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UNIVERSITY OF THE
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Understanding transactional sex among young women in South Africa: a study based in KwaZulu-Natal, Eastern Cape and Mpumalanga provinces.

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Supervised by Professor Mzikazi Nduna

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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to Mr and Mrs Mbeve who are my parents, as well as Sharon Nyasha Lunga who has become part of my life as my girlfriend; we have come a long way. My parents have always believed in me, and gave me the opportunity to give a try to all my potentials. Since when I was young they would always ensure that I got the most needed support in all the aspects of life as their last born child. I mention you, Sharon for your unwavering support and love that you have consistently offered to me when I needed it the most. I love you and I will always do.

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I will not forget the wonderful support I also received from outside the academic sphere. The support I have received from you Lorato Moroeng (Wits Psychology Department), Simphiwe Goba (Wits International Office), Ruksana Osman (Wits Dean of Faculty of Humanities), Thembelihle Dlamini (Wits Student Leadership and Development Unit and Students Representative Council), the list is endless. If you are not here yet you have contributed to my growth at Wits, you are duly acknowledged.

Thanks goes to the Mbeve family as well, you are all so much loved. I would like to single-out my one and only beloved girlfriend, Sharon Nyasha Lunga, for offering the needed support.

Declaration

I **Oncemore Mbeve,** Student Number: **696177** am a student registered for a **Masters in Psychology Research and Course Work** in the year **2016**. I hereby declare the following:

I am aware that plagiarism (the use of someone else's work without their permission and/or without acknowledging the original source) is wrong.

I confirm that ALL the work submitted for assessment for the above mentioned course is my own unaided work except where I have explicitly indicated otherwise.

I have followed the required conventions in referencing the thoughts and ideas of others.

I understand that the University of the Witwatersrand may take disciplinary action against me if there is evidence that this is not my own unaided work or that I have failed to acknowledge the source of the ideas or words in my writing.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Abstract

Background: There is wealth of research that suggests that young heterosexual women are at an increased vulnerability for HIV through engagement in transactional sex. Transactional sex in young women in Sub-Saharan Africa, including South Africa, is rife and financial constraints are a major driver. Quantitative studies conducted in Sub-Saharan Africa suggest that young women that are involved in transactional sex are nearly two or more than three times vulnerable to HIV. The young women are involved in transactional sex with older men in order to access financial needs for survival as well as for purposes of consumerism. Transactional sex is not often understood, and at times it is conflated with sex work. This thesis seeks to add to scientific understanding of transactional sex in the field of health. The goals of this thesis are to explore the participants' understanding of transactional sex. The thesis also seeks to explore a link between transactional sex and father absence for young women. This thesis fills the gaps identified in the studies of transactional sex. Wherein, there is very little research that has investigated the discourses that shape the practice of transactional sex.

The **study aim** was to deepen scientific understanding of transactional sex in South Africa through examination of the discourses and structural financial constraints that influence transactional sex among young women. The specific objectives of this study were:

i. To explore the discourses that shapes the participants' understanding and their involvement in transactional sex.
ii. To analyse the participants' understanding of transactional sex in KwaZulu-Natal (KZN), Mpumalanga (MP) and the Eastern Cape (EC) provinces.
iii. To demonstrate the likely link between transactional sex and income poverty related to father absence.
iv. To describe a probable link between transactional sex and vulnerability to HIV infection.

Research methods: To meet objective (i) qualitative interview data were collected in three South African provinces which are KwaZulu-Natal, Eastern Cape and Mpumalanga using focus group discussions (FGDs) and key informant interviews (KIIs). Invitation for participation by key informants (KIs) was sent to older men and women who are stakeholders of the communities studied. The KIs were invited from the social services sector such as the Police, Social Development, Health, Justice and Community-based leaders of faith, healers and youth leaders. For FGDs, participants were invited through meetings that are conducted in the

communities and also through the distribution of fliers using facilitators in the communities that were selected as study sites. All participants for this study comprised both females and males above the age of 18 years. Trained field officers conducted FGDs which were gender-matched as well as KIIs. The FGDs varied in length with an average of above one hour each. KIIs were an average of 45 minutes long each. For all the interviews, isiZulu, siSwati and Xhosa were used, accordingly, to suit the participants' local languages. All interviews were recorded using a digital recorder. After the interviews, the audio records were transcribed and saved in Microsoft word documents which were kept in password protected folders. I later read and coded the data then analysed it using thematic analysis for organising the codes in respective themes. I then used critical discourse analysis for an in-depth analysis of the themes. To meet objective number (ii) and (iii), in addition to text data, I conducted a comprehensive literature review. I present the literature review in Chapter 2 of this thesis. I also used the literature review to interpret the findings of the empirical study in Chapter 4.

Findings and discussion: Heteronormative perceptions, Christian religion and African traditional culture as well as safe sex public health interventions are major discourses that appeared to influence the way in which transactional sex was perceived. The gender discourse owed to the consensual perception that transactional sex only happened between young women and older men. This was clear in the research findings. The main findings were; (i) participants' understanding of transactional sex, (ii) the link between transactional sex and vulnerability to HIV, and (iii) probable relationship between transactional sex and father absence. The participants understood transactional sex as a source of income driven especially by perceived high rates of unemployment and poverty in the study sites. Young women were viewed as receivers of financial and material benefits yet givers of sex to men. The flip side of the same coin was that, men were viewed as the givers of material and financial benefits, and receivers of sex.

The discourses found also demonstrated that transactional sex was fuelled by young women and their families' financial needs. The financial constraints that young women and their families face could be influenced by the absence of the father who is supposedly a provider. Consumerist society that promotes extensive consumption of goods and services also appeared to be influential in the practice of transactional sex particularly for the young women.

Conclusion: Transactional sex is not a new phenomenon in the study sites. It has been practiced in a several ways, were the community elders were in control of the transactions that were involved in different sexual intercourses that happened historically. The community elders facilitated financial transactions for sex in the forms of punishment when a man had sex with a young woman outside marriage. This punishment was identified as a payment for damage that the man would have caused. The man could also pay *lobola* as a form of compensation for the woman that he would have married. Overtime, the practice of these transactions has changed. The young women now consciously get involved in transactional sex so that they can directly receive money and gifts from the men that they give sex to. The change in the practice of transactions and sex reflects the change in the socio-economic conditions where there is a high need for consumerism which is constructed within the context of modernity. Consumerism emerges together with capitalism, which is a relatively new economic model in South Africa. Capitalism requires one to be employed so that they can have access to economic benefits. However, the rate of unemployment challenges the young women and deprives them of accessing the modern materials for consumerism. This influences the young women to consciously adopt the practice of transactional sex.

It is this move by young women to decide adopting transactional sex that raises various panics among the elders of the community and the perpetuation of the discourses that transactional sex is an immoral and unacceptable practice. The panic has also become evident in the safe sex public health interventions where transactional sex is perceived as a dangerous practice among young women ad it should not be accepted. The interjection of the discourses of morality in transactional sex obstructs studies to clearly understand the discourses that influence its practice. These obstructions also limit knowledge that could be discovered by research and hence reduces the possibilities for interventions.

Recommendations: Based on the findings from this study, it is recommended that research should increase focus on the effects of father absence to the practice of transactional sex. The studies in transactional sex also need to include samples of the at risk groups such as the LGBTI community. Transactional sex needs to be studied among young men as receivers of the financial and material benefits, as suggested in this study.

Transactional sex is happening in the communities studied. It is therefore, recommended that public health interventions should encourage the practice of safe sex to prevent the spread of HIV. The long term interventions should address the structural factors which are; assisting young women to attain education which will make them employable so that they will be able to get sustainable incomes.

The practice of transactional sex in KZN, MP and EC are tangled and shaped by the communities' overarching discourses concerning sex and transactions. The overarching discourses make the practice of transactional sex to happen in a secretive manner particularly among young women. It is recommended that more studies need to be done among the overarching discourses of sex and transactions in these communities. It is important to extensively understand the overarching discourses and their effects through research because this will further unearth the hidden risks that come with the secretive practices of transactional sex.

Key words: Consumerism, Father Absence, HIV, South Africa, modernization, transactional sex, young women.

List of acronyms

AFSA: AIDS Foundation of South Africa.

AIDS: Acquired immune deficiency syndrome.

CBOs: Community Based Organizations.

DST/NRF CoE-HUMAN: Centre of Excellence in Human Development.

EC: Eastern Cape.

FACT: Father Connections Study Team.

FBOs: Faith Based Organizations.

FGDs: Focus groups discussions.

GBV: Gender based violence.

HIV: Human immunodeficiency virus.

IDI: Individual in-depth interviews.

IPV: Intimate partner violence.

KIs: Key informants.

KIIs: Key informants interviews.

KZN: KwaZulu-Natal.

LGBTI: Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transsexual, and intersexual.

MCSPs: Multiple concurrent sex partnerships.

MP: Mpumalanga.

NGOs: Non-Governmental organizations.

PDSG: Peer Debriefing Support Groups.

PEP: Post-Exposure Prophylaxis.

PrEP: Pre-Exposure Prophylaxis.

SRHR: Sexual and reproductive health rights.

UNAIDS: Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS.

WITSIE: Women Intellectuals Transforming Scholarship.

Glossary of terms

Africa: Africa is the second largest in seven continents across the planet earth. It is located in all four hemispheres: Eastern, Northern, Western, and Southern. The continent covers an area of slightly above 30 million Sq. Km and contains over 50 countries. It is also home to the Sahara which is the largest desert in the world covering an area of about 4,619,260 Sq. Km. Africa is also home to Nile which is the longest river in the world with a length around 6695 Kilometres. Africa is a diverse continent with over 1000 languages and many different ethnic groups.

Baba: in African texts, the word baba refers to a father or a grandfather. The word is also used in other parts of the world such as West Asian and African Asian cultures. In this thesis, baba is used to refer primarily to a father.

Black: the term Black is a politically contested concept used to describe and categorise people into a racial group. The categorisation is often grounded from a socially based system of racial classification or of ethnicity to describe people who are perceived to be dark-skinned. In South Africa, the term Black in the history of Apartheid was used to refer to any other race which is not White. In this thesis, I use the South African definition to describe Black which is limited to black African people excluding Indian, Coloureds, or Chinese and other categories as described in the constitution of the Republic of South Africa.

Consumerism: this is a term used mostly in economics referring to encouragement of people to buy more materials that they are convinced they need. This creates a consumerist society. The consumerist society believes that personal well-being and happiness depends to a very large extent on the level of personal consumption, particularly on the purchase of material goods. People in the consumerist societies devote a substantial amount of time, energy, resources and thought to "consuming".

EndNote: this is a software program used for organising and managing references and formatting the reference list.

Gender: a socially constructed categorisation of people as men and women based on their respective biological sex as male and female. Gender identities are communicated through clothes, behaviour, and roles and become of social and cultural significance.

Heterosexual: a concept that refers to people who are intimately attracted to people of their opposite sex.

HIV risk: this is when a person engages in unprotected sex or when their body fluids are in contact with someone else's who might be HIV positive. The behaviours that could put a person at risk of HIV include having vaginal or anal sexual intercourse with someone without using protection such as a condom or without being on medicine that prevents HIV transmission. The other HIV risks happen when people share injections or drug equipment with someone who carries the HIV virus. To a smaller extent, vertical transmission, which is from mother to the infant, could also happen.

HIV vulnerability: this is when someone is at a position that could put them at risk of acquiring HIV. HIV vulnerability results mostly from social factors that could reduce the ability of individuals and communities to avoid HIV infection.

iLobola: a monetary or property payment made by a man to the head of his prospective wife's family in consideration of a customary marriage to start and maintain relations between the respective families. Different names and meanings exist of the concept iLobola across the ethnic groups in Southern Africa. Lobola is used in Zulu, Swazi, Xhosa and northern and southern Ndebele. In Sesotho it is referred to as Mahadi, Magadi in Northern Sotho, Lovola in Xitsonga, Mahadzi in Venda, Roora in Shona and 'bride wealth' in English.

Modernisation: a concept that refers to the transformation of the society from ancient to modern, especially in terms of improvements in resources, environment, population, and other key aspects of transformation to a modern society.

Sex: this is a biological categorisation of people as male, female or intersex using primarily their sexual organs and chromosomes, hormones to differentiate between male and female. In this thesis, participants sometimes used the concept sex to refer to sexual intercourse.

Sexuality: this is defined differently in various fields but all definitions emphasize that it is an expression of sexual feelings and its related intimacy between people. Psychology understands sexuality as the means to express intimacy, love between a man and a woman. Biologically, sexuality is understood as the means through which a child is conceived.

Transactional sex: this is defined as sexual intercourse that is motivated by financial and material benefits.

Financial constraints: this is a situation where people face a challenge in fulfilling their financial needs, or sufficient funds to sustain their livelihoods.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Chapter outline

In this chapter, I provide the background which highlights the rationale for this research. The introductory chapter also provides an outline of the study aim, specific objectives and key research questions this study sought to answer.

1.2. Introduction

In this study I aim to deepen scientific understanding of transactional sex in three provinces of South Africa which are KwaZulu-Natal (KZN), Eastern Cape (EC) and Mpumalanga (MP) through an examination of the opinions of men and women from these administrative regions. The study's specific objectives were to explore the discourses that shape the participants' understanding and their involvement in transactional sex. The second objective was to analyse the participants' understanding of transactional sex in the three provinces. The third objective of this study was to demonstrate the likely link between transactional sex and income poverty which is associated with father absence. Father absence is a common phenomenon across all three provinces. The fourth objective was to describe a probable link between transactional sex and vulnerability to HIV infection. HIV is a highly prevalent infection in KZN, EC and MP.

In this thesis, I first present the literature that I reviewed to find out what research has already been conducted in the field of transactional sex across global studies and I narrow the review to the African continent, Southern Africa region, South Africa in general and then specific studies done in the provinces that I focused on. In the literature review, I also present research on father absence and its impact especially on the financial wellness for the young

people. The final section of the literature review examines the HIV prevalence in South Africa and how is it commonly transmitted especially among young people. The section also reports that young women are the ones who are at high vulnerability of the infection.

There is a wealth of research that suggests that young women are at an increased risk and vulnerability for HIV incidence through engagement in transactional sex (Fleischman & Peck, 2015; Glynn et al., 2001; Pettifor et al., 2005). The risk of HIV infection for those that practice transactional sex is nearly two or more than three times (Jewkes, Dunkle, Nduna, & Shai, 2012; Pettifor et al., 2005; Ranganathan et al., 2016). Transactional sex is sometimes referred to as survival sex, runner-girls or economically motivated sex, exchange based relationships, survival love, sexual economy, selling sexual favours and sellers of sex (Hunter, 2007; Mosoetsa, 2011; Pitpitan et al., 2014). Transactional sex means having sexual intercourse motivated by financial or material gains (Greene, Ennett, & Ringwalt, 1999; Poulin, 2007; Stoebenau, Heise, Wamoyi, & Bobrova, 2016).

Across literature transactional sex is differentiated from prostitution and sex work. In prostitution there is a predetermined amount that is charged for sex (Hunter, 2002; Jewkes, Morrell, Sikweyiya, Dunkle, & Penn-Kekana, 2012; McNamara, 1994). Yet, in transactional sex, the amount of money or material that the recipient of these will have, are not predetermined. Sex work is defined as an occupation where there are specific venues where individuals who are involved are always found and they also have places where they will engage in the sexual intercourse (Benoit & Shumka, 2015; Masvawure, 2010; Tade & Adekoya, 2012). This is not the case with transactional sex.

Transactional sex in young women is rife in Sub-Saharan Africa, including South Africa, and it is in the context of financial constraints (Béné & Merten, 2008; Chatterji, Murray, London, & Anglewicz, 2005; Dunkle et al., 2004; Leclerc-Madlala, 2003). Literature shows that usually the givers of financial and material benefits are older men, who sometimes

are referred to as sugar daddies, and the receivers of these are young women. In return women give sex to men. Even though this is a common agreement in most literature there are also instances where men are the givers of sex to women (Kuate-Defo, 2004; Luke, 2005). This usually happens in the context of sugar mama scenarios. A sugar mama is an older woman who spends their money or material on a younger man in exchange of sex or companionship (Bode, 2012; Brouard & Crewe, 2012; Kuate-Defo, 2004). Sometimes the term 'sugar mama' is alternated with 'sugar mommy' and it is viewed as a twist on the term 'sugar daddy'. The sugar mama is also sometimes viewed as a romantic lover in other studies (Kuate-Defo, 2004).

In most cases, the receivers of financial and material benefits in transactional sex are young women and men who are unemployed or underemployed and students trying to create networks for employment and social support or to participate in the consumerist society and modernity (Masvawure, 2010; Tade & Adekoya, 2012; Wamoyi, Stobeanau, Bobrova, Abramsky, & Watts, 2016). On the other hand the usual givers of financial and material benefits are the older men and women who are gainfully employed and or rich (Masvawure, 2010; Tade & Adekoya, 2012). The influence of financial constraints as a factor behind transactional sex is evident in studies conducted in different migrant communities where industries such as fishing, mining, construction and defence are located (Béné & Merten, 2008; Hunter, 2007; Leclerc-Madlala, 2003). More information on these studies is discussed in Chapter 2 of this thesis.

As noted above, the pursuit of financial needs is important in understanding different types of transactional sex. Survival and consumerism are the two main types of transactional sex that are dominant in the literature (Greene, Ennett, & Ringwalt, 1999; Haley, Roy, Leclerc, Boudreau, & Boivin, 2004; Wojcicki & Malala, 2001; Zembe, Townsend, Thorson, & Ekström, 2013). The needs for survival transactional sex, as the name suggests are

substantive: food, securing employment opportunities, paying for tuition fees, accommodation, transport and other needs (Greene et al., 1999; Haley et al., 2004; Zembe et al., 2013). The financial needs in the consumerism transactional sex are especially driven by competition in consuming in the era of modernisation: things such as smart phones, cars, fast food, expensive and luxurious clothes as well as hair-dos influence the practice of this form of transactional sex (Kuehnast, 1998; Masvawure, 2010; McRobbie, 2008; Tade & Adekoya, 2012; Zembe et al., 2013).

Financial constraints refer to one or a group of people's inability to freely or easily access or able to practice acceptable means for financial sustenance (Bradshaw, Castellino, & Diop, 2013; Gupta, 2000; Malhotra & Mather, 1997). In this study, financial constraints mean young women's inability to get enough money to sustain their livelihoods. In South Africa, some young women seem to struggle to acquire resources such as accommodation, food and water as well as tuition fees at their schools or institutions of tertiary education. They may lack resources to participate in the same activities as peers as well as taking care of their children (to those that might have them) (Hall & Sambu, 2013; Leibbrandt, Woolard, Finn, & Argent, 2010; Modiko et al., 2014). In this thesis, I am interested in young women as receivers, specifically because of their high vulnerability and risk to HIV due to compromised agency to exercise safer sex in these relationships (Halperin & Epstein, 2004; Leclerc-Madlala, 2008; Stoebenau et al., 2011).

Young women's financial constraints in South Africa, and beyond, can also be understood as propelled by the norms ascribed to how families operate. Historically adolescents, particularly young women, and women were perceived as consumers of the money accumulated by fathers and husbands who were usually employed in farms, mines and other industries (Appiah, 1993; Inglehart & Baker, 2000; Ross, 2008). In most cases the African families were led by men, who with the advent of industrialisation began to occupy

the role of financial provision (Makusha & Richter, 2014; Oppong, 1992; Townsend, Madhavan, & Garey, 2006). The men, who play, amongst other roles, the financial provision role, are seen to be fulfilling the fatherhood *(baba)* role by so doings (Chauke & Khunou, 2014; Mavungu, Thomson-de Boor, & Mphaka, 2013; Richter & Morrell, 2008). Young women were expected by their families to be satisfied with the basic resources that the family shares and not look for extra financial resources beyond their family (Ross, 2008). Positioning young women as children that should depend entirely on their fathers to provide financial and material support seemed to promote gender roles within romantic relationships that are characterised by inequality and is problematized in studies of gender (Bolzendahl & Myers, 2004; Lorber, 2010).

The take-over of capitalism around 1910 as the main economic system in South Africa meant that women and young women were expected to stay home and take care of the domestic arena (Wolpe, 1972). Men were expected to find paid work (Castells, 1975; Guy, 1982; Wolpe, 1972). However, there is now a challenge to this fatherhood role due to unemployment which has been ranges on the average of 25.27% from 2000 in South Africa (Beukes, Fransman, Murozvi, & Yu, 2016). Mothers nowadays head families in the context of fathers' unemployment. In circumstances where mothers are single parents with lower incomes, they experience strenuous challenges to earn enough finances to adequately provide for their children (Jones, Sherman, & Varga, 2005; Klasen & Woolard, 2009). The challenges to secure employment for men and women means loss of income which would support the family and this leads to financial constraints for the family. This situation affects young men and women differently: young women have much more strict and oppressive rules such as staying home, being respectful to their parents and to be submissive and dependent on men, these do not allow them to explore alternatives for survival (Hunter, 2007). Hence, this study focuses on young women. In South Africa, financial constraints in young women manifest

through failure to secure descent accommodation, enough food, good clothing, not being able to go out for social engagements or to the taverns with peers and school dropouts (Béné & Merten, 2008).

In Sub-Saharan Africa, extensive public health prevention research on transactional sex focuses on vulnerability to HIV and gender based violence (GBV) for young women. The underlying message from this perspective condemns transactional sex (MacPherson et al., 2012; Stadler, Delany-Moretlwe, Palanee, & Rees, 2014; Stadler, Delany, & Mntambo, 2008). This research is often devoid of the understanding of the broader context of structural impediments that enhance young women's vulnerability to engage in transactional sex. One of these is financial (in)security and this is even worse for families that survive without a gainfully employed person. Despite the evident links, there has been no focus on young women's financial constraints in order to understand their engagement in transactional sex (Ciampa et al., 2012; Tique et al., 2016; Wawrzyniak, Ownby, McCoy, & Waldrop-Valverde, 2013).

From the literature, it seems that there is a need to add to the clarification of transactional sex practice as it conflicts with other concepts that exist in describing sexual relationships between people (Wamoyi et al., 2016). Cross-generational or age-desperate sex, sugar mama and sugar daddies, are examples of concepts that are conflated with transactional sex. Reviewed literature, also does not adequately report how transactional sex is understood by the communities. In this study, I use empirical data to examine transactional sex from the understandings that the participants from the study sites shared. Furthermore, this study adds to the literature that explores the phenomenon of transactional sex and identifies HIV vulnerability as one of the outcomes and father absence as a possible explanation for young women driven into transactional sex.

To explore the participants' understanding of transactional sex, I use qualitative interview data that were collected in KwaZulu-Natal, Eastern Cape and Mpumalanga provinces. The data were collected using focus group discussions with women and men above the age of 18 years. I also use the data coming from the one-on-one in-depth interviews with key informants that were recruited from the departments of education, health, social development, police and justice. All interviews were conducted by local research field workers. Each interview for the key informants lasted an average of about 45 minutes. The focus group discussions lasted an average of about one hour up to 4 hours, including breaks in-between. The data were audio recorded during the interviews and it was simultaneously translated and transcribed into Microsoft-word document. The transcribed text data were saved in password protected folders. For analysing this data I used thematic analysis for organising the findings into themes and I employed critical discourse analysis for its interests in broadening the understanding of certain discourses that are said and acted by people in different spaces.

Heteronormativity, Christian religion and African traditional culture as well as safe sex public health interventions are major discourses that shape and have an influence in the ways that the participants understood and some engaged in transactional sex in KZN, MP and EC. Heteronormativity refers to the discourse that men are the providers for women and children, and that is viewed as the norm. The heteronormativity discourse influences the community to understand transactional sex as a norm when it happens where a men (usually old) provides for the young woman financially. In return, the young women have to give sex to the men. Heteronormativity overlaps to the Christian religion and African traditional culture discourses where sex and transactions are also understood and seen as a norm when they happen between a young woman and an older man. In the Christian religion and African tradition discourses, sex and transactions are guided by the community on how and when is a

young woman allowed to give sex to a man and they also define the required transactions. These discourses demonstrate the long history of the existence of transactional sex in the KZN, MP and EC provinces. However, the forms of sex and transactions that have long existed in these provinces have been clearly defined and guided by the communities under the discourses of morality and immorality. The major acceptable way of women to give sex to men has been in the context of marriage. In marriage the man is supposed to pay the bride wealth *(lobola)* which gives him the privilege to enjoy sex in any time with his wife.

Lobola here could be understood as a form of the transaction that has been acceptable in these communities for a man to get sex. The material and financial payments that are done in form of *lobola* are received and enjoyed by the father and the family of the daughter, but not by the young woman herself, directly. It can be argued that it is only later that the young woman have realised the possibilities of giving sex to men and directly earn the money and materials that come with sex. But because the young woman now have a direct benefit from sex, excluding the elders of the community through *lobola*, sex for transactions start to be viewed and understood as immoral in the discourses of Christian religion and African traditional culture. It is also now that the public health interventions have defined it as dangerous and not acceptable for young women to engage in sexual intercourse with older men (sugar daddies).

The discourses above have influenced the participants not to be very clear about their understanding of transactional sex. They know that there is a benefit in practicing transactional sex and they are willing to engage in it because it helps them to access money and materials that they need for survival and consumerism. However, they think that this is an immoral way to look for money. Owing to the community's views on transactional sex as immoral, the young women might practice it secretively and this puts their health at risk

because the interventions that could assist them might not be fully aware of the risks associated with the discreet practice of transactional sex.

From this current study, the participants understood transactional sex as a source of income driven especially by the high rates of unemployment and poverty in the study sites. Transactional sex was known to be practiced by both men and women in this study, both of whom could be either a giver or receiver of sex or money and materials such as cars and clothes as well as social status. However, it was viewed as normal if it was an older man engaging in transactional sex with a young woman. Participants emphasised that there was a large age gap between men and women that engaged in transactional sex. It was common that the one who was in a good financial position was of older age either an older man involved with a younger woman or an older woman involved with a younger man.

The empirical data, analysed in the context of existing information about the conditions of living in these districts suggested a link between father absence and HIV through transactional sex. Factors associated with father absence were outcomes such as income poverty, education deprivation and underemployment dominate the discourses shared by both men and women participants around drivers of young women's engagement in transactional sex. Empirical data also showed that there were dangers that were involved in transactional sex, such as not using condoms, thereby increasing HIV risks particularly among young women.

The young women were a group of people that were in a position to experience much of the risks and vulnerabilities of HIV in their involvement in transactional sex. The young women received money and they were also vulnerable as well as at risk of HIV both from the older and young men. The young men were involved in transactional sex with older women where they got money, material and acquired HIV which they transmit to the young women. These sexual networks left young women at an increased risk and vulnerability for HIV

owing to the practice of transactional sex which might be influenced by the absence of fathers as providers.

1.3. Research aim

The study seeks to deepen scientific understanding of transactional sex in South Africa through examination of the discourses and structural financial constraints that influence transactional sex among young women.

1.4. Research objectives

i. To explore the discourses that shapes the participants' understanding and their involvement in transactional sex.

ii. To analyse the participants' understanding of transactional sex in KwaZulu-Natal (KZN), Mpumalanga (MP) and the Eastern Cape (EC) provinces.

iii. To demonstrate the likely link between transactional sex and income poverty related to father absence.

iv. To describe a probable link between transactional sex and vulnerability to HIV infection.

1.5. Research questions

i. What are the discourses that shape the participants' understanding and their involvement in transactional sex?

ii. What are the perceptions of participants interviewed in KZN, MP and EC, towards transactional sex?

iii. Is there any link between the absence of fathers, who could play a provider role and propensity for transactional sex among young women in KZN, MP and EC?

iv. Is there any link between transactional sex and vulnerability to HIV for young women in KZN, MP and EC?

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Chapter outline

In this chapter, I first present how I conducted the literature review. I also describe the literature search, parameters of the literature search and key words that I used in the process of literature review. I then define key concepts that are used throughout the thesis. The timeline of studies of transactional sex is presented in this chapter. The last section of the chapter focuses on the HIV/AIDS epidemic and discusses its dynamics across gender and age. Lastly I provide a summary of the whole of Chapter 2.

2.2. The literature review approach

I did a literature search for this study using the literature review method (Grant & Booth, 2009; Hall & Walton, 2004). A literature review method is described as a typology of review used in research and it focuses on the published materials which provide an examination of recent or current literature (Grant & Booth, 2009; Hall & Walton, 2004). The literature review can cover a wide range of subjects at various levels of completeness and comprehensiveness. The presentation of literature in a thesis or paper after search may be chronological, conceptual or thematic (Grant & Booth, 2009; Hall & Walton, 2004). In this thesis, I present the literature chronologically. I limited my literature review between 1992 and 2016. There are important trends during this time period in Southern Africa, where my literature is largely limited. From year 1992 to 2017, South Africa has been participating in the global economic practice where consumerism and the maintenance of the consumerist society have been viewed as being of greater importance. However, the country's economy has faced various dynamics.

Year 1992 was the period when South Africa was transitioning into a new government which was voted in 1994. In 2002, anti-retrovirals (ARVs) were introduced as an upgrade from provision of condoms and 'safe-sex' education towards avoiding and treating HIV (Simelela & Venter, 2014). Post 1994, there were also significant changes in the economic policies with the introduction of the Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) and other policies that promoted economic access for the previously deprived populations in South Africa (Ponte, Roberts & Van Sittert, 2007). Between the year 2008 and 2009, the global economic depression also affected South Africa and resulted in high rates of unemployment as well as people losing their jobs (Padayachee, 2010). These changes had an influence on the approaches to research in the topic of transactional sex and HIV. I also considered some of the literature across the African continent. The expansion of my literature review was done where it was necessary for comparison on investigating how the studies in father absence, transactional sex and HIV were conducted. In these studies, I looked at their findings and how they influenced research in Southern Africa and South Africa, particularly.

The search engines that I used for this literature review were Google scholar, Wiley Online Library, and Science Direct. These were accessed through the University of the Witwatersrand online Library. I would also occasionally use Google general where I could not find certain articles on the above mentioned search engines. The main topics that I focused on in the literature search were; transactional sex, father absence and HIV/AIDS. The key words that I used were all according to the main topics. For transactional sex I used; transactional sex, fish-for-sex, economically motivated relationships, cross- or inter-generational relationships, sugar mamas and sugar daddies. For father absence, I used; father absence, role of fathers, social fathers, biological fathers, 'unknown,' 'absent,' and 'undisclosed' father. HIV was known all across studies as 'HIV/AIDS' there were no other varying names given to it and hence, I used the abbreviation 'HIV/AIDS' as the key word.

These key words were my main entry into literature search. However, where it was necessary I considered snow-balling the key words. As I made a snow-ball for my key words I expanded them and I further searched words that were unique and specific for different articles. For example, I added words such as; *aristos*, *Madhara* and runs-girls. On top of the key words, I also used a snowball approach in reading broadly for different articles that referenced other studies that were necessary for the current study. I also checked all the other studies that referenced research on transactional sex from those that I was studying to understand how they were informed in their research by previous studies. That is, how previous research gave shape to contemporary research methods, aims and discussion of their findings. I focused more on the studies that used empirical data rather than literature reviews. My intentions were to be able to clearly follow the differences and similarities of the studies chronologically and examine their findings. In the next section I first share the definitions of key concepts that I use in this study. The definitions are based on the literature review conducted.

2.3. Definition of concepts

2.3.1. Young woman

There are various ways used to identify young women. Gender and sexuality are seen as important in identifying young women, particularly in the humanities and social sciences. Various studies in psychology and sociology view young women as females aged 18-25 years (Arnett & Tanner, 2006; Bjorklund & Bee, 2008; Smetana, 2010). Arnett and Tanner (2006) identify the young women in the ages around 18-25, as undergoing identity exploration, associated with instability and self-focus. Other studies argue that the young women of around 18-25 are in a difficult and stressful developmental stage. The young women are not expected by the communities to undertake certain life events such as marriage, sexual intercourse and pregnancy; both gender and sex roles appear to be expected only in certain

ages. The difficulty of the developing stage is seen as leading the young women into activities such as substance use and dating, to relieve the stressing and try to cope with the challenging developmental stages (Kalichman, Simbayi, Kaufman, Cain, & Jooste, 2007; Morojele, Brook, & Kachieng'A, 2006; Parry, Plüddemann, Louw, & Leggett, 2004; Peltzer & Ramlagan, 2009; Watt et al., 2012).

There are also implications for the eras that the young women grow in. For example, the young women who grow in the era of modernisation and consumerist society have their unique challenges of financial constraints and the need to consume. The experiences of the young women in the modernisation and consumerist era are different from those of the pre-colonial era. The young women in the pre-colonial era were more limited in the traditional homesteads and they only focused on earning basic needs from their families (Ross, 2008).

In the field of health, the studies use physiological developments together with age, to identify young women. For example, some studies in health demonstrate that young women start the transition to young adulthood around the 20s. The health studies show that life events such as getting married, having children, and starting work are associated with decreased levels of physical activity in young adult women (Biddle & Mutrie, 2007; Brown & Trost, 2003; Gordon-Larsen, Nelson, & Popkin, 2004).

In the definitions of young women shared above, age is one of the factors that are agreed-upon across different fields. Therefore in this study, I did not consider other different definitions that are highlighted by the different fields above, unless where they had an effect on the participants and possibly informed their views on transactional sex.

2.3.2. Financial constraints

Financial constraints refer to lack of finances resulting in someone being unable to buy certain commodities including their needs (Lamont, Polk, & Saaá-Requejo, 2001).

Owing to financial constraints that result from structural failures, people are forced to engage in different activities that will enable them to attain financial sustainability (Dunn & Holtz-Eakin, 1996). Structural failures refer to when the economic system that is in place cannot manage to support the citizens of a given community (Gordon, 1982; Standing, Sender & Weeks, 1996). An example is when the economic system is characterised by high rates of unemployment and underemployment. Structural failures could result in financial constraints and other challenges such as poverty, increase in infections and other related factors (Gordon, 1982; Standing, Sender & Weeks, 1996). In this case, young women are left in a position where they cannot easily fulfil their financial needs. The young women are therefore bound to depend on the finances accumulated by the families to which they belong. This is regardless of the fact that the family might not be able to provide well enough for the young women (Holland, Ramazanoglu, Scott, Sharpe, & Thomson, 1992; Kuehnast, 1998; McRobbie, 2008). It is also fundamental to note that fathers are the ones who are in most cases expected to play the role of financial provision for the family including young women (Richter & Morrell, 2008).

2.3.3. Transactional sex

There are various definitions of transactional sex which are context specific. The universal definition is that transactional sex is sex motivated by financial and material exchange (Jewkes, Morrell, et al., 2012). Sex motivated by financial and material exchange has been studied extensively in heterosexual relationships. In these relationships, men are viewed as givers of money and material benefits to their female sexual partners who in turn give sex. Transactional sex also happens between older women and young men (Kuate-Defo, 2004; Luke, 2005). This is usually identified as a sugar mama phenomenon. In these relationships, the young men give sex to the older women and in return they get financial and material benefits.

Two major types of transactional sex can be identified; these are survival and consumerism transactional sex. Survival transactional sex is viewed across studies as exchange of sex for subsistence needs by the young women that give sex to men (Greene, Ennett, & Ringwalt, 1999; Haley, Roy, Leclerc, Boudreau, & Boivin, 2004; Zembe, Townsend, Thorson, & Ekström, 2013). For example, Greene et al.'s (1999) study that was conducted among the young women that engaged in transactional sex because they stayed in the streets and they gave sex to men so that they could get accommodation and other needs. Béné and Merten's (2008) study of fishing communities is also one of the examples of survival transactional sex, where women gave sex to men in exchange for fish which was used for consumption or to sell and send children to school.

Consumerism transactional sex is the one where young women give sex to men so that they can get money to buy luxurious goods such as smart cell-phones, take-away fast food and expensive clothes (Greene et al., 1999; Luke, Goldberg, Mberu, & Zulu, 2011; Masvawure, 2010; Tade & Adekoya, 2012; Watt et al., 2012). Consumerism transactional sex is usually seen as motivated by modernism and consumerism. Examples of the studies demonstrating consumerism transactional sex were done among university students who give sex to men so that they could be given money to use for expensive clothes and get expensive hair styles (Masvawure, 2010; Tade & Adekoya, 2012).

2.3.4. Absent father

There are various definitions of an absent father and all suggest a scenario of a person who is not part of his child's development: either known or unknown (Padi, Nduna, Khunou, & Kholopane, 2014). Absent, unknown and undisclosed are the ways that previous studies have identified and variations of absent fathers (Atobrah, 2004). A father can be identified as absent emotionally, economically, fully or partially (Datta, 2007). Single mothering and paternal non-involvement are situations owing to the absent father phenomenon. The absent

father usually does not reside with their children or are away for long periods of time (Kruk, 2012; Smith, Khunou, & Nathane-Taulela, 2013; Padi et al., 2014). Examples of father absence are when the father is divorced, separated, incarcerated, employed in the military, travel regularly for business and live away from their children for extended periods of time. The non-resident fathers have been identified as partially absent. The non-resident sometimes come home and spends some time with his child, and sometimes provides economically. This makes the father present in some aspects and absent in others. For example, the absent father might be providing financially, while emotionally absent. Unknown fathers are those that the children do not know. Unknown father phenomena could be as a result of a mother (or guardian) of a child who does not know or has doubts about the identity or the name of the child's father. The undisclosed father is the one where the mother could know him but she does not tell or show him to her child(ren) (Padi, Nduna, Khunou, & Kholopane, 2014).

2.4. Transactional sex research timeline

In 1992, studies on transactional sex were interested in finding better ways to prevent HIV and mitigate the impact of AIDS among young people. The focus was to understand how sexual activities for heterosexual young people contribute to the HIV epidemic (Holland, Ramazanoglu, Scott, Sharpe, & Thomson, 1992). Transactional sex was not the main focus of the studies but one of the factors that would come as a research finding. The term prostitution was used interchangeably with transactional sex (Holland et al., 1992). This informed studies in the consecutive years. In 1994, studies continued with the discourse of transactional sex as prostitution (McNamara, 1994). Between 1992 and 1994 the practice of transactional sex from the women's side was viewed as a way to protect their relationships by giving their boyfriends sex (Holland et al., 1992; McNamara, 1994). Men were exerting pressure over women to give them sex because some perceived this as a symbol of love (Holland et al.,

1992; McNamara, 1994). Men viewed it as a responsibility to give money and gifts in return for sex from their girlfriends.

Instances of one-night-stands were also some of the findings across studies between 1992 and 1994 (McNamara, 1994). One-night-stands are defined as sexual or intimate relationships that happen only over one night and there is no sharing of contacts for further communications and commitments (Kuttner, 1993). In one night stands, there are certain benefits that include either one part being given sex and the other paid off by money or accommodation for a sleep over or good time, and this can be viewed as transactional sex (Dunkle et al., 2004). The effects of transactional sex were viewed as primarily sexually transmitted infections (STIs). HIV was the major STI that was seen as a feature of transactional sexual relationships (Holland et al., 1992; McNamara, 1994). The focus for these studies was perhaps influenced by that they were located within the health discourse.

In 1995, father absence and its resultant lack of paternal guidance, and consumerism came into the discourse concerning the drivers of transactional sex (McLean, 1995; Wood & Foster, 1995). A few studies argued that lack of paternal guidance was one of the drivers of lack of morals and values in the practice of sex (McLean, 1995). The lack of morals was viewed as owing to the entry of consumerism in the society (McLean, 1995), which overwrote the values and morals of the young people. In transactional sex, the main relationship that was between the involved man and young woman was based on financial exchange and sex only, without any form of continued intimate sexual relationship (Wood & Foster, 1995). Research shows that consumerism became effective in forcing young women to engage in transactional sex with older men. The move to older men by the young women was because consumerism required insatiable money and material resources which their peers could not normally afford because of being unemployed and relying on parents' support (McLean, 1995; Wood & Foster, 1995). Older men were ideal partners of choice because

they are employed or at least had means to acquire the financial and material needs for the young women (McLean, 1995; Wood & Foster, 1995). Owing to age and gender disparity, the young women experienced relatively less relationship power that resulted in unsafe sex practices. The practice of unsafe sex exposes young women to the risk of HIV, and this was the concern in the research on transactional sex around 1995 (McLean, 1995; Wood & Foster, 1995).

In 1996, the discourse of consumerism started to establish itself in the studies of transactional sex and the HIV epidemic was the drive of these studies (Calvès, Cornwell, & Enyegue, 1996). Studies focused more on the cities where consumerism and peer pressure was perceived as a norm among young people (Calvès et al., 1996). Young women competed in raising their social status in the context of consumerism. Studies argue that women used sex to achieve modernity and to lift themselves from poverty (Calvès et al., 1996). It also became a norm that young women should not stay as virgins until older age because men were interested in premarital sexual intercourse. Both younger men and women were expected to have an older woman or man, respectively, who will be their sexual partner (Calvès et al., 1996). In return, the older man or woman was expected to give financial and material support to the young woman or man. In addition, older men earn prestige from their peers if they had more than one sexual partner. It was the men's responsibility to find these sexual partners. The role of peer pressure was intense in both men and women who were involved in transactional sex (Calvès et al., 1996).

Studies around 1997 approached research with a perception that young African women were particularly vulnerable to HIV infection because sexual relations with men were an important means to achieve social and economic status, and for some women they were necessary for survival (Meekers & Calvès, 1997). Economic needs were seen as influencing many young women to engage in premarital sexual relations. As such, this increased young

women's vulnerability to HIV infection (Meekers & Calvès, 1997). HIV studies demonstrate that the rate of infection grew fast among young women compared to the men of their same age. In 1998, HIV prevention researchers noted that less research was conducted to understand the current and intended sexual behaviours for adolescents (Alexander, 1998; MacPhail, 1998). This stimulated research in societal, normative or cultural contexts within which phenomena such as knowledge, attitudes and behaviour were negotiated or constructed in the context of adolescent sex (Alexander, 1998; MacPhail, 1998; MacPhail, 1998). Survival sex was one of the forms of transactional sex that was found among the adolescents in the late 90's (Greene et al., 1999; Matasha et al., 1998). Other studies in the same year, 1998, were focusing on improving the health conditions for those that practiced transactional sex (Alexander, 1998; MacPhail, 1998). HIV continued to be the main effect and concern in research around transactional sex (Alexander, 1998; MacPhail, 1998; Matasha et al., 1998).

Defined as the selling of sex to meet subsistence needs, survival sex includes the exchange of sex for shelter, food, drugs, or money (Greene et al., 1999). Survival sex was common among the runaway and homeless adolescents (Greene et al., 1999). Substance use was found as a contributor to transactional sex and increased risks to HIV infection through compromised use of protection in the practice of sex (Greene et al., 1999). Studies in cross-generational sexual relationships emerged in the early 2000s (Luke & Kurz, 2002). Between 2000 and 2002, there was a growing concern over risky adolescent sexuality in Botswana and South Africa (Luke & Kurz, 2002). Money and social status were seen as the main drivers for the young people of 13-18 years of age who commenced transactional sex (Gupta, 2000; Meekers & Ahmed, 2000).

In 2003, transactional sex was studied among young people (Kidd, 2003). Transactional sex was seen as the survival strategy among the young people who ran away from their homes and stayed in the streets (Kidd, 2003). The young people used transactional

sex to access accommodation and food because they did not have family support to provide these needs (Kidd, 2003). Economically motivated sexual relationships between older people and younger men and women were discovered as growing (Leclerc-Madlala, 2003; Luke, 2003). Several studies argued that there is a relationship between the growing HIV infections among young people owing to the increasing age-disparate sexual relationships (Kidd, 2003; Leclerc-Madlala, 2003; Luke, 2003). Age-disparate relationships, sometimes referred to as cross-generational relationships are sexual relationships that happen between the young and the older people (Longfield et al., 2004). Often, these refer to the sexual relationships between older men and younger women: the 'sugar daddy' (Longfield et al., 2004; Luke & Kurz, 2002).

In cross-generational relationships, men wanted sexual gratification while women gain some money and gifts. Young women in research report that they pursued older partners who can provide them with money and gifts that were unavailable from partners of their own age (Longfield et al., 2004). The risk inherent in cross-generational relationships is that some of the partners involved had concurrent intimate relationships with same-age partners. In their relationships with older men, which were characterized by large age and economic asymmetries between partners, young women were mostly motivated by financial and material benefits (Longfield et al., 2004). The concern with the sugar daddy phenomenon was that there was high practice of unprotected sex with women having limited power to decide on having safe sex (Chatterji et al., 2005; Luke, 2005; Pettifor et al., 2005). HIV prevention research argues that transactional sex may put young women and young men in sub-Saharan Africa at increased risk of contracting sexually transmitted infections (STIs), including HIV (Buve, 2006).

Research reports that young men and young women were at a greater risk of engaging in transactional sex than were older people (Pettifor et al., 2005). Unmarried young women

and young men were significantly more likely to engage in transactional sex (Chatterji et al., 2005). Studies between 2005 and 2006 emphasise that there is low use of condoms and the practice of protected sex in transactional sex relationships, putting the young women at risk of HIV incidence (Chatterji et al., 2005; Luke, 2005, 2006; Pettifor et al., 2005). Research suggests that there are no significant differences by household economic status, orphan status, level of schooling completed or age difference between partners (Moore et al., 2007). Furthermore, research reported that receiving money or gifts for sex was not necessarily a coercive force, but rather a routine aspect of dating (Hunter, 2007; Moore et al., 2007; Poulin, 2007). The motivations behind the young women's engagement in transactional sex were peer pressure, money and material benefits (Dunkle et al., 2007; Hunter, 2007; Kalichman et al., 2007; Moore et al., 2007; Poulin, 2007).

There were comparison studies that were done on HIV risks between homeless young men that participated in transactional sex and their non-involved peers (Haley et al., 2004). It was reported that the young men who engaged in transactional sex had multiple other HIV risks related to non-commercial sexual activities such as drug injection, and sexual abuse (Haley et al., 2004).

2008 studies focusing on young women found that in the context of growing economic inequalities and cultural expectations for men to give and women to receive a compensation for sex, relationships with older men were common (Béné & Merten, 2008; Leclerc-Madlala, 2008; Luke, 2008; McRobbie, 2008; Wood, Maforah, & Jewkes, 1998). The relationships between older men and young women were viewed as a readily available way through which young women gained materially, affirmed self-worth, achieved social goals, and increased longer-term life chances, or otherwise added value and enjoyment to their life (Leclerc-Madlala, 2008; McRobbie, 2008; Wood et al., 1998). The relative and absolute wealth that men had was seen as the main factor that influenced men to practice

transactional sex. They showed their wealth as available for giving out to women if they would reciprocate with sex (Leclerc-Madlala, 2008; McRobbie, 2008).

The benefits of transactional sex for both parties were seen to outweigh risks of HIV. Some research looked at survival sex in fishing communities (Béné & Merten, 2008). The studies on fishing communities focused more on older women having sex in return for fish for food consumption or for trade in order to send their children to school. This practice was seen as a norm in poor fishing communities where the only available economic resource was trading fish (Béné & Merten, 2008). Men in these communities had ownership and control over the fishing resources and for women to access them; they had to give sexual favours to men. The studies in 2008 argue that HIV prevention policies and programmes needed to start from an understanding of how those engaged in risky sexual behaviours perceived their sexual relationships and conceptualized the choices they made and the strategies they use (Béné & Merten, 2008; Leclerc-Madlala, 2008; Luke, 2008; McRobbie, 2008). They also unveiled a need for comprehensive policies on women and girls with better integration of communities to assess and address matters related to adolescents' sexuality, and expand campaigns and programmes on the role of men as protectors and supporters of women are recommended (Béné & Merten, 2008; Leclerc-Madlala, 2008; Luke, 2008; McRobbie, 2008).

At the same time, gender studies argued that sexual relationships between young women and older men involving economic transactions offered a likely explanation for gender differences in HIV prevalence in many parts of sub-Saharan Africa (Bobashev, Zule, Osilla, Kline, & Wechsberg, 2009; Hawkins, Price, & Mussá, 2009). These studies were ontologically positioned to study and analyse gender power dynamics in relationships (Hawkins et al., 2009). Sex was appropriated as something that young women used to demonstrate their power in the society. The young women used sex to adopt and maintain a

social identity that they adored, which was being successful, modern and urban women (Bobashev et al., 2009; Hawkins et al., 2009).

Scholarship on the political economy of sex argue that transactional sexual relationships were a strategy that women used to extract financial and material resources from men based on the power of their sexuality and sexual attractiveness (Bobashev et al., 2009; Hawkins et al., 2009). Young women were said to construct a positive identity and esteem linked to perceptions of modernity and consumption and their ability to access consumer goods. The studies concluded that the behaviour change directed to HIV prevention messages had little meaning in relation to young women's perceived goals, particularly in the context in which structural conditions offer few opportunities and limited hope for a secure economic future (Bobashev et al., 2009; Hawkins et al., 2009).

In 2010, some studies associated transactional sex with lack of education, experience of economic hardship, and the need to care for dependents as drivers whilst increased levels of HIV/STI risk, reduced condom use and concurrent sexual partnerships were consequences (Bradshaw, Kahn, & Saville, 2010; Dunkle et al., 2010). There were, however, contrasting studies that conceptualised transactional sex as something that was used by the young people to access economic and material resources that will allow them to go with times of modernisation and be able to be part of the consumerist society (Bradshaw et al., 2010; Masvawure, 2010). For example, some university students shared in the studies, that the desire to be visible on campus through the conspicuous consumption of particular luxury goods was the major drive for them to participate in transactional sex (Masvawure, 2010).

Consumption of luxurious goods enabled female students to fashion themselves as 'more sophisticated', 'more successful' and even as 'more sexually appealing' than their peers (Masvawure, 2010). Furthermore the young women used transactional sex to purchase modern gadgets, fashionable clothes, and trendy hairdos and to have facials, pedicures and

manicures done. These studies share the complications that are in transactional sex by arguing that it is not as always that young women that are perceived to be engaged in transactional sex give sex to men. The young women sometimes could avoid giving sex to the older men but still be able to get the money and material benefits from them (Masvawure, 2010).

The studies in 2011 continue with the similar discourse that transactional sex, within non-marital relationships, was widely a contributing factor to the disproportionate prevalence of HIV among young women in sub-Saharan Africa (Bhana & Pattman, 2011; Luke et al., 2011; Stoebenau et al., 2011). The studies in 2011 investigated how material transfers from male partners as well as young women's independent resources affect sexual activities within pre- and non-marital relationships (Luke et al., 2011). The studies show that when young women have their own resources, they depend less on men and this reduces their sexual practice or they have an increased opportunity to make choices on who they have sex with and how they practice the sexual act (Bhana & Pattman, 2011; Luke et al., 2011; Stoebenau et al., 2011). This demonstrated that young women engage in transactional sex largely for survival and consumerism. When young women have their own money, material resources and jobs, that makes them competitive, and attain a high social status, hence they have no need to engage in survival transactional sex or look for a men to support them.

Studies in 2012 continued scholarship on university students' engagement in transactional sex for the improvement of their social status and to establish their future employment (Jewkes, Morrell, et al., 2012; MacPherson et al., 2012; Tade & Adekoya, 2012; Watt et al., 2012). The young women were said to engage in transactional sex with the former graduates of the universities who already have jobs or made good money elsewhere so that they could ensure that it will be easier for them to get jobs and establish their own lives after graduation (Tade & Adekoya, 2012).

In Nigeria, the men that were involved in transactional sex with young women were referred to as the *aristos* (Tade & Adekoya, 2012). The *aristos* included wealthy postgraduate students, politicians, business men, and military personnel, among others. The *aristos* provided money and material which satisfied young women (Tade & Adekoya, 2012). The *aristos* were recruited on and off campus through mastery of routine activities of 'aristocrats' on campus, connection and referrals (Tade & Adekoya, 2012). The young women competed in the market of transactional sex and erotic capital, including dexterous bed skills, such as sucking a man's penis and romance which would make them exclusive and get more men. The expression 'Runs-girls' was introduced to the studies of transactional sex. The runs-girls were girls who were willing to offer sex or companionship to any man only in exchange for material things (Tade & Adekoya, 2012).

From the year 2013-2016 research demonstrates that motivations for transactional sex appear to be different between women and men, even though these overlap in some cases. Financial rewards for women especially appear to be predominant in motivating transactional sex, these range from economic survival to desire for status and possessions (Bauermeister, Eaton, Meanley, & Pingel, 2015; Mojola, 2014; Okigbo, McCarraher, Chen, & Pack, 2014; Zembe, Townsend, Thorson, & Ekström, 2013). In year 2014, Mojola brought in the discourse of transactional sex and gender. Mojola (2014) argues that the relatively limited access for young women to the economy increases their vulnerability to practice transactional sex.

Mojola (2014) used schools and fishing villages to demonstrate the influence of less access to economic means for the young women. For example, in schools there is a discourse that the young women should appear beautiful; thus they need to have good hair styles, and other materials that will make them competitive among their peers. The beautification of young women is also associated with the consumerist culture in the modernist society

(Mojola, 2014). Mojola's (2014) arguments that the women are also forced into transactional sex so that they could access fishing resources and fish, is in support of earlier research in transactional sex (Béné & Merten, 2008). The literature reviewed demonstrates a relationship between transactional sex and HIV. In the following section, I provide an extended insight in the studies of HIV.

2.5. The HIV epidemic

In this section, I provide an outline of the HIV prevalence in South Africa and show how this prevalence differs according to gender and age. I also demonstrate pathways to HIV acquisition for young women. Among the common ways, transactional sex is discussed as an enabling context for the factors putting young women at increased vulnerability to HIV infection.

2.5.1. HIV/AIDS in South Africa

South Africa has experienced a complex health transition in the past two decades, with HIV/AIDS being a dominant health problem in the country (Kahn, 2011). Due to HIV/AIDS, South Africa's mortality worsened between 1990 and 2005, in virtually all age groups (Mayosi et al., 2009). Specifically, in 2002-2005 mortality due to HIV epidemic reached levels of 270 and 180 per 100 000 population for men and women, respectively (Mayosi et al., 2009). By the year 2007, within a population of 49 million, 5.7 million people were living with HIV and 350 000 had died of AIDS (Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS, 2008). The total number of new HIV infections for 2009 was 413 000 and a total of 5.21 million people lived with HIV, in the same year. Of these, an estimated 59 000 were children (Schwab & Porter, 2008). The prevalence rate of HIV in 2009 was 10.6%. Among adults aged 15–49 years, an estimated 17% were HIV positive (Mayosi et al., 2012). South Africa accounts for 25% of the HIV/AIDS disease burden in Sub-Saharan Africa (Millennium Goals Report, 2010).

By year 2013, South Africa had the largest number (over 6 million) of people living with HIV globally (UNAIDS, 2013). Over the past decade, HIV prevalence has been stable in the general population (National Department of Health, 2013; Shisana et al., 2009; South African National AIDS Council, 2011). The epidemic in South Africa is heterogeneous with wide variations in HIV prevalence across age, race, sex, socio-economic status and geographical location (Shisana et al., 2014). HIV problems have been on increase in rural communities disproportionately affecting poor people living in urban settings, and driving a rise in the demand for chronic disease care (Groenewald et al., 2008; Mayosi et al., 2009).

2.5.2. Age, gender and HIV vulnerability

Research reports that generally women have higher HIV prevalence compared to men (Gouws, Stanecki, Lyerla, & Ghys, 2008; South African National HIV Prevalence Incidence and Behaviour Survey, 2012). The World Health Organization (2004) concluded that more than half of the 40 million people infected with HIV in the world are women. In sub-Saharan Africa, young women (15-24 years) account for 75% of HIV infections and are approximately three times more likely to be infected than young men of the same age (World Health Organization, 2004). Based on the study conducted among nine sub-Saharan Africa countries (Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe) the prevalence of HIV increases after the age of 15 years, more rapidly among women than among men, reaching a peak among women in their twenties and men in their thirties (Gouws et al., 2008). Young women acquire HIV infection about 5-7 years earlier than men; and they have a 3-6-fold higher rate of HIV infection compared to young men in the same age group (Gouws et al., 2008; Rehle et al., 2007).

There are different factors leading to an increased HIV infection rate among young women. Among all demographic groups, a greater burden of the disease falls on individuals who are disadvantaged, underserved, and vulnerable (Wechsberg, Parry, & Jewkes, 2008).

The majority of the participants for this study, including young women under study fall in these categories. Research shows that HIV prevalence among women is also fuelled by transactional sex and associated factors such as limited economic options, substance abuse, age-desperate sexual relationships, gender inequity in relationships, intimate partner violence, sexually transmitted infections and unprotected sex among others (Béné & Merten, 2008; Dunkle et al., 2004; Hunter, 2007; Wechsberg, Parry, & Jewkes, 2008; Chatterji et al., 2005; Leclerc-Madlala, 2003; Halperin & Epstein, 2007). The general consensus is that HIV infections among young people in sub-Saharan Africa are primarily due to heterosexual transmission (Ramjee & Danniels, 2013; UNAIDS, 2010; Buve, 2006).

Research reports that, predominantly, transactional sex makes heterosexual young women vulnerable to HIV (Dunkle et al., 2004; MacPherson et al., 2012; Watt et al., 2012; Wood, Hutchinson, Kahwa, Hewitt, & Waldron, 2011). In transactional, sex young women are relatively powerless in deciding on protected sex options because of factors such as men dominance in the relations of transactional sex (Beadnell, Baker, Morrison, & Knox, 2000; Saad, Tan, & Subramaniam, 2015). Transactional sex predominantly happens between a younger woman and an older partner (Chatterji, Murray, London, & Anglewicz, 2005; Saad, Tan, & Subramaniam, 2015). Sexual relationships with more than one partner at the same time is called multiple concurrent sex partnerships (MCSPs), and they are common where transactional sex is reported (Chatterji et al., 2005; Hunter, 2007).

South Africa has the highest epidemic of HIV in the world and young women are the ones with the highest prevalence of the infection, and this is linked to their circumstance of financial constraints and transactional sex (Dunkle et al., 2004; Wamoyi et al., 2016). As literature also demonstrates, young women are socialised to be highly dependent on the family's survival system where in most cases fathers and other men are the key providers (Ross, 2008). In cases where the father is absent, the young women resort to other men who

could afford to give them money and commodities in exchange of sex (Makusha & Richter, 2014). This study seeks to deepen scientific understating of transactional sex in South Africa through examination of the views of men and women in KZN, MP and EC.

2.6. Chapter summary

Transactional sex has been studied for many years across the world. Globally, the practice is viewed differently, resulting in different names being given to the practice across literature (Bradshaw et al., 2010; Calvès et al., 1996; Calves, 1999; Choudhry, Ambresin, Nyakato, & Agardh, 2015; Glynn et al., 2001; Greene et al., 1999; Gupta, 2000; Holland et al., 1992; Kaufman & Stavrou, 2004; Luke, 2003, 2005, 2006, 2008, 2010; Luke et al., 2011). Some of the major and repeated terms that are used in transactional sex are; economically motivated sexual relationships, *aristos* transactional sex, sugar daddies and sugar mamas, cross-generational relationships, among others (Alexander, 1998; Dunkle et al., 2010; Hunter, 2002; Jewkes, Morrell, et al., 2012; Kuate-Defo, 2004; Luke, 2005; Luke & Kurz, 2002; McNamara, 1994; Orubuloye, Caldwell, & Caldwell, 1992). Transactional sex is linked to the political and moral economies in all the studies used for the literature review between years 1992 to 2016. The studies show that there are two major factors that are connected to economic practice that stimulate the practice of transactional sex. The two factors are economic needs for survival and secondly for the ability to participate in the era of consumerism.

The studies show that consumerism becomes high as the years also become modern. In 1992 consumerism was not an important factor in influencing the young women's engagement in transactional sex (Holland et al., 1992). However this is a different case between years 2012 to 2016 where consumerism is one of the primary drivers for the young women to practice transactional sex (Bauermeister, Eaton, Meanley, & Pingel, 2015; Jewkes, Dunkle, Nduna, & Shai, 2012; Jewkes, Morrell, et al., 2012; MacPherson et al., 2012;

Okigbo, McCarraher, Chen, & Pack, 2014; Watt et al., 2012). The studies on transactional sex are primarily motivated by trying to understand why young people, specifically women are having higher HIV infections across the world (Abang, 1996; Aidala, Cross, Stall, Harre, & Sumartojo, 2005; Béné & Merten, 2008; Bhana & Pattman, 2011; Bobashev et al., 2009; Buvé, 2006; Cáceres, Aggleton, & Galea, 2008; Choudhry et al., 2015; Ciampa et al., 2012; de Saxe, Scheyett, & Fogelc, 2014; Fleischman & Peck, 2015). The studies therefore share the discourse that the practice of transactional sex has a high impact in the spread of HIV among young people. These studies suggest that transactional sex is the reason why young women have the higher infection of HIV compared to all the other age groups especially within the consumerism era. However, young women, experience much higher HIV infections compared to the young men of their age. This owes to the fact that young women engage in sexual intercourse with older men who may have already been exposed to HIV by virtue of their sexual experience (Dunkle et al., 2010; Luke, 2003, 2010; Luke & Kurz, 2002; Tade & Adekoya, 2012).

There were few studies, to my knowledge that refer to father absence as a factor that could influence the practice of transactional sex (McLean, 1995; Stoebenau et al., 2013). These studies come from a perspective that fathers are expected to play a provider role to their children. This has been seen as a lack in the young people that are engaged in transactional sex. However, the studies do not look at the possible effects that the current study explores, where the father is conceptualised as a financial provider. The absence of the father contributes a big role in driving transactional sex because where the father is present, there are possibilities that the young women will be provided with financial and material support (Makusha & Richter, 2014; Mavungu, Thomson-de Boor, & Mphaka, 2013; Ramphele & Richter, 2006; Richter, Chikovore & Makusha, 2013). However, there are only limited studies that indicate that the availability of the financial and material support is not

enough to stop young women from engaging in transactional sex (Masvawure, 2010; Tade & Adekoya, 2012). This could be argued that perhaps the inclusion of the presence of a father as a provider as well as disciplinarian could assist in preventing transactional sex. Both roles; a provider and disciplinarian could be important in the context of transactional sex. It is therefore, the intentions of the current study to explore these relationships and confirm young women vulnerability to HIV owing to the practice of transactional sex.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1. Chapter outline

In this chapter, I describe the methods used for this study. I include the study paradigm, approach, research design, and a description of the study sites and participants. I also discuss key informant interviews (KII) and focused-group discussions (FGDs) interviews which were the data collection methods used for this study. In this chapter, I also present data analysis and data management methods. For this study I used peer debriefing support groups, member check meetings and negative case analysis awareness as the methods to ensure scientific rigour and I described these in this chapter. I end the chapter with a reflection on ethical considerations, reflexivity and study limitations.

3.2. Study paradigm, approach and design

This study was part of a bigger community-based qualitative evaluation which was conducted by the AIDS Foundation of South Africa (AFSA) (Vilanculous & Nduna, 2015). AFSA's aim as an organisation is to mitigate the impacts of HIV/AIDS and poverty through the implementation of health and community development projects in vulnerable communities (https://www.aids.org.za/). A study paradigm is an all-encompassing system of interrelated practice and thinking that defines the nature of inquiry along the three dimensions of research; ontology, epistemology and methodology (Terre, Blanche & Durrheim, 1999). Both the ontological and epistemological aspects of research concerns what is referred to as the researcher's world view and this has an influence on the perceived relative importance of the aspects of reality (Campbell & Cantrell, 2001; Terre, Blanche & Durrheim, 1999).

Ontology is the nature of reality, and epistemology is the nature of knowledge and the relationship between the inquirer and the inquired-into (Campbell &Cantrell, 2001). The term paradigm was first used by Kuhn (1977) to indicate a conceptual framework shared by a

community of scientists to provide them with a convenient model for examining problems and finding solutions. Research paradigm in Kuhn (1962)'s views, means a culture with a set of beliefs, values, and assumptions that a community of researchers has in common regarding the nature and conduct of research. Qualitative research paradigms are classified into three philosophical approaches and these are; positivist, interpretive and critical post-modernist (Gephart, 1999).

In this study I used the interpretive paradigm. The interpretive research paradigm is understood by Gephart (1999) as based on the belief that reality of the studied topic consists of the research participants' subjective experiences of the external world. The researchers who view the world from an interpretive paradigm may adopt an inter-subjective epistemology and the ontological belief that says reality is socially constructed.

From an interpretive research paradigm, the participants provide the information as it is and it is that information that can construct the reality from the participants' subjective experiences and understandings. As a researcher, I clarified and critically analysed the discourses that the participants provided. It is from my interpretations that I could make a link between the problem of father absence as the possible drive and HIV infection as the possible effects of transactional sex. With an extensive literature review, analysis of the data, sharing my study with research colleagues in the Father Connections Research Team (FACT) and consistent consultation with my supervisor, I immersed myself in the in-depth examination of the phenomenon of transactional sex and its possible drivers and effects. By extensive engagement with the data from the field, I attempted to derive my constructs and explanation as well as the production of this thesis entirely based on the subjective views of the participants and their unique context (Reeves & Hedberg, 2003).

Constructions of the reporting of research findings and analysis in the way I did it, as described above, are recommended from an interpretive paradigm. The interpretive research

paradigm is underpinned by observations and interpretations. To observe is understood as the process of collecting information and this could be through being in the actual study site or by an extensive reading about the study site and linking the knowledge that the researcher have to the data that is provided by the participants. To interpret is to make meaning or judgements of the matches between the information and some abstract pattern (Aikenhead, 1997).

Through the process of reading and interpretation, I ensured that the analysis that I produced is context based. For this reason, I provided an extensive description of the study site and the study participants. The extensive description is also connected to the data analysis and discussions as well as the conclusions and recommendations sections. The interpretive paradigm also has interest in the critical analysis of certain theories since it is applicable to certain social phenomenon and context (Aikenhead, 1997; Gephart, 1999). It is from this aspect of the interpretive paradigm that I adopted the critical discourse analysis. Critical discourse analysis has a similar approach to that of the interpretive paradigm. The table below summarises the interpretive paradigm used in this study:

Table 1: Study paradigm

Feature	**Description**
Purpose of the study	To understand transactional sex as reported from the data and to further link this to HIV vulnerability and father absence.
Ontology	✓ There are multiple views and realities concerning the practice of transactional sex. ✓ The study discovered how people make sense of their social worlds in the natural setting by conducting extensive research interviews both one-on-one and in form of focus group discussions. The interviews are conducted in the participants' natural setting. ✓ Social realities exist owing to various human experiences, including their knowledge, views and interpretations.

Epistemology	✓ The phenomenon of transactional sex is understood through a process of extensive process of observations and mental interpretation with the participants and their context. ✓ The research process involves various qualitative research analysts who critically review the main researcher's constructions of social knowledge based on his experiences of the real life or natural setting of the participants. For this study, WITSIE[1] was used for critical review of the main researcher. ✓ The research product comes from an interpretive process of talking and listening, reading and writing that happens between the inquirer and the inquired.
Methodology	✓ The process of data collection involves talk between the participants and the field workers. ✓ The research is a product of the researcher and the participants' views.

I designed this study as exploratory to understand transactional sex as reported in the data. Exploratory research is a study that aims at different reasons such as diagnosis for a situation, screening alternatives, producing hypotheses and discovering new knowledge in a given topic (Stebbins, 2001; Stigler, Gonzales, Kwanaka, Knoll, & Serrano, 1999). In this study, I was inclined more on discovering new and confirmatory knowledge and producing hypothesis for further studies. Furthermore, exploratory research allows for a description of the phenomenon as well as exploring factors that influence and interact with it (Stebbins, 2001; Stigler et al., 1999). This fits with this study as I provide a description of the problem of transactional sex and its links to different factors such as HIV and father absence.

[1] WITSIE is an abbreviation for; Women Intellectuals Transforming Scholarship. This is a research team that works in the same data that I used for this study. The team conduct weekly meetings where they discuss different research projects and assist members of the team in their respective research projects.

3.3. Study sites

The study sites were selected due to their higher HIV incidence and prevalence as well as related social and health problems (Denis, Parle, & Noble, 2014). I used the data which was collected for a bigger project of AFSA that was aimed at evaluating an intervention to promote sexual and reproductive health rights (SRHR) in South Africa. KwaZulu-Natal, Eastern Cape and Mpumalanga provinces were used as sample study sites by AFSA.

The study setting was mainly rural, with the Gert Sibande site having semi-urban and township[2] residences. Rural areas of South Africa are mostly habited by Black people (Kepe, 1999). These areas were the primary homes for South Africa's citizens before colonialism (Guy, 1982; Standing, Sender, & Weeks, 1996; Wolpe, 1972). The settlements were destabilized by colonialism and its draconian policies as well as the capitalist mode of economic production which forced members of households from these areas into cities, industries and mines for paid labour. Rural-urban migration reduced the population of citizens in the rural areas (Guy, 1982; Mabin, 1991; Mosoetsa, 2011; Standing et al., 1996).

Due to rural-urban migration, villages remained underdeveloped and the interests of the State shifted in developing new settlements such as townships and low density suburbs for the employees (Guy, 1982; Kepe, 1999; Mosoetsa, 2011; Ross, 2008; Standing et al., 1996). A low density suburb is a residential settlement that was constructed by the colonisers in South African cities. The low density suburbs were constructed for the colonisers' community to reside either as workers or owners of the industries and mines. These areas were characterised by low population density with high maintenance from the segregatory Apartheid government. After decolonisation the low density suburbs became available to all

[2]A township is a settlement that was constructed historically, by the colonial rulers, nearby the workplaces so that the workers would come and stay while they go to work in nearby mines and industries.

races. However, the low density suburbs were and remain expensive especially for the Black working class in South Africa because of the historical discrimination against them (Pernegger & Godehart, 2007).

During the administration of the colonial government and overlapping to the expensive low density suburb areas, the majority of the Black working class citizens were forced into township settlements. A township is a settlement that was constructed historically, by the colonial rulers, nearby the workplaces so that the workers would come and stay while they go to work in nearby mines and industries (Beavon, 1982; Lester, Menguele, Karurui-Sebina & Kruger, 2009; Pernegger & Godehart, 2007; Wilson, 2011). The townships were not constructed for permanent residential purposes and they were also undermined and had limited government services such as ensuring the good socio-economic conditions for the people that stayed in them.

Less attention that the South African government had over the townships was inspired by the agenda to segregate, and reduce all the people of the Black racial category population into nothingness so that they would continue working as cheap labour. However, the growing dependence for the South African citizens, on labour market, meant an increased migration of people from rural areas to the townships so that they could get employed and provide for their families. The rural-urban migration and the government's limited services resulted in about 69% of South Africans who live in poverty found in rural areas by 2009 (Kaufmann, Kraay, & Mastruzzi, 2009).

The poor households in rural areas depend primarily on subsistence agriculture, social grants and remittance from some family members who have acquired employment in the cities and mines (Makiwane, 2010). The rural areas also continue to have less state intervention and service provision from the municipalities. Due to this fact, rural

development and wealth acquisition, access to health services and employment are very limited (Herselman, 2003; Kepe, 1999).

Semi-urban and township residences are settlements that were developed for workers who were initially forced to migrate to the cities to work in the mines and industries (Mosoetsa, 2011; Ross, 2010). Ideally, townships were developed for black employees and some of these were maintained by the industries that developed them (Beavon, 1982; Hindson, 1987; Standing et al., 1996). However, as time went by the maintenance of the townships declined and most citizens in these areas had to take responsibilities such as paying rent. The population in townships later increased due to a hike in immigration of the women and children who were initially left behind in rural areas by men who were not allowed to migrate to the cities with their families (Bhorat, 2007; Hunter, 2007; Mosoetsa, 2011).

Increasing population resulted in the township space becoming insufficient for the citizens and with limited accommodation, citizens resorted to construction of backyard houses and shacks, as others become desperate and homeless (Mosoetsa, 2011; Ross, 2010). The industries also could not continue to sufficiently support its employees resulting in underemployment, unemployment and poverty (Ross, 2010; Wolpe, 1972). There are also increasing challenges to accessing finances and other basic needs in the townships, which owes as well to overpopulation and neglect by the State and other stakeholders (Alexander, 2010; Beavon, 1982).

The township participants of this study come from the environments where the cost of living is high yet they are forced to survive because for most of them, the townships are the only homes that they know. The townships from which the participants come are consumerist societies and there is competition for consumption among the young people. The rural areas

of this study face high rates of emigration and there are very low rates of employment. Table 2 lists the districts and municipalities which were the study sites for this thesis.

Table 2: Provinces, districts and municipalities of study

KwaZulu-Natal	Mpumalanga	Eastern Cape
KZN Districts and district municipalities. uThukela District Municipality, Mbabazane. uThungulu District Municipality – Umlalazi Local Municipality. uMgungundlovu District Municipality – Msunduzi Local Municipality, Pietermaritzburg.	Gert Sibande district including Bethal, Ermelo and Secunda.	O.R. Tambo District Municipality: Ward[3] 29, Flagstaff.
KZN Municipalities and tribal areas. KwaSani Municipality, Mqatsheni; KwaPitela and KwaThunzi Tribal areas.		

3.3.1. KwaZulu-Natal sites

a. uThukela District Municipality, iMbabazane

uThukela district is located in KwaZulu-Natal on the eastern coast of South Africa (Byrne & Gregory, 2007; Pillay & Knight, 2010) (*also see map in fig 1*). The population of this district is mainly rural, poor and relatively under-resourced. The district has a history of significant health information data being collected regularly to inform better ways for addressing its health sector (Byrne & Gregory, 2007). One of the major studies conducted in this district is the Child Survival Project which was undertaken following the action research framework in 1999 (Byrne & Gregory, 2007; Byrne & Sahay, 2005). The uThukela Child Survival Project aimed at an activation and enlightenment of uThukela citizens in the factors

[3] In South Africa these are geographic divisions of the municipality to serve electoral purposes. These demarcations could determine the service delivered by the local governments to the communities.

that affect their children's mental health and HIV/AIDS (Byrne & Sahay, 2007). The levels of HIV are high in this district as they are across the KZN province.

uThukela has civic society organisations involved in HIV interventions and education (Huselton, 2009). More developments in this study area are that the uThukela municipality has put an effort to link the iMbabazane local municipality to the nearby cities (iMbabazane Municipal Review Report, 2015). This will improve access to services such as health and education for the people of iMbabazane. The municipality has also put in place several strategies to encourage entrepreneurship among the citizens of this municipality (iMbabazane Municipal Review Report, 2015). These improvements are meant to improve the lives of the citizens of iMbabazane and in order to mitigate HIV incidence and prevalence which are high in the municipality.

Figure 1: uThukela District Municipality, iMbabazane map



*Source:*http://www.municipalities.co.za/south-africa/local-municipality/102

b. Msunduzi Municipality, Pietermaritzburg

Msunduzi is located at the centre of the uMgungundlovu District Municipality, 80 km from Durban along the N3 freeway (Msunduzi Municipality, 2008) (*refer to map in fig 2 also*). It covers an area of 640 square metres. The district's main economic hub is Pietermaritzburg which is situated within the basin of the uMsunduzi River and its tributaries (Msunduzi Municipality, 2008; Nicolson, 2010). The hills around the city bowl tend to create a distinction between the urban and rural parts of the municipality. The topography, rainfall patterns and geology has resulted in the high agricultural potential of the area (Msunduzi Municipality, 2008). However, other uses like housing have covered the large portions of highly productive agricultural land of the district. As a result of urbanisation, the population growth of Msunduzi is higher than the national average (Msunduzi Municipality, 2008; Nicolson, 2010). The population is characterised by a complex racial mix but divided both by income and race, reminiscent of other South African cities. The high population growth is said to be one of the major contributing factors to bio-physical and socio-economic concerns within the municipality (Nicolson, 2010).

Other problems shared in Msunduzi include air pollution as a result of industrialisation and growth in traffic. There is also an unfortunate change that happens in Msunduzi's climate and topography due to the growth of construction and hence the dying away of agricultural produce and wetlands that could be used for the benefit of the general population (Msunduzi Municipality, 2008). The scarcity of farming for the citizens forces them to rely primarily on wage related employment as the major source of income. On the other hand, this increases financial reliance of young people on the family. Young people commonly need finances for school and other basic needs (Msunduzi Municipality, 2008; Nicolson, 2010). However, there is a difference between the families' ability to provide sufficiently, given different types of jobs done by those who provide. Unemployment is also a

critical factor that contributes to the financial constraints faced by the families and young women.

Figure 2: Msunduzi Municipality, Pietermaritzburg map



*Source:*http://www.municipalities.co.za/locals/view/88#map

c. KwaSani Municipality, Mqatsheni ; KwaPitela and KwaThunzi Tribal areas

The KwaSani Municipality is located within the Harry Gwala District Municipal area *(refer to the map in fig 3 for KwaSani Municipality, Maqatsheni; KwaPitela and KwaThunzi Tribal areas).* KwaSani Municipality is made up of Mqatsheni and KwaPitela tribal areas. Mqatsheni is a rural settlement, which is a home to just over 3,300 people (Lehohla, 2012). KwaPitela is known as a former farmland that was owned by Black people within the White people's district. KwaPitela is located in the foothills of the Drakensberg, about 8 kilometres from Himeville. In the 2011 census KwaPitela's population was about 443 with 29 households (Lehohla, 2012). KwaThunzi is located in Impendle Local Municipality, Umgungundlovu District Municipality, KwaZulu-Natal near Himeville. KwaSani Municipality is a gateway to the striking Southern Drakensberg (Dhlomo, 2009; Draft Environmental Impact Assessment, 2011). The Municipality is bordered by the Umkhomazi

Wilderness area to the West, Greater Kokstad to the South West, Eastern Cape to the South, Ingwe Local Municipality to the East and Impendle Local Municipality to the North (Dhlomo, 2009; Draft Environmental Impact Assessment, 2011). Fig 3 is the map that shows KwaSani Municipality.

The KwaSani Municipality is the smallest amongst 5 local municipalities under Harry Gwala District. The 5 local municipalities are KwaSani, Greater Kokstad, Ingwe, uBuhlebezwe and uMzimkhulu (Dhlomo, 2009; Draft Environmental Impact Assessment, 2011). KwaSani covers an area of 1180 square kilometres and has outstanding natural beauty, abundant water supply and rich agricultural potential (Dhlomo, 2009). The rural communities tend to be clustered, with the clusters being widely dispersed due to a very mountainous local terrain (Draft Environmental Impact Assessment, 2011).

KwaSani comprises two urban areas which are Underberg and Himeville. In addition to these urban areas, there are also rural areas: Mqatsheni, Enhlanhleni, Kwa Pitela and Ridge. The Stats SA 2011 survey states that the total population of KwaSani Municipality is 12879 (Draft Environmental Impact Assessment, 2011). Apart from Underberg and Himeville, KwaSani Municipality population is located in dispersed rural settlements throughout the Municipality. The population is generally in low but varying densities (Dhlomo, 2009). While the people have varying levels of access to infrastructure, the commercial needs of the KwaSani population are primarily served in Underberg. Majority of the population continues to be disadvantaged. The population is generally young with nearly 50% being 20 to 35 years (Draft Environmental Impact Assessment, 2011). Below are tables extracted from the Draft Environmental Impact Assessment (2011) showing the population distribution of KwaSani.

Table 3: KwaSani Municipality's population by race

	Black African	Coloured	Indian/Asian	White	Other	Total
Male	5891	63	30	677	26	6687
Female	5444	47	21	673	25	6210
Totals	11335	110	51	1350	51	12897

Table 4: KwaSani Municipality's Population by age

Kwa Sani Municipality	Population Aged 14yrs and younger			Population Aged 65 and older			Population aged 16 and 64yrs			Dependency ratio		
	1996	2001	2011	1996	2001	2011	1996	2001	2011	1996	2001	2011
	3659	3887	3121	533	588	709	7601	7373	9068	55,2	60,7	42,2

Figure 3: KwaSani Municipality, Mqatsheni, KwaPitela and KwaThunzi tribal areas

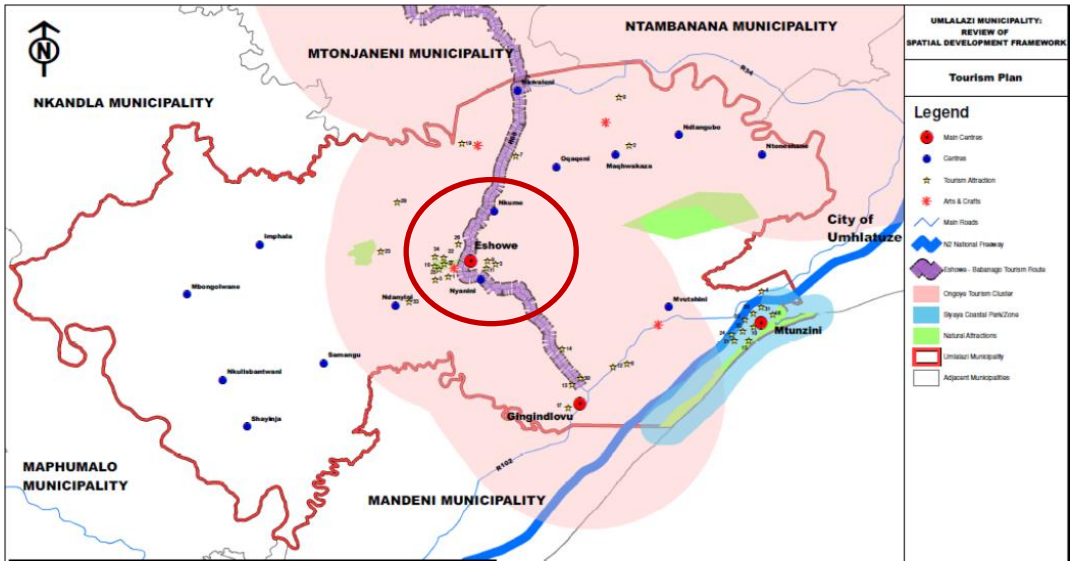


*Source:*http://www.municipalities.co.za/districts/view/18#map

d. Umlalazi Municipality, UThungulu District Municipality

Umlalazi Municipality is located in uThungulu District which is in the north eastern region of the KwaZulu-Natal province. The Municipal covers an area of 2217 square kilometres and it is one of the largest local authority areas in South Africa (Umlalazi Municipality, 2012/13) *(see fig 4 below).*

Figure 4: Umlalazi Municipality, UThungulu District Municiplity map



Source: https://www.mapquest.com/south-africa/Umlalazi-local-municipality-283542749

Delivery of engineering services at Umlalazi Local Municipality faces difficulties due to its undulating topography. Umlalazi Municipality is characterised by commercial farming areas in a broad continuous band from the west of Eshowe to Gingindlovu and to the north of Mtunzini (Umlalazi Municipality, 2012/13). The remaining part of the municipality's area consists of tribal authority land. The Agriculture sector is the major reliant of the municipality's economic well-being (Umlalazi Municipality, 2012/13). The majority and major farming areas are owned by sugar cane commercial farmers and not by local families. This keeps the community members relying on employment on these farms as the main source of income (Umlalazi Municipality, 2012/13). Agriculture also contributes 33% of the

gross geographic product of the area. Sugar cane and some timber production dominate the agricultural sector of the municipality. Table 5 below is extracted from Umlalazi municipality (2012/13) and it shows a summary of the economic profile for Umlalazi.

Table 5: Umlalazi economic profile

Employment Status	1996	2001	2011
Employed	51	47	65
Unemployed	49	53	35
Unemployed Rate	48.8	53.3	35.2

Source: Census 2011, StatsSA

The three main towns of Umlalazi Municipality are Eshowe, Mtunzini and Gingindlovu. Eshowe town is considered the administrative and service centre of the Umlalazi Municipality (Umlalazi Municipality, 2012/13). These towns attract a relatively bigger potion of population of the municipality, hence a high population density in the town and low in rural areas. The demographic characteristics are presented in the following table.

Table 6: Umlalazi Municipality's demographic profile

Indication	**uMlalazi Municipal area**
Area	2214 km^2
Population 92011)	213601 people
Households	45 062
People per household	4.6
Gender breakdown	Males: 44.7%
	Females: 55.3%
Age breakdown	0 – 14: 37.2% 15 – 64: 54.1% 65+: 5.6%

Some of the major challenges faced by this population are unemployment and poverty. Table 7 below provides the dependency ratios over three years (1996, 2001 and 2011).

Table 7: Umlalazi Municipality's Dependency ratio (1996, 2001 and 2011)

Category	1996	2001	2011
< 14 years	94 483	87 719	79 534
> 65 years	11 150	11 558	11 964
Dependent Population	121 271	121 800	122 103
Dependency Ratio	**87.1**	**81.5**	**74.9**

Source: Census 2011, StatsSA

Table 7 shows that children of 14 years and below, together with the old people of 65 years and above rely on the economically active group. This leaves the young people under pressure to work and generate an income that will sustain the people that depend on them.

e. uMgungundlovu District Municipality, uMshwathi Local Municipality

uMgungundlovu District Municipality is located in the KwaZulu-Natal Midlands covering about 8500-square kilometres (uMgungundlovu District Municipality, 2015/2016; Viljoen & Tlabela, 2006). The district municipality had a population of 1 017 763 (one million, 17 thousand, seven hundred and sixty three people) as according to the 2011 census (uMgungundlovu District Municipality, 2015/2016) *(See fig 5 below).*

Figure 5: uMgungundlovu District Municipality map



Source https://www.google.co.za/webhp?sourceid=chrome-instant&ion=1&espv=2&ie=UTF-8#q=uMgungundlovu+District+Municipality+Map

uMgungundlovu constitutes about 10% of the population of KwaZulu-Natal province. It is also number two in size after Ethekwini Metro (Viljoen & Tlabela, 2006). The major languages spoken are isiZulu, English, and Afrikaans (uMgungundlovu District Municipality, 2015/2016; Viljoen & Tlabela, 2006). uMgungundlovu has a committed and hardworking department of health which aims to offer sustainable and relevant programmes to promote its citizens' health (uMgungundlovu District Municipality, 2015/2016). Some of the improvements made by the department of health were the initiation of a poverty alleviation programme in 2003 (uMgungundlovu District Municipality, 2015/2016). The main challenges facing uMgungundlovu are low education and less developed sports facilities in rural areas, poor policy implementation, poor communication and lack of monitoring and evaluation of projects, among others (uMgungundlovu District Municipality, 2015/2016).

3.3.2. Gert Sibande District, Mpumalanga

Gert Sibande is one of the three district municipalities in the Mpumalanga province. The province is home to 3.6 million people. Gert Sibande is situated on the eastern boundary of Mpumalanga. It borders Swaziland in the east, KwaZulu-Natal in the south-east, the Free State in the south-west and Gauteng to the west. Statistics South Africa (2008), estimates that Gert Sibande is home to 981,561 people and accounts for 26.7% of the population in Mpumalanga.

Among this population, HIV prevalence among those aged 2 years and older was 15.4% in 2008 and it remains high according to the latest statistics (South African National HIV Prevalence Incidence Behaviour and Communication Survey, 2008). This province is the second most affected by HIV in South Africa (Shisana et al., 2015). Findings indicate that in Mpumalanga province, there has been no marked change concerning HIV prevalence amongst the general population since 2002 (South African National AIDS Council, 2011). According to the Human Sciences Research Council (2011/12) HIV prevalence among the youth (15-24 years) increased from 10.1% in 2005 to 13.5%. This makes Mpumalanga the province with the second highest HIV prevalence among the youth in 2008 (Shisana et al., 2015). In the same year (2008), HIV prevalence in adults (25+ years) was 24.5%; and 23.1% in 15-49 year olds, and remain both unchanged since 2005 (Human Sciences Research Council, 2011/12). Gert Sibande is the economically active district in Mpumalanga and it is also home to the NHI pilot study (Haynes, Zulu & Mavundla, 2015).With the consideration of all the districts in South Africa, Gert Sibande has the highest HIV prevalence (Mpumalanga AIDS Council, 2016).

All the study sites have different health intervention efforts that are in place. For example the Ward-based outreach teams (WBOTs) that work in collaboration with different stakeholders to promote health and well-being of the community. The stakeholders that work

in collaboration with the WBOTs are Operation Sukuma Sakhe, the Departments of Social Development, Home Affairs, the South African Social Services Agency, and the South African Police Services, along with clinics and hospitals (Haynes, Zulu & Mavundla, 2015). The WBOTs together with the various stakeholders aim at; educating the communities on health through dialogues and also conducting campaigns in the community to create health awareness. The interventions by the WBOTs and the involved stakeholders provide a context within which the participants understand transactional sex. I extensively discuss this in Chapter 4 of this thesis.

3.3.3. Eastern Cape

Eastern Cape is largely homogenous in terms of its ethnic composition. It is mainly inhabited by amaXhosa and to a smaller extent other tribes such as amaZulu, Pondo, Sotho and variants of the Xhosa's such as amaHlubi, amaBaca etc. (Hosking & Haines, 1997). The supposed major source of income is employment but the levels of unemployment and underemployment in this area are high (Nel, 1999). Both unemployment and underemployment leave the grants provided by the government as the main source of income for the citizens (Richmond, 2009). There are also high levels of dependency on the working parents and family by young people (Nel, 1999). The land is not good for the common farming and it is dry most of the time (Hosking & Haines, 1997). Fig 6, below, shows the geographic map of the Eastern Cape study sites:

Figure 6: Eastern Cape study sites map



The levels of HIV are high and there is a high rate of emigration for young people to find employment opportunities and enrolment in tertiary education in the cities (Hosking & Haines, 1997).

The Eastern Cape study sites are located within the Oliver Tambo (O. R. Tambo) district. The O. R. Tambo district's socio-economic outlook is as presented in table 9 below:

Table 8: Basic economic services in O. R. Tambo District Municipality

Indicators for Basic Services	**Community Survey 2007**
Percentage unemployed	11.9% (in 2010 this had risen to 27.64%)
Percentage traditional and informal dwelling, shacks and squatter settlement	72.1%
Percentage households without access to improved sanitation	41.2%
Percentage households without access to Piped Water	64.5%
Percentage households without access to	48.8%

electricity for lighting	
Percentage households without refuse removal by local authority/private company	91.0%

Source: Eastern Cape Oliver Tambo District profiling report (2011)

3.4. Study participants

Participants for this study were recruited through the convenient sampling approach. Convenient sampling is a recruitment method where the researcher invites and chooses from the available participants for the interviews (Butler et al., 2005). In this study, the participants were recruited by word-of-mouth in residential communities where the field workers came from. Prospective participants were asked of their availability and those that had agreed that they would be available for the interviews, both FGDs and KIIs were the ones that were interviewed. It was also only the participants that could be reached by the facilitators in terms of language and geographical location that were interviewed for this study. They all spoke the local languages as their mother tongue.

3.4.1. Target population

The target population for this study was people above the age of 18 years, sober and mentally health by the time of conducting the interviews. They were all supposed to be permanent community members of the KZN, EC and MP provinces. There were no any other inclusion and exclusion criteria as long as the person is a permanent community member that spends most of their time in the community in question. Furthermore, the participants were supposed to be available and accessible for the interviews as according to the schedule of the field workers.

3.4.2. Target group:

The target group for this study was made of two groups of participants; the key informants, and older and young people who were interviewed in focus groups. The key informants were men and women who were invited to participate from community

stakeholders. These included government officials and community-based leaders of faith organisations, traditional healers and leadership, and political constituencies. These were mainly from the social services sector: education, health social development, police and justice. Key informants were purposively selected to represent stakeholders that have interests and are well informed about the communities of study.

The FGDs were organised for the people that could be identified as community health service users. The FGDs were made of women and men who were 18 years and older. The participants were available in the mid-week because they were at home most of their time. They were accessible to the facilitator on the selected days and times for the interviews. Participants volunteered to attend and share their perceptions on the topics that were discussed in these FGD meetings. The people that were invited to the FGDs were either; employed or not, in a romantic relationship or not, going to school, university, college or not, parents or not.

3.4.3. Actual sample:

From the participants that were recruited, I remained with participants that made 41 FGDs and 22 KIIs, across all study sites. The reason for remaining with these participants could be that some of the community members who received an invitation for this study could not come perhaps because of the inconvenience that they might had. Some of the invited potential participants were community leaders; they conduct various meetings and attend trainings in and outside the community. The study areas, as described in the section of 'study sites' above, are immersed with various governmental, NGOs and CBOs that are interested in the community well-being and health, and these stakeholders mostly work with the community leaders. Therefore, the involvement of community leaders and other elderly and young community members is broad. Inviting them for the research interviews have a potential to clash with something else that they need to attend.

There are also some levels of employment for some participants and so they could have been interrupted by work to attend the interviews that were conducted during the day within the week for example the FGDs. There are some community members that travel to and from work on daily basis for example those that work at SASOL and other mining and farming industries in Gert Sibande. These might not have the opportunity to come and attend the research interviews. In addition, the data from these study sites demonstrates the existence of social gatherings such as parties and *Shebeens*[4]. These might have had an impact on interview attendance by some prospective participants. Some prospective participants might not have attended because they did not have an interest in the research questions.

3.5. Data collection

Focus group discussions (FGDs) and key informants interviews (KIIs) were used for data collection. The number of FGDs conducted on each site varied from three to six depending on the availability of field workers with the required age and gender profile. A gender-matched facilitator was used to facilitate the FGDs, which were single sex. This is common in studies on sexual reproductive health rights (SRHR) topic (Morojele, Brook, & Kachieng'A, 2006). The aim was to complete six to eight groups of varied ages in each site: younger men, younger women, young and old men and women.

All key informant interviews were conducted by the study coordinator who was an adult, professional male with extensive experience on working with communities. The data was collected as per table 11.

[4] In South Africa this is a bar or club that previously were dimmed illegal, where alcoholic beverages are sold.

Table 9: Collected data

Report on FGDs		**Conducted and transcribed**
Eastern Cape	FGDs	10
	KIIs	6
KwaZulu-Natal	FGDs	26
	KIIs	12
Mpumalanga (Gert Sibande District)	FGDs	5
	KIIs	4
Total FGDs		**41**
Total KIIs		**22**

Field workers were employed to conduct the data collection process. Male and female applicants across the age spectrum were invited to be trained for data collection in their respective districts as per the study sites. A recruitment announcement was made through an advertisement that was widely distributed by coordinators from the implementing partners and by word-of-mouth. Between 150 and 180 applications were received across all sites. Most applicants were young women; hence matching potential respondents by demographics was a challenge in some sites where older women and male applicants were lacking. Since recruitment was by word-of-mouth and required people with some experience in either research and or SRHR, unsurprisingly this recruitment strategy drew from a pool of existing volunteers, either in community-based organisation (CBOs) or clinics, and volunteers tended to be women due to the low or unpaid nature of voluntary care-giver work (Hunter & Ross, 2013). The appointment of field workers was on a short-term (two-week) contract. A no-cost extension for a third week was given to complete data collection in sites that were slow to recruit. From the same pool of applicants, translators and transcribers were identified.

The first training for field workers, translators and transcribers was held at Holy Cross in Flagstaff, Eastern Cape, from 25 to 27 November 2014. All field workers for KwaZulu-Natal were trained from 2 to 5 December 2014, at the Glenmore Pastoral Centre in Durban. The teams for Gert Sibande sites in Mpumalanga were trained from 12 to 16 January 2015 in Ermelo. The people that were invited for the training were 2 trainers 'the consultants', 4 Field Workers, 2 transcribers and 2 implementing partner/AFSA staff. The training manual was prepared for each site, but the fundamental elements remained the same. The manual reflected a very thorough and practical training programme and this ensured that the field workers were well equipped to conduct data collection and transcription in a professional manner to the scientific and ethical standards required.

The FDGs were conducted in vibrant ways where the participants were given a comfortable space to share their views on the matters that were discussed. To ensure the comfort of the participants in responding to the interview questions, the FGD was only same gender and women of the same age group. The interview was also conducted by a female interviewer. In these conditions, the participants were freely sharing their thoughts on the questions that they were asked. The participants were knowledgeable in the different questions asked by the interviewer. They needed less probing for them to share what they knew on the topic. The participants had long and relevant responses to the interview questions. Even though the groups were generally vibrant and willing to share the information, there were only few participants that the interviewers had to motivate them in order to respond to the asked question. This was good moderation of the discussion by the interviewers and it helped the participants to all share their perspectives.

3.6. Data management

The data I used for this study was already transcribed and textually available on soft copy. I used both inductive and deductive approaches to study and code the data. Deductive

approach is when the researcher has a theory or hypothesis that he or she wants to go and confirm in the study area. The research objectives and literature that I reviewed worked as my theory that I needed to confirm in the field. For example, my objectives such as; to demonstrate the probable link between transactional sex and father absence as well as; to describe a probable link between transactional sex and vulnerability to HIV infection. These objectives worked as the pre-designed theory that I set out to explore. Deductive reasoning is understood as a theory testing process, it commences with the theory or literature that is already established seeking to understand if it applies to specific instances (Paliwoda, 2004; Patton, 1990). For this study, I used my objectives and questions as the informing theories in relation to the deductive approach. By the use of a deductive approach, the researcher begins by finding theory, develops a hypothesis then confirms this using empirical data (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008). In deductive approach, the inquiry could reveal patterns and major dimensions of interest, then the evaluator will begin to focus on specifically verifying and elucidating what will be emerging, using the pre-internalised theory or objectives (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008; Patton, 1990).

Following a deductive process, I did the following steps to arrive to the stage of reading and coding data. Firstly, I did a literature review. Secondly, I developed research questions based on the literature review. The research question was divided in three specific objectives. On my third step, I went through the data for this project using the developed research objectives. This process prepared and encouraged me to be clear and selective on the specific participants' responses that answers my research objectives as emphasized in other research (Lee & Lo, 2014; Patton, 1990).

After obtaining the transcripts from my supervisor who is conducting the bigger project, I started by reading all the transcripts from the interviewed participants: FGDs and KIIs. I had to pay attention to all participants because my aim was to gain an understanding

of all the participants concerning the topic of transactional sex among young women. In the process of reading these transcripts, I was cleaning them through identifying errors resulting from transcription for example where punctuation marks were not included accordingly and correcting wrong spelling, among others. Later, I printed selected transcripts and had them in hard copies for ease of reading. However I still kept the soft copy transcripts safely, in a password protected universal serial bus (USB). This was kept in safe place and no one had free access to it. It was when I started to analyse the transcripts and discovering the different discourses that I discuss in Chapter 4 of the thesis, where I employed inductive approach.

An inductive approach is when the researcher uses methods such as ethnography or grounded theory to go to construct theory based on the participants' discourses (Patton, 1990; Soiferman, 2010). The inductive researcher is understood as someone who works from a bottom-up approach and use participants' views to build broader themes and generate theory (Soiferman, 2010). The inductive approach helps the researcher to construct arguments that are based on experience or readings about the given topic or study area (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008; Patton, 1990). The use of the two approaches deductive and inductive helped me to arrive at the discussions findings and discussions that I provide in Chapter 4 of this thesis.

3.7. Description of participants

Firstly, in this section I describe the key informants (KIs) for the data used in this study followed by a description of the focus group discussions.

3.7.1. Key Informants

The KIs were made of participants that were well informed about the communities that they represented in the interviews. Among the participants were police officers who worked with the communities in various sectors. Examples of roles occupied by the police officer that was interviewed as a KI is monitoring the effectiveness and efficiency of the South African Police Service (SAPS), advising police on priorities in the neighbourhood and

promoting the accountability of the SAPS to local communities (Brogden, 2002). One of the police officer participant mentioned that he works on cases of rape and domestic violence; these cases are his focus by default because they are very common in his area of policing. The police officer participant was appointed to his duties by the Station in which he was interviewed for this research project as well as by the Cluster.

An SAPS station is a particular police office for a local community. A Cluster is a collective of police stations organised according to the geographical area that they cover. All these police stations report to the headquarters of that given area. The participant was grounded specifically in a police station for the local community. The police officer working for a cluster covers a wide range of the community and they are exposed to various community dynamics and knowledge. This made the police officer participant ideal for sharing various discourses that are found in the community particularly concerning young people. All the participants that were interviewed as the KIs had spent a significant amount of time in their field which exposed them to the dynamics of the community. The other participants worked as field officers in the fields of HIV and youth education. Some of them were also involved in health advocacy organisations which forced them to engage more with the communities and hence they got an opportunity to learn more about the community dynamics.

Given their long time experience working with the communities, the participants had a vast amount of knowledge to share. However, this was based on the discourses that they were exposed to. Some KIs were religious leaders and their views on transactional sex and related topics appeared in other parts of the interviews as judgemental and very heteronormative. This also emerged among the participants that worked for health intervention organisations and community traditional leaders. There are, however some participants that did not have much to say on the questions that they were asked, and focused

on sharing their professions and what they do. This appeared as if some of these participants viewed themselves either as parents, community elders or occupying roles that were meant to uphold and protect the community values and norms. For example, there was vast advocacy language in the interviews as the participants responded. There were also various religious views and participants that sounded as if they wanted to provide guidance to the young person who was interviewing them. Some of the participants used the interview space as a space to show case their professions or position in the community.

3.7.2. FGDs participants

The FGD participants were energetic and willing to share a vast amount of information on the topics that were discussed. The participants felt the confidence to share and respond to any question that the interviewer paused. What appeared to be effective in these interviews is the gender-matching that was done between the interviewer and all the participants. The participants were able to discuss what appears to be not acceptable to the communities that are structured strongly in Christian religion and traditional African culture. The presence of participants of the same gender and relatively similar age provided them with group support so they could say what they genuinely felt about the asked question. For example, FGDs with young people reflected vast amount of information on the practice of sex and sexual interests as well as the transactions involved. This information appeared to be viewed, on the old people's FGDs, as immoral and unacceptable. The absence of adults in the FGDs for young people helped to freely discuss topics revolving around sex and sexuality.

However, there were some levels of judgmental attitudes that appeared from the responses provided by some participants. Due to the training that they received, moderators were able to contain such instances when they happened. This assisted to maintain a smooth flow of the interviews and to keep the interview environment comfortable for all participants in different venues. There were also other participants that had more to say and could respond

to each and every question asked. Where the moderator could not successfully control the situation where the participants had answers to every question, it was difficult to analyse because it was the view of one participant, not necessarily representative of what the whole group thought. Generally, the moderators were able to maintain the discussions' dynamics such that information was effectively shared by most of the participants across all the FGDs.

3.8. Data analysis

In this study, I first used thematic analysis to locate specific themes that were common across the all the responses. Thematic analysis also assisted me in organising the participants' responses into meaningful themes. These themes are used in this paper as answers to the study objectives. After thematic analysis, I then added another layer of analysis through critical discourse analysis. Critical discourse analysis is the primary method of analysis that I deployed for this study because it helped me achieve the objectives that I laid from the beginning of the paper. Critical discourse analysis is a method of analysis defined as a field that is concerned with studying and analysing written and spoken texts to reveal the discursive sources of power, dominance, inequality and bias (Van Dijk, 1993). The method examines how these discursive sources are maintained and reproduced within specific social, political and historical contexts. On a similar note, Fairclough (1992) understands critical discourse analysis as aiming at systematically exploring often opaque relationships of causality and determination between two aspects (1) discursive practices, events and texts, and (2) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes. These two aspects are used to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power. Critical discourse analysis further explores how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony. Critical discourse analysis has a number of different approaches. In this study, I specifically adopted the Van Dijk (1993)'s approach which focuses on three parts: social, cognitive, and discourse analysis.

Social analysis is based on examining the overall societal structures, which I would refer to as the context in which the participants are located. This comes from a perception that there is a strong and pervasive connection between linguistic structure and social structure (Fowler, Hodge, Kress, & Trew, 1979). Social structure is understood as a system in which people subscribe or are controlled for example family, school, governments, society and others. In this study, I refer to structure specifically as the families, communities and economic practices. Linked to social analysis, discourse is primarily text based (syntax, lexicon, local semantics, topics, schematic structures, and others). At this level of analysis, I focused specifically on interpretive (text based) and social tradition which is context based (Van Dijk, 1993).

Cognitive analysis carries a notion that the socio-cognition (social cognition) and personal cognition mediates between society and discourse. Social cognition is defined as the system of mental representations and processes of group members (Van Dijk, 1993). Social cognitions are maintained by ideologies within the context. Ideologies are defined as the overall, abstract mental systems that organise socially shared attitudes (Huntington, 1957; Said, 1985). Ideologies indirectly and maybe also directly influence the personal cognition of group members in their act of comprehension of discourse among other actions and interactions (Robotham, 1980; Said, 1985). According to Foucault (1982), this has power to control how people view, deny or actually maintain certain behaviour. In Van Dijk (1993)'s sense, the ideologies control people's discourses – how people, act, speak or write, or how they understand the social practices of others. This kind of control of discourses results in the development of the notion of the *Us vs Them* dimensions. The speakers of one group will generally tend to present themselves or their own group in positive terms, and other groups in negative terms (Van Dijk, 2001).

In this study, I consider the dimensions of the *Us vs Them* in the understandings that emanate from the data between the key informants versus the young women, and between old and young and between men and women who actually live the experiences of or vulnerable to practicing transactional sex. In this case, I consider cognitive meanings that the participants are consciously putting in the information that they provided in the interviews. This approach is informed by Van Dijk's (2001) view that people consciously provide information to the general public with considerations of the consequences of their sharing. I also consider the sense provided by Garfinkel, Rawls, and Lemert (2015) as well as Hellermann (2007) that the world is a stage where people perform their lives in their everyday basis, for their benefit. These benefits can be understood as psychic investments as Bourdieu's theory on gender argues (Aarseth, 2016; Woodward, 2004).

After I obtained the transcripts from my supervisor, I read through them and concurrently doing electronic coding by highlighting the important themes using a yellow highlighter on Microsoft word. My coding was guided by the study objectives. This means that I paid close attention to where the participants made mention of either transactional sex, the possible relationship between transactional sex and father absence or where they reflected a possible relationship between transactional sex and HIV. I then gathered my thoughts around the codes and added some comments. I used the comments to elaborate on the codes and I also considered them in the findings and discussions chapter.

The coding process helped me to create an inclusion and exclusion criteria so I could select the worthiness of the transcripts with those that fitted into my study objectives put in one electronic folder that I entitled "Selected transcripts". The second folder was "Provisionally selected" and then the last one was "Not selected". After this screening of the transcripts, I then met with my supervisor to discuss the transcripts. In this meeting I was also provided with guidelines on how best I could make choices of the transcripts that were useful.

The meeting with my supervisor was a second level of screening the transcripts and this resulted in a fourth folder which contained the disqualified transcripts. The outcome is summarized in table 13 below.

Table 10: Key informants data used for this study

Study sites	Selected	Provisional	Not selected	Disqualified
Eastern Cape	1	2	1	2
Mpumalanga	3	0	0	1
KwaZulu-Natal	0	0	3	9

The following were the entities that I used to grade the transcripts into their respective folders:

Mention or not mention of: (1) transactional sex, (2) reflection of a possible relationship between transactional sex and HIV.

The transcripts that I saved in the "Selected folder" are those that made clear mention of either one or all of the entities. The transcripts that I saved in the "Provisional folder" were those that could be graded as in-betweens, most of them needed more elaboration to make a clear link of the transcripts to the entities. Some of the transcripts I saved in the "Provisional folder" awaiting confirmation from my supervisor if I could go on to analyse and use them for this study. The transcripts that I saved in the "Not selected folder" did not make any mention of the entities. The "Disqualified folder" was formed after the supervision meeting. In the "Disqualified folder" is where I put all the transcripts that we agreed were not useful to this study. The transcripts in the "Disqualified folder" were moved from the "Selected and Provisional folders".

Mpumalanga had zero transcripts both in "Provisional and Not selected folders". This was because there were four transcripts and the four of them had already gone into the

"Selected folder". This was because either the participants spent vast amount of time talking about transactional sex or they were well informed about their communities and had exclusive information concerning young women, and this became my best transcripts. The participants were very involved with the communities. For example, one of the participants was a field officer who worked as a counsellor for the people that were going through HIV testing. It is the experience that this field officer had that made me believe that most of her views that related both transactional sex and financial constraints were those that were informed by her counselling sessions. The participant also had significant amount of information that related easily to previous studies in the field of HIV and transactional sex, hence I was not hesitant to select the transcript. The other two selected transcripts were the interviews with an HIV coordinator and a field officer who worked at the Victim Support Centre; these participants were also working closely with the communities. They also expressed a vast amount of experience which left them well informed about the matters in these communities. These participants presented information that was important for this study. There was one transcript from Mpumalanga that I had put in the "Selected folder" before the meeting with my supervisor. However, the transcript did not seem convincing after the meeting. It appears that my impressions of it were not well informed and after the meeting with the supervisor, I realised that I could not use any of the information that the participant shared.

Nine of the KwaZulu-Natal transcripts made it into the "Disqualified folder". I had similar impressions from the first nine transcripts of the KZN sites as that of the disqualified transcript from Mpumalanga. I was impressed by some of the quotations that the participants shared, but later I realised that maybe because these were the first transcripts to study, I was still looking for more information to answer the key research questions. However, after a thorough scrutiny with my supervisor, these transcripts appeared to be of very less value

primarily in relation to the key research question. The three transcripts that I saved into the "Not selected folder" had no mention of the entities. This automatically moved them to that folder and there was no need for further engagement with them. I believe that the major reason why the participants did not mention any of the entities was because of their experiences in their occupation as well as the citizens of these communities.

The transcripts that I saved into the "Disqualified folder" were the field officer who identifies herself as part of the young leaders. The young leaders visit schools and educate or facilitate discussions on topics that are related to sexual reproductive health rights (SRHR) such as HIV prevention. The participant identifies the study area as a very respecting community. The participant's identification of the community as the very respecting told me something about the discourse that she would share about the community. Her views appeared to be of protecting and making an impression that her community is good. This is because transactional sex is viewed in other studies as a problem and demeaning the values of the communities (McLean, 1995). This could be the types of the values that the community hold towards certain topics that had an implication to the responses of the various participants of KZN resulting in the zero mention of the entities I used to select the transcripts.

The rest of the participants in KZN were community leaders as well. These were a religious leader, traditional leader and a chief (*induna*). All of these participants held certain values that also appeared to be protecting their community. The sexuality of young people was viewed as demeaning and not acceptable across these participants. They also believed that it was the responsibility of the parents and community elders to protect their children so that they do not engage in any behaviour that they identified as mischievous which included sex. Since the participants are community leaders and in position of power, there are chances that their understanding of what was happening at a lower level as that of the young women, was limited.

The selection criteria discussed above for the KIIs was used in the FGDs transcripts, presented in table 14 below:

Table 11: Data used from focus group discussions

Study sites	Selected	Provisional	Not selected	Disqualified
Eastern Cape	5	3	1	1
Mpumalanga	2	0	2	1
KwaZulu-Natal	9	5	6	6

3.9. Ensuring scientific rigour

To ensure scientific rigour, several mechanisms were utilised in this study.

I. **Peer debriefing support groups**

Peer debriefing support groups are defined as the process of exposing oneself to a disinterested group of or peer in a manner paralleling an analytic session and for the purpose of exploring aspects of the inquiry that might otherwise remain only implicit within the inquirer's mind (Barber & Walczak, 2009; Creswell & Miller, 2000). Peer debriefing support group is important in the fields of social science and marketing; this is because qualitative researchers seek to understand the world through the perspectives of others (Barber & Walczak, 2009; Creswell & Miller, 2000).

This study was regularly presented to the Father Connections Research Team (FACT). FACT is a research team that works in collaboration to conduct extensive research around father connections, fatherhood and father absence. The team is based at the department of psychology, University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa with collaborators from different other research or community engagement institutions. The team meets weekly to discuss different topics on conducting research on father connections. We also share our research work and discuss how we can improve it, receiving support from peers and experts. The team also conducts research capacity-

building workshops such as EndNote, reading and writing, writing retreats etc. The team is an affiliate and a recipient of research funds from the Centre of Excellence in Human Development (CoE-HUMAN). I am a fulltime member of this research team and hence, I have an opportunity to share my study with the team. In the team meetings, we critically analyse and discuss the points of weaknesses and strengths. We also look at the ethical aspects of our studies, and how data were or is going to be collected so as to make the studies more scientific.

II. For this study I participated in **member check meetings** together with the research teams and other organisations or stakeholders involved in these study sites; AFSA, FACT, community members, community based NGOs etc. Member checking refers to the process of testing "data, analytic categories, interpretations and conclusions" with members of the stakeholder group(s) from who the original information was collected (Doyle, 2007; Turner & Coen, 2008). Member checking is used to establish credibility in qualitative research. The researcher returns with the research products to participants to attain the confirmation that the report or analysis that came from the participants is reliable and as the participants believe it is their correct voices that are presented (Barber & Walczak, 2009; Doyle, 2007; Turner & Coen, 2008).

   In the member check meetings for this study, we asked if the community members were in agreement with the data and how we analyse it. This gave an opportunity for the community members to agree or disagree with the data. In the cases where they disagreed, we then asked them to clarify their understanding.

III. I also left my analysis open to **negative case analysis** from the participants' responses. This ensured that both cases (that are supportive to my study questions and that are not expected) were reviewed and presented. Search for deviant cases is also seen as fundamental in qualitative study because it reduces researcher bias (Seale & Silverman, 1997).

IV. **Reflexivity:**

One of my major challenges was on the type of language that I was using. I had to keep check of my writing language every time. I was aware that the language had a potential of not reflecting very well in the experiences of young women since I am a male, relatively privileged heterosexual student writing on matters that concern mainly poor young women from the marginalised rural communities. However, my research team and supervisor also assisted in keeping close attention to how I presented my thoughts and writing so that I challenge my male privilege. Sexism is a structural system not always readily available in our consciousness.

The system is maintained by some to dominate. Men are thus automatic benefactors and agents of sexism and the patriarchal system that it feeds. This social order has a way of creeping into our research affecting the researcher's epistemology; hence I, as the researcher, engage in continuous work not to undermine women and also not to reproduce sexism in my analysis. Even though I had been to the study sites and conducted member checking meetings with the research team, I believe that it was going to be much more beneficial to expand my engagement with the communities perhaps ethnographically. This was in turn going to increase my understanding of the context or environment from which the participants belong. It was important for me because my method of analysis is highly interested in the context or environment and how participants fitted into it. It was also important to spend a relatively sufficient amount of time at the study site because I had since learned how valuable it was to look beyond what participants say in the interviews but also observe their environments or surroundings. This kind of approach I had learned its value especially in the studies that are driven by ethnographic methods.

V. Triangulation

Triangulation is a method used in qualitative studies to confirm research findings by exposing them to independent measures to verify if there will be an agreement or at least not a contradiction to initial findings (Carter et al., 2014; Yeasmin & Rahman, 2012). There are various ways to conduct triangulation and among them are; convergence of different perspectives, mixed methods, different forms of data, different methods of data collection and use of literature to confirm the empirical findings. In this study, I employed the use of literature to confirm some of the findings that I had from this study.

For example, literature that associates transactional sex to HIV vulnerability for young women was confirmed in this study. I also used the convergence of different perspectives by presenting this thesis to different researchers. For example, I presented the thesis to FACT and WITSIE as well as my supervisor and other colleagues. The independent researchers had their own views that were different from those of mine. We therefore combined our thoughts to get the presently presented findings in this thesis. It is at the point at which the perspectives converge where reality is represented (Yeasmin & Rahman, 2012). The data for this study was also collected using FGDs and KIIs; these were different methods that were also used as a way of triangulation for this study.

VI. Auditing

In qualitative research, auditing refers to a process where the researcher(s) carefully record all aspects of the study and decisions made in the project (Carcary, 2009). Auditing is used to keep record for the whole research process so that any information that the readers of the research report would want to confirm from the study remains readily available (Shenton, 2004). The study audit also credits the study trustworthiness if a reader could audit the research events, influences and actions of

the researcher (Koch, 2006). For this study particularly, I have safely kept all the data that I used. I will be able to refer to the transcripts if any questions could arise concerning the way the data is presented. The important documentations for this study such as the information sheets, research questions, ethics clearance for the main study and for this thesis, and interview guides are kept safe and readily available if needed.

3.10. Ethical considerations

In this section I provide ethical considerations for two parts:

Ethical considerations for the bigger project of which the data comes from, and ethical considerations for this specific study

3.10.1. Ethical considerations for the bigger project

The bigger potion of data used in this study was collected through focus group discussions. Research instruments comprising an information sheet, consent forms and interview guides were developed and tailored for the study. Copies of these are attached as Appendices. Refer to Appendix C for the consent form. Ethics clearance application for the bigger study was submitted and approved by the University of the Witwatersrand's Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC Non-medical). The ethics clearance number is H14/10/32. For this specific sub-study, the ethics clearance certificate was also approved by the University of the Witwatersrand (see Appendix A).

3.10.2. Ethical considerations for the current study

a. Confidentiality

I maintained the protection of identity for the participants of this study by making use of pseudonyms. I also ensured that all information that could be attributed to individuals was kept confidential (Ritchie, Lewis, Nicholls, & Ormston, 2013). For example, I did not describe specific location of the participants and also the focus groups of interviews times

and venue as these could have worked towards identifying the participants. For the key informants of this study, I used their job titles to describe them because these are general and used for many people in their given departments. The use of the job titles, would therefore not disclose the specific identity of the participants, for example the titles such as police officer are used for all the police men and women in a station, and this makes it impossible to identify the specific one who is particularly being referred to in this study.

b. Respect for participants' cultural values

Due to the fact that study procedures should show respect for cultural values and beliefs of the population under study, I ensured that I return to the study sites to provide feedback to the communities from which the participants came from (Munhall, 1988; Ritchie et al., 2013). This was done through the member-checking workshops. In these workshops, I allowed the community members to reject some of the views or ways in which I had used the data. They were offered a chance to clarify certain aspects where they felt necessary.

c. Sensitivity

Sensitivity to questions and the way researchers present the discourses of the participants has been viewed as an important ethical issue and needs to be considered in research (Fossey, Harvey, McDermott, & Davidson, 2002). In my writing of this thesis, I remained conscious about the sensitive topics and how I presented them. For example, I tried to adopt an objective position when I presented gender identities and how they fit into the studies of transactional sex. I also avoided subjectivity to the ways that the participants understood and spoke about transactional sex. These considerations appear in all different topics in this thesis.

3.11. Limitations of the study

Convenience sampling was used for this study. Only the participants that agreed to be available for the interviews are the ones that with whom the study was conducted. This had a

potential of leaving out some of the participants that could be more informative in the study. For example in KZN sites where a number of the transcripts were not considered for study because the participants were not clear of the study focus. These might have been replaced by the participants that could have shared significant information on the topic.

Transactional sexual relationships are also found in same-sex relationships. The possible problems associated with transactional sex might be happening in these as well but the limit to heterosexual relationships in the literature might result in oblivion to the same-sex relationships and thus result in heteronormative orientation in needed interventions. The study relied much on the discourses of the participants, together with the communities in general during our member check meetings. This was a challenge because I used the data from: key informants, the participants in focus groups and the feedback from the community members. The information from these groups of people seemed to contradict in some cases. As a researcher I referred to literature during analysis to clearly understand what unfolded in the data. The notion of the *Us and Them*, appeared to be dominant in the data, specifically concerning how young women, the key informants and the community understood the acts of transactional sex.

As much as the methods used in collecting data were sufficient to produce the data I relied on to understand the topic I think there was going to be much more understanding if other methods were considered. For example in understanding the context of the participants, probably focus on one study site using an ethnographic approach was going to add value. The study could have had a different sense of how transactional sex is currently understood.

3.12. Chapter summary

In this chapter, I discussed the research methods for this thesis starting from the study paradigm, approach and design. I then discussed the study sites looking at their different locations and the socio-economic statuses of these areas. However, it is important to note that

some of the information that is available about these study areas is outdated and there is no much research that has been done in them. The out dated information owes to the limited activities that are happening in these areas some of which are rural. The geographical locations of these study areas also pose a challenge to the researchers to access them. These observations could be the reasons why less research activities happen here. The study areas are also identified as districts and municipalities, and these demarcations change over time in South Africa. For example, certain municipalities could be moved into different districts. These changes could result in a change in the socio-economic position of that given municipality. The presented information on the districts and municipalities in this study is therefore subject to be different over a period of time and political dispensations.

In this chapter I also presented the study participants, the target population, target group and the actual sample. The target population was largest and was composed of the whole community but not all those that were in the target group agreed to participate in the interviews. This meant that I ended up with a smaller actual sample that I analysed and presented in this thesis. I also discuss the data collection process, data management, and the description of participants; which includes both key informants and focus group discussions. I end the chapter with a discussion of ethical considerations, and the study limitations. The following chapter reports and discusses findings for this study.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

4.1. Chapter outline

In this chapter, I present the findings together with the discussion. In the chapter, I first provide the overarching discourses that are shared around sex and transactions in the three provinces; KZN, MP and EC. These discourses are important to help the reader understand the findings that are presented in this chapter. The major findings that I present are: participants' understanding of transactional sex, probable link between transactional sex and father absence, as well as probable link between transactional sex and vulnerability to HIV infection. The discourses presented under the main finding 'participants' understanding of transactional sex' are; age and transactional sex, gender and transactional sex, income poverty and transactional sex, as well as alcohol and transactional sex. Finally, I present a summary of this chapter.

4.2. The overarching discourse of transaction and sex in KZN, MP and EC

The communities' views on transactional sex were informed or confined within the dominant discourses shared in the three provinces; KZN, MP and EC. The dominant discourses are also substantiated by data from this study. Firstly, the communities of these provinces are all heteronormative in understanding sex and transactions. Secondly, the communities understand the dynamics of their culture based on the Christian religious and African traditional perspectives. Thirdly, there are a number of interventions that have been conducted in these communities that view the practice of transactional sex as problematic and risky. These three main discourses should be understood as having the possibilities of shaping

the ways that the participants have shared (or not shared) their own discourses on transactional sex.

4.2.1. Heteronormativity understanding of sex and transactions

In KZN, MP and EC, sexual relationships and transactions were understood as the practice that happens exclusively between men and women. The men were expected to be the providers for financial and material needs while women were viewed as the receivers of these material and financial needs and givers of sex to men. This finding is similar to findings from other studies for example (Jewkes & Morrell, 2010). An example of the heteronormative discourse from the data of this current study was shared by Zethu (Old woman, Flagstaff, FGD) below:

> *I only eat (spend) money from the guys. If he doesn't give me, I will leave. I have all the things I have because of money from guys and I will have things even though I am not working.*

The quotation above demonstrated that the premise of the relationship between a man and a woman in these communities could be based on financial and sexual exchanges. The exchange is based on the discourse that a man is the financial provider for the woman and the woman can only be in a romantic relationship that promises this transaction. The women could use the relationship for financial accumulation from men. This directly links to the question posed, notably, in this study about the relationship between men and women. The men who provide financial and material benefit in exchange of sex could be sexual partners, as demonstrated by Zethu. When Zethu said that she *'... eats (spends) money from guys ...'* she is referring to a male partner that might be viewed as a boyfriend. The relationship between the woman and the man can only survive if the man fulfills his role of providing for the woman. Zethu said that if the man does not fulfill his roles, then she will leave him. This

line of thinking was also shared across the study by other participants that viewed young women as sex providers to men and getting financial and material benefits in return.

In these communities men are expected to be in control of women and in this position they have a responsibility to provide for and protect women. For example, the religious leader's (Old man, Flagstaff, KII) discourse in the quotation below:

> *They (women) are really amazing and if you are well behaved; they treat you well and they can rely upon you.*

In the quotation above, the religious leader was applauding the women of the community that he resided in. He labeled the women, *'amazing'* because they played their role of respecting men, very well. Women were expected by the community to present themselves as feminine and submissive so that they could rely on the hegemonic control and power ascribed to men, to secure social or material rewards (Jewkes & Morrell, 2010; Sennott & Angotti, 2016). The hegemonic power was demonstrated by the religious leader in the quotation above as he said that, *' if you are well behaved'* meaning that the woman should be disciplined and the man should be able to exert power over his partner and must work hard to provide financially and also protect the women in his life.

Furthermore, the religious leader said that the women will rely on men that are well behaved. This implies that the women can be submissive and enjoy being wives or girlfriends or runs-girls that are provided for by the men. The cultural practice of men as providers and controllers over women is grounded in the sanctions that seemingly were constructed and maintained by the introduction of capitalism which came to South Africa during colonialism (Castells, 1975; Césaire, 2000; Guy, 1982; Standing et al., 1996; Wolpe, 1972).

The beginning of capitalism introduced, maintained and promoted a culture where the gender roles became clearly defined between men and women (Castells, 1975; Césaire, 2000;

Guy, 1982; Standing et al., 1996). The women were supposed to perform domestic work such as cleaning the home and rearing children, and men were supposed to carry out paid work at the industries (Castells, 1975; Césaire, 2000; Guy, 1982; Standing et al., 1996). For a long time back in history KZN, MP and EC were areas that supplied cheap migrant labour, where men were expected to migrate and work in the industries or mines such as in Johannesburg, gold mines in the Witwatersrand, and platinum mines etc. (Castells, 1975; Guy, 1982; Wolpe, 1972; Yudelman & Jeeves, 1986). The women and children were restricted from the work areas and cities where men were migrating to. The men were expected to come back home and share their income with the whole family that they left behind. Their wives were turned into people who were only available to give sex for the satisfaction of the men and reproduction as well as maintaining constant labour though birth and nurturing the children at the homesteads (Moody, 1974; Wolpe, 1972).

This practice was channeled by the capitalists and forced into the indigenous citizens and it subsequently changed their culture (Guy, 1982; Standing et al., 1996). Indigenous citizens refer to the people who were found by colonizers in the countries or areas that were colonized, in the case for this thesis these are people who were original habitants of the KZN, EC and MP areas (Castells, 1975; Césaire, 2000; Guy, 1982; Hart & Padayachee, 2013; Keita, 2011; Wolpe, 1972). The African people are inclined to religious practice and respect of their ancestors; hence it became easier for such gender role practices to be maintained as the culture of these communities. The heteronormative culture was used by the capitalists to control and maintain labour for the interests of the industry and mines. Since men were separated from their wives and yet they had sexual desires, it became difficult for them to maintain loyalty to their wives (Castells, 1975; Guy; 1982; Standing et al., 1996; Wolpe, 1972). This resulted in men starting to find other women in the surroundings of their work areas to have sex with (Lurie, Harrison, Wilkinson & Karim, 1997; Moodie, 1988). In these

sexual relationships, the men had to financially and materially provide for the involved women so that they could get sex. The involvement of women as the recipients of money and other commodities from the working men as the providers and recipients of sex maintained the heteronormative view of doing things in these communities. Owing to this discourse, participants from the three provinces understood sex as something that could primarily happen between men and women.

The men and women, who adopt the heteronormative gender identities and roles ascribed to them, should be understood as following the ways that have long been viewed as a norm in these communities. The norms of a heteronormative culture in the communities are now reinforced through the discourses of sexual interactions and exchange (Sennott & Angotti, 2016). Studies also show that the heteronormative views to gender roles is reinforced by young people at schools through classes such as those of Life Orientation (LO), which emphasize the roles of men as the ones who have to take a lead in sexual matters such as engaging in the intercourse and the decisions to use condoms or not (Kruger, Shefer, & Oakes, 2015). On the other hand, women are encouraged to be passive and hence vulnerable in the sexual relations that they are involved with men. Diverting from these prescribed gender roles could result in rejections by the community. For example, people in same sex relationships in these communities are viewed as doing something that is a sin and ungodly as well as abnormal (Glover & Macleod, 2016). The rejections and labelling of homosexuals as people that are not practicing what is within the limits of the culture maintain heteronormativity and gives no room for the other. The ascribed gender roles are also maintained and policed by the religious and cultural practice which is discussed in the following section.

4.2.2. Religious and traditional perspectives in understanding sex and transactions

In the three provinces, sex and transactions have a long history of existence but they were not recognized as problematic. KZN, MP and EC have a cultural practice that guides the sexual practices of young people. Among the structures that discourage the practice of transactional sex are religion and traditional culture (Buthelezi, 2006; Gevisser, 2009). This cultural practice that defines sexual practice for young people in these communities can be easily understood by the use of the sexual scripts theory. The sexual script theory is drawn from the social scripts theory which is also part of the Foucauldian thinking that human beings are controlled by their everyday life activities and the cultural contexts that they live in (Foucault, 1982).

The sexual scripts theory emerged as Gagnon and Simon (1973) started to apply social scripts theory to human sexuality. Script is a metaphor that is used to conceptualize the production of human behaviour within the social life (Simon & Gagnon, 1984). Gagnon and Simon (1973) argue that social life mostly operate under the guidance of an operating syntax. For example, the production of language is a pre-condition for a speech. Culture plays an important role in the development of the scripts and guiding the production of behaviour. In each culture, there is a construction of the definitions of sex and what it entails.

The sexual scripts for KZN, MP and EC demand that young people should only start sexual intercourse when they reach puberty (Buthelezi, 2006; Gevisser, 2009; Khuzwayo, 2002; Kies, 1987; Wangulu, 2011). In puberty, the young people are identified as grown-ups (*ukukhula*) (Buthelezi, 2006; Gevisser, 2009). The community has to first agree that the young person is in his or her puberty stage of development. After puberty is acknowledged, there are various occasions where the discussions about sexuality and sexual activity are held (Buthelezi, 2006; Gevisser, 2009; Khuzwayo, 2002; Kies, 1987; Wangulu, 2011). The community openly addresses sexual matters through educational talks, songs, dances, and the

offering of necessary advice to consider before starting sexual activities (Buthelezi, 2006). In the puberty stage, the main advice from the community is to avoid penetrative sex. This culture should be understood as the ways of scripting the young people's sexual behaviours in the three provinces. The religious leader (Old man, Flagstaff, KII) shared the following in substantiation of the sexual scripts in these communities based on the Christian religion:

> *I don't know how to express this; that kind of behaviour [having sex in exchange of money or material] (yayinyantisa) was disgusting in the olden days because a kid was taught well on how to behave, and there was a fitting punishment where necessary. When she offends [had sex with a men for money or material] she got a punishment whether by law or a stick.*

The religious leader expressed his frustration concerning sex that happen in the modern era by saying, *'I don't know how to express this.'* The participant here was discussing sex that young women engage in with the older men or men of their age group but outside marriage and in return of money or material. The religious leader also demonstrated the important role played by the Church in constructing and shaping the sexual scripts among the young women. The religious leader shared that the young women would get punished if they disregarded the rules that are prescribed by the Church concerning sex. Furthermore, the young women were viewed as offenders if they decided to engage in any forms of sexual intercourse that is not approved of by the community. This kind of discourse had an influence on the ways that the participants discussed the practice of transactional sex on the interviews.

The culture of the study communities also entails that young women must not offer sex to the young men in any conditions, either transactional or romantic. This is evident in Sihle's (Old women, Pietermaritzburg, FGD) quotation below:

We did not know that young women can have sex with boys for money. Our parents told us that boys were our enemies. So if a boy tried to stop you on the streets to ask for sex you would run for your life. If you don't run you must fight him to avoid sex. But these days it is the girls who send boys mms's! mms (the participant refers to, a young woman whistling a boy to draw attention for paid sexual activity) and the boy reply" I will see you".

Sihle, on the quotation above, as an older woman she was speaking as a parent to young women of the community. Her discourse condemns the young women's involvement in transactional sex and she also maintains that it is dangerous as well as not accepted by their culture. The young women have to fight against the men who ask them for sex and run away because sex with a man will put their lives at risks. The similar discourse is carried by the public health interventions, discussed in the following section.

However, romantic love is allowed among the young people in their puberty stage because their hormonal changes at this developmental stage demand them to engage in such relationships (Buthelezi, 2006; Khuzwayo, 2002). Even though the romantic relationships are allowed, they are kept within the confines of well-defined social control and regulatory mechanisms by the community (Buthelezi, 2006). Young people are exclusively protected from the engagement in sexual activities. Usually, the only sexual activities that are allowed before marriage are those that do not involve any form of penetration. In communities such as Swaziland which has a similar cultural practice to those of KZN, MP and EC, older men are allowed to engage in sexual relationships with younger women if they are interested in marriage (McLean, 1995). The acceptable time that a man and woman can engage in sexual intercourse is only after marriage, as the religious leader (Old man, Emqatsheni, Underberg, KII) said in the following quotation:

We prefer that the grown up girl before she starts to be sexually involved with a young man, they should arrange a wedding and we marry them so they can be together. Then we will support her marriage.

The religious leader also demonstrated that the community supports the woman who gets married to encourage the practice. The more discussion on benefits that are awarded to the young women if they remain sexually pure is below. *Ukucambazana, ukuteketisana* and *ukusoma* are some of the examples of sexual activities that are acceptable to young people before marriage and if the involved man does not show interests in marriage (Buthelezi, 2006; Gevisser, 2009; Khuzwayo, 2002; Kies, 1987; Wangulu, 2011). *Ukucambaza* is fondling and body-to-body rubbing for young people, male and female that are involved in the romantic relationship as prescribed by the community (Buthelezi, 2006). *Ukuteketisana* is sexual fantasy accompanied by love talks and love praises (Buthelezi, 2006). *Ukusoma* refers to the pre-marital sexual intercourse using thighs. During *ukusoma,* the young woman would keep her thighs together, cross her legs and the young man will push his penis in between the female's thighs (Gisser, 2009). Ejaculation happens on the thighs of the young woman and this is viewed as good for both the young people involved because there is no room for pregnancy (Buthelezi, 2006; Gisser, 2009; Wangulu, 2011). The sexual practices promoted by the traditional culture of these societies are used to discourage young people from practicing virginal penetrative sex, as mentioned by different participants in the following quotations:

We stressed that people shouldn't be sexually involved before marriage. We actually work with the community in this regard.

The young women are also discouraged from practicing penetrative sex by the cultural practices such as virginity testing (*ukuhlolwa kwezintombi*) (Vincent, 2006;

Wickström, 2005). In the study areas, there is a movement which is called iNciyo[5] which aims to promote sexual purity among women. Virginity testing is one of the important activities that happen annually in the iNciyo movement. Virginity testing is a process where the young unmarried women are inspected on their genitalia to determine if they are sexually chaste (Wickström, 2005). In the quotation below, it appears that the practice of virginity testing could be forced on the young women; it is not by their choice:

> *Victim Support Centre, Field Worker (Old woman, Secunda, KII) said: It is actually a cultural practice that must be followed and you cannot say you don't want to.*

Virginity testing for young women puts them in a position where they should be afraid of engaging in any virginal penetrative sex with a man because they will not be found virgins when the time of testing comes. Penetrative sex is the one which is usually practiced in transactional sex between young women and older men. The young women who engage in penetrative sex are susceptible to face the punishment normally exerted on young women that are not found to be virgins. On the other hand, these communities reward the preservation of virginity. Being a virgin for a maiden[6] is a recognizable and celebrated achievement. Virginity testing is celebrated during the annual reed dance ceremonies (Vincent, 2006). In the reed dance ceremonies the maidens dance and celebrate their virginity with the elders and the king of the community (Vincent, 2006; Wickstrom, 2005). Therefore, it becomes a remarkable activity that the young women and the community rejoice and adore. Vincent (2006) argues that virginity testing and the celebrations that it is associated with, are empowering for the young women. The empowerment is in form of encouraging young

[5]iNciyo is a movement in South Africa that promotes sexual purity for women so that they get married before they had penetrative sexual intercourse. It is in iNciyo where virginity testing is annually practiced. There are many other names for iNciyo which include: uMkhosi wohlanga and uKuhlolwa.

[6] This is used to refer to the girls and young women who are going through the process of virginity testing.

women to continue with embracing their culture which prompts the idea that they should remain virgins until marriage (Buthelezi, 2006; Dlamini, 2016; Wickstrom, 2005).

The young women should not engage in any sexual activities which are not in the confines of the community elders. To reinforce the young women to embrace virginity and avoid sexual activities that are not within the expectations of the community, recently, there was an introduction of a tertiary education "maidens' bursary" by some chiefs in KZN (Dlamini, 2016). The maidens' bursary was given to the young women that followed the culture of preserving themselves as virgins until the stage when the community and the elders endorse that they can now practice sexual intercourse. It is only after virginity testing where the young women are now allowed to get a man for marriage and this man has to be brought to her elders at home, for example the Victim Support Centre, Field Worker (Old woman, Secunda, KII) explained below:

> *It's a cultural practice of which women attend and when they are done, they have a privilege of a grown up and can bring a man to the family.*

The participant, in the quotation above, defined the virginity testing cultural practice. In the quotation, she showed that the practice of virginity testing is rewarding and it is only then a woman will be recognized as a grown up. This happens in the confines of the community's guides and watch. The committed man will have to pay the bride wealth *(lobola)* to the family of the daughter for marriage.

The cultural confines of sexual activities for young people were meant to channel all the transactions that come with sex towards the parents, usually the father of the young woman involved. If a man had penetrative sexual intercourse with a young woman in her puberty developmental stage, the man will have to pay (*amagqikaza*), which is a punitive money or livestock given to the family of the young woman together with the elders and chief

of the community (Buthelezi, 2006). *Amagqikaza* suggests that the man is paying for taking away virginity that would have been protected by the young woman and the community (Dlamini, 2016; Kies, 1987; Vincent, 2006). The young woman will now be seen as a disgrace to the community and her parents. If the young woman is unacceptably impregnated during her puberty, the genitor will have to pay punitive money or livestock which is called damages (*inhlawulo*) (Hunter, 2006; Langa & Smith, 2012).

The community also becomes punitive to the young woman who would engage in sexual intercourse before marriage, as demonstrated below:

> *Religious Leader (Old man, Emqatsheni, Underberg, KII): We support her and do all the best when she is married, but when she is not then there's nothing beautiful we can do for her. Even with the sitting arrangement, she cannot be allowed to sit with the other well behaved girls because she is a mother and yet she is not.*

A marriage can only be endorsed after the man pays the bride price (*ilobola*) to the woman's family and elders of the community including the chief (Bogopa, 2010; Majova, 2001; Vapi & Dyubhele, 1995). In other cases, the man has to be part of a certain church congregation to marry a young woman. In these communities, the father is usually the one who is consulted for the amount needed for *lobola* and the money or livestock is given to him (Bogoba, 2010; Majova, 2011 Vapi & Dyubhele, 1995). Only after marriage, then the two (a woman and man) can acceptably enjoy sexual intercourse in any form, including penetrative sex (Buthelezi, 2006). After marriage, the woman changes her surname and adopts that of the family of her husband (Boxer & Gritsenko, 2005). Therefore, she now is seen as one of the daughters of the family of her husband. If the husband dies and the woman gets another man who is willing to marry her, he would have to pay a cow to the family of the late husband of the woman (Silberschmidt, 1999). The payment is usually one cow which is identified as (*iqolo*).

In instances where a man had sex with another man's daughter, he will have to pay the father of that daughter. The payment for the cases where a man gets involved in sexual intercourse with another man's daughter is evident in the quotations below:

Magembe (Old male, Flagstaff, FGD): You have to be very careful about young girls because that is against the law. You can go to jail for sleeping with her so it's important to ask even if you see her breast are very firm, and she is beautiful for your sake.

Luvuyo (Old male, Flagstaff, FGD): Let's say your daughter is being dropped off by an old man at your house, how do you handle that?

Magembe (Old male, Flagstaff, FGD): He will have to pay because he is eating my eggs.

As demonstrated by Magembe, the father whose daughter has sex with another man feels disrespected. The men appear to occupy the ownership position of their daughters and specifically to their sexual activities. Magembe identifies his daughter as, *"his eggs"* to emphasize the ownership over his daughter. In these communities, if a man raped a woman, he has to pay or gets punished for that act as demonstrated by the Victim Support Centre Field Worker (Old woman, Secunda, KII) below:

So it's whereby they address domestic violence; mob justice for example; whereby they address rape.

The Victim Support Centre Field Worker demonstrated clearly that mob justice is one of the examples of the punishments that men face. The other studies also have found that punishments for rape could be through payments which go to the family and the community leaders as well as the chief of the community.

In the discussion above, it can be argued that transactional sex has been practiced in the KZN, MP and EC culture. However, transactional sex is practiced in a context that is accepted by the community. The different forms of payments made by the men that could or

wanted to have sexual intercourse with a woman suggest that there was a price tag for sex ,and money was used in exchange of it; pre- or post- marriage and this was either punitive or for gratitude, respectively. However, what differ are the channels that have been used in the practice of sexual intercourse and the involved transactions.

Firstly, the main transaction after sex has been in the form of punishment that the men had to pay after having sexual intercourse with the young women especially when this happens outside the cultural confines of the community. Secondly, transactional sex also happened in the form of compensating the father of the daughter in marriage through *lobola*. The benefits were therefore directed to the family and the community elders as well as the chief. Thirdly, transacting around sex does not appear in literature as something that was labeled 'not acceptable'. Fourthly, transactional sex is understood both in the literature and by the study participants for this study, predominantly, as happening between young women and older men. The difference from the traditional way of transactions and sex to the modern one is that young women are now the direct receivers of the financial and material benefits from the men that they engage in transactional sex with. However, it appears problematic in the communities of this study that young women are now direct recipients of the financial and material benefits in exchange of sex. This discourse should be understood as possibly informed the participants for this study as they responded to the interview questions both in FGDs and KIIs.

4.2.3. The impact of safe sex interventions in shaping the discourses of sex and transactions

In KZN, MP and EC, there are various public health interventions that discourage the practice of transactional sex. The interventions view transactional sex as a public health threat with high possibilities for spreading HIV especially among young women. The communities have billboards on the roads that advise the older men (sugar daddies) to stop having sexual intercourses with the young women *(see Fig 7 below).*

Figure 7: Public health billboard on the road



Source: (Africa Check) https://africacheck.org/reports/media-mis-reporting-the-hiv-rate-among-schoolgirls-true-rate-is-12-7-percent/

As the billboard in fig. 7 above demonstrates, old men are viewed as a dangerous group of people that have a high potential to spread HIV infections and destroy the lives of the innocent young women, who are identified as young girls. This discourse of labeling the young women as 'innocent' and sugar daddies as dangerous, shared by the public health interventions in these communities also maintain the heteronormativity of understanding the practice of transactional sex in the communities studied in this thesis. Furthermore, the use of the threatening messages such as, *'sugar daddies destroy lives',* sends moral panic to the communities wherever the scenario of transactional sex happens. Public health interventions also use spaces such as schools to teach the young people on the dangers of engaging in transactional sex. For example, the Life Orientation classes that teach learners that they need to avoid sexual intercourse because this is associated with pregnancies and sexually

transmitted diseases, including HIV (Kruger et al., 2015; Sennott & Angotti, 2016). In the following quotation Sihle (Old women, Pietermaritzburg, FGD) reported on the kind of education related to sex that they learn in Life Orientation classes:

> *At schools (in Life Orientation classes) they tell them (young women) that if you lie on your back and open your thighs to have sex with a man this is what will happen (she meant the results of having sex as a young woman such as sexually transmitted diseases and pregnancy).*

The discourse that Sihle reported on the quotation above is evidence of the kind of education that the young women are taught in an attempt to stop the practice of transactional sex by young women in the communities understudy. There are also community organizations and NGOs that work together with the health department with the aim of discouraging the practice of transactional sex across the communities. Some of the participants for this study work for health advocacy organizations for example the Manager (Old woman, Eshowe, KII) of a Youth Academy below:

> *We provide life skills training, matters of HIV/AIDS, and sexuality. We work with other non-governmental organisations, the government, traditional leaders and all the stakeholders within the society in order to ensure that we fulfil our vision and our goal.*

These interventions as demonstrated by the participant above are intended to reprimand any sexual behaviour that would lead to the transmission of HIV. The organisations that the participant mentions above operate under the discourse that young women practise sexual intercourses for the exchange of money with the older men, in support of the billboard above. The organisations work together with traditional healers as the manager says in the quotation above and also as demonstrated by the Traditional leader (Old man, Eshowe, KII) below:

The project is more focussed on women, although men are also part of … and it emphasizes on people getting aware of their well-being and encourages women to remain pure and not rush into sexual relationships. The beauty about this project is that, even those who already have kids or are suffering from this disease (AIDS) are encouraged to come forward as it is not too late to mend.

The traditional healer was talking about the health intervention project that was conducted by ZAZI in their community. ZAZI is a campaign that was launched in South Africa in 2013 (Higher Education and Training HIV/AIDS Programm (HEAIDS), 2016; Sonke Gender Justice, 2013). *Zazi* is an Nguni word that means 'know yourself'. The ZAZI campaign encourages young women to know themselves; their strengths, power and self-confidence in order to guide their decisions about their future. ZAZI advocates that young women should rely on themselves financially and they need to avoid transactional sex or sugar daddy relationships as these undermine them and also increases their vulnerability to HIV infections (HEAIDS, 2016; Sonke Gender Justice, 2016).

In the quotation above, the traditional healer appears to be sharing the discourse that the other leaders of this community also promote the discourse that transactional sex is a health panic in these communities and that young women are in a vulnerable position. Because this discourse is promoted by the traditional healer, it could be argued that the rest of the community is aware of it and it subscribes to it. This is owing to the influence that the traditional leaders have to their communities, and every citizen of these communities listens to their traditional leaders. Furthermore, the information that is shared by the traditional leaders is seen as morally acceptable and correct, hence anything that compromises the morally correct information such as practice of transactional sex will not be accepted. More safe sex interventions in these communities are:

Coordinator (Old man, Mpumalanga, KII): TAC; South African Council of Churches; Amaqhawe; Positive Women's Network.

TAC is an abbreviation for Treatment Action Campaign. TAC is a South African HIV/AIDS activist organisation and it was found in 1998 (Mbali, 2005). TAC was founded by a group of political activists with the aim to encourage the government to accept the new strategies that were used to treat HIV (Heywood, 2009). The TAC approached their activism as intending to promote HIV treatment because this was viewed as supportive of human rights (Mbali, 2005). The South African Council of Churches (SACC) is an organisation which is made of group of Christian Churches from South Africa in attempt to assist the community in different aspects (Graybill, 1998). The SACC was involved in challenging the Apartheid regime to respect rights and interests of the generality of South African citizens. The SACC also has various programmes that are meant to assist the development of the communities, for example the African Bursary Fund (ABF). The ABF provided funds to support many South Africans to access education (Graybill, 1998). The SACC also works in collaboration with the other organizations that endeavour to treat HIV and continue propelling the call for safe sex practice, as the Coordinator said in the quotation above.

Amaqhawe is a family-based HIV prevention intervention, organisation. It targets families and pre-adolescents in its intervention strategies (Amaqhawe Magazine, 2013). In its approach, it attempts to improve parent-child relationships and to strengthen the adult protective shield as a protective factor against HIV infection in adolescents. Amaqhawe is found in different districts in South Africa, including those under study (Amaqhawe Magazine, 2013). Positive Women's Network (PWN) is an organisation that aims at improving women's efficiency in avoiding as well as treating HIV (Forbes et al., 2014). PWN vigorously advocates for changing the social structural factors that expose women to HIV vulnerabilities such as financial constraints. PWN's members are women living with

HIV, including transgender women of diverse ages, race, ethnicity and socio-economic backgrounds (Forbes et al., 2014).

In addition, some of the health interventions inadvertently stigmatize those involved in transactional sex. These discourses reinforced by the public health in reprimanding the practice of transactional sex send a message to the community that it is dangerous and unacceptable. They also highlight that there are risks of being a social outcast if one is found involved in a sexual relationship that has financial benefits. This discourse should be understood as contributing to the ways in which the participants perceived and spoke about transactional sex in this study, as reported in the following section.

4.3. Participants' understanding of transactional sex

The discourses that I present under this finding are: age and transactional sex, gender and transactional sex, income poverty and transactional sex, as well as alcohol and transactional sex.

4.3.1. Age and transactional sex

The participants expressed their understanding of transactional sex as an act where a young woman was involved in sexual intercourse with an older man so that she could be able to access financial benefits. The involved men will be expecting to get sexual satisfaction from the young women, as demonstrated below:

Sam (Young man, Flagstaff, FGD): You just came back but you can't even get sex and yet I was not around for a long time sending money day by day

Sam in the quotation above demonstrated that the men involved in transactional sex expect to benefit through obtaining sexual satisfaction from the young women in return of the material and financial benefits they would have extended to the young women. However, there are some restrictive decisions that the community unconsciously have on the age of starting transactional sex and also the age gap between the involved young woman and man.

The public health literature reports that the concerning age-gap between two people who engage in sexual practice to be 5 years and older (Beauclair, Helleringer, Hens, & Delva, 2016). However, for this study, the concerning size of the age gap between an older man and younger woman was clear from the participants' views. The participants also appeared to view young women as vulnerable people in the society by referring to them as *'children'*. As shown below:

> *Field Officer (Old woman, Mpumalanga, KII): Young kids are sexually involved with older men so that they get money*

The Field Officer used the words *'sexually involved'* on the quotation above to reduce young women to sex objects who were used by older men specifically to engage in sexual intercourse. The young women, according to the Field Officer, used the high sexual interests of heterosexual men as an opportunity to attain financial and material benefits. The participants appeared to hold the discourse that love was not involved in these sexual relationships between the older man and young woman.

The Field Officer viewed the young women involved in transactional sex with older men as *'young kids'* for various reasons in relation to their position of receiving financial and material benefits from older men. There are possibilities that the Field Officer's discourse was owing to the culture where the participants were located. In the African culture, even if someone is constitutionally above the legal age of majority, for example, 18 years, they still remain children to those who are older than them, either their parents or any other adult (Phinney & Chavira, 1995). The other implication that was possible for the Field Officer to identify young women who engaged in transactional sex as *'young kids'* could be that she regarded them as immature. This could imply that she believed that young women were people who did not have control over their sexual desires and what they could use sex for. In addition, the participant appeared to point to parents as the people who had to take a

responsibility over their daughters to prevent them from engaging in transactional sex, using the African traditional culture and the perceptions shared on the above section concerning the practice of sex for young women.

When the field officer described the relationship using the words '*so that they get money*', this suggested an intentional involvement on the side of the young woman. Other studies also substantiate the conscious, deliberate and intentional use of young women's sexuality to procure money or materials through transactional sex (Stoebenau et al., 2011). In this study, it was also evident from the Field Officer's response that money or other materials in exchange of sex was the key aspect of transactional sex between young women and older men. Below is a discourse that reflects sex and financial exchange as the epitome of the romantic sexual relationships that involved two young people.

Across the research sites, in both KIIs and FGDs, the idea that transactional sex was performed by young women prevailed. This same discourse is common as well in other studies (Moore, Biddlecom, & Zulu, 2007), suggesting the undercurrent of ageism and sexism in the discourse of transactional sex. Studies also show that transactional sex is common in dating. Dating refers to intimate and sometimes sexual relationships between two people (Bhana & Pattman, 2011; Meekers & Calvès, 1997). Studies show that receiving money and material gifts is commonly a routine aspect of dating wherein dating is typically scripted with young women getting gifts in the context of relationships with men older than them (Bhana & Pattman, 2011; Meekers & Calvès, 1997; Moore et al., 2007; Poulin, 2007). In dating, young women and the community perceive and make the practice of transactional sex a norm. Men believe in giving money and other materials to keep the women that they date (Masvawure, 2010; Tade & Adekoya, 2012). In giving away the money and materials, men expect and sometimes demand sex from women in return. Women who receive something in return view it as an obligation to therefore give sex to men in any intimate

relationship that they will be involved in. It is these age and gender power dynamics that concern modern researchers of transactional sex.

The other factor that could contribute to the perception of young women as the recipients of financial and material benefits from transactional sex is gender inequality. Owing to gender inequality, young women specifically, do not have the opportunities to access means of production (Sobal, 2005). Young women also have less influence to the way in which the community's social structure and ideologies about them are formulated and developed. The existing gendered power and dominant discourse spell out that men are in a position of owning and controlling the economic means of production (Pettifor et al., 2005). Transactional sex is perceived as a source of some income for young women in such communities that are predominantly patriarchal (Pettifor et al., 2005). These perceptions appear to be common in the studies where young women view boyfriends as sources of finances that are used to access basic needs and or luxury goods (Moore et al., 2007). The use of sex to access the financial and material needs by young women is, seen as problematic by some of the participants in this study. The following quotation demonstrated the extent to which the participants viewed the problem of use of sex for financial and material needs:

> *Field Officer (Old woman, Mpumalanga, KII): This (transactional sex) happens in situations whereby a man in his thirties could be involved with a fifteen year old and the parent simply ignores that… The kid could be fifteen years old and be involved with a forty year old man.*

The discourse shared by the Field Officer above carries various aspects concerning transactional sex and age gap. Firstly, the Field Officer appeared to be disapproving the engagement of young women in transactional sex, specifically with older men. The disparagement is evident when the participant uses exaggerative ages for the young and old men involved in the practice of transactional sex. The use of the age 15years for the young

women seems to emphasize that a child who is relatively powerless is involved in transactional sex with an old man who is either 30 or 40 years old. This age gap tries to show how problematic is the practice of transactional sex in the study areas, and this is not acceptable for the participants as also mentioned by Noma in the young women FGD in Ermelo in the section **"Income poverty and transactional sex".** There are also other studies that argue that there is typically a big age gap between the partners in transactional sex and this gap is associated with relative powerlessness in the relationships, particularly for young women (Stadler, Delany, & Mntambo, 2008; Wood, Hutchinson, Kahwa, Hewitt, & Waldron, 2011). However, this is not always the case as the gap can be fairly narrow (Dunkle et al., 2007). The discourse shared by the Field Officer also maintains that transactional sex is practiced exclusively between young women and older men. However, in this study young men were also reported to be involved in transactional sex with the women of their age group, as shown on the quotation below:

> *Sam (Young man, Flagstaff, FGD): What is nice about Sugar Mama is that she does not want your money; she takes care of you, unlike my young girl friend, who wants R600 from my R1000 salary.*

Sam suggested a situation where a young man would be involved in transactional sex with two different women. Firstly, he will be involved with an older woman who is providing the finances and material benefits for the young man. On the other hand, the young man is also involved in transactional sex with a young woman, possibly of the same age, but she is at the financial and material receiving end of the relationship. The amounts involved and the frequency of the gifts varies. At the time of writing this thesis, R1000 was equivalent to US$69.07. The relationship that occurs between the young men and their age group girlfriends, and that of young men with their sugar mamas concurrently is understood in other

studies as multiple concurrent sexual partnerships (MCSP). The MCSPs are expressed in the studies of HIV as one of the factors that increases young women's vulnerability to HIV.

Transactional sex that is presented by the participants of this study as happening between the older and younger partners is understood as intergenerational sex. Intergenerational sex is also identified as cross-generational sex or age-mixing or age-disparate relationships, across literature (Luke & Kurz, 2002; Oyediran et al., 2011). Intergenerational sex is defined as young women of ages between 15 and 19 engaging in non-marital sex in the last 12 months with man who is 10 or more years older than the involved woman (Leclerc-Madlala, 2008; Oyediran et al., 2011).

However, the above definition, excludes sex that happens between young men and old women and also excuses the same if the partners were married. Young male participants in this study often mentioned that their sexual involvement could include older women who could be more than 10 years older than themselves. This suggests intergenerational sex between the young men and older women. Intergenerational sex is driven by the material and financial gains that the younger person attains after having sex with an older person (Luke & Kurz, 2002; Oyediran, Odutolu & Atobatele, 2011). The exchange of sex for money makes intergenerational sex similar to transactional sex.

The difference that appears in literature and in this current study is that transactional sex can happen between people of the same age, as young men participants of this study mention that they use the money and material that they get from their sugar mamas to provide for their same age girlfriends. In cross-generational sex, the exchange of money and material with sex happens between the young person and the older one. Concepts such as sugar mama,

Ben 10[7] and sugar daddy are used in intergenerational sex to demonstrate the age gap between the young person and old person involved (Moore & Biddlecom, 2006).

4.3.2. Gender and transactional sex

It is evident in this study that the idea that young women were the only recipients of the financial and material benefits in transactional sex is not entirely true. As shown in the quote below, young men also engage in similar transactional sexual relationships with older women. The quotation below highlights the perceived double benefits of these relationships:

> *Sam (Young man, Flagstaff, FGD): What is nice about the Sugar Mama is that she does not want your money; she takes care of you… Life goes on smoothly when you with a Sugar Mama.*

From Sam's quote, a Sugar Mama is an older woman who spends money on a younger man, in exchange for sexual intimacy. The metaphor for the concept 'Sugar mama' can be understood as, 'sugar' referring to the good and sweet benefits for happiness provided by the older woman, and the 'mama' suggests age and status in relation to the partner. Sam clearly expressed the financial benefits that he would gain from a relationship that is grounded in transactional sex as twofold: the sugar mama saves him money by not asking and she additionally spends on him. When Sam said that, '*Sugar Mama takes care of you',* he referred to the financial and material caring that she would do in return for a sexual intimacy with the young man.

Sam's expression provides an alternative discourse that challenges the view that young women are the utmost receivers of finances and material attained from transactional sex. Other studies also support the findings that seem to maintain that being a financial or material beneficiary from transactional sex is not only for the young women. For example,

[7] A Ben 10 is a young man who is perceived as sexually attractive to older women. The young man engages in sexual intercourse with the older woman in exchange of finances and material.

MacPherson et. al.'s (2012) study found that young men especially, and older women also were at the financial and material receiving end of transactional sex that they were involved in. In addition, studies in fishing communities show that older women are financial and material recipients of transactional sex (Béné & Merten, 2008). However, what this study shows is that young women's vulnerability to HIV infection is heightened even if they themselves are not directly involved but date an age mate in a triangle with a young man who is someone's Ben 10.

There are various factors suggested by literature on why young women would pursue money through transactional sex. Among these factors is economic survival, where young women would attain finances from men in exchange for sex (Greene, Ennett, & Ringwalt, 1999; Hunter, 2007; Wojcicki & Malala, 2001; Zembe, Townsend, Thorson, & Ekström, 2013). The economic reasons that are highlighted by literature include the need to get money that will help them access their basic needs such as accommodation, food or clothing (Calvès, Cornwell, & Enyegue, 1996; Dunkle et al., 2004; Dunkle, Wingood, Camp, & Di Clemente, 2010; Feldman, O'Hara, Baboo, Chitalu, & Lu, 1997; Hunter, 2002; Luke & Kurz, 2002; MacPhail & Campbell, 2001; Stavrou & Kaufman, 2000). Literature stretches it further to suggest that young women also use sex to secure a long-term sustainable livelihood. This involves using sex to get employment and tuition at school or institutions of tertiary education (Calvès et al., 1996; Calves, 1999; Kaufman & Stavrou, 2004; Luke & Kurz, 2002; Machel, 2001; Stavrou & Kaufman, 2000; Stoebenau, et. al., 2011).

There were some indication about why young people engage in transactional sex but this was not adequately explained. The answers to such a question could be many but in the socio-economic context in which the participants belonged, there is high rate of poverty and unemployment, and the absence of a provider. The nationwide unemployment rate ranges an average of 25.31% from year 2000 to 2016. In year 2013, unemployment rate in South Africa

for the youth, including young women, was ranging around 63% (Annual Labour Market Bulletin, 2011; Institute of race relations, 2016; Oosthuizen & Cassim, 2016). These rates indicate high unemployment in South Africa with the most affected population being the young people and specifically young women. This (income poverty) and the narrative culture of sex and money described in the first section, create a fertile breeding ground and a window of opportunity for transactional sex. It is questionable, if there are no other supporting structures such as family that might assist the young women in getting their needs met. Family structures have been seen as one of the sources that could provide economic and material support for the young people who might not be employed, underemployed or are still school going (Altman, 2007; Mhlatsheni, 2007).

The discourse highlighted here and in other studies (Leclerc-Madlala, 2003) that young women willingly engage in transactional sex might suffice. However, this view is found wanting in a context where alternatives for acquiring 'non essentials' such as status do not exist. To explain engagement in transactional sex is complex because here it seems that young women are in need of resources that are not provided by the support structures of their disposal. It might not be ideal to argue that young women are freely and willingly engaging in this act. In the following section the young women participants called themselves *'hustlers'*[8]. The use of the term *hustlers* was evidence that young women take any means possible to attain their needs and those of their families. These were the push factors behind transactional sex. The young women were expected to provide for themselves, and sometimes their families, but they cannot do so any other ways because they are either unemployed, underemployed or are still at school (Altman, 2007; Mhlatsheni, 2007; Oosthuizen & Cassim, 2016). These reasons might help in getting closer to the understanding of why young women

[8] The term refers to people who perceive themselves responsible and are willing to achieve certain goals in any possible means.

would have to get the financial and material needs by themselves, not through possible supportive structures that could be available for them such as family.

What is common in the discourses offered by the participants and available literature is a sense that transactional sex is practiced between a male and a female (Béné & Merten, 2008; Bobashev, Zule, Osilla, Kline, & Wechsberg, 2009; Chatterji, Murray, London, & Anglewicz, 2005). In the three provinces the discourse of gender is inclined to heterosexuality because these study areas base their cultural practice either in Christian religion or African tradition. The two major discourses; Christian religion and African tradition promote and propel heterosexuality as the norm and anything outside that is immoral. For example the following quotations describe the norm of these communities that a man should marry a woman:

> *Sihle (Old women, Pietermaritzburg, FGD): This is a bad time we are living; we need to hand over to God because only he will change this world to be better. Our children would stick to abstinence and stay a virgin until there is a man who will ask for her hand in marriage. If a man ask for her hand in marriage, we need to carry on fast and have her go to build her home, there shouldn't be any hold backs elders should negotiate lobola fast.*

Sihle in the above quotation was in support of the norm of the practice of sex and transactions, which is discussed in above section. In the quotation above Sihle reported that *iLobola* is the only legitimate way of exchanging sex and money or material that is culturally and religiously accepted in the study communities. The quotation also maintains that lobola can only be paid by a man to marry a woman, which is the heteronormative discourse commonly reported by the participants of this study. The religious leader (Old man, Emqatsheni, Underberg, KII) in the following quotation substantiates Sihle:

We actually advise an older girl (young woman) to get a man that will marry her … a man should get married to a woman who has never been touched by another man (this means a woman who never had sex with another man).

The religious leader maintained that only people of opposite sex can get married, based on the earlier discussion on the overarching discourses of sex and transactions, it is only after marriage where people can enjoy penetrative sex. The views by the religious leader in the quote above, suggested therefore that, it is only people of opposite sex that could engage in any sexual activities. The religious leader (Old man, Emqatsheni, Underberg, KII) used the bible to further support his arguments to present the discourse that suggested that, any other sexual activity which is not between opposite sex is viewed as immoral on the quote below:

When it comes to this matter of a right for a man to marry another man; this is a complicated situation for me and I wouldn't marry them. I don't hate and I'm not in arguing with them but I'm just not party to that. I abide and adhere to biblical principles; the bible maintains a woman exists so as to have a man. I never come across a scripture pronouncing on same sex marriages.

The participants' discourses reflect the same ideologies as shared by the Christian religion and African tradition discourses on sex and transactions but this sparks a question; if transactional sex happens only in heterosexual and not homosexual relationships. The discourses that entail that sex and transactions happen between men and women only, becomes a limitation that results in heteronormative thinking, which in most cases is deployed in the studies of transactional sex. Heteronormative thinking is a belief that views heterosexuality as the normal and acceptable gender practice in the society (Kitzinger, 2005; Nielsen, Walden, & Kunkel, 2000). Heteronormative thinking leads to a belief that there are only two genders in the society; male and female, and only these can engage in sexual

relationships. The heteronormative thinking also ascribe gender roles to both males and females for example, constructing males as the providers and females as the consumers of what men provide (Gauntlett, 2008; Kitzinger, 2005). It is from this heteronormative thinking that studies and empirical data view young women entirely as the givers of sex and receivers of economic resources in any relationship that they engage in with a man (Calvès, Cornwell, & Enyegue, 1996; Choudhry, Ambresin, Nyakato, & Agardh, 2015; Francess, 2016; Okigbo, McCarraher, Chen, & Pack, 2014; Ranganathan et al., 2016; Tade & Adekoya, 2012). It is also from the heteronormative thinking that transactional sex is viewed as practiced between men and women only, and this is normalized (MacPherson et al., 2012; Tade & Adekoya, 2012; Watt et al., 2012). There are very limited studies that pay attention to transactional sex that happens in same-sex relationships and this is also the case with the current data where sex between same sex partners is viewed as immoral (Bauermeister, Eaton, Meanley, & Pingel, 2015; Miller, Klotz, & Eckholdt, 1998).

4.3.3. Income poverty and transactional sex

Income poverty is defined as a situation where the income of the involved individual is below a minimum subsistence (Hall & Sambu, 2013; Leibbrandt, Woolard, Finn, & Argent, 2010). Income poverty appeared to be one of the factors leading to transactional sex in this study. Transactional sex was used as a source of *income* across this study. 'Income' is used here to refer to benefits that the recipients accrued; be they money or in material forms. Allowing children to be involved in transactional relationships could be owing to the benefits that the family has in their daughters' involvement in these kinds of relationships, as presented below:

> *Field Officer (Old woman, Mpumalanga, KII): That's how I see it; the kid can simply come with a hundred rand and nobody asks … they simply have that money for their*

meal… she is forced to this and she is threatened and told that; if she doesn't do that she won't have a meal… They also threatened to chase her out.

Here the Field Officer viewed exchange of sex for money as a compelled decision on the side of the young women; with transactional sex being a means to an end. The quotation clearly demonstrates that transactional sex is used for survival. However, it is not only the young women's decision but she could be compelled by the family's financial constraints. The Victim Support Centre, Field Worker (Old woman, Secunda, KII) in support of the above quotation said:

If a person (old man) has about three thousand rand and wants my child (young woman) I will actually encourage my child (young woman) to live with the man because of the miserable (financial constraints) family circumstances.

Here, there is a suggestion of forced sex with a family-in-need driving the participation in transactional sex. It is for cases such as this that sometimes people conflate transactional sex with sex work. Wherein in transactional sex there is an ongoing relationship with the 'provider' albeit the relationship is premised on the receiver continuing to receive the benefits. This example supports the findings that some of the transactional sex relationships exist for subsistence reasons in the context of family-level hardships. There are two things happening in these examples. First it is the involvement in transactional sexual relationships with the family knowing, and they do not sanction the behaviour although they do not actively encourage it as they appreciate the benefits. This might seem as if the member of the family involved (usually the young women) is involved in this relationship voluntarily and yet the voluntary nature of her decision in the context of hardships is questionable. On the other hand is a situation where the family actively encourages the relationship, verbalise their support for it and threaten of negative consequences in the event of failure to accrue something for the family. This scenario suggests that the use of transactional sex by young

women as a source of income could be as a result of high rates of unemployment in the study sites. In the year 2011, unemployment rates were ranging around 27% in Eastern Cape, 30% in Mpumalanga and 20.3% in KwaZulu-Natal (Beukes et. al, 2016).

Use of transactional sex to alleviate poverty could also be owing to the discourses around power. The positions of young women in the community are being undermined because of their age, gender and socio-economic position both within families and the community in general. In the study sites, age as a factor is used to undermine and limit someone especially young women's access to economic resources. This was constant. Participants viewed young women as destitute; they did not have finances or material resources that might put them in a better social status in the community owing to their young age and gender.

Difficulties in accessing finances and material for young women is also evident in other studies that found that young women were the ones who experience high risks of HIV infection and challenges of unemployment and underemployment or lack of financial family support in the study sites (Altman, 2007; Mhlatsheni, 2007; Osthuizen & Cassim, 2016). Even though the young women are dimmed to be facing more challenges in accessing the financial and material resources, they are the ones that are more likely to provide for their families if they have the access (Makiwane, 2010). The women are said to be more likely to accept responsibilities for looking after their families as compared to any other gender (Makiwane, 2010). This might explain why the young women would also see it as a need to use transactional sex to alleviate their families from poverty. It is more challenging in these communities for young women because; it becomes a conditioned expectation for the family that the young women should provide. If they do not provide they risk being removed from the family that they belong to. The data showed that in these communities, when the young

women were applauded if they got money from transactional sex and brought it to assist the family to survive in impoverished environment.

According to the World Bank, a person is viewed as poor if they consume less than US$1.25 (R18.10) per day. When the Field Officer says *'a hundred'*, in the above quotation, she is referring to South African R100 which by the time of writing this thesis was equivalent to US$6.90. Considering the cost of living in South Africa, by the time of writing this thesis, R100 (US$6.90) could only buy groceries enough to sustain one person for a single day. If someone is working and earning a R100 (US$6.90) per day it might not be sufficient to pay an average one bedroom, before mentioning any other needs that a single person needs for their sustainability. For example, a single woman's accommodation costs an average of R2000 (US$138.08) per month, transport costs are in average of R30 (US$2.07) per day, clothing averaging around R1000 (US$69.04) per month for an individual and food costs around R50 (US$3.45) a single meal for one person per day (Economic Trends, Gardner, 2010; 2016; StatSA, 2015). The average household in the research sites for this study had about four people (Lehohla, 2012). This could explain the socio-economic position of young women in their families and within this community, as they need to engage in transactional sex in order for them to take responsibilities for supporting their families.

The Field Officer reported that the young women were challenged by their family that if they do not get involved in transactional sex they were going to lose their needs, for example food, accommodation or family. The Field Officer seemed to emphasise that the young women had to contribute to the needed resources for the household, yet they did not have means to do so. This questions the role of the 'provider' in these families, usually the father (Makusha & Richter, 2014; Richter & Morrell, 2008). Were they absent or present but could not provide for their families? Lack of income as a driver of transactional sex was supported by data from young women themselves, as mentioned by Nosibusiso (Young

woman, Flagstaff, FGD) below in explaining why young women enter into relationships with older and working class men. She said:

> *Yes we need boyfriends so that they can give us money that will be our income. Everything is about money these days.*

For young women, *'everything'* could refer to small luxury items to bigger substantial needs. It is risky and leans on being judgemental to list what 'small luxury items' are against 'substantive necessary items'. This differentiation is sometimes done in literature and for researchers writing from a position of privilege this categorization can be condescending, moralistic and perpetuate the idea of 'us' (economically privileged people) and 'them' (poor people) (Van Dijk, 1993). Therefore the distinction between small luxury items and substantive necessary items will not be made in this thesis.

In other studies, family conditions of poverty were found to be one of the factors that influence the young women to get involved in transactional sex (Mwapu, et al., 2016). This resonates with the findings of this paper; the participants highlighted use of transactional sex as a way of acquiring their needs such as food and clothes. The study sites were also experiencing high levels of poverty, which could explain the reasons behind families encouraging and forcing their daughters to engage in transactional sex as a way to attain income. Young women, in this study, appeared to be the ones whose sexuality was easily used as a commodity by the family in the quest to attain their needs.

The findings of this study suggest that the responsibility to alleviate a family out of poverty rests squarely on the 'economically' active members of the household and young women, deemed attractive by the society, become the capable ones. In response to the stigma, shame and moral judgement against transactional sex with older men, young women and their families would keep this a secret, albeit a known secret. The moral judgement against

transactional sex was evident in the data reporting on community's perceptions of transactional sex relationships where another participant said: *'Doing transactional sex is not right'*.

Young women were kept in a closet because of keeping transactional sex a secret and a learned behaviour as exerted by their parents. The clandestine nature of such relationships seemed to bother community stakeholders and it closed off opportunities and possibilities of health interventions. In some instances the family became a societal structure that shaped the young women's behaviour directed towards the practice of transactional sex. The family made it explicit that it was an opportunity for the young women to take responsibility for them. The only side of the discourse that the young women would have known concerning the practice of transactional sex ultimately relied on their family. The discourses around transactional sex in these communities left young women in a perplexed position. The health intervention structures such as NGOs, WBOs and other stakeholders, perpetuated the discourse that 'Othered' young women as the mischievous and people in danger because of exchanging sex for money with older men (sugar daddies). The Christian religion and African Traditional culture also view the practice of transactional sex as immoral and unacceptable in the community. The discourses that the Christian religion and African traditional culture hold on transactional sex clash with the expectations that the families of these young women have. Families have placed an economic value on the sexuality of the young women. That is, the young women are expected by their families to offer sex to the men who will be able to give money in return, and these are usually older men (sugar daddies). This becomes a challenge for the young women and also presents complexities in the studies of transactional sex. The complexities leave the young women in a precarious position and in the possibilities to continue with the practice of transactional sex because they are already socialised on the need to practice transactional sex by their families even though there are contradictory discourses

from the community. Pressure from the family, its financial constraints and young women's desire to consume in the modern era, all leave them in a position where they want to successfully practice transactional sex against the discourses shared by the Christian religion, African traditional culture and the health intervention organizations. This could mean a continuous practice of transactional sex for the young women within the family and also the regeneration of the same behaviour when the daughters of these young women when they bear their children later in their lives as well.

The problem of poverty also ventured in the discourses around transactional sex in the participant's responses, as shown on the quotation below:

> *Field Officer (Old woman, Mpumalanga, KII): Even when one is so poor, it's unbearable that a parent must sell her own kids. She has to go out and seek other means for survival.*

The participant seemed to be of the view that claimed poverty as a scapegoat used by parents who forced their daughters into what could be viewed as involuntary transactional sex is unacceptable. Parents are viewed as people who are supposed to take the responsibility to protect their children from different risks (Belsky, 1984; Holahan, 1995). However, this protection could be interrupted by factors such as the parent's psychological well-being, the young woman's characteristics and contextual sources of stress and support (Crnic & Low, 2002). Contextual sources of stress and support had an influence in young women's practice of transactional sex based on the discourses from the participants of this study. The contextual sources of stress and support are understood as the factors such as marital relationship, social networks and employment. Studies demonstrate that it is easier for the parents to support and protect their children (daughters or sons) if the mother and father stay together (Belsky, 1984; Belsky, 1979). These studies suggests that there are challenges that single parents face in taking good care of the children especially when they are not employed.

Social networks in the communities are also said to have a positive contribution to caring for the children. This kind of literature analysis demonstrates the possibilities that unsupported mothers could *'sell'* their daughters for the financial and material support. The Field Officer seemed to flag this behaviour as problematic.

Fields of study that have interests in young people are concerned about women's vulnerabilities to problems such as gender-based violence, violence in general and HIV, when they get involved in the relationships especially with older men. This could possibly explain why the Field Officer viewed the idea of mothers *'selling'* their daughters as problematic and hence she labelled these parents as not '*normal*'. As it could be seen in the first sentence of the quote, the Field Officer believed that young women were used as a commodity by their parents who *'sell'* them to address the problem of poverty. The Field Officer's discourse on transactional sex contrasts with those of the young women who believe that it is their responsibility to take care of their families using transactional sex, without being told by their parents. This therefore tells a story on the different ideologies and discourses carried by the community and the families of the young women involved in transactional sex, even though, income poverty seems to be the underlying reason behind the practice.

On one hand, the community members believe that young women are coerced into transactional sex whilst on the other hand young women engage in transactional sex voluntarily because they either see the need to alleviate their families from financial constraints or they want to fit in the consumerist society. However, the consensual discourses in the community, do not put young women in the picture, it appeared to be disregarding them as a group of people and made them live under the control of two big and dominant discourses; the family and community. This disempowered the young women and quietened their voices in what could be right for them and reduced their potential to make choices concerning what they would want to do with their own sexuality. The discourses seemed to

drive young women towards a belief that it was their role to engage in transactional sex as this was how they would be able to contribute towards providing for their families. This was evident in Noma's (Young woman, Ermelo, FGD) quote below:

> *Some people do it not because they are doing it for themselves, but it might be because of their situation at home. As you know us, women are hustlers and we hustle in whichever way, so if someone decides that is how they want to hustle I will not judge them, but it is not right, it is not right!*

Participation in transactional sex seemed to be a practice that had many different push factors across the research sites. The purposes of transactional sex that were referred to by participants differed. *'Some people'* did not engage in transactional sex for their own interests, but it was an act that was done to address the situation that was faced at home. The *'situation at home'* referred to here, might have different meanings. However, in this study, some participants seemed to suggest a financially challenging situation that the family was unable to solve. This explanation is explicable with evidence of the socio-economic conditions that were in this participant's context.

Furthermore, some of the participants from the FGD seemed to lay responsibility over young women to take care of their families. This was evident in the quotation when the participant used the word *'hustlers'* to refer to women. The word *'hustlers'* refers to people who perceive themselves responsible and are willing to achieve certain goals in any possible means (McNamara, 1994). The word is also used to refer to people that practice prostitution or sex work (Miller, Klotz, & Eckholdt, 1998). The use of the word *'hustle'* by Noma suggested that young women could explore all possible ways to attain money or needs for their family. This *'whichever way'* could extend to other actions but here the participant highlighted the use of transactional sex as one of the acts that young women could do when financial constraints strike their families.

Noma understood young women as *'young kids'* who engaged in transactional sex because they were forced. This is in agreement with the earlier discussion in section 4.2.1. Noma suggested that young women engaged in transactional sex for the interests of their family which faced financial constraints. When the family faced the financial challenges, young women are in a forced position to *'hustle'* as mentioned by Noma. The young women are unemployed and some will not be having any qualification that will make them employable (Beukes, Fransman, Murozvi, & Yu, 2016; Bhorat, 2007; Hall & Sambu, 2013; Kingdon & Knight, 2004; Klasen & Woolard, 2009). Transactional sex becomes the viable means to attain financial and material assistance that can be used by the family.

However, Noma seemed to disqualify the use of transactional sex as a means to access the needed money for their survival. This was clear when the participant continued to emphasise that it was not right. This could be owing to the larger discourse that uses morality arguments to shame and consensually disqualify transactional sex across the three provinces. The underpinning socio-economic factors such as unemployment, underemployment or any other financial constraints that could be faced by families are not seen as a challenge by Noma. This form of a discourse could promote problematizing and individualising transactional sex among young women yet this study has provided evidence that transactional sex was a community and structural problem.

Transactional sex was not only done for the purpose of pursuing needs for those that were involved in it, as mentioned in this study and other research on the topic (Hunter, 2007; Leclerc-Madlala, 2003). The discourse that continues to problematize and maintain the ideologies of individualising engagement in transactional sex for young women was again, extracted from Senzeni (Young woman, Ermelo, FGD) below:

> *Just like Noma said, most girls are used to this because your friend will be telling you that they were out with their boyfriend, to wherever and they were showered with this.*

Nowadays you cannot date someone who has nothing, you cannot date someone who comes and sleeps with you and does not give you anything, and you don't get anything out of that.

In support of Noma, Senzeni believed that young women were responsible for engaging in transactional sex for the pursuit of modernity. Senzeni used the words such as *'nowadays'* which highlighted how modern it is for young women to attain *'something'* in return of sex. *'Something'* is a word that seemed to refer to the financial and material benefits of transactional sex. This pursuit for modernity and to fit with peers as highlighted by Senzeni seemed for her being the major factor that makes young women, in light of peer pressure as well; seek to also engage in intimate sexual relationships that financially and materially benefited them. This discourse could excuse the structural factors such as family as alluded to by the other participants in this study as well as state and government policies that might be failing to address the problems of unemployment (Hall & Sambu, 2013).

Unemployment and underemployment are referenced as playing a fundamental role in promoting transactional sex in other studies (Béné & Merten, 2008; Chatterji et al., 2005; Hunter, 2007; Leclerc-Madlala, 2003). Underemployment is common in the provinces in which the current study was conducted (Hall & Sambu, 2013). Senzeni (Young woman, Ermelo, FGD) gave a perspective in the fact of underemployment and the associated factors in the following quotation:

As Noma says, as long as competition is still there, peer pressure will always be there. When you are in your community and your neighbour buys a car and I mean you also have a job but you cannot afford that car, you will try by all means to buy it. Your neighbour's child has this and you want to buy your child the same thing and at the same time you have no money, you will try by all means.

Underemployment is when a person is working for fewer hours than they would want and also their skills are not used in the work that the person does (Beukes, Fransman, Murozvi, & Yu, 2016). This could result in reduced income, for example, a salary which is not enough to buy basic needs and sustain livelihoods (Beukes et al., 2016; Kingdon & Knight, 2004; Klasen & Woolard, 2009). In Senzeni's discourse, getting little income appeared to be problematic especially in the modern days where working is not only limited to accessing basic needs. The participant highlighted factors such as peer pressure and competition in a modern world (Inglehart & Baker, 2000; Kuehnast, 1998; McRobbie, 2008; Zembe et al., 2013). This could mean that being employed is not sufficient for the young women in this context because of the pressure they are exerted to, to be competitive in the modern world (Kuehnast, 1998; McRobbie, 2008; Zembe et al., 2013). This situation forces young women to seek other means to access the materials that are modern and competitive as referred to by Senzeni. The option presented by Senzeni is engagement in transactional sex.

Senzeni alluded to income poverty as a drive to engage in transactional sex as she mentioned that *'you will try by all means to get the money.'* The perception provided by Senzeni concerning the context where transactional sex is practiced and being used as a means for accessing economic opportunities was common across research on this topic (Béné & Merten, 2008; Dunkle et al., 2007; Dunkle, Wingood, Camp, & DiClemente, 2010; Luke & Kurz, 2002; Zembe et al., 2013). Senzeni (Young woman, Ermelo, FGD) in the quotation below supported this discourse:

This is a strategy that mostly girls use these days and all of us want to use it to live.

This suggested that there could be limited options for young women to access other forms of financial assistance for purchasing the materials that they need. In support of Senzeni on transactional sex being used to be competitive in modernisation, Mazulu (Young woman, Flagstaff, FGD) below said:

We love sugar daddies for bringing grocery plastics. They bring us nice things, healthy food to keep us healthy and they give us money, airtime and also buy us different clothes from Mr Price.

Here, and in existing studies, transactional sex was found instrumental in improving young women's status in the community, and also making them attractive and competitive by having new clothes and using cell-phones that put them in a better social position among their peers (Leclerc-Madlala, 2003; Wood, Maforah, & Jewkes, 1998). This does not limit transactional sex to being useful to access only basic needs for young women but also luxurious items such as Mr Price clothes, certain type of food and gifts, as highlighted by Senzeni. Mr Price is one of the common chain retail shops in South Africa especially for the lower to middle class income earners (Cooper, 2016; Reardon, Timmer, Barrett, & Berdegué, 2003). In the context in which the participant is located, Mr Price seemed to be valued, perhaps given the limitedness of the shops to select from in Flagstaff. In Flagstaff, Mr Price[9], seemed to be one of the shops which sells expensive, better quality and fashionable clothes, which is young women's choice according to participants of this study.

Menzi maintained the discourse that associated transactional sex with better quality clothing and social status. It was implied here that young woman needed better clothing so that they could attract men's attention. This would further allow them access to finances through such relationships. Engaging in transactional sex opened a way for the receiver to be able to later have access to possibly advanced modernisation materials such as cars, as referred by Menzi (Young woman, Ermelo, FGD) below:

[9]This is South Africa's Mr Price website for reference: http://www.mrpricegroup.com/TradingChains/MrPriceHome.aspx

It's a competition; this happens a lot with university girls. They dress like shit (they dress very well) so that they can get the attention. You see someone coming out of a car and you also want to be in a car.

The pursuit for consumerism in the context of modernisation was viewed here as important for young women. However, income poverty limited their pursuit and yet young women were reported in this study to have the quest for modernity accessed through engagement in transactional sex.

4.3.4. Alcohol and transactional sex

Literature shows two different ways that alcohol is implicated in the practice of transactional sex. Firstly, alcohol is identified as one of the material benefits that are gained by young women from transactional sex (Alexander, 1998; Pitpitan et al., 2014). Secondly, studies reported that alcohol is used by young women in the practice of transactional sex to reduce worries associated with the engagements in sexual intercourse for monitory and material gains (Kalichman, Simbayi, Kaufman, Cain, & Jooste, 2007). The worries associated with the practice of transactional sex are that, it is seen in the current study as a morally unacceptable practice. Therefore, the young women who use alcohol to bring them confidence and relaxation when they are practicing transactional sex could be doing so, so that they do not realise its immorality (Cole, 2004; Holms & McRae-Williams, 2012).

In this study, young women gave sex to men so that they could get alcohol as a benefit. Alcohol was used either before or after sex. When the young women used alcohol before engaging in the sexual intercourse it was for them to be stimulated for sexual intercourse, in this way they enjoyed both sex and alcohol. The use of alcohol for the sexual stimulation is demonstrated by Mazoli (Young woman, Flagstaff, FGD) below:

We cannot say to those using alcohol to quit, no ways, otherwise should you start drinking it leads one to crave for sex.

Mazoli presented the discourse that promoted the use of alcohol because it is helpful for the young women to get stimulated for sexual intercourse and this will be good for them as they have sex with men for financial and material exchange. The young women would reduce the concern for the moral position of practicing transactional sex. The young women in this study also used sex purely for gaining alcohol from the men that they will be involved with, and this was associated with peer pressure and the need to fit in the friend's circles. As shown by Noma (Young woman, Ermelo, FGD) below:

> *When I go out with my friends I try to adjust, and if they get people that will buy us alcohol then I won't say, I'm not kinky like that, it's just for fun, it's just one night.*

Noma shows that alcohol is one of the major components in the practice of transactional sex. The young women go out for entertainment with their friends as Noma says, *'it is just for fun'*. In Ermelo, going out refers to going to parties or *Shebeens*. A *Shebeen* in South Africa is a bar or club dimmed illegal, where alcoholic beverages are sold without a license (Rogerson & Hart, 1986). The Shebeens or parties are venues where alcohol is drunk but the young women would not have the money to buy it, hence Noma says that her friends will get people to buy it for them. The *'people'* referred to by Noma are the men who are able to afford buying the alcohol. These men who afford to buy alcohol for young women are named in different contexts and times differently for example; they are called the Aristos in Nigeria (Tade & Adekoya, 2012), the Blessers in South Africa (Sasha Wyatt-Minter, 2016), the Sugar daddies and boyfriends in other studies (Kuate-Defo, 2004; Ranganathan et al., 2016; Silberschmidt & Rasch, 2001; Stoebenau et al., 2016) Big *Dhara* and NARA (Non-Academic Bachelor's Association) in Zimbabwe (Masvawure, 2010). Okunene (Old Female, Flagstaff FGD) on the quote below, also shares the same discourse, that men are the ones who buy alcohol for the women:

Zethu said she's eating money from the guys; a guy buys you alcohol because he knows what he wants in return.

The men are usually those who are employed and have income to spend for example during pay days. The young women drink with the men for until very late, and at times until after mid night. The young women in most cases will not have cars or any other means of transport to take them to their homes at this time. At the same time, they will be drunk and not able to safely walk home, so they chose to go with the men that they drank with during the night. In these places or overnight accommodation offered by men, the young women are compelled to give sex to men in return or as a 'thanks' for the night of alcohol. Okunene, explains that the men buy alcohol so that they could get sex in turn, as she says, *'he knows what he wants in return.'* The discourse shared by Noma is similar to the findings by Dunkle et al. (2004) in the practice of transactional sex in Soweto. In Dunkle et al. (2004) the practice of transactional sex was also associated with alcohol and social venues such as *Shebeens*.

The young women will also be forced to engage in transactional sex by the need of being with and not disappoint their friends. Even if the young woman would not like to be involved in the practice of transactional sex she could be influenced by her friends. The friends will be accessing alcohol through men who could afford to buy for them. However, for men to buy the young women alcohol they will need sex in return. As Noma says that she would rather adjust, than to avoid going with her friends to have alcohol.

4.4. The link between transactional sex and vulnerability to HIV

Data presented in this study suggested that the community holds discourses that problematize and discourage the involvement of young women in transactional sexual relationships with older men. Research in transactional sex and HIV also takes this stance (Beadnell et. al, 2000; Béné & Merten, 2008). Existing studies on transactional sexual relationships are primarily concerned with the health risks for young women (Béné &

Merten, 2008; Holland et al., 1992; Jewkes, Dunkle, et al., 2012; MacPherson et al., 2012; Surratt et al., 2004; Wojcicki & Malala, 2001). The engagement of young women in sexual relationships with older men is seen as increasing their vulnerability to sexually transmitted infections including HIV (Luke & Kurz, 2002; Stoebenau et al., 2011). This was an overarching concern in the findings presented here as well. In this section I explore the merits of this worry; which to some might seem as a moral panic.

Firstly, older men are more likely to already have HIV and other STIs by virtue of their sexual experience (Luke & Kurz, 2002; Preston-Whyte, 1994; Tade & Adekoya, 2012). HIV prevalence among older men in South Africa in mid-2016 was at 18.9% of about not less than 7million (Stats SA, 2016). In 2012 the statistics report that HIV prevalence per province was 16.9% for the total population of KZN. MP had 14.1% of its population infected and EC had 11.6%. On the other hand, research on sexual networking demonstrates that younger men who are in sexual relationships with older women may be exposed to HIV infection. The young women in sex networks might be having sexual intercourses with the older men who might be their sugar daddies. At the same time the young women could be having sexual relationships with young men who they could view as their boyfriends. These relationships that young women could have expose them to HIV infections both from their sugar daddies and boyfriends.

Secondly, young women are vulnerable to infections owing to their position of less power in relationships. For example, their bargain power in negotiating safe sex is often compromised (Beadnell et. al., 2000; Béné & Merten, 2008). Unsafe sex remains the main risk for HIV in South Africa's heterosexual epidemic and transactional and multiple concurrent sexual relationships are the heart of this (Beadnell, Baker, Morrison, & Knox, 2000; Bhana & Pattman, 2011; Bobashev et al., 2009; Buvé, 2006; Choudhry et al., 2015; de Saxe et al., 2014). The study communities for this thesis carry values of respect to the elders

on what they say for example the quote of a Victim Support Centre Field Worker (Old woman, Secunda, KII) below shows how the elders of these communities demand respect:

> *Children must do what I'm telling them to do… They must obey every rule I tell them to.*

In the quote above the participant showed how the elders demand respect and the young people of these communities are mandated to obey. The participant in the quotation above used the word *'children'* to show the discourses that are carried by these communities concerning young people. *'Children'* refers to young people and demonstrates how the culture of these communities belittles them so that they cannot be viewed as independent and capable of making their own decisions. The young people in these communities live according to the guidelines of their elders in all aspects. It is from this discourse of respect where there is a possibility that if the older woman who is involved in transactional sex with a young man, asks that they have unprotected sex, such a demand will be granted because the man will be obliged. The mandate for young people to respect their elders could be owing to the fact that the society is religious with Christianity and African tradition being dominant in the study settings. Both Christianity and African tradition holds the values that young people should respect their elders, more for young women because they are prepared to be wives (Bradbury, Campbell, & Fincham, 1995; Falen, 2008; Holland et al., 1992; Kitzinger & Wilkinson, 2004; Luke et al., 2011; Radcliffe-Brown & Forde, 2015; Sobal, 2005; Katharine Wood et al., 1998). Respect for elders also seemed to be effective in the practice of transactional sex. For, example, the young men would wait for the older woman either to make use of a condom or not, during their sexual intercourse, as Sam (Young man, Flagstaff, FGD) shares in the quotation below:

She is the one showing you how to approach this, so being scared is something that is there for a short time. So when you having sex with her she will say plastic then you will wear it although you know you are going to stop.

The typical relationship that involves respect and submissiveness is especially common in transactional sex involving young women and older men (Radcliffe-Brown & Forde, 2015; Sobal, 2005; Yip, 2004).

In addition to these social complexities in the possibilities of vulnerability to HIV infection, young women have added susceptibilities because of their sexual physiological characteristics. For example, HIV is a virus that cannot survive outside body fluids. If a penis is exposed to vaginal fluids that contain HIV during vaginal sex, the fluid will dry up once the penis has been removed from the vagina (Cohen & Gay, 2010; Wilton, 2011). However semen does not dry out inside the vagina, hence the woman can be at an increased risk to be exposed to the virus for a longer period of time (Cohen & Gay, 2010; Wilton, 2011). Inside the vagina are warm temperatures and a moist environment which is ideal for the growth of bacteria which can increase the risk of HIV transmission (Cohen & Gay, 2010; Wilton, 2011). Other studies also show that young women who use hormonal contraceptives to prevent pregnancy are at increased risk of HIV infection (Cohen & Gay, 2010). Hence, exposure to HIV should be limited for young women in order to fight the AIDS epidemic.

Fourthly, the other concern that is raised against transactional sex relationships relates to young women's social immaturity to handle the relationship resulting in risk for intimate partner violence (Beadnell et al., 2000; Béné & Merten, 2008; Dunkle, et al., 2007; Hunter, 2011). Intimate partner violence has been proven to be a risk factor for HIV infection in South Africa (Stadler, Delany-Moretlwe, Palanee, & Rees, 2014; World Health Organization, 2004). The highlighted risk of transactional sex by Menzi in the FGD in Ermelo (Mpumalanga) was violence; the murder of two women (wife and a mistress) who were both

in the relationship with this alleged murderer (see quote below). A mistress is a woman who has an intimate relationship with a married man (Norton, 2011). The concept of a mistress appeared to be common across this study. Mistresses participate in transactional sex with married men. In the quote below, there was marriage dissolution and also intimate femicide.

> *Menzi (young woman, Ermelo, FGD): Not knowing that you might be putting yourself in danger, like what happened here in Ermelo; there was a man who was married and had a mistress. They dated for a while and when the truth came out the wife left the man, and the mistress found someone to marry her. The man had lost both women so he went and shot both of them dead.*

Young women also have the risk to fall pregnant from these relationships while they are sometimes still attending school (Hunter, 2007). Apart from pregnancy which indicates a biological risk, schooling is also compromised. At times the interruption is concealed by family from the duty bearers. Here is an example:

> *Field Officer (Old woman, Mpumalanga, KII): I think the kid (young woman) is being forced (to practice transactional sex) and she misses classes at times, but she is not expected to say this (being forced into practicing transactional sex) and we only get to know this when we talk to the kid (young woman. It becomes a problem when the mother gets to know that she is actually talking about being forced into transactional sex.*

Early pregnancy could result in school dropout and the learner(s) might not be able to continue with their studies. Research relates early school dropout to HIV vulnerability (Akuffo, 1987; Gregson et al., 2005; Meekers & Ahmed, 2000) and as such it should be prevented. The views of the participants presented here on transactional sex relationships seemed to be informed by the circumstance of the communities where data were collected.

These findings demonstrate the complicated analysis needed in studies of transactional sex and HIV risk. For instance, in this case young women whose education is interrupted might not be able to attain an educational qualification that prepares them to join the world of work at a living wage; they might end up in underemployment (Beukes et. al, 2016; Kingdon & Knight, 2004). Whilst the benefits of transactional relationships are undisputable; the long term negative consequences and the health consequences are a matter of concern.

In this study, participants demonstrated a link between transactional sex and HIV vulnerability. The Field Officer (Old woman, Mpumalanga, KII) highlighted this link in the following way:

> *As I'm working with the community, you can find out that even the fifteen year olds are HIV positive. At times in such families, the mother is running a Shebeen and is selling these kids to the customers.*

The participant showed that parents used their children's sexuality to access financial support and growth and also to ensure the sustainability of their *Shebeens*. The Field Officer highlighted that the mothers of these young women who own the *Shebeens* sold their children for sexual intercourse to access profits from their business. In support of the quotation above, the Victim Support Centre Field Worker (Old woman, Secunda, KII) demonstrates how the young women are being used or sold by their mothers for economic gains:

> *There are cases whereby a woman is running an illegal Shebeen and the kids have to sleep with the customers so that they have more customers.*

Shebeens were viewed as venues for practicing transactional sex in other studies where young women access alcohol through sexual intercourse with men in those venues (Dunkle et al., 2004; Watt et al., 2012). Engagement in sexual intercourse after use of alcohol and other substances is often linked to HIV vulnerability (Kalichman, Simbayi, Kaufman,

Cain, & Jooste, 2007; Parry, 2005; Schneider et al., 2007). When the Field Officer said the *'mothers sell their children'* it seemed to suggest a scenario where the mother was attracting customers for her *Shebeen* using their daughters. The Victim Support Centre Field Worker (Old woman, Secunda, KII) clearly shows that the young women which the participant identify as 'kids' are encouraged or forced to have sexual intercourse with the *Shebeen* customers so that the business is sustained. This is again substantiated below by the Victim Support Centre Field Worker (Old woman, Secunda, KII):

> *Yes and you can see in that business of Shebeens, parents are abusing their kids by selling them for sex with men to attract customers.*

Importantly, the participant identifies the practice of transactional sex as associated with the *Shebeen* business. The business of the *Shebeens* that is referred to by the participant is the actual; running of the *Shebeens* which is mostly done by the mothers of the daughters. It is also shown in other studies that in the *Shebeens* the owners could have young women, who could be sex workers to perform sexual activities or at least doing pole dancing and other activities that attract male customers (Edwards, 1988; Games, 2007). In the sexual intercourses that are meant to improve businesses, there is a high risk for the practice of unprotected sex which leaves the young women in positions of vulnerability to HIV.

Young men also practiced unprotected sex with older women who could be HIV infected. Even though sometimes they engage with older women who could encourage the use of condoms, this does not remain the same overtime as studies report inconsistent use of condoms in South Africa (Maharaj & Cleland, 2004; Pettifor et al., 2004). The use of condom normally stops over time according to Sam (Young man, Flagstaff, FGD). There are chances that the stop in using condoms was intentional from Sam's (Young man, Flagstaff, FGD) side for many reasons. Either to maximise the excitement that they would be getting from sex or

to intentionally infect the Sugar Mama with HIV so that she dies and the young man inherits her estate. For example Khanda (Old man, Flagstaff, FGD) said;

> *Yes, I will infect her and when she dies I will get inheritances from her, maybe her car or a house. I will make sure she puts me in her will.*

Khanda shared a discourse that might be common among the young men that are involved in transactional sex. They might not be cautious as not to infect their Sugar Mamas with HIV. Khanda (Old man, Flagstaff, FGD) demonstrated again his hesitance to use a condom with the Sugar Mama below;

> *I will stop using it to save what I have. If I am already infected it's not a problem, I can always pay a doctor if she wants us to do an HIV test then my results will come back negative and I will be lucky if hers comes back positive because I will give her all the support so that she can put me as beneficiary on her insurances when she dies, I go back to a girl of my age, loaded!*

When Khanda said *'I will stop using it …'* the *'it'* referred to a condom. Khanda also shared that he would be prepared to have sex with a Sugar Mama who would be HIV positive. This demonstrated how the benefits in transactional sex could override the risks of HIV. Given the sex networks, transactional sex may increase young women's vulnerability to HIV infection, as shown in the conceptual framework in figure 8 (page 148). The young women could be the girlfriends of the young men involved in transactional sex with older women.

Khanda said he will *'go back to his girlfriend loaded.'* Being *'loaded,'* meant having money and material possessions to support his girlfriend. His girlfriend here was a younger woman of his age. It appeared that the relationship that was between Khanda and the Sugar Mama was based on him giving sex to her and she would give him money or materials in return.

Unemployment of young men makes them struggle to access their needs such as clothes and they would have to *'patch'* their trousers many times. In the context of unemployment the young men could also give sex to older women who were willing to be sugar mamas. For young men to get the financial and material benefits from the older women, they had to ensure that they offer sex to the older women as they demand it. This is demonstrated by Mageba, Luvuyo and Khanda in this section.

Mageba mentioned that if the older woman might give the young men everything that they want, but it is the responsibility of the young men to *'give her right'*. Giving her right, meant giving sexual intercourse to the older women as she wish, as Luvuyo reported above; the older women could want to have sexual intercourse without using a condom. This was viewed as good for the older women but a risk for the transmission of HIV. The young men may get HIV from the older women and transmit it to the younger women who could be their girlfriends; this was admittedly demonstrated by Dema (Old woman, Flagstaff, FGD) below:

> *It's a pity they go out with us and also sleep with young kids so they take infections from us and spread the disease to their sugar daddies (old men) they are dating on the other side.*

While the relationship between the younger men and their girlfriends was transactional, it looked as if it was long term and grounded on love. This means that there were limited possibilities for the use of a condom for purposes of safe sex practice. This has demonstrated how young men's girlfriends were vulnerable to HIV infection due to their involvement in sexual networks that include old women. More evidence that demonstrated the possibility for transmitting HIV from Sugar Mamas to young girlfriends by the young men was seen in the short conversation below:

Luvuyo (Young man, Flagstaff, FGD): What do you say about the girls at your age that are looking at you?

Khanda (Young man, Flagstaff, FGD): They will get me and now that I will be driving a nice car, they will be interested unlike previously when they used to tease me. So it will be my time to get whoever I want.

Less responsibility is one of the reasons why the men involved in transactional sex are holding on to it. The diagram in fig 8 (page 132) summarises the hypothetical vulnerability that young women have in the sexual networks of transactional sex.

4.5. Probable relationship between transactional sex and father absence

In South Africa, father absence is said to have negative outcomes. The problematic outcomes associated with father absence for the offspring are unemployment, identity, education, crime, drug and alcohol abuse (Erasmus, 1998; Holborn & Eddy, 2011; Richter & Morrell, 2008; Richter & Morrell, 2006). These problems are common among young people in South Africa (Holborn & Eddy, 2011). Young people gain access to economic resources through their fathers (Nduna, 2014). In these communities a father, as a male gendered and thus socially privileged person, is the one who has easy access to economic resources. It is because of this social structure where young people face challenges to access economic resources if they do not have the presence of a gainfully employed father (Makusha & Richter, 2014; Nduna, 2014; Richter & Morrell, 2008; Tidimalo, Nduna, Khunou, & Kholopane, 2014).

In this current study, among young women who were interviewed, there was a link that was elaborated between economic access and young women's vulnerability to engage in transactional sex.

Police (Old man, Flagstaff, KII): At the most, young people are victimised; women are also victims of poverty; people who are destitute, men are also victims of poverty. If you don't have cows they look down upon you.

The participant demonstrated that men were in possession of economic resources that were meant to cater for the whole family. The livestock that the participant referred to is usually owned by men (Ross, 2008; Sobal, 2005). In most cases, these are the fathers. Young women do not have access to such means of livelihood as livestock farming. In the presence of a father, the young women would leverage the economic benefits from their gainfully employed or farming fathers. The Police also mentioned that the *'young women are victims'* this suggests a possibility that the young women were victims of poverty because of their lowered economic position. This income poverty could lead to vulnerability to transactional sex, because of no access to economic resources.

In a context where fathers are regarded as the providers (Makusha & Richter, 2014; Mavungu et al., 2013; Nduna & Khunou, 2014; Padi et al., 2014), their absence takes away that provision with no viable and equivalent alternative. In this case, the young women may opt for transactional sex relationships as highlighted across the transcripts. In the context of father absence, the other push factor for young women to engage in transactional sex may be to provide for their own children, as Senzeni mentioned:

When you are in your community and your neighbour buys a car and I mean you also have a job but you cannot afford that car, you will try by all means [the participant referred here to the use of transactional sex] to buy it. Your neighbour's child has this and you want to buy your child the same thing and at the same time you have no money, you will try by all means.

Concerning Senzeni in the quote above, there was a suggestion that the father of the child, who was expected to be providing, financially for his child, was absent. With this, it seemed evident that young women would engage in transactional sex in the context of father absence. Firstly, they engage in transactional sex when their own fathers are absent to provide for them, and secondly when the father of their offspring is absent and cannot provide for their child(ren). To address income poverty and close the gap created by absent fathers; there was a need for employment of young women so that they do not lose when the father leaves them.

4.6. Chapter summary

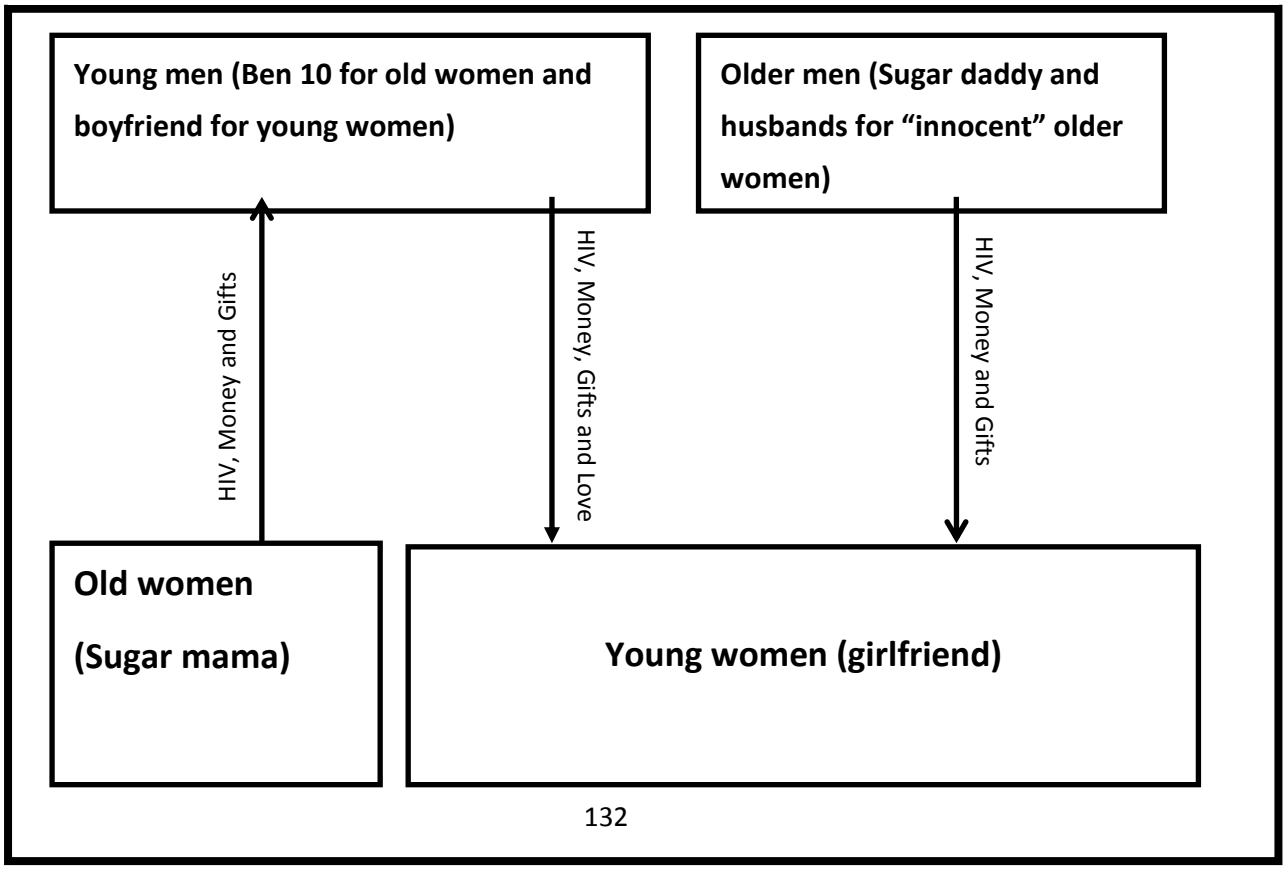
Sex and transactions appear to have a long history in South Africa. However these have been acceptable if they happened within the confines of the community. The community defines what is moral and immoral in the practice of sex and the related transactions. In the tradition of these communities, the young women are not allowed to engage in any sexual intercourse outside the bounds of marriage. *Lobola* (bride price) has to be paid for a man to have sex with a woman. Any sexual intercourse that happens outside the marriage bounds is regarded as immoral and it is punishable. These discourses are promoted by the Christian religion and the African traditional culture. As the young women start to challenge the bounds that are put to them in accessing financial and material benefits through sex, it becomes problematic to the community. Together with the public health intervention messages, the Christian religion and African tradition regard it as immoral for the young women to accept the money from sugar daddies and boyfriends in exchange of sex.

The message shared by the public health is that transactional sex puts the health of young women into increased vulnerability to HIV infection. Both the Christian religion and the African traditional culture also view the practice of transactional sex as immoral and unacceptable. These discourses appeared to be influential to what the participants had to say

in the interviews. The discourses also show the vulnerability of young women in their practice of transactional sex. Finally, these discourses demonstrate the complexities in studying transactional sex and the possible intervention efforts.

The chapter presented three major findings. The first finding was participants' understanding of transactional sex. In this finding, the discourses that were discussed are: age-gap and transactional sex, gender and transactional sex, income poverty and transactional sex as well as alcohol and transactional sex. Secondly, the findings on transactional sex were then linked to HIV vulnerability. Lastly, the probable relationship between transactional sex and father absence is presented. This chapter presented transactional sex as social scripts and sex as a normative. The chapter also presents transactional sex as problematic to the field of public health. In this way, I have tried to be objective with this study. Fig 8 below presents a diagram that summarises the sexual networks that expose young women to HIV vulnerability as found from this study:

Figure 8: HIV vulnerability for young women in transactional sex networks



CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1. Chapter outline

In this chapter, I present the conclusion and recommendations. The chapter is divided into conclusion and recommendations. The recommendations are further divided into; further research, as well as sexuality and structural interventions.

5.2. Conclusion

In this study, my aim was to deepen the understanding of transactional sex in South Africa through examining structural financial constraints for young women. My objectives were to (i) analyse the participants' understanding of transactional sex in KZN, MP and EC provinces of South Africa. (ii) Demonstrate the probable link between transactional sex and father absence, and (iii) describe a probable link between transactional sex and vulnerability to HIV.

The discourses that emerged from this study demonstrated a long historical existence of sex and transactions in KwaZulu-Natal, Mpumalanga and the Eastern Cape Province. The discourses were not directly referring to the transactions and sex as 'transactional sex' per se but punishments in form of fines when the man engages in sexual intercourse with a woman outside the confines of the community's sexual scripts. If not punishment then it will be compensations in form of bride price (*lobola*) when the man gets married so he could have permanent sexual intercourse with the woman, these were acceptable sexual scripts by the community. These discourses that formulated the sexual scripts are influenced by different major discourses in KZN, EC and MP; such as heteronormativity, religious and traditional culture as well as public health interventions in the provinces. The way the participants shared the existence of transactional sex appeared as if they were avoiding some more information on this practice, owing to the sexual scripts in the study communities. This could result in concealing more of the dangers that might be within the practice of transactional sex hence affecting the possibilities of appropriate intervention strategies. This study has discovered the possibilities of father absence and its effects which are primarily financial constraints, resulting in lack of economic resources for the families and young women, as effective in the practice of transactional sex. The effects of transactional sex have been found in this study to be increased HIV vulnerability for the young women across the study areas.

The findings from this study confirm some of the studies that have already been done in other sites across the world, especially in Sub-Saharan Africa, where survival, consumerism and modernity are seen as an influence of transactional sex (Dunkle et al., 2004; Kuehnast, 1998; McLean, 1995; McRobbie, 2008; Mojola, 2014). These studies also demonstrate that there is increased HIV vulnerability and risk for the young women involved in transactional sex, in other areas across the world. However, in this study, I further demonstrate that the financial constraints that influence the young women to engage in transactional sex, they might be as a result of father absence. In summary, transactional sex could be influenced by father absence (owing to young women's financial constraints), and it results in increased vulnerability to HIV infection.

This study did not seek to review transactional sex as either right or wrong. This is a moral question, which is avoided in this thesis. The study sort to describe a context were transactional sex happens and how is it understood by the communities.

5.3. Recommendations

In this section I provide the recommendations for further research and possible sexuality and structural interventions.

5.3.1. Further research

- ✓ This study demonstrated that the absence of a father could have effects on the young women's practice of transactional sex. Further studies with different data collection methodologies such as ethnography are recommended especially for these study areas so that this might provide a more in-depth and extensive understanding of the highlights shared by the participants on the effects of father absence.
- ✓ Findings from this study demonstrate that lack of income influences the young women to engage in transactional sex. Therefore, further studies could be done among young women who have an income in the three provinces to explore if these may share different discourses to their understanding of transactional sex.
- ✓ There is a vast amount of research on transactional sex that is conducted in adolescents' heterosexual relationships. Limited research on sexual minorities leaves them vulnerable and misunderstood.
- ✓ The available research on transactional sex represents a patriarchal society where men are perceived as having control and playing the role of providers for the women. The empirical data for this study has demonstrated that young men also

have significant interests in giving sex to get money and materials such as cars or accommodation. It is recommended that studies in transactional sex should avoid the perpetuation discourses that promote patriarchal perceptions and explore transactional sex particularly where young men are the receivers of financial and material benefits from old women.

5.3.2. Sexuality and structural interventions

- ✓ The findings from this study share a discourse that problematizes the practice of transactional sex. This might be influenced by society which does not approve young women engaging in transactional sex. The community seems to emphasise the protection of young women's health, which is also emphasised by the public health interventions in these provinces. In support of the community and public health interventions, more intervention strategies that are holistic both to reduce and provide safety in the practice of transactional sex are recommended.
- ✓ The strategies to reduce transactional sex might be long term and they should consider extensively addressing factors that influence young women to engage in transactional sex. This could be done by helping young women to attain an education. Doing so will make them employable so that they will get their own income, which could possibly help them be able to afford surviving in the consumerist society.
- ✓ There is also a need for short term intervention strategies that will protect the health of the young women that are already involved in transactional sex. This should be done by educating the community about the risks inherent in transactional sex relationships. These could be done by sharing a different discourse which does not isolate those that are involved in transactional sex by othering them as disrespectful young women and older men who need to be reprimanded. The discourse should empathize with those that are involved in transactional sex and emphasize the practice of safer sex while the long term interventions are underway.
- ✓ The current discourses that come in form of norms and values that are attached to the practice of transactional sex by the health intervention organisations, the Christian religious and African traditional cultures appear to be regressive. This is because they send a message of panic and fear to the young women to an extent that it hinders them from discussing their involvement in transactional sex. The repression on discussions of transactional sex among young women, freely in

these communities revert the efforts to appropriately help the young women. Transactional sex should not be viewed entirely as immoral in these communities. This might appear to young women as judgemental and the intentions of public health to protect the health of young women become less effective.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Certificate of ethics clearance

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (SCHOOL OF HUMAN & COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE	**PROTOCOL NUMBER: MPSYC/16/010 IH**
PROJECT TITLE:	Understanding transactional sex in South Africa: three provinces study in KwaZulu Natal, Eastern Cape and Mpumalanga.
INVESTIGATORS	Mbeve Oncemore
DEPARTMENT	Psychology
DATE CONSIDERED	29/07/16
DECISION OF COMMITTEE*	Approved

This ethical clearance is valid for 2 years and may be renewed upon application

DATE: 29 July 2016

CHAIRPERSON
(Professor Brett Bowman)

cc Supervisor:

Prof. Mzikazi Nduna
Psychology

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR (S)

To be completed in duplicate and **one copy** returned to the Secretary, Room 100015, 10th floor, Senate House, University.

I/we fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I/we guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure be contemplated from the research procedure, as approved, I/we undertake to submit a revised protocol to the Committee.

This ethical clearance will expire on 31 December 2018

PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER IN ALL ENQUIRIES

Appendix B: Information sheets and interview guide

Interview schedule: Key Informant Interviews

Please note that there will be no specific questions decided in advance. Questions will naturally evolve as the researcher probes in the interview. When probing examples such as HIV/AIDS, gender-based violence, fertility etc…will be used to elicit specific responses from the respondents. Also when probing, access to SRHR for groups such as women, youth, men, LGBTI people will be asked specifically to elicit specific responses.

Questions will be asked of the key informants in the following areas:

1. Participation at Community Dialogues or other activities by the implementing CBO
    a. KI will be asked their assessment of whether the reach or coverage of their communities by implementing CBOs is adequate. Do they reach more or less people in this community? Why/why not?
    b. KIs will be asked how they feel about the relevance of the interventions implemented by the CBOs in their communities
        i. Do the interventions implemented by the CBO resolve the underlying SRHR issues in this community?
        ii. *What do you think about the Quality* of the change that follows the implementation of these interventions? Do people change their attitudes and behaviours? Do you think this change is sustainable? Why/why not?
2. Knowledge of sexual health and rights
    a. Would you say that sexual health services are available and getting better in your local clinic? Why/why not.
3. Actions taken by the participant to promote sexual health rights in this community
    a. Who uses public health facilities here and why? (why not)
4. Challenges experienced by the KI in their capacity as a community leader in addressing sexual health and rights
5. Knowledge of reproductive health and rights
    a. Would you say that reproductive health services are available and getting better in your local clinic? Why/why not.
    b. Actions taken by the participant in their capacity as a leader to promote reproductive health and rights

c. Challenges experienced by the KI in their capacity as a community leader in addressing reproductive health and rights

6. Questions will be asked about the relationship between stakeholders in this community and their roles in advancing SRHR. These are stakeholders such relevant government departments, CBOs, FBOs, elected political leaders and traditional leaders

7. Finally, participants will be asked what kind of support do they feel they need in order to advance SRHR in this community

Interview schedule: Focused Group Discussions

Please note that there will be no specific questions decided in advance. Questions will naturally evolve as the researcher probes in the interview. When probing, examples such as HIV/AIDS, gender-based violence, fertility etc…will be used to elicit specific responses from the respondents. Also when probing, access to SRHR for groups such as women, youth, men, LGBTI people will be asked specifically to elicit specific responses.

Questions will be asked of the key informants in the following areas:

1. FGD members participation at Community Dialogues or other activities carried out by the implementing CBO
    a. Participants will be asked their assessment of whether the reach o coverage of their communities by implementing CBOs is adequate. Do they reach more or less people in this community? Why/why not?
    b. Participants will be asked how they feel about the relevance of the interventions implemented by the CBOs in their communities
        i. Do the interventions implemented by the CBO resolve the underlying SRHR issues in this community?
2. Knowledge of sexual health and rights
    a. Participants will be asked to discuss sexual health needs of men and women in this community
        i. Would you say that sexual health services are available and getting better in your local clinic? Why/why not.
    b. Participants will be asked to discuss positive and not so good experiences that they know people in this community encounter when accessing sexual health services at the local PHC
    c. Participants will be asked to discuss actions taken by members of the general community to promote sexual health rights in this community
    d. Participants will be asked to discuss challenges that people experience in trying to promote and access sexual health rights in this community
3. Knowledge of reproductive health and rights
    a. Participants will be asked to discuss reproductive health needs of men and women in this community
        i. Would you say that reproductive health services are available and getting better in your local clinic? Why/why not.

b. Participants will be asked to discuss positive and not so good experiences that they know people in this community encounter when accessing reproductive health services at the local PHC

c. Participants will be asked to discuss actions taken by members of the general community to promote reproductive health rights in this community

d. Participants will be asked to discuss challenges that people experience in trying to promote and access reproductive health rights in this community

4. Questions will be asked about the relationship between stakeholders in this community and their roles in advancing SRHR. These are stakeholders such relevant government departments, CBOs, FBOs, elected political leaders and traditional leaders

5. Participants will be asked about who uses public health facilities here and why? (why not).

6. Finally, participants will be asked what kind of support do they feel they need in order to advance SRHR in this community

Appendix C: Consent forms

Participant consent form: Focus Group Discussion

STUDY TITLE: Making Sexual and Reproductive Rights Real in South Africa: a multiple case study of the AIDS Foundation South Africa intervention in the Eastern Cape, Mpumalanga and KwaZulu-Natal

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this study.

What this study is about?

We are conducting this study to learn more about the opinions of the community about the interventions that have been taking place in this community. We are interested in men and women's health experiences, knowledge and practices, and to also learn about how people in this community feel about social and health services that are provided for them.

In this study, men and women aged 18 and above from this neighbourhood who agree to participate in this study are interviewed. If you agree to be part of this interview please remember that you are not forced to.

Information about this group discussion

During this interview I, the interviewer, will ensure that no one hears our private conversation so that you are free to answer all the questions. As a participant, I will ask you to share information in response to interview questions that should not last more than 40 minutes. I will record your responses on this audio recorder (field worker shows prospective participant the recorder), which will be kept confidential and stored securely upon completion of the interview. Please note that you can withdraw anytime from the study should you not wish to continue or you can refuse to answer questions that make you uncomfortable.

What are the risks and benefits of participating?

There will not be any personal benefits or foreseeable risks for participating in this research. To protect you as a participant from being identified by readers of the reports your real name will be recorded only in this consent form but not in the form where we record the answers. There is no compensation for participating in this research.

How will my privacy be protected?

All responses will remain entirely confidential; only authorized members of the research team will have access to the data collected. Under no circumstances will attributable information be made public as a result of this study. A copy of this consent form will be kept by the authorized researchers.

If you agree to participate in the research I cordially invite you to sign consent that you have read and understood this consent form and you are giving your informed undue consent to participate:

I, (Complete Name below) agree to participate in a group discussion for the study entitled "Making Sexual and Reproductive Rights Real in South Africa: a multiple case study of the AIDS Foundation South Africa intervention in the Eastern Cape, Mpumalanga and KwaZulu-Natal"

Name and surname	Signature
1.	
2.	
3.	
4.	
5.	
6.	
7.	
8.	
9.	
10.	

Date: ___ / ___ / _____

Please feel free to contact Mzikazi Nduna, Cell: 083 631 2537 or Tel: 011- 717 4168 should you encounter some problems or have questions afterwards.