husband, in addition to other multiple sexual partners for the husband or wives
Non- monogamous	• One marriage or primary partner with other sexual partners.
Separational	• Relationships that occur with the absence of the legitimate or primary partner.
Transactional	• Sexual partnerships that occur in exchange of food, money or any other favour

Polygamy - In Marange polygamy is not only a type of marriage but also a value system, it represents religious values of the church. These values are however rooted in African traditional beliefs where the practice represents economic value to the family, women do most of the agricultural work, hence wives and children serve as a form of cheap labour and as a means to expand ownership of land. In the community multiple wives also enhance the social status of men, in the church and in the general community.

Polygyny- In Marange the practice of polygyny is quite common. This type of relationship emanates from the fact that the sexual balance is altered by polygamy and there are more spouseless young adult males in the community. This results in these young adults satisfying their sexual needs with the wives of their male relatives that is, brothers or uncles and their father's younger wives.

Non- monogamous: In Marange this type of relationship is characterized by single males or married males in monogamous unions having other alternative sexual partners in the community. The sexual partners can either be prostitutes, widowed or separated women not yet remarried.

Separational – this type of concurrency has become more common in the community with the increase of mobility in the community. Men and women leaving their marital homes to seek employment in cities or other countries end up having sexual relationships at their work areas and the partner who is left home might also end up having a sexual partner in the community while the husband or wife is away. Most of these relationships occur when the legitimate or primary partner either works in another location or is involved in cross-border trading.

Transactional- In Marange, transactional sexual unions occur when there is something of value to be exchanged, in this particular community exchange usually involves scarce food commodities like cooking oil, sugar and flour. Other valuables like the newly found diamond in the community have also become part of the transactions. It should be noted that this is not regarded as prostitution in the community.

Thus premarital, extra-marital and inter-marital sexual relationships, involving multiple and overlapping partners are an integral part of the type of concurrent relationships that can be found in Marange apostolic community.

1.3 SIGNIFICANCE

The study is of importance considering the fact that HIV/AIDS has become a phenomenal problem not only in this particular community but worldwide. The study is an opportunity to contribute to the numerous researches being done worldwide; it provides a sexual network dimension to the problem of HIV/AIDS which will add to other sexual network researches being carried out.

The research contributes into social research being carried out by social scientists all over the world, by showing how sexual networks in Marange are shaped or constructed by social structures in the community. The research brings into perspective the influence and power of social structures in defining the shape of sexual networks. The research shifts the attention of the problem of HIV/AIDS from categories of people and rather focuses on the role being played by sexual networks in providing an efficient highway of HIV transmission. The research therefore reinforces the fact that HIV is more of a societal problem, than it is a medical problem. The efficient transmission of HIV is made possible by social structures which shape sexual networks as is shown by the case study. The research is also significant in that it shows how the structure of the whole society is important in fighting the epidemic. The impact that the economic, social, cultural, technological and religious aspects have had on shaping sexual networks reveals the need for a more holistic approach in dealing with the epidemic.

The research also shows the dynamic nature of society; as a society changes its values, changes priorities, culture changes and the economy changes so does sexual network shape and structure. Hence sexual networks are just as dynamic like any social structure. Taking into account all the

complex interactions between the domains of the society that is politics, economy, sexuality, culture and environment. The significance of this is that it shows that strategies to curb the disease should neither be static nor uniform. Each community or nation has its own unique social structure and unique sexual networks with qualities or characteristics that are specific to the community hence the need to create specific strategies for specific sexual networks and specific epidemics.

The research also brings to our attention the role that can be played by illegal economies in creating international sexual networks. It also brings into perspective the role that is being played by globalization in the efficient transmission of HIV/AIDS. The world has become smaller due to communication networks; accessibility has become easier over the years, hence enabling the easy transmission of HIV from one network to another.

This research will particularly have much significance for the Marange apostolic community and Zimbabwe as a whole, considering the fact that the prevention strategies have mainly focused on individuals and their behavior as the main highways of HIV transmission. The sexual network approach will enable policy makers to come up with effective prevention strategies, combine these with other strategies in place like mother to child prevention strategies and condom use. The idea is to re-evaluate prevention strategies and make them more effective as prevention strategies. The research's contribution is that of a more socially constructed approach in the fight against HIV.

Generally the research findings were significant in that they have contributed to the new knowledge of sexual networks already explored to some extent by Martin Morris, Marcia Weaver just to mention a few, it broadens the focus from individuals to the web of relationships that encompass the individual. This research will contribute in reshaping how and for whom interventions are designed.

It should be noted that in Zimbabwe like everywhere else in the world, too much has been written about adolescent behavior, prostitutes and men working in mining or farm communities as being the main transmitters of HIV/AIDS. Too much emphasis on 'hot spots' and 'risky groups' has put more attention to particular areas and particular groups of people. This has made it more difficult for society to realize that with HIV/AIDS we are all at risk, because a human being is a social being who engages in sexual relationships. It is in this sexual interactions or networks that the virus flows. What it has created is a situation of putting blame on one group or another for example prostitutes, truck drivers and the gay community have for a long time been the centre of HIV/AIDS research.

The sexual network approach will however, direct its attention to all groups of people whether rich, married or religious groups and all the attendant characteristics of relations that is gender dynamics, age and power differentials, cultural practices and socio-economic inequalities. As far as HIV is concerned all sexual relationships whether promiscuous or not play an important role in the understanding and fighting of the epidemic, these partnerships like the one's in Marange should be given just as much attention.

The research challenges the power and influence of stigma in relation to HIV/AIDS. A sexual network approach will to some extend eradicate the stigma associated with HIV/AIDS because the focus of attention has shifted from the individual to societal structures. Individual response to prevention strategies will be more positive hence efforts to curb or change social structures to lessen the efficiency of HIV or other treatments will be implemented successfully. Blame and stigma are thus challenged in the process and societies' response to the epidemic will change. Societies will own the disease rather than disown it or feel it belongs to the 'others', blame it on migrants, prostitutes or single individuals. In the long run it will change the response of governments, non-governmental organizations and society at large. Hospital care and home based care will be successfully implemented because there is no blame on the individual. It will reconstruct family support structures in communities which are all important in HIV management; that is, prevention and treatment.

The research therefore accommodates society-level structures rather than simply statistical aggregates of individual behavior. Hence, the knowledge and information on HIV will change. The idea of sexual networks is not new, different however, is to think of them as social structures. Thus developing a relatively new approach of sexual networks, to an area or community that has never been studied this way, hence generate new knowledge.

CHAPTER TWO

2.1 LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

HIV/AIDS has become a problem worldwide, claiming millions of lives. Sub-Saharan Africa is severely impacted by the HIV/AIDS pandemic. Recent estimates suggest that of all people living with HIV in the world, six out of every ten men, five out of every ten women and nine out of every ten children live in Sub-Saharan Africa. These statistics are sufficient evidence to make HIV/AIDS a primary concern of researchers, scientists and the general community. It should be noted that until recently, HIV/AIDS research has been mainly dominated by biomedical and epidemiological researchers hence this means a lot of the literature on HIV/AIDS has a medical approach to it.

According to Doherty et al. the formal study of social relationships among people has its earliest roots in sociology, during the 1930s. Moreno is credited with conceiving the idea of visually depicting ties within small groups of people. The specification of such ties allows for the study of group structure, the interplay between an individual's position and behavior, and overall group dynamics. In part the concept of sexual networks also grew from the work of local public health departments that traced the partners of patients with syphilis, as early as the 1930s, for the purposes of treatment and prevention (2005:44).

According to Martin Morris et al. sexual network analysis is changing the way HIV prevention strategies are designed and ultimately how HIV transmission is viewed. In the early 1990s local researchers in Uganda conducted a study on sexual networks looking at concurrent relationships.

No models existed at that time for projecting the impact of concurrency on HIV transmission. The work by Watts and May 1992 and Morris and Kretzschmar 1997 bridged that gap, providing both the theory and tools of understanding sexual network structures and a simple methodology for collecting sexual network data (2004:3). Morris et al further argued that the fact that HIV is transmitted in partnership means that individual knowledge, attitudes and beliefs do not determine behavior and are mediated by the relationship between partners.

Research on sexual networks can be seen, rather, as a response by social science researchers to understand the epidemic, not as a medical problem but as a social and cultural problem. However, it should be noted that work on sexual networks has previously focused on identifying risk factors and tracing of contracts, and in any case is virtually absent in Africa. As I have noted earlier literature on sexual networks is generally new and therefore limited, therefore literature on sexual behavior will be used to understand the gaps that have been and can be filled by sexual networks. According to Thornton, in his unpublished book Unimagined Community, there is a lot of data on sexual behavior in Africa, however there is lack of specific data on the details of sexual networks. As early as 1992, John Caldwell noted that the AIDS epidemic in sub-Saharan Africa has revealed the inadequacy of our knowledge of the extent of sexual networking in the region. This was still true in 2005; empirical data on sexual networks in Africa for the most part does not exist (2008:29).

According to Joffe, concern has been about what happens to the internal world of the individual who is faced with the threat of contracting a disease, in this case HIV/AIDS (1999:8). In other words research on HIV/AIDS has mainly been concerned with health promotion based on

cognitive premises and having a vision of a lone individual making cognitive errors in a value free environment (1999:70). The history of the epidemiology of HIV/AIDS has identified a lot of risks based on a lot of data on risky groups like prostitutes, women, children and the gay community, 'hot spots' like mining communities, beer halls etc. It has generally been agreed by epidemiologists that risky behavior involves unsafe sexual practices like prostitution, extramarital affairs and engaging in any sexual activity without using a condom.

According to Yates, changing high-risk behaviors is the only means of preventing transmission of HIV. A great deal of research is currently focusing on understanding the factors involved in why people continue to put themselves at risk for contracting HIV/AIDS and using this information to develop AIDS prevention programmes (1992:244). This literature generally looks at the individual as the one engaging in risky behavior and has suggested behavior change as a preventive strategy in curbing the epidemic. Communities and groups have however failed to take up behavior change suggested by the experts, and this appears irrational in terms of the logic of scientific and policy in communities, yet particular historical and socio-cultural forces, rather than problematic individual perceptions, may be at work in this process (Joffe, 1999:105). According to Packard and Epstein concerns about sexual behavior limit efforts to explore other avenues of HIV transmission (1992:346).

A body of research arose challenging the epidemiology of AIDS, and the way biomedical research has presented HIV/AIDS as nothing but a medical problem. According to Shoveller et al. sexual practices have significant social, personal and cultural meanings which have little to do with health (2004:473). According to Beck and Giddens, the risks of modern society are the

product of social organization and decision making. However not all contemporary health risks are caused by humans, HIV for example is a result of a virus but the disease has come to be conceptualized in a social matrix because it exists within a complex context of social activities and is envisaged in terms of complex social interactions between individuals (2006:55). Therefore if AIDS is to be interpreted as being primarily a biological phenomenon, then the solutions will be sought in vacuums and efforts to change the actions of individual bodies will be baseless. However, if it is to be understood as a socio-cultural, political and economic problem then the problem will be in challenging global power relations (2006:65).

Though an analysis which focuses on the meanings and interpretations of risk provide clues to the prevailing social and cultural norms which shape people's views, beliefs and actions, it has put too much emphasis on risky behavior such that it has fallen in the trap of creating categories of people at risk as if HIV/AIDS is transmitted through categories.

Scholars like Clatts have identified particular problems on research on HIV/AIDS. He notes that much of the research has blamed sexual behavior in relation to the spread of HIV/AIDS. According to Clatts research has employed what he terms "rather narrow theoretical paradigms" in which sexual behavior is often used as the independent variable, ignoring the way in which both behavior and meaning are shaped by interacting cultural, social, economic and political factors (1995:242). Therefore to reach sexual minority groups with meaningful and effective HIV/AIDS prevention efforts, there is need to challenge the use of categories that serve to confuse the nature of risk. Therefore the study of sexual risk results in the production of enormous bodies of behavioral data, which, because it is devoid of any substantive attention to

issues of time and place is very limited utility in the development of HIV/AIDS prevention strategies (Clatts, 1995:246-247).

However, this is not to say that the identification of specific sexual acts that most efficiently facilitate the transmission of HIV was not an important breakthrough in the early formulation of AIDS prevention programs, a lot of achievements have been realized through epidemiological research. Epidemiology has contributed in realizing the gravity of this disease and the environment in which it flourishes. As noted by Prof Thornton, HIV/AIDS epidemic is indeed a medical fact; however the aspects of this epidemic are largely social and cultural. “The growth of the epidemic, the processes of which it is transmitted from one person to another, the huge regional and local differences in prevalence and in the types of the virus that are responsible are, for the most part, the consequence of social and cultural factors” (2008:15).

It is noted by Thornton, that HIV unlike other diseases is transmitted through sexual networks. Sexual networks, according to him, are a specific kind of social structure. Sex unlike other human activities takes place only under highly constrained and structured social conditions. It is like a foundational social relation in which many other social relations are built (2008: 15). Therefore it is not enough to treat the process of transmission as a medical concern, as an epidemic, or as a behavior. Thornton further argues that no individual alone is susceptible to HIV, although any individual is susceptible to flu or cancer (2007: 1). Sexual connections are necessarily social connections and humans are a fundamental part of social structures.

Thus since HIV is transmitted by sexual networks, which are a type of social structure, sex cannot be merely understood as a behavior motivated by internal states of mind, but as a social relation that has social value. According to Thornton in his unpublished book Unimagined Communities, to say that sex has social value means that sex can be understood as part of culture, that is, as part of meanings and values that are transacted and exchanged interactively in the course of human life. Such an understanding moves from the focus on the individual and the principles of desire, pleasure, procreation and sexuality (2008:216). Seeing sex as a social relation allows an understanding of the role in creating the social structure of the sexual network which is responsible for the transmission of HIV. There are different kinds of primary social relations that can be formed by sexual union; they include multiple forms of marriage that is monogamy, serial monogamy and polygamy, sex outside of or before marriage, promiscuity, one night stands are all part of the different forms of social relations (Thornton, 2008:217).

It is by moving beyond the focus on the individual, and beyond the principles of desire, pleasure, procreation, sexuality and gender, that it becomes possible to move into a theoretical treatment of sex as a relation., taking us beyond the contemporary theory of sex and sexuality, and making possible the vision of sex as part of social structure. Therefore because of the character of sexual relationships, sexual networks form invisible structures. Today, these invisible structures of sexual relatedness are also the pathways by which HIV spreads from person to person (Thornton, 2008:245).

The current state of research on sexual networks has shown that concurrency is of key interest to researchers. A study on concurrency has shown that in a sexual network characterized by

concurrency, in which all current partners are potentially at risk, being among the first of these partners is no longer protective. Concurrency helps explain the rationale of shifting focus of HIV prevention efforts from the individual to the individual and his or her sexual partners (Morris 2001).

Epidemiological research has been limited by its reliance on standard epidemiological methods that assume that HIV is transmitted like any other virus. It ignores the role of sexual networks in transmitting the virus (Thornton, 2007: 2). Southern Africa is one of the most affected by HIV and AIDS. There is therefore need to focus on the large scale flows and structures of the elements of AIDS which will assist in reshaping structures in a more effective way. It is on this framework that my research will be based on, that is on the vested sets of interactions that link individuals to each other in increasingly large scales of interaction of a religious community. Sexual networks are therefore social structures that are embedded in other social and cultural contexts that can determine both the shape and configuration of the network.

Morris et al. also views sexual networks as broadening the focus from individuals to the web of relationships that encompass the individual. They assert that these romantic and sexual partnerships form the dynamics along which disease travels. The implications of this conceptual shift, will shape how and for whom interventions are designed (2004:2). The fact that HIV occurs in the context of a partnership, means that individual knowledge, attitudes and beliefs do not determine behavior and are mediated by the relationship between partners. Over a period of time, sexual partnerships link together to form larger sexual networks and these networks or roadways exist regardless of whether or not disease is present. Morris et al. however use a rather

quantitative approach in their understanding of sexual network structures as is illustrated in their study in Uganda; they used survey data to identify rates of concurrency.

Zimbabwean literature on HIV/AIDS like most literature on HIV/AIDS has very little to say about sexual networks. With around one-fifth of its adult population living with HIV and an estimated 565 adults being infected every day, Zimbabwe is experiencing one of the harshest epidemics in the world. In Zimbabwe, the fight against HIV/AIDS has been largely dominated by medical research and facilitated by the Ministry of Health. However, the Zimbabwe Human Development Report of 2003 acknowledges in its 2003 report that HIV transmission in Zimbabwe can be properly explained by sexual networks. In Zimbabwe, because most new infections are a result of sexual contact most prevention programmes focus on ways to ensure safe and responsible sexual practices that minimize HIV transmission. The AIDS campaign in Zimbabwe is thus mainly aimed at changing 'high-risky sexual behavior'.

The methodology applied by researchers in sexual behavior has also been problematic and has probably contributed to the results on research on sexual behavior. Parker notes that sexual research that has been carried out in response to HIV and AIDS has had dominant focus on the use of survey research methods, and the key question addressed in the design of research has almost inevitably been how to make these methods more effective in the different contexts in which AIDS research must be carried out in developing countries. Such an approach has fit reasonably well within the framework of a research agenda defined in terms of epidemiological questions, for example of psychological models of behavior change (1995:261). It has however not helped in producing effective prevention programmes. Counting the frequency of sexual acts

could be important in that it gives insight concerning the course of the HIV/AIDS epidemic in specific settings, it has however serious consequences, especially in seeking to move from primary epidemiological questions to the questions that must be confronted in curbing the disease. Sexual behavior research in relation to AIDS has largely closed itself off from a wider range of theoretical frameworks, it has closed itself, in part, from any potentially important methodological approaches that might well lead to new, and perhaps quite different insights, approaches like ethnographic description and linguistic analysis (1995:262).

The body of literature has therefore shown that issues of understanding sexual relationships have gone through different transitional stages which have contributed to the body of knowledge. As far as the research was concerned it was based on the argument that HIV is transmitted through sexual networks and that it is the study of partnerships or sexual relationships that is more important in understanding HIV transmission and fighting the disease. Culture, tradition, social, economic and political aspects contribute to construction of sexual networks and hence should be included in sexual network analysis. A lot of the work on sexual networks has focused on diagramming sexual networks; the diagram of a network however, tells us nothing about its evolution or dynamic quality.

The interviews and observations conducted in the field support the fact that sexual networks are indeed a form of social structures. Sexual relations in the community were motivated and driven by societal determinants, the environment, the church's history, culture and economy. These societal determinants have helped in shaping and structuring the sexual networks in the community. In Marange apostolic community, failure to take up behaviours suggested by health

experts for example the ABC- Abstinence, Be Faithful and Condom Use prevention strategy appears irrational in terms of the logic of the scientific and policy of communities yet particular historical, religious and socio-cultural forces, rather than problematic individual perceptions are at work in the process. The practice of polygamy in the community for example might be seen by health professionals or policymakers as a selfish or lustful choice, disregarding the historical, social or cultural value attached to the practice and its social meaning in the community. The polygamous relationships as a sexual relation in the apostolic community may thus be understood as entities which reflect and shape a group's sense of identity or meaning. The researches' findings conforms to the theory of sex and networks as noted by Thornton, that the sexual network approach "…entails grappling with the problem of meaning: in the process of transmission which leads to new infections….. the structure of the epidemic has to do primarily with meaning and culture" (2008:21).

According to Thornton social networks are dynamic and the process of their creation, maintenance, growth and decay are essential characteristics of what they are. This dynamic quality is evident in the research findings of Marange. The community's social network is undergoing a change hence the change from clustered and few sexual links outside the community to a multiply-interlinked network. The dynamic nature of social network therefore also transfers to sexual networks changing their shape and configuration. In Marange community, people are linked into larger structures as a result of their sexual relations for example if we are to take note of the diamond trade activities in the area and their role of creating social relations which become the centrality of sexual networks.

CHAPTER THREE - METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Methodology for this research was qualitative, and did not focus on statistical data or quantitative data of for example, how many people are in the sexual networks. Rather emphasis was put on understanding why the sexual network flows in a particular direction, what are the internal or external forces determining the direction of the sexual network or its composition. The intention of this research was thus not to trace what has gone on over time, that is tracing the sexual linkages, but to investigate the determinants which could be cultural, political, economic or social. These influence the choice of partners, as well as the number of sexual contacts and their periodicity and determine the degree or level of social control that social groups such as family or clan or church or peers might have on sexual relations of their members. With qualitative research, the researcher was able to have an in depth understanding of sexual networks. The qualitative approach also enabled the researcher to have a better understanding of local culture, tradition, politics, economics and other social aspects and understand how these determine the structure of sexual networking in the area.

3.1.1 SAMPLE

The sample was focused on those individuals who live in Marange district in the Mafararikwa and Marange villages (which are the two main villages composed of members of the Apostolic church, however other villages were also included) and are members of Johane Marange sect. Data was collected from members of the church in the Marange apostolic community, local teachers, religious leaders, health workers and community development workers in the area.

3.1.2 SAMPLING TECHNIQUES

It was noted that this community is not wholly composed of members of the Marange church; therefore other groups of people in the community were interviewed and observed despite their religious affiliation. It was impossible to collect data from each member of the Marange apostolic community considering that they almost cover the whole of Marange district, purposive sampling was therefore used to make the research more practical and the participants more accessible.

3.1.3 DATA COLLECTING STRATEGIES

Ethnography was used as a method of collecting data. Ethnographic research was a combination of both observation and informal interviews. Observation was mainly carried out at local gatherings for example at a food distribution exercise facilitated by Plan International at Marange centre, at the local clinic at Bazeley bridge and at the local shopping centre, 5 households were also used for observation purposes.

Observations were useful in capturing everyday practices, rituals and actions that bind the community, signs and symbols they used to represent and present themselves. Observation was also very useful in identifying determinants of sexual networking in the area.

Limitations: The research was carried out during the rainy season; hence the constant rains made it difficult to carry out the observation exercise with most people locked up in their homes, hence impeding movement

In-depth interviews were also conducted as a data collection strategy. Out of the 20 men the researcher had planned to interview only 16 were interviewed and out of the 20 women the researcher had planned to interview 22 were interviewed. Therefore 38 men and women were interviewed with 31 of them being members of the Johanne Marange church. Only 3 religious leaders of this sect were interviewed, 1 village headman, 1 local businessman, 1 village health worker, 1 Community Development Coordinator from a local NGO, 1 local teacher and 1 nurse from a local clinic. (See Appendix C, D for interview guides).

Limitations: Interviewees had a tendency to give information which is out of context; hence the researcher had to constantly direct the interview.

3.1.4 DATA ANALYSIS

Thematic analysis

Data was analysed using an approach of pulling out themes or other classifications of data from my field notes. In other words notes from the interviews were coded and themes and sub-themes were created from each schedule. The same coding system was used for each interview schedule through assigning numbers. However information was not only analyzed in terms of how often it appeared but also analyzed in terms of the context in which it is used. Meaningful tags were also attached to words, phrases, events and situations, naming what is potentially important about them and distinguishing them from the rest of the data. Finally, the generalizations that grew out of the data and stood above its detail were used to develop a report.

Theoretical analysis

Theoretical analysis was used to agree or disprove the hypothesis or assumptions made at the initial stages of research. This analysis was used in taking the analysis further than the thematic analysis could go. This analysis was done through analyzing the frequencies, magnitudes, structures, causes or consequences found in the data to build a theory or to disprove a theory.

3.1.5 ETHICS APPRAISAL

- Each participant was provided with a Information Sheet, regarding the nature of the research at the start of data collection, considering the sensitive nature of the topic of sexual networks and HIV/AIDS. (See Appendix A)
- Each participant was provided a consent form to guarantee privacy, confidentiality or anonymity for all those who had agreed to participate in the research. This form served to guarantee respondents that their identity is safeguarded or protected. The forms were signed by both the participant and researcher as an agreement of participation. (See Appendix B)
- Participants were also informed that they could abandon the study at any given moment without questions or any negative consequences.
- Consent was also sought from a representative of the Johanne Marange apostolic community, as a way of getting permission to carry out the research in the apostolic community.
- The participants were also informed that they could get access to the final report of the research, while the data collected in the field remained under lock and key at a private location.

CHAPTER FOUR - RESULTS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Case Study- Johanne Marange Apostolic community

4.1.1 Historical Background of the Johanne Marange Church community

The church was founded by a man named Johanne Marange, the name from which the church obtained its name. According to Daneel (1971) Johanne Marange was born in Marange district and was originally raised and educated in the Methodist church. Daneel further notes that, at an early age Marange was accustomed to receiving visions, in July 1932 he experienced a divine revelation in which he was called to be Christ's apostle with a distinct missionary mandate, his first task being to convert the members of his extended family in the Mafararikwa chiefdom of Marange. By appointing numerous relatives to the church's hierarchy, he developed an ecclesiastical nucleus that served as a basis of his remarkable missionary career and the growth of the apostolic movement, the largest African Initiated church in Rhodesia now known as Zimbabwe (1971:327-8). According to Jules-Rosette, it is believed he was given divine messages about the interpretation of the Christian bible and its relationship to African customs, specifically Shona traditional rites (1980:3).

Marange's message included confrontation of traditional African religion and a contextualized healing or exorcist ministry. Prophecy, visionary experiences and faith healing are key features of apostolic ritual. Trance behaviour plays a major part in apostolic ceremonial prophecies, healings and exorcisms. He modelled the church as an evangelizing body of African believers without church buildings, involvement in secular education, do not use of medicine. It is important to note that up to this day believers of the apostolic church are without church

buildings and no use of medicine. The use of medicine is a rule that most of the followers are not adhering, particularly women. Women from the apostolic community have been seen visiting the clinic in the evenings or at night to seek family planning pills and some to seek STI treatment, however this is done discreetly without the knowledge of the husband and family. Sister Chirongoma* (not real name) of Marange clinic confirmed this, as some women would come knocking at her door for health care services in the evenings well after the clinic has closed. They however plead the nurse to keep their visits secret and confidential.

According to Jules-Rosette (1977), Marange's vision figured prominently in apostolic theology and became a major focus in preaching. Up to this day annual paschal celebrations, popularly referred to as Pendi (from Pentecost) which lasts for seventeen days, culminating in Holy Communion ceremonies, and at times involve the participation of hundreds of thousands if not millions from Zimbabwe and neighbouring countries are still being conducted. Pendi celebrations near Marange's old homestead serve to consolidate church membership and inspire renewed outreach and church growth (1151-2). According to Daneel, Marange's three senior sons; Abero, Makebo and Judah succeeded to his leadership. Despite a minor schism, they maintained and further expanded the apostolic sphere of influence (1971:330).

4.1.2 Social Structure of the apostolic community

The community's social structure is structured in such a way that at the top of the structure is the Marange traditional chief, followed by the village heads and religious leaders of the Marange apostolic church in the top strata. Older men constitute the upper level of the social structure hence their leadership at traditional meetings or ceremonies and also at religious meetings or

ceremonies. Young men constitute the middle level of the social structure and in the absence of older men they are the leaders and decision makers. Older women are respected and seen as sources of wisdom and advice however they cannot be regarded as leaders in the community. They however do occupy a higher level in the social strata compared to young women who occupy the lowest level of the social strata. The organization of the social structure is important in understanding the social controls of the community. In this case the traditional leaders and religious leaders have more influence and control in the society, hence their ability to influence and determine sexual networks in the community.

At household level men are the head of households. Men are the decision makers in the household and women have a lower status in the household. The role of women is to take care of the family, provide food, clothing and ensure the family is healthy. Agricultural activities are centred on the women and children for most households. Domestic chores, for example fetching water, firewood, cleaning, cooking and nursing are a role of women or the girl child. Women also have a social role in reproduction. Fertility is very important in the community, sterility is undesirable and considered evil. In households with polygamy, the first wife is usually vested with authority over her co-wives, in the community the existence of co-wives also helps enhance the status of the first wife. Women also do not have property rights; men can own and inherit property. Without the right to inherit property of their husbands, a wife is motivated to maintain high fertility, hoping that at least one of the surviving children is a son on whose inheritance she can sustain her livelihood.

4.1.3 Geographical location

The study was based on a case study of the Johanne Marange church community. The study was field based, that is, the main core of data was collected in the field in Marange community, in Manicaland province Zimbabwe. Marange apostolic community resides in Marange district which is about 56km South of Mutare town, the main town of Manicaland province. The district is composed of townships of which Marange centre is the major township in the area composed of a few grocery shops and district government offices, clinic and municipal offices.

4.1.4 Environment

Marange district is generally in a dry area. The vegetation is mainly composed of a few scattered trees, grasslands and thorny trees. Rainfall patterns in the area are not reliable; there is very little rainfall with rainy season starting around October to February. As a result parts of the district either rely on irrigation schemes or food aid from NGOs operating in the area, that is, Plan International and Africare. Therefore the dry vegetation and the poor rainfall allows very little agricultural activity in the area. Livestock farming is however quite favourable to the climatic conditions, but since the drought of 1992 and recurring droughts over the years, livestock farming has deteriorated with most households losing their livestock.

In Zimbabwe, according to University of Zimbabwe geologists, diamonds can be found anywhere since almost three-quarters of the country's total surface area lies on what is known as the 'Zimbabwe Archaean Craton' which is very stable and conducive for the deposit of kimberlites. The area of Marange is also situated in an area where the kimberlite rock is most common. The kimberlite rock is the source of the diamonds that can hold deposits of high grade

gem quality diamonds. At the moment the type of diamond that is being extracted is alluvial or industrial diamonds. The local miners call them *zvingoda.*

4.1.5 Economy

The main source of income or main source of production in the community is traditionally rooted in agricultural activities. Subsistence agriculture is the main source of food with maize being the main food crop grown, however due to the poor rainfall and poor soils in the area sorghum and rapoko are also grown extensively by most households because they are drought resistant. It is important to note that in this community women are the main producers of food through subsistence agriculture. Petty trading is also a common economic activity, with women again being more involved in activities like the selling of vegetables, fruits and clay pottery. For the men who are involved in trading, it is mostly selling of cooking sticks, straw hats, floor mats which they make from the bark of baobab trees. Cross border trading is also another economic activity which is quite common in the community. Cross border trading is done with neighbouring countries like Botswana and South Africa where they go and sell agricultural product like groundnuts and round nuts in exchange of either money, old clothes (mazitye) or cooking oil and soap (scarce food items in the country).

It should be noted that due to the poor economic performance in Zimbabwe as a whole, a lot of informal activities like selling, vending etc have become part and parcel of communities like the Marange apostolic church. For the past eight years Zimbabwe's economy has been in a meltdown, characterized by a slew of shortages, including foreign exchange, food, fuel and energy. According to economic reports by IRIN, the industrial base has shrunk by more than a third, unemployment levels touching 80 percent and inflation reaching 1,281 percent, the highest

in the world, putting most commodities when available beyond the reach of a majority of people (2007:5). Such economic challenges in the country have further strained already poor economies like the Marange apostolic community.

The current and new economic activity that has developed in the area is illegal diamond panning. According to the local villagers of Marange, a local chief in the area was informed about the presence of diamonds in the Chiadzwa area through a dream by his ancestors. It is through this dream from the ancestors that brought the awareness of these precious stones and led to the illegal panning which is currently still taking place. The discovery of diamonds was in 2006 in the Chiadzwa area of Marange and the local communities including the apostolic community are greatly involved in panning activities. The locals who are lucky in digging up the precious stone sell it to the horde of buyers who will be swarming the area, both local Zimbabwean buyers and foreign buyers. In addition the presence of illegal miners in the poor resourced area of Chiadzwa, Marange has also promoted local and foreign trading of foodstuffs in exchange for diamonds.

4.2 RESEARCH FINDINGS

The study aimed at investigating sexual networks in the Marange apostolic community and further investigates the determinants of sexual networks in the community.

4.2.1 Type of Sexual Networks in Marange Apostolic Community

According to the data collected in the community, the types of sexual networks in the area vary depending on the determinants of sexual partners. Generally the Marange apostolic community as revealed by the findings can be best described as having two network structures that is the randomized, multiply –interlinked network and the clustered, densely linked network. The researcher noted these two networks as co-existing in the community because currently the community is going through some sort of transition in network structure, that is; from a once clustered sub-network to a randomized small –world network with many links with lots of people. The reasons for this transition will be discussed below.

It is thus important to note that initially the community was mostly a clustered sub-network, relatively isolated from the rest of the population or only a few people having sex with people outside of that network. In other words sexual relations in the area were highly based on a man having sexual partners within the community. Sexual partners according to the data were mostly from the same village or neighbouring villages hence there very few sexual connections outside the district, creating sort of a cluster in the network structure. Currently it is becoming randomized, hence the existence of two sexual network structures in the community during the transitional period, meaning that people in the community are now also having sexual partners outside their locality.

4.2.1.1 Clustered sub-sexual network structure

The clustered sexual network is the structure that has always dominated the Marange apostolic community. The relatively high level of polygamy in the community contributed to the cluster and hub configuration of the Marange apostolic community sexual networks. Polygamy is a type of marriage but it can also be seen as a form of concurrency which links many individuals with either one legitimate husband or other men or women outside the polygamous relationship. In the apostolic community of Marange polygamy is quite common. Older men with ages of at least 30 and above have more than one wife, with some men having more than 6 wives. Polygamy is very common in the community due to the influence of the apostolic church which upholds that a 'real man' should have more than one wife. The apostolic church has indeed largely removed the preference for monogamy from the Christian doctrine so that its members keep the African traditional way of life. Therefore the apostolic sect bases its religious beliefs on Christianity and traditional African beliefs and value systems of which polygamy is one of them. However this is not to say the whole community is polygamous, some choose to have one legitimate sexual partner with other sexual partners being illegitimate while others do not have any wives especially the young men of the community who end up having sexual partnerships with either young girls in the community or women in polygamous relationships.

In Taguta village of Marange, one of the church leaders Taguta* (not real name), is believed to have more than 20 wives, that is 20 legitimate sexual partners. According to the villagers, Taguta (60 yrs) has so many children that he has lost count. Some of the wives whose ages range between 16 -58 years end up having other outside sexual links either with Taguta's older sons or other men from the community (especially the younger wives). Hence if each individual in the

polygamous relationships is to have other external sexual links the network expands but does not expand too far because of the social controls. It can thus be noted that the polygamous relationship as much as it is a husband married to several wives, with each having their own establishment and children, the wives may also have other lovers, and the husband is not necessarily faithful to only those wives. The relationship thus ends up being a rather polygynyous relationship, of multiple women/partners.

The choice of sexual partners in the area, generally, does not go beyond Marange, most of the men and women of the apostolic community have their partners in the same community, that is village or nearby villages and especially in the same apostolic sect of Johanne Marange. An interview with a village health worker revealed that sexual relations in the community are constructed in such a way that older men marry younger women and girls, particularly because older men in the community can provide some economic security which young men cannot.

Reasons for the Clustered Network Structure

A number of factors were identified as contributory factors to the clustered structure, namely religion or church social controls, limited mobility and reliance on subsistence agriculture for survival.

The choice of partners is based on the fact of membership in the apostolic church, meaning that an individual's sexual partner is usually a fellow church member. In this case men and women choose partners within the church and this can be explained by the practice of polygamy where men marry multiple women from the church who have understood and accepted the apostolic principles of polygamy hence creating networks that are socially controlled by men up to a

certain level. In other words the polygamous marriage sets up a formal means for control and sexual activity hence the few sexual links outside the network, however marriage does not necessarily exclude other sexual contacts. Others have sexual partners based on the locality, that is, the same village or neighbouring village hence creating a network which does not link with other sexual networks. This characteristic created a sexual network pattern, of which in relation to HIV transmission, it created several, unlinked smaller epidemics within a population and above all less efficient in transmitting HIV because sexual relations are local and less mobile.

The clustered sexual network might also have been influenced by the unwillingness of other individuals to be part of the rather rigid community. Respondents who were non-apostolic saw the church as having certain practices and beliefs which they believe violated individuals hence this could have limited the possibility of the network linking with other networks outside the Marange apostolic community. These beliefs and practices which could have contributed in hindering association with individuals who are not of the same faith include practices of polygamy, child marriages and the belief in spiritual healing without any medical intervention – that is, no family planning intervention, no child immunization or clinical treatment of any kind to members of the Johanne Marange apostolic sect.

In addition the strict code of dressing which is to be worn on a daily basis was noted by some respondents as less appealing for other people outside the belief systems. Women for example are expected to wear dresses or skirts which cover the entire body, usually white or cream, a shaved head and head scarf to cover the head, men on the other hand are expected to keep a long beard and shaved head. It is possible that the church's beliefs and practices could have

discouraged sexual associations with outside people who might be against these beliefs or feel they cannot keep up with the religious commitments and sacrifices.

Important to note is the fact that being a church community which adopted both Christian values and African traditional values, the community's clustered structure emanated from rules of the kinship system. Men and women in the community do not have sexual partners very far from their clan or families while at the same time ensuring that they are not too close. In Shona tradition a sexual partner has to be a person whom is accessible in terms of locality and whose family history is known, hence the partner not being too distant. The incest rule also applies with sexual relations forbidden among family members or individuals of the same totem/clan.

Another factor to consider as being influential to the clustered nature of the network is the fact that there was very little mobility, with most men and women not seeking employment outside the district, most of the men in the apostolic community depended on self-employment in their communities for example making tin pots, carving wooden cooking sticks and selling within the community and surrounding communities. According to Christopher Shundure* (not real name) of Mafararikwa village, very few men before the economic meltdown of the Zimbabwean economy would leave their families to work in the urban areas. Subsistence agriculture could sustain families hence there was no need for more income through wage employment. Households before the series of droughts, were mostly dependant on agricultural produce and on the irrigation scheme which would enable them to sell agricultural produce like vegetables all year round. Therefore eradicating the possibility of separational relationships that occur when an individual's primary partner works in another location.

4.2.1.2 Randomized, Multiply -interlinked sexual network

As described above in this type of network, the majority of sexually active people have sex with at least two others. This part of community is characterized of concurrent relationships. In a sexual network characterized by concurrency individuals have multiple partnerships at a time. The sexual partnerships are not only local but also long distance. This does not matter whether the partnerships are legitimized or not. In most studies published to date, concurrency has been defined as partnerships overlapping in time, when one partnership begins before another terminates.

It is important to note that the randomized network is highly efficient in transmitting HIV. It is this type of network that has been described above which co-exists with the clustered network. Out of the 38 men and women interviewed 33 of the individuals admitted to having more than one partner whether legitimate or not. The local and cross-boarder traders for example can have legitimate partners in their community and other sexual partners in their different areas of trade. Young boys and girls also have sexual partners with outsiders whom they could have met through boarding schools for example the local boarding school Marange High school which has students from all over Zimbabwe hence creating a link of sexual networks from the local network to another network outside Marange.

Other forms of sexual relations which have contributed to the existence of multiply-interlinked network in the community are those which exist among local teachers, nurses or development workers. This group of people enables links with outside networks because their families or legitimate partners are in another district. Teachers and nurses are normally deployed without

regard of where their home area or where their families are based hence some end up having sexual links in the community they work and the community they come from or have families. An example can be given of humanitarian workers or NGO workers, who are deployed outside their home areas for long periods, some end up having sexual partners in their work areas despite having a legitimate partner or not in their home areas or elsewhere. Hence such relations have contributed to the shaping of a more open network as other sexual links are created outside the Marange community. Therefore depending on the kinds of choices that people make about sexual partners, the network can take on different shapes for different populations.

Transactional relationships are also evident in the community. Individuals in the community engage in sexual relations in exchange for food or money. The scarcity of certain food commodities and poverty in the area has contributed to this type of concurrency. In exchange for sex, women get cooking oil or flour, diamond which has been recently discovered in Chiadzwa area of Marange. Transactional sex of this kind is not regarded as prostitution because it is rather seen as a survival strategy. The sexual relationship can go on for some period of time depending on the benefits that come from the relationship. The value of this type of relationship does not only lie on material benefits sometimes the value exchanged is social status and recognition.

Non- monogamous relationships also contribute to the multiply- interlinked network. These sexual interactions involve both single and married men and women getting involved with other sexual partners.

Reasons for the multiply-interlinked network

Respondents brought up different reasons for having multiple sexual partners. One common reason brought about especially by the men on having multiple partners was the fact that it is part of manhood, in other words it is what is expected of men to have many sexual partners. In the community masculine sexuality plays a pivotal role in multiple sexual partnerships. Many of the young adult males believe that culture or society has broadened the scope of masculine sexual freedom hence having multiple partners is doing what is expected of them as men. This shows the influence of social representation in communities.

French literature on sexuality in the context of the HIV/AIDS epidemic shows that a particular socio-economic representation underpins sexual practices; it can also determine the pattern of sexual networks. As has been displayed above social representation in the form of concurrent relationships, gives way to open sexual networks (Giami and Schiltz, 1996:91). According to Giami and Schiltz social representation refers to two notions that are intertwined. It refers to the content of understandings of the everyday world: the ideas that circulate in a society, and constitute common sense. Such representations have greatly influenced the pattern of sexual networks (1996:91).

Most of the women argued that the motive for multiple partnerships was because they felt their husbands, especially in polygamous relationships, could not satisfy them sexually. The younger women felt that the fact that there are many wives and one men in the polygamous relationship, denies them of their conjugal rights because they do not have sex as often, hence have sexual partnerships with other men outside their marital home. Others stated their motives as being

economic, that is, a way of gaining certain material benefits hence the presence of transactional sex. Others mentioned the fact that their primary partners are away so they end up having sexual partners to compensate for the absence of their partner.

In a sexual network characterized by concurrency, like the type in multiply-interlinked sexual networks, all current partners are potentially at risk, being among the first of these partners is no longer protective. In relation to HIV transmission, using the simulation models, Morris and Kretzschmar (1997) found that concurrency exponentially increases the number of individuals infected as well as the rate of HIV spread within a population (643). They further argue that concurrency dramatically increases both size and the variability of an epidemic (645). More recent empirical studies have verified that persons with concurrent partners are three times more likely to transmit an infection (Potterat et al. 1999; Koumans et al. 2001). However, concurrency is more efficient in transmitting HIV to the rest of the population if most people are having sex outside their network that is more long distance.

In Marange, the co-existence of two different types of network structures is a result of the fact that network structure in the community is undergoing a change, in other words the community is going through a transitional phase. The fact of the matter is that the network is becoming more open. Men and women in the community are having more external sexual links outside the community. Though the clustered network still exists in the community, population mobility is creating a lot of external sexual links hence opening up the network and connecting it with other sexual networks.

It is this change to a more randomized and open network which will be explained below. Why is the sexual network structure changing from being a clustered sexual network to becoming a more open sexual network? This is fully understood by results of the determinants of sexual networks in the Marange apostolic community below.

4.3 Determinants of the Change in Sexual Network Structure

In this section the aim is to present the findings of determinants of the change in sexual network shape and structure in the Marange apostolic sect. Results of the inquiry revealed that societal determinants of sexual networks pertain to the underlying social, economic, cultural and political forces, as well as the technological advances in a country, region or even smaller community that have macro effects on network formation. It should be noted that in Marange apostolic community a change in the Economic networks, Trade Networks and the development of international networks has greatly influenced the ongoing transition- from a clustered network to a more open and multiply linked network.

4.3.1 Economic Challenges

The economic collapse in Zimbabwe has led to huge changes in the standard of living and well being of the majority of Zimbabweans. For the past 8-10 years Zimbabwe has been undergoing an economic meltdown, with inflation rising like nowhere else in the world. The economy has been in an accelerating decline since late 1997, when the Zimbabwe dollar started weakening against major currencies. The IMF froze aid in 2001, and major donors have limited their support solely to humanitarian programmes. Serious series of droughts have wrecked agricultural production – the country's main hard currency earner. According to a report by the UN Office

for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (2007), industry is estimated to have shrunk by more than 60 percent since 2000, unemployment tops 70 percent, inflation is at a world high of 1,200 percent, and average salaries are worth far less than the cost of a basic monthly household food basket. In Marange, the poor economy has resulted in migration, engagement in illegal mining activities and a social revolution.

It is this poor economic performance in the country that has, more than many people have realized, influenced partnership choices hence determined the structure of sexual networks in small communities like the Johanne Marange apostolic community. The harsh economic situation hit an already dry area, with low agricultural productivity and no job opportunities. Thus the already poor community of Marange became poorer and more than before, it led to the migration of able bodied men and women to neighbouring towns in search of jobs. According to the Community Development Coordinator of a local NGO, migration started with individuals moving to nearby towns like Mutare, Rusape, Chimanimani and even Harare but as the economic crisis deepened in the towns and cities of Zimbabwe many individuals in the community began to migrate to countries like Botswana, South Africa and some as far as the United Kingdom.

Both rural –urban migration and international migration influenced sexual network structures in that individuals became separated from their families for longer periods of time, hence some ended up marrying or having sexual partners in those towns or foreign countries. Mobility in the community therefore opened up sexual networks in the community with members having sexual partners from as far as Botswana and South Africa. Rosemary Gonora* (not real name), a 35 year old woman of Mafararikwa village, described how her husband of 15 years left the family

home in 2004 to seek employment in Botswana and has not returned ever since. According to the wife the husband is living with a girlfriend with whom he has fathered one child. Cases like that of Rosemary have become more and more common with most women living alone with the children for very long periods of time. Such relationships as described above are a type of concurrent relationships and according to Gorbach et al. (2002), are called Separational relationships that occur when an individual's primary partner works in another location, in the case study many men have left for employment or have joined the informal economies of neighbouring countries. It is further noted that in a separational relationship condom use is low or nonexistent with primary partner and variable with other partners (4).

It should be noted these economic changes drove not only skilled workers out of their homes but also unskilled workers. The unskilled workers because they cannot secure employment in the countries they will have sought refuge, end up seeking asylum as economic refugees or become informal traders in the streets of either South Africa or Botswana. The important point to note here is that the poor economy has promoted mobility not only in Marange community but also in the whole country of Zimbabwe. Mobility has enabled the local sexual networks of Marange to link with regional sexual networks. Hence the extension of economic transactions to other countries in Africa and abroad also means an extension of social networks hence sexual networks. In the process of seeking employment or relocating in another country, social connections are created, friendship is created, beliefs and values are transacted hence creating a new social structure and changing sexual networks as they become broader.

The change of the economic network in Zimbabwe has thus influenced a change of sexual networks. The economy of Zimbabwe is no longer based on local production that is agricultural production and industrial production, the economy as a whole has more and more become reliant on other economies for food production, employment, health supplies and services. This change has affected sexual networking in communities like Marange with individuals seeking employment opportunities in neighbouring countries.

4.3.2 Trade Networks

Trade networks have changed in the community in that trading activities have over the years become more linked with other trade networks in the province, that is, Manicaland province. Trading activities of buying and selling goods have expanded to the national, regional and global trade networks. Most of the traders in the community are now selling their mats, straw baskets and crafts to Botswana, South Africa or Zambia. In other words cross boarder trading has become more prominent in the area. The broadening of trade networks resulted in sexual networks changing in that the expansion of trade networks changed the social structure of Marange apostolic community.

It should be noted that cross-boarder activities in the community involves both men and women in order to earn an income and also in order that they can buy scarce food commodities like cooking oil, soap and sugar from either Botswana or South Africa. The food shortages in Zimbabwe have driven most women in the apostolic into informal trading; buying and selling goods across the boarders. Trading activities have meant some short absence from families and for cross border traders it has meant staying in South Africa or Botswana for a month or two.

The social structure, due to the changes in trade networks has become more disintegrated. The disintegration of families has resulted in the weakening of values which acted as social controls to sexual networking.

With the problem of accommodation being the most common among cross border traders some end up exchanging sex for a roof over their heads, or having short term sexual relationships for the duration of their stay. Such type of concurrent relationships can be described as multiple short relationships or transactional sexual relationships. It is thus evident that the changing trade networks in Marange apostolic community have contributed in broadening sexual networks of the religious community.

In Uganda unlike Marange the sexual network as noted by Thornton R, is rather closed because the majority of Ugandans are closely attached to their land for survival, subsistence, status and prestige, this attachment means that they do not travel widely. There is a low degree of physical mobility and travel except along trade corridors (2008:50) in Uganda hence their sexual networks are highly clustered with limited links between clusters and less efficient in transmitting HIV. Mobility is however changing the shape of Marange's sexual network from a cluster and hub configuration of the Ugandan sexual networks due to the relatively high prevalence of polygamy to a more randomized or multiply- interlinked network with many possible links between most people, a network which is highly efficient at transmitting the virus to a larger population.

4.3.3 Diamond trade network

The discovery of diamond by the locals of Chiadzwa area in Marange district was frequently raised by respondents as a contributing factor in the shaping and structuring of the changing sexual networks in the Marange apostolic community. The discovery of diamond by local residents in 2006 was quickly overrun by thousands of local, regional and global fortune hunters hence exposed the community to a lot of movement in and out of the district, business interactions and eventually sexual interactions.

According to Sister Boererwe at Bazeley Bridge clinic when rumours of diamonds in Chiadzwa area in Marange spread during the summer of 2006, thousands flocked there from all over Zimbabwe and neighbouring countries. Local residents of Marange were the first to participate in the illegal mining activities; these include the Marange apostolic community. According to the nursing official long beards and bald heads were seen shining in the diamond fields of Chiadzwa as members of the apostolic church searched for this precious stone. As noted by local Zimbabwean newspapers this diamond rush may have been the largest diamond rush in Africa in the last 100 years.

Levels of poverty are high in Marange which is situated in a rainfall-poor-ecological region in which food crops like maize achieve low yields. Local residents of the Marange apostolic sect saw this as an opportunity to escape from poverty and as an opportunity for greater business opportunities. It was reported by the Daily Telegraph, the first Western newspaper to reach the area that an estimated £120 million of diamonds were dug out by desperate people for the first

few months. According to villagers of Marange village, a woman died after a huge baobab tree fell on her after soil around its roots had been dug away by the illegal diamond miners.
A local teacher at Chiadzwa primary Greg Dura* (not real name) explained how the diamond mining activities were influencing sexual networks. He said the participation of more and more young people from all over Zimbabwe in the illegal mining activities has resulted in these young men interacting with local girls socially and sexually. Young girls and women in the local community because of the need for money (diamond) have sexual relationships with these men with the hope of benefitting materially or getting married hence gain socio-economic security. Smugglers and crooks of all types are known to be even seeking marriageable girls in the area. The choice of partners has thus become determined by how much diamond/ money an individual has regardless of his religion or locale. The sexual networks have thus widened.

During the ethnography exercise the researcher noted that a lot of cars with foreign number plates were seen in the area, white number plates printed in blue could be seen from afar, GP written at the end, South African number plates, nice posh cars with Zimbabwean number plates could also be seen driving around the township of Marange. According to Chenjerai Hove, a Zimbabwean writer who also visited the Chiadzwa area,
"Marange and Chiadzwa are now international destinations. Israelis, Lebanese, Belgians, Afrikaners, Japanese, Americans, Germans, national political heavyweights and businessmen, all sorts of diamond gladiators….have been seen visiting the once-neglected Chiadzwa, Marange" (12th of March 2007:3).

Buyers also come from Botswana, Malawi, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Mozambique and Zambia, most of them have established sources that go into the rural area of Chiadzwa and buy diamonds for them. The Marange diamond rush therefore has the ingredients of a global scramble. Locals have also started going to Botswana and South Africa to sell their diamonds mostly bought from desperate panners for a very low price. Diamond tourism has thus emerged all over Manicaland province, with some tourists received at nearby tourist resorts like Hot Springs, Leopard Rock in the Vumba Mountains, presumably coming to look for diamonds. The presence of regional and global traders as much as it is an expansion of the diamond business networks, it is also an expansion of sexual interactions from the local, regional to global networks with women and girls targeting international traders.

The presence of illegal diamond panners in a poor resourced community has meant that these informal miners do not have enough food, water and other basic necessities for survival in the diamond site, hence the presence of local and cross-border traders at the mining site to sell not only food to the illegal miners but also water. Local and cross-border traders were bringing in foodstuffs like mealie-meal, dried vegetables (mufushwa/musoni), cooking oil and clothing that they exchange for diamonds- which have become the new form of currency in the area. The scarcity of basic commodities has also pushed prices up, while traders are selling water to miners mainly from Marange Communal lands. The traders in turn sell their diamonds to foreign buyers or local buyers or exchange them for white robes (magemenzi) - church attire for the Johanne Marange apostolic church. Some households in the area have even gone as far as leasing their huts to illegal miners from outside Marange community.

These trading activities have resulted not only in business transactions but also created an opportunity for sexual transactions with men and women camping at these diamond sites, selling of cigarettes and illicit beer brewing. Prostitution and violence have thus increased, with sex workers coming from as far as Mutare and Chimanimani (about 100km South of Mutare) to waylay the free-spending 'makorokoza' as they are called in the local language meaning, illegal diamond dealers. The government has since intervened in these illegal activities, by dispatching police and army officers to guard the area, as a way of stopping the illegal mining and smuggling of diamonds. (See Appendix E for geographical location of Marange diamond mines).

4.3.4 Communication Networks

The influence of road networks and communication networks cannot be underestimated in enabling a multiply-interlinked sexual network. Since the construction of the tarred road to Marange centre from the main highway of Masvingo- Mutare movement has become easier making Marange district easily accessible to visitors. It has promoted movement from the local community to neighbouring cities and towns without much hassle. The road network has also improved public transport service in the area, buses, commuter omnibuses and private cars access the area every now and then. Without such easy access the diamond rush might not have attracted so many numbers, linking local networks with global networks. Technological advances in communication have also played a role, the presence of the cell phone network system in Marange has also made communication easy especially with diamond mining and smuggling, networking of this kind is crucial. Technological advances have thus contributed in the emerging, maintenance and growth of long-distance sexual relations or sexual networks.

4.4 Social and Cultural Determinants

The fact that traditional leaders and religious leaders constitute the top strata in the community has given traditional leaders as well as religious leaders some form of social control on the sexual activities in the community. Traditional leaders for example with their position as custodians of the African tradition have ensured the observance of practices like the payment of lobola or bride wealth. Lobola payment for example has made it more difficult for younger men in the poverty stricken community to marry hence older men who usually are better off financially or have more cattle, marry very young girls. This can be used to explain the huge age differentials in some of the sexual relationships in the area. It has also resulted in young women seeking prospective partners outside their community as long as they can afford to pay the bride wealth. The system has thus opened up sexual networks and given way to other sexual links outside the community hence creating a random sexual network.

4.4.1 Property Ownership

In this community men are in control of the households, especially on matters of decision making. The head of the household is the father and women are there as providers of food and taking care of the children. As a result in the general community men are there to make the major decisions for example marriage. Leadership in ceremonies like funerals, village meetings, church meetings and political meetings is mainly by men. Property is owned by men and not women because they are going to get married, hence livestock and land are owned by men. Property is thus inherited from one male in the family to the next, in other words kinship and family clan tradition is followed.

In Marange apostolic community, the system of property ownership has pressured widowed and single women to seek male partners as a way of securing rights of landownership for their sons. Without the right to inherit the property of her husband, a widowed woman is motivated to remarry in the clan or in another clan in order that they secure land ownership rights for their sons in another kinship group or family/clan. For single mothers it could also mean remarrying in another clan with the hope of bearing a son who can secure land rights and ownership for the family. This reinforces the importance of fertility in the community. It should be noted that in Uganda land is also owned and inherited almost the same way, the moral pressure of families has however remained strong hence providing a social control on sexual networks.

It's a different case in Marange because it has resulted in concurrent relationships; women have sex with other men with the hope of bearing a son who can secure land rights for the mother and her children from the previous marriage, who are eventually accepted in the family their mother is married into. In Shona such children are called 'mubvandiripo' meaning children born from another marriage but living with their mother in her newfound marital home. In other words these children are step-children and depending on the conduct of their mother in the new marital home, they can be given land to own, if they are male. Eventually step-children are accepted in their step-father's family with the possibility of owning land or even livestock within that family. Failure to bear a son with one man will motivate another sexual relationship, hence the creation of multiple sexual partners.

4.4.2 Wife Inheritance

It is also important to note the role played by cultural aspects like wife inheritance in influencing sexual relations between members of the community. In Marange apostolic community, being a church which embraces both Christian teachings and African traditional beliefs, wife inheritance is practiced with most widows in the community having the likelihood of remarrying to their husband's brother or relative. In a way the practice has promoted concurrent relationships because these women are usually given in marriage to men who already have other sexual partners. Sexual activity in wife inheritance is regulated by rules of kinship and family/clan tradition which can act as social control over sexual behaviour, determining who marries who; however the configuration of the whole sexual network is slightly affected. The sexual network therefore does not have sexual links with other networks at it evolves within the clan.

4.4.3 Religion as a Determinant

The case study is generally an apostolic community of the Johanne Marange sect. the community has always been known for upholding religious and traditional beliefs in the society. Among its beliefs are its advocating for sex before marriage, polygamy, wife inheritance, and beliefs in spiritual/faith healing only, for its members. Pre-marital and extra-marital sex is censored by the church and parents try to insist that daughters remain chaste until marriage. Since there is less emphasis on socializing boys on issues of sex, male sexuality is generally valued and openly encouraged by peers and older men, their success is limited. In relation to sexual networks, the church has been influential to some extent. A few of the interviews showed that at some point the church would go to the extremes of influencing the choice of partners to the extent that families or church leaders could arrange marriages for their youth.

According to Miriam Mushunje* (not real name), arranged courtships or marriages were quite common in the community with some church members giving away their daughters to church leaders as third or fourth wives. According to her these types of marriages were most common at their annual gathering in Marange. Parents may choose to marry off their daughters for a number of reasons; poor families may regard a young girl as an economic burden and her marriage as a survival strategy for the family. She also said "sometimes some elders claim they have had dreams in which God instructed them to marry certain girls/women in the church." Sometimes the girls have to flee from home after being ordered to marry men old enough to be their grandfathers.

With the intervention of human rights NGOs, women's movements and the government the practice is now practiced discreetly in the community. The church is also influential in encouraging relationships between members of the church through its teachings of maintaining purity in the church by no sexual involvement with people outside the church. The church believes that 'outsiders' are not pure, demons lodge in their hair. Performing exorcism on the 'outsiders' will release the demons; hence the candidate is open to spiritual inspiration, which is the key to Apostolic membership. The influence of the church on sexual networks is however dwindling, with other factors which are more powerful and influential taking a toll in the shaping and structuring of sexual networks in the community.

4.5 Environmental and Geographical determinants

The environmental conditions in Marange might also have contributed in shaping sexual networks in the community. The poor vegetation and poor rainfall patterns made it impossible for the community to rely on agricultural production hence resort to activities like informal

trading and cross- border trading in order to make a sustainable living. The community could thus not be tied to their land for survival therefore other avenues had to be explored, it is through these other activities that sexual networks have opened up and sexual links established with other external sexual networks. Another important factor to note is the fact that of the close proximity of Marange to the Zimbabwe- Mozambique border about 100km east of Marange, and also being situated about 60km from the highway to the Beitbridge border post to South Africa. This positioning of the Marange community could also have promoted a lot of travel hence the creation of sexual links outside the community's borders. Physical mobility and accessibility of the community create opportunities for sexual networking. People meet, make friends, develop social relationships and connections which can eventually result in sexual networking.

4.6 Conclusion

The above findings therefore show that the community is undergoing a transition in terms of the structure of sexual networks in the areas. As discussed above the transition is a result of the different changes which are emanating in the economy, trade networks and communication networks. The emergence of the diamond trade activities has also brought along changes in the social structure of the community hence a change in sexual networks. Social and cultural determinants have also been quite influential in the ongoing change from the clustered sexual network to the randomized, multiply interlinked sexual network and this includes the role of the property ownership system of inheritance and lobola system. Religion and wife inheritance have however tried to preserve the clustered sexual network due to the social controls of religious leaders and traditional leaders however, with a large part of the social structure undergoing a change the influence of religion and wife inheritance on sexual networks is slowly deteriorating, with minimal effect on the whole sexual structure.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.1 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SEXUAL NETWORKS AND HIV/AIDS

It is important to note the relationship which exists between sexual networks and HIV/AIDS for one to appreciate the arguement and contribution of this paper. Sexual networks are simply webs of sexual relations in a community or society. It is through these webs of relations that HIV is transmitted. According to Thornton 2007, sexual networks are a specific kind of social structure. Sex has a value and this value is what is transacted, exchanged, revalued and consumed through the interactions that constitute the sexual network (2007:16).

HIV/AIDS because it is a social disease, like no other, moves through these social structures and because of that only social and cultural measures can prevent it or slow its progress. Therefore the process of the transmission of HIV is made possible by the presence of sexual networks which are social structures. The process of the transmission of HIV is therefore imbued with deep meanings, fundamental values and with all the complexity of society as a whole (Thornton, 2007:16). HIV is thus an infection of society, of social structures and is made possible through sexual networks of relations in which it travels and spreads. According to Thornton as much as it is an infection of an individual, it is not enough to treat it merely as a medical condition, as an epidemic or as a behavior because it is spread through sexual networks which are social structures hence a societal problem (2007:16).

Sexual networks are therefore important in that they determine the course, nature and degree of HIV in societies or communities. Different social and sexual networks in different areas will lead

to either greater or lesser degrees of vulnerability and thus to different rates of transmission in different regions (Thornton, 2007:18).

The research was not able to bring out statistical evidence of rising HIV prevalence in the community due to the configuration of sexual networks. However, the case study was able to show that the apostolic community of Marange has developed a network structure that makes it possible for HIV to be transmitted more efficiently. The sexual network because it is more open and multiply-linked, linking the local network to the global network, is more efficient in transmitting HIV not only in the local community but to a greater population at national and global level.

Sister Boererwe at Bazeley Bridge Clinic attested that the opening up of the whole of Marange district, involvement in multiply- interlinked sexual relationships has impacted on the increase of Sexually Transmitted Infections recorded at the clinic which caters for people from different villages in the community. However, no investigation has been carried out yet by the Department of Health to see how HIV prevalence has been affected by sexual network structure. There is no doubt though that sexual network structure affects the efficiency of HIV transmission. Other studies in Uganda and South Africa have already proven that. The low HIV prevalence in Uganda for example is due to the fact that the network is characterized by clustered sub-networks which make the transmission of HIV less efficient. South Africa's more randomized and multiply – interlinked network resulting in a more efficient highway of transmission to a greater population, hence this might explain the high HIV prevalence in South Africa.

5.2 A SOCIAL REVOLUTION IN MARANGE APOSTOLIC COMMUNITY

It is important to note that the potential beneficiaries of Zimbabwe's suddenly lucrative diamond wealth have become its main victims. Diamond dealing in the area has brought a social change in the community, a change which in the long run, is detrimental to the welfare and health of the community. The diamond rush will leave a mark to remember well after the mining activities and this mark is a social revolution of the Marange apostolic community. The social lifestyle of the Marange people, a closed apostolic community drastically changed and is still undergoing these changes from the time the rush for diamonds started in 2006. Most men from the sect, because of the desperation of changing their lives through the diamond trade, have hung their white robes even on Sabbath day; some now drink the opaque beer popularly known as the Scud in order that they cope with the brutal and harsh nature of diamond panning.

Women have not been spared the cultural revolution either, with accounts given by villagers in Chiadzwa, Marange indicating that some of them were engaging in commercial sex. The convergence of so many people allowed an emergence of all sorts of cultures and beliefs which in a way diluted or overlapped local culture and religion. Certain social values in the community are being distorted for example religious, traditional, marriage, sex and family values. Marriage is no longer shaped by local culture, that is, involvement of families and building of lifelong relationships, rather it has become more of a temporary union which lasts as long as it has financial benefits. Family values are also being destroyed with the break up or separation of families, rivalries within families due to diamond dealing and for the most parents losing control over their children with most teenagers dropping out of school and prostituting just to have the precious diamond.

5.3 IMPACT OF THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION ON HIV TRANSMISSION

The community's sexual network once characterized by a densely linked cluster with relatively few outside sexual contacts is opening up, with most people having sexual links outside their locality. As a result the restructuring of the Marange sexual network to a randomized network has an effect on;

- The transmission rate, of which in this case transmission will be at a higher speed.
- Transmission will travel widely, that is from local network to global network, highly efficient at transmitting the virus to ALL of the population.
- The success of controlling the transmission; elimination of some people through sticking to one partner or abstinence, will have no effect on the efficiency of transmission, prevalence does not decrease.

According to Thornton 2007 HIV transmission is much more efficient in a maximal, cross-linked, pervasive and extensive network, like the one Marange has become, than it is in a fragmented, limited, set of smaller networks (23). Despite popular belief by many Zimbabweans that the major determinant of sexual networks in the area emanates from church beliefs and practices, the situation has since changed. Religion and tradition no longer strongly influence the choice of sexual partners, as well as the number of sexual contacts hence the degree or level of social control that social groups such as family/clan or church have on sexual relations has drastically deteriorated. The social revolution of sexual networks thus challenges the existing HIV/AIDS prevention strategies which are generally the ABC prevention methods, Abstinence, Be Faithful and Condom Use. These prevention methods, for a community like Marange, are moral judgments rather than prevention strategies.

5.4 ILLEGAL ECONOMIES AND HIV/AIDS

Findings have revealed that a society or community is dynamic and so is the shape and structure of sexual networks. The case study has shown that though cultural and social factors are influential in the choice of sexual partners, as well as the number of sexual contacts and their periodicity, economic factors are also powerful in influencing the shape and configuration of social structures hence sexual networks.

Results generally show the role that can be played by illegal economies in shaping sexual networks, making them more random hence more susceptible to HIV transmission. Illegal diamond mining in this case has brought about a societal change and hence a widening up of sexual networks. The illegal mining activities have linked a local network with global networks and in relation to the transmission of HIV, transmission highways of HIV are now in existence between the local community and global community. Illegal economies are all about networking, hence the creation of connections which can include sexual connections.

The study has shown that the need to meet immediate needs of food, income can overpower the influence of cultural and social factors. The poverty stricken community of the Marange apostolic society has been influenced to challenge some of its social, traditional or religious values in order to meet certain immediate needs for survival like food and income. The community has thus undergone a social revolution, making a revolution of sexual networks, which are part of social structures, inevitable. Therefore when a community goes through a societal change as Marange community has undergone/ is undergoing, sexual networks also change, and in this case they changed from being characterized by hubs and clusters in other words closed to being random and open sexual networks.

5.5 LIMTATIONS OF THE STUDY

It may have been useful for the study to be able to trace sexual contacts or sexual partners from the local networks to the regional or global networks. This would have been useful in providing detailed information of the sexual links and hence provide more detailed data on the sexual configuration. It would also have been useful in measuring to what extent the sexual network had widened or had become multiply-interlinked.

It would also have been more informative if more time had been taken in the community. Due to the sensitivity of the topic some respondents were not willing to talk freely about their private and personal relationships; also because of the presence of government intelligence agents patrolling the diamond fields, some participants feared that the researcher is a government agent spying on the illegal mining and trading activities. Hence participants could have withheld some important data for the study, spending more time with the community could have made participants to gain more trust and faith in the researcher hence give as much information as possible.

The researcher also faced a lot of difficulty in accessing Marange area because of the tight security and patrol system that has been put by the government in the area to secure the diamond fields and monitor against diamond mining and smuggling activities. Permission had to besought from the military officers backed up by intelligence agents to enter the district, however the researcher was treated with much suspicion by the security officers hence restricting movement to other parts of the community which could have been important for the research.

With the fuel crisis in the country (Zimbabwe), the researcher was limited to households close to Marange centre, without reaching to households in other villages in the community. Access was thus constrained by the fuel shortages in the country at large and the researcher had financial constraints hence could not afford the hyper- inflated fuel sold on the black market, which was sold in foreign currency only. Accessing other participants for the research was thus a challenge since the apostolic community members are all over the district. It might therefore be difficult to infer the results of this study to the general population of Marange apostolic community. In other words the results might be to some extent not be representative of the all the members of the Marange apostolic community.

CHAPTER SIX

6.1 CONCLUSION

The research has shown that in order to curb the transmission of HIV/AIDS an understanding of sexual networks is paramount. Also to change HIV prevalence at community, national or regional level requires a change of the property of a social whole. Sexual networks can be determined by various factors, it is important to focus on those factors that provide some social control hence contain sexual networks in small communities, clustered with no links outside the network. It appears that HIV was already endemic in small populations however, it did not escape from these isolated clusters of sexual partners.

The complexity of HIV/AIDS lies in the fact that as much as it is a disease that causes a lot of human suffering not only to the biological body but to the economy and society as a whole, it is a disease that comes through a social structure or interaction which fulfills certain social values, economic needs or obligations as we have seen above. The challenge thus lies in trying to fulfill certain societal expectations or values while at the same time avoiding transmission of HIV. Social interventions that modify the structure of sexual networks might be the most effective means for limiting the spread of HIV.

6.1 RECOMMENDATIONS

- Developing prevention strategies that target social aspects like the economy, politics, culture and history are more effective in curbing HIV transmission because they change the shape of the network, something which individual decisions of abstinence, faithfulness and condom use cannot do effectively.

- Prevention strategies should be developed depending and focusing on the structure and shape of the network. Generalizing prevention strategies could be denying the dynamic nature of society, and the world at large. This would mean shaping sexual networks so that they are less efficient at transmitting HIV. If sexual networks differ for each society or community, then we have different epidemics which require different prevention strategies.
- Preventive interventions need to pay more attention to the integration of all strategies at community, national and regional level.
- The aspect of sexual partner networks has a pivotal role in the persistence of major HIV epidemics because not only do larger segments of successive cohorts of young people become infected through this route, but many further infections result when they have children. Breaking this link in the pattern of transmission must become a central focus of HIV prevention strategies.
- An understanding of the underlying socio-economic context in communities, its nature and influence on sexual networks should aid the development of more relevant and more effective HIV prevention strategies.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

TITLE:
A Critical Inquiry of Sexual Networks in Marange district, a case study of Johane Marange Apostolic Church community in Marange, Zimbabwe

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES -DEPARTMENT OF DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

RESEARCHER: TALENT C. MAVUNGANIDZE

My name is Talent Mavunganidze, I am student from the University of Witwatersrand carrying out a research in this area and I am kindly inviting you to take part in this research. This form outlines the purposes of the study and provides a description of your involvement and rights as a participant.

This study is on sexual networks in your community, it seeks to understand the determinants of sexual networks in order that the general population and policy makers can develop prevention strategies that effective. Studies by other social scientists have proved that HIV/AIDS is transmitted through sexual networks or sexual relations which people have therefore it is believed that a better understanding of the complex nature of sexual networks could assist in the development of a strategy to curb the disease. Finding the determinants of sexual networks in your area could benefit future HIV interventions.

The purposes of this research are thus:

1. **To identify the sexual networks in Marange Apostolic church community**

2. **To investigate the determinants of sexual networks in the area**

You are encouraged to ask any questions at any time about the nature of the study and the methods that I am using. Your suggestions and concerns are important to me; please contact me at any time.

I will use the information from this study to write a case report about the community (the respondents). This report will be read by you, the research supervisor, and optionally, by one other person if you give permission, in order to check on the accuracy of the report. The case report will not be available to any other person to be read without your permission.

APPENDIX B- **PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM**

CONFIDENTIALITY
Information produced by this study will become part of your research record, unless specifically stated otherwise in this consent form. Information that does not become part of your record will be stored in the researcher's file and identified by a code number only. The code key connecting your name to specific information about you will be kept in a separate, secure location. Information contained in your records may not be given to anyone in a form that could identify you without your written consent, except as described in this consent form or as required by law.

I guarantee that the following conditions will be met:
1) Your real name will not be used at any point of information collection, or in the written research report; instead, you and any other person and place names involved in the research will be given pseudonyms that will be used in all verbal and written records and reports.

2) If you grant permission for audio taping, no audio tapes will be used for any purpose other than to do this study, and will not be played for any reason other than to do this study.

3) Your participation in this research is voluntary; you have the right to withdraw at any point of the study, for any reason, and without any prejudice.

4) You will receive a copy of the final report before it is handed in, so that you have the opportunity to suggest changes to the researcher, if necessary.

Do you grant permission to be quoted directly?

Yes _____ No _____

Do you grant permission to be audiotaped?

Yes _____ No _____

SIGNATURE
I confirm that the purpose of the research has been explained to me. Alternatives to my participation in the study also have been discussed. All my questions have been answered. I have read this consent form. My signature below indicates my willingness to participate in this study.

I agree to the terms
Participant _____ Date _____

I agree to the terms
Researcher _____ Date _____

APPENDIX C

Interview Guide for members of the Marange Apostolic community

1. Participants' attributes
   - i. Age
   - ii. Ethnic group/language
   - iii. Geographic locale
   - iv. Education
   - v. Occupation
   - vi. Church
2. How many sexual partners do you have?
3. How many are legitimate sexual partners?
4. Where did u meet with your legitimate/ current partner?
5. How did u meet?
6. Questions on the partner attributes;
   - i. Age
   - ii. Ethnic group/ Language
   - iii. Geographic locale
   - iv. Education
   - v. Occupation
   - vi. Church
7. Questions on relationship attributes
   - i. What is the nature of your relationship that is; steady, casual or anonymous?
   - ii. Do you have any children with the partner other than the legitimate partner?
   - iii. What influenced the choice of your previous partner/s?
   - iv. How would you describe your current relationship/s?
     - b. Age differentials with partner
     - c. Power differentials with partner
   - v. What influenced the choice of your current partner/s?
   - vi. To what extend was it influential?

8. What does your church say about choosing sexual partners?
   - i. What does it uphold?
   - ii. What does it discourage?

9. Did your membership in the apostolic church in any way influence your choices of sexual partner/s?
10. In what way, please explain?
11. Do you think other members' choice of partners has been influenced by the church?
12. If yes, in what way?
13. If no, then what do you think has played a role in the choices of their sexual partner/s?
14. In your own opinion what do you think has determined the pattern of sexual networking in your community (Apostolic church community)?

APPENDIX D

Interview guide- Religious leaders, Traditional leaders, Stakeholders in the community

1. What position do you hold/have in the community?
2. What is your opinion on sexual relations in the community?
    i. Who marries who? Or who has a sexual relationship with whom?

3. What types of sexual relations are found in the community (Promiscuous, concurrent, polygamy etc)?
4. What influences sexual partnership/networking in the community?
5. How powerful are these influences in determining sexual networking in the area?
6. What role do you think the church (Apostolic church) has played in influencing sexual networking?

APPENDIX E- Source Southern African Resource Watch, May 2007

Marange – Zimbabwe



Diamond fields in Marange are about 100 kilometers south-west of the eastern city of Mutare in Manicaland Province.

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