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**The Bitter Sweet Reality: ‘Sugar Daddy’ Relationships  
and the Construction of Traditional African Masculinities  
in the Context of Durban, KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa**

by

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**Declaration**

I, Rosheena Jeawon, declare that in this work all citations, references and borrowed ideas have been appropriately acknowledged. I hereby confirm that an external editor was used to proofread and correct spelling and grammar errors.

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## **Dedication**

This work is dedicated to my role models and best friends in my life, my parents, without whom I would have never achieved all that I have today. It is also dedicated to my brother, Mahendra Jeawon, who has been my source of inspiration and pillar of strength and who taught me that even the largest task can be accomplished with patience if it is done one step at a time.

## **Abstract**

The aim of this study is to explore ‘sugar daddy’ relationships and the construction of traditional *amaZulu* masculinities in KwaZulu-Natal. The study has four key research objectives. First, the study seeks to ascertain the main reasons why older men pursue transactional sex relationships with younger women. Secondly, the study seeks to probe the main gratification men derive from sexual relations with a younger woman. Third, the study seeks to probe the perceived men’s sense of control over younger women. Lastly, the study seeks to problematise African masculinity and perceived control and dominance over younger women. The study employs a qualitative research methodology with an exploratory research design to better understand the social phenomenon under study. Consistent with a qualitative methodology, the study employed in-depth face to face interviews as the primary data collection instrument and made use of purposive sampling in selecting respondents and key informants. The study made use of Constructionism and Social Identity Theory in its theoretical framework. Both theories assist in assembling an understanding of group membership and the construction of traditional *amaZulu* masculinities in the context of the ‘sugar daddy’ phenomenon. The study looked at how middle-aged *amaZulu* men define their masculinity through transactional sex with younger women. It sampled 22 *amaZulu* men and their accounts of their ‘sugar daddy’ relationships. These accounts offer insightful interpretations regarding the construction of traditional *amaZulu* masculinities in KwaZulu-Natal. While trying to ‘define’ masculine identities, the study also acknowledges the fluidity and complexity of the topic. The study makes the assertion that the motivations for men (and the women) in cross-generational sexual relationships are varied and complex. Findings show that for most men however, the key drivers are culturally based (or culturally reduced understandings) and are linked to self-esteem and social standing.

### **Key themes:**

Transactional relationships, African masculinity, sugar daddies, power and control, constructions of masculinity

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# CHAPTER 1: GENERAL OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

## 1.1 Introduction

Femininity is generally linked to the roles and behaviour traditionally associated with women while masculinity entails the qualities traditionally and or culturally associated with men. Kimmel and Massner (1989) and Kimmel (1990) observed that masculinity is a socially constructed concept underpinned by definitions of the so-called standard and acceptable behaviour of men in society. Thus, masculinity is not an inborn part of men, as Beynon (2002:1) asserted “men are not born with masculinity as part of their genetic make-up; rather it is something into which they are acculturated and which is composed of social codes of behaviour which they learn to reproduce in culturally appropriate ways”. This social construct states that men, in general, and male behaviour, in particular, are often perceived as the (unquestioned) standard. One can argue that this tendency to not question male behaviour reinforces as normal, masculine privileges over feminine prejudices. It also sheds light into some of the ‘unconventional’ relationships between men and women for example ‘sugar daddy’ relationships, where men engage in multiple sexual relationships with younger women in order to assert their masculinity. According to Hansen (2012), some older men embrace multiple sex partners with young women for cultural and traditional reasons.

Masculinity as a social construct is intertwined with culture. Beynon (2002:1) stated that “masculinity can never float free of culture: on the contrary, it is the child of culture, shaped and expressed differently at different times in different circumstances in different places by individuals and groups”. It can be said that this social construct might have contributed to men playing a dominant role in social structures while some women have taken the subordinate role. Furthermore, one can argue that while culture condemns women for being sexually liberal, it dictates that men can be as liberal as they want as it defines their masculinity. It can therefore be assumed that this is one of the driving forces behind the realities of the ‘sugar daddy’ relationships that have plagued a number of communities.

Connell (1995) and Hadebe (2010) asserted that the concept of masculinity unpacks what it means to be a man as well as what is socially/culturally expected from men. As a concept, it intersects with manhood, male identity, manliness and men’s roles. Additionally, there are various aspects which influence the understanding of masculinity, including family life, sexual relationships, and the way men understand themselves (Connell, 1995; Hadebe, 2010).Tim,

Connell and Lee (1985:587) claimed that “masculinity varies from culture to culture”. They pointed out that there are different kinds of masculinity and there is a hierarchy between them. This means that masculinities are not equal in nature; there are dominant masculinities as well as subordinate ones. In the same vein, Bhana and Pattman (2011:138) stated that “some of these qualities within particular cultural groups; include boldness and strength, sexual prowess as well as the capacity to be competitive, self-confident, active, strong, aggressive, and independent”. With these various concepts in mind, especially the concept of proving sexual prowess, it is easier to understand why many older men are drawn to ‘sugar daddy’ relationships with younger women.

As corroborated by Beynon (2002:1), the concept of masculinity is composed of many masculinities. This argument was further emphasised by Groes-Green (2009:288) who noted that “there are a series of concepts for masculinities defined by their place in the matrices of power, inequality and gender structures”. Connell (2009) identified hegemonic masculinities as the most disreputable and prevalent in studies of men in the African continent. Wentzell (2014) added that hegemonic masculinity is conveyed differently across cultures. However, despite this difference in cultural expressions, there are similarities in other aspects. These include the male provider role in which men who provide for their female partners and families are seen as masculine, responsible, and respectable. In many studies, the concept has been used to describe various male powers over women ranging from economic, social and physical dominance to political, judicial or cultural authority (Connell, 1995; Groes-Green, 2009). According to Hunter (2005:82), “the breadwinner role is the so called male ideal that ‘stands’ out as the ‘hegemonic’ masculinity in much of sub-Saharan Africa” and is associated with men who can provide economically for their female partners and families. Morrell, Jewkes and Lindegger (2012) stated that another defining factor of hegemonic masculinity is that of men who assert their dominance and superiority over women and over other men who express other so-called weak forms of masculinity. This means that in hegemonic masculinity, manhood is hierarchically exclusive.

Hegemonic masculinity is also associated with men who exert their sexual supremacy through various displays of frequent causal sexual exploits with different sexual partners (see Jewkes, Morrell, Sikweyiya, Dunkle, and Penn-Kekana, 2012). With the understanding that hegemonic masculinities are closely linked to power relations between men and women, I explored whether some men have indulged themselves in sexual relationships with younger women to prove their masculinity.

In the context of Southern Africa, for example, masculine identities are claimed to be closely linked to a man's ability to attract and maintain various sexual partners (see Mealey, 2000; Machel, 2001; Rosenbaum, Zenilman, Rose, Wingood, and DiClemente, 2011). It is within this context of masculinity that in South Africa, the term 'sugar daddy' relationship is used to describe "rich older men who 'prey' on younger girls with gifts in return for both their company and sexual favours" (Morrell, Jewkes and Lindegger, 2012:65).

There are a number of perceptions about the existence of asymmetrical relationships, and in the South African context, one of the most possible theoretical links to the 'sugar daddy' phenomenon is the construction of traditional masculinities amongst African men, and within many African societies. Studies in African masculinities in turn seek to understand how boys are socialised to become men in specific historical and cultural contexts, and why men behave the way they do in order to be identified or to be seen and respected as masculine. This is hegemonic masculinity – a form of masculinity dominant in the context of African societies. This is the 'type' of masculinity that boys most aspire to or that they measure themselves against. The concept of hegemonic masculinity was first proposed in reports from a field study of social inequality of Australian high schools (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2007). Connell (1985:82) also noted that men gain a dividend from "patriarchy in terms of honour, prestige and the right to command". All this makes situated sense in the context of transactional sexual relationships, hegemonic masculinity and the sugar daddy phenomenon in South Africa.

Against this background, this research explores *amaZulu* traditional masculinities and how they are constructed in the context of *amaZulu* men in KwaZulu-Natal. The study probes if this expression of manhood can be understood within particular expressions of hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 2005) and within the context of soliciting and maintaining transactional sexual relationships. The study further probes the ways in which/whether older, financially stable *amaZulu* men embrace and enact their so called 'masculine identity' in and through engaging in transactional sexual relationships with younger women.

## **1.2 Background to the problem**

In different parts of Africa, tradition and culture dictates that for a man to be labelled as masculine or a 'manly man', he has to have the necessary skills and abilities to attract and court a woman as well as maintaining his sexual relationships (see Mealey, 2000; Machel, 2001;

Rosenbaum, Zenilman, Rose, Wingood, and DiClemente, 2011). According to Mthombeni (2016), a man with the ability to do the above is called *indoda emadodeni* (Zulu for a 'real man'). It is assumed that within this context, older *amaZulu* men in their quest to be called *indoda emadodeni* engage in transactional sex with girls young enough to be their daughters.

The term 'transactional sex' was coined roughly two decades ago to distinguish between sexual relationships by sex workers with their clients and relationships that focus on the exchange of sex for economic gain (see Groes-Green, 2013; Leclerc-Madlala, 2003). The latter is not considered to be commercial by the parties involved but a mere act of exchanging sex for gifts. The argument is further emphasised by Luke, Goldberg, Mberu and Zulu (2011:8) who bring to light that "transactional sex characteristically involves exchanging sex for gifts or money and it mostly involves older men and younger women" ('sugar daddy' relationships).

This study probes the ways in which older, middle class urban *amaZulu* men construct and enact their so called 'masculine identity' in and through engaging in transactional sexual relationships with younger women. Qualitative researchers indicate that the phenomenon of 'sugar daddy' as the act of adult men engaging adolescent girls in economically dependent relationships is widespread (see Mealey, 2000; Machel, 2001; Rosenbaum, Zenilman, Rose, Wingood, and DiClemente, 2011). Morrell et al. (2011) defined a 'sugar daddy' as a man with a non-marital partner at least 10 years younger who exchanges cash and/or goods for sex. The relationship may be characterised as an intersection of intergenerational and transactional sex between young women (ranging between 16 and 23) and older men and the paradigm is usually one of poor, young women who are financially dependent on the older man. These older men provide these young women with survival needs as well as luxuries (see Slonim-Nevo and Mukuka, 2007). However, young women's motivation for transactional sex or cross-generational sexual relationships is considered to be complex and varied but primarily economic.

Inequality is still very widespread in South Africa and years after democracy it still rears its ugly head. Barolsky, Pillay, Sanger and Ward (2008:100) stated that "despite the country's political shift from apartheid to democracy, inequality has increased rather than declined". Social science researchers have shown that inequality is the number one cause of frustration among marginalised communities. According to the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSV) (2009), the majority people (the previously marginalised in particular) expected financial and material growth through the provision of jobs, housing and basic

services. However, their expectations have not been fulfilled. This inequality directly contributes to the high levels of sugar-daddy relationships in South Africa. Groes-Green (2009:13) added that “due to the widening gap between men and women in the city and the high prices on consumer goods, young women find these relationships as an alternative means of survival. In the absence of work, status and money, many young women from disadvantaged poor backgrounds engage in ‘sugar daddy’ relationships to eke out a living.” Sugar daddies therefore play a role as an alternative means of survival for the young women.

In support of the above, a Tanzanian study by Silberschmidt and Rasch (2001:1822) noted that most of the adolescent girls in the country “did not consider sex as an activity by which their own sexual needs would be met”. It was seen as an activity intended to sexually meet the needs of men while financially meeting the women’s needs. Sex with older men is always preceded by gifting, as found in rural Mudzi (Malawi) by Verheijen (2011) and rural Mandeni (South Africa) by Hunter (2002). In a study by Adhikan (2014:218), married young Indian women whose husbands had been retrenched, resorted to survival sex in order to “ameliorate the economic hardships in their homes. In order to create happiness within their households, these young women secretly entered into the sex trade and pretended to be working night shifts at nursing homes in Kolkata.” Transactional sex can also be seen as a declaration of power in cultures where women’s sexuality is highly cherished. In a study conducted by Verheijen (2011:122), rural women in Malawi who engaged in transactional sex were not acutely destitute, nor were they “merely passive victims. Their motives were diverse, ranging from gaining the respect of their community, avoiding the gossip triggered by being single...and also poverty driven.” The gifting and sex were thus found to be related as lack of food, soap or clothes often led women to engage in these transactional relationships. The males (young boys) in Gukurume’s study (2011:191) study of transactional sex at University of Zimbabwe claimed that “girls have become so materialistic and obsessed with luxuries and hence they are motivated to enter into transactional relationships for material benefits and money”.

As stated above, while women mostly embrace these relationships for economic reasons because of the huge inequality gaps that exist between men and women, studies indicate that on the other hand the (heterosexual) older men’s motives are varied, one of them being assertion of cultural or traditional masculinity (see Hansen, 2012; Connell, 1995) over women. It appears as if the same culture and social construct that has led to the poverty of women (through inequality) is being used by men to engage in cross-generational sex in the name of masculinity. Research findings (see Sathiparsad, 2006; Hames, 2009) have shown that this

gender inequality caused by some cultural and social constructs has deepened the vulnerability of many women, with the marginalised and poor women being hardest hit.

According to Goody (1976:108), in most African societies, the man is seen as the so-called “natural provider for the family who besides often controlling the land also decided over sexual and reproductive issues”. As noted by Hansen (2012) and Connell (1995) above, older men embrace transactional sex for cultural and traditional reasons. Goody (1976) also noted that men who conform more to cultural masculinity are more tolerant of transactional sex. Kimmel (1990: 100) added that therefore in “order to be regarded as a real man, a man has to have traits like heterosexuality or physical strength”. These traits vary by location and context and are influenced by social and cultural factors (Witt, 2010). Connell (2005) added that ideas about masculinity are not fixed, but are constantly changing according to social context. Backhaus (2008:9) asserted that within the South African context, there are two types of masculinity challenging each other. These two forms are called ‘traditional’ and ‘modern’ and they are closely linked to attitudes towards gender issues, sex and masculinity.

Backhaus (2008:212) further linked the two types of masculinities to the high prevalence of HIV in the country: “there are extremely high numbers of HIV infections developed within the area of conflict between the two different constructions of masculinity. Male humans, who are socialised into a traditional construction of masculinity, sometimes struggle to fulfil the expectations of this kind of masculinity because of the challenges of a modern society. So, they are trapped between the two kinds of masculinity and that often leads the men to stress other parts of their masculinity construction by having as a result, several sexual partners” (Backhaus, 2008:109). More often than not, younger girls in need of being taken care of are the target. This contributes to them becoming targets to ‘sugar daddies’. It can then be argued that the above contention drives men into these relationships.

According to George (2006), within the *amaZulu* context, it is intriguing to consider the correlation between ‘sugar daddy’ relationships and the construction of traditional *amaZulu* masculinities. This exploration helps to further a contextual understanding by revisiting traditional societal expectations of masculine men in KwaZulu-Natal. Traditional avenues for men to gain honour were providing for their families and exercising leadership. A traditional *amaZulu* family consisted of the man as the breadwinner and the woman as the homemaker. According to Mudaly (2012:111), “in the late 19th century, the status of these men relied on the building of successful homesteads, the taking of wives and accumulation of cattle.

Masculine men were heads of homesteads and polygamous patriarchs.” Pettifor, MacPhail, Anderson and Maman (2012:54) added that “undoubtedly, the popularity of men with many women was celebrated and men strived to have multiple wives”. Today, polygamy is not as popular as it used to be and men do not necessarily marry multiple wives. Instead they engage in and indulge in multiple relationships with younger women. In these relationships, they continue to play their expected role of ‘breadwinner’ by ensuring that the women are taken care of at the same time as ensuring that their masculine status is maintained.

This study explores the bitter sweet reality of ‘sugar daddy’ relationships and the construction of hegemonic masculinity among the *amaZulu* men in KwaZulu Natal. This study probes if this masculinity can be understood within particular expressions of hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 2005) or what has also been termed ‘traditional masculinity’ (see also Morrell, 1998; 2005) within the context of soliciting and maintaining transactional sexual relationships. The study also attempts to contextually reflect on important lessons about the evolving nature of masculinity and the construction of traditional forms of masculinity among the *amaZulu* men.

The study additionally might allow relevant role players in women/gender/youth and social development programmes to gain insight into *amaZulu* men and insight into their construction and potential reconstruction of masculinity for a possibly more equitable and gender sensitive society.

Lastly, the study endeavoured to shed light on some of the issues that may have contributed to the emergence of ‘sugar daddy’ relationships and the impact of these relationships in constructing traditional *amaZulu* masculinities.

The issue of ‘sugar daddies’ is an old phenomenon in South Africa but the country has faced an increase in ‘sugar daddy’ relationships, particularly in KwaZulu-Natal. The KwaZulu-Natal MEC for Health, Dr. Sibongiseni Dhlomo conceptualised the ‘Sugar Daddy’ Campaign, warning against cross-generational sex (Department of Health, 2016). According to the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Health (2016), the idea behind the campaign was to challenge the acceptance of cross-generational relationships as the norm, and to introduce an element of community leadership and dishonour older men who seek sex with young girls. The strategy of the campaign was to defame cross-generational sex, which has been tolerated by some people. Many communities however have continued to frown upon cross-generational relationships. Men who date younger women have been stigmatised as paedophiles while the younger women dating them are labelled ‘gold diggers’.



South Africa as a country has joined in the fight against the ‘sugar daddy’ relationships. As a result, the issue of the ‘blesser’ (another term for the ‘sugar daddy’, who claims to bless the younger girl with his wealth) was in the spotlight at the International Aids Conference in Durban in 2016. In support of the fight against ‘sugar daddy’ relationships, the South African government launched an awareness programme that saw the then Deputy President Cyril Ramaphosa chanting ‘Down with Blesser. Down with Sugar Daddies’ (New Vision, 2016; eNCA, 2016). Campaigns to challenge men to reform and embrace a vision of masculinity that is monogamous, responsible, and built on respect for themselves and others (Walker, 2005) are also being developed all over South Africa.

### **1.3 Problem statement**

While there is a substantial body of knowledge on transactional sex across many sub-Saharan contexts and situational specificities (see Kaufman et al., 2004; Kaute-Defor, 2004; Hawkins et al., 2005; Dunkle et al., 2007; Hunter, 2007, 2010; Bhana and Pattman, 2011), the specific ‘sugar daddy’ phenomena and the nature of this particular type of transactional sexual relationship has been relatively less researched, within the context of (constructed) masculinity. To my knowledge, a specific qualitative focus on the older *amaZulu* men in these relationships is also largely absent from the literature of transactional sex in the South African context which has instead focused on women in these so-called relationships. The study will therefore fill this gap in knowledge.

According to Hamber (2010:4), there is a sense that “*masculinity is in crisis*” in South Africa as men no longer know who they are as men and security is at the core of the masculinity debate. Beynon (2002:2) asserted that “masculinity is always interpolated by cultural, historical and geographical location”. Connell (2005:32) claimed masculinity is defined in traditional and cultural terms. Therefore, traditional masculinity is the culturally idealised form of “manhood that is socially and hierarchically exclusive and concerned with breadwinning, is pseudo-natural and tough, economically rich and socially sustained”. This means that in order for a man to be called *indoda yamadoda* (a real man), he has to possess the above qualities and attributes. Masculine men cannot be linked to weakness, poverty/lack or physical weakness.

Kalipeni (2000:20) stated that traditional *amaZulu* masculinities have also been seen to have defined men as “the social group that claims, and sustains a leading and dominant position in a social hierarchy; simultaneously obliging women to hold a subordinate social position” and

consequently falling into the inequality trap. Linked to the above issue of women's subordinate social position and their fall into the inequality trap, research findings have likewise demonstrated how this gender inequality may impact negatively on the vulnerability of many categories of women (see Sathiparsad, 2006; Hames, 2009). Shefer (2007:200) asserted that as a result of this inequality, many women find alternative means of survival albeit unconventional means. These alternatives include engaging in 'sugar daddy' relationships. 'Sugar daddies'; play an important role in maintaining unequal gender relations and maintaining men's control of women through economic resources. This phenomenon appears to have been assimilated in social relations and hence has been afforded some acceptance (Shefer, 2007). Transactional sex has almost come to be perceived as 'normal' (Shefer, 2007:200). This research therefore interrogates the relationship between feelings of control (if any) and the construction of traditional *amaZulu* masculinity.

Jewkes and Dunkle (2012:45) stated that, additionally, "older men appear to foster 'sugar daddy' relationships based on the assumption that the younger women are sexually inexperienced, innocent, and low-risk partners who cause little stress. This may explain why 'sugar daddy' relationships have emerged, but it does not explain how these relationships make the 'sugar daddies' feel. In addition, literature fails to give a critical insight into trends in 'sugar daddy' relationships in South Africa especially among the *amaZulu* men. This study was conducted to fill this gap and aimed to explore how 'sugar daddies' feel after engaging in transactional sexual relationships with younger women.

Sathiparsad (2006:117) stated that "cultural prescriptions such as (culturally obliged) submissiveness together with sexual subordinate obedience and willingness have also played a huge role in younger women engaging in relations with older men." This sexual subordinate obedience has found its way into 'sugar daddy' relationships. According to Kalipeni (2000), as a result many women who embrace these relationships and come from disadvantaged backgrounds have little to say on what happens in these relationships, thereby sinking deeper into the subordinate role. While women sink deeper into subordination, the men's role as leaders and dominant parties (Kalipeni, 2000) is intensified. In addition to men playing the leading and dominant part in relationships, studies further show that age-disparate sex also plays a role in boosting a man's self-esteem and social and cultural standing (Kurz, 2002; Luke, 2005). Linked to this, the study interrogates the role of 'sugar daddy' relationships in shaping the construction of traditional *amaZulu* masculinities in KwaZulu-Natal.

Studies have linked ‘sugar daddy’ relationships, not only to the economic needs of a young woman but to the cultural constructions of masculinity and ‘male sex-seeking behaviours’, one form of which is transactional sex (Shefer, 2007:82). This is the point of insertion for this study.

Transactional sex falls within the domain of multiple sexual partners. Therefore, the study is further contextualised within the broader interrogation of patriarchal forms of (traditional *amaZulu*) masculinity and will aim to investigate these relationships and their effects on the construction of masculine identities.

#### **1.4 Aim of the research**

The aim of this study was to explore ‘sugar daddy’ relationships and the construction of traditional *amaZulu* masculinities in KwaZulu-Natal.

#### **1.5 Objectives of the study**

The following objectives were designed to fulfil the aim of the research:

- To look at *amaZulu* men’s, engagement in ‘sugar daddy’ relationships.
- To probe feelings emerging among *amaZulu* men who engage in ‘sugar daddy’ relationships in KwaZulu-Natal.
- To explore the construction of traditional *amaZulu* masculinity among the men in KwaZulu-Natal.

#### **1.6 Significance of the study**

Various reasons make this study important. Transactional and cross generational sexual relationships are fraught, especially in today’s society that is ravaged with HIV/AIDS. Role players and relevant stakeholders involved in women/gender/youth and social development programmes need to know what factors contribute to young women’s desire or interest in ‘sugar daddy’ relationships and how these put the young women at increased risk. For example, understanding the dynamics in ‘sugar daddy’ relationships and some of the accompanying risks such as unprotected sex, unwanted pregnancies and abortions, could enable community initiatives in KwaZulu-Natal to address meaningfully the various risks for the young women involved. More projects and programmes aimed at the prevention of transactional sex can then

be created and implemented to address the ‘sugar daddy’ relationships. These programmes need to be people-centred, reachable and target the marginalised communities who are facing this challenge.

As already mentioned in the background to the study, most of the older men in these relationships play the dominant role and have a say on whether or not they want to use protection or condoms (and most often than not they do not). Arguably, diseases such as HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted infections might be curbed if the young women are equipped to negotiate safe sex and are more aware of the risks of unprotected sex with ‘sugar daddies’.

## **1.7 Structure of the study**

This study consists of eight chapters that are divided as follows.

### *Chapter 1: Introduction and Background*

This chapter introduces the background and outline of the study. It highlights how men and women are expected to conform to acceptable male or female behaviour and questions whether this social construct might have contributed to men playing a dominant role in social structures while some women have taken the subordinate role. It introduces the ways in which older middle class urban *amaZulu* men construct and enact their so called ‘masculine identity’ in and through engaging in transactional sexual relationships with younger women and refers to *amaZulu* masculinities as a particular analytical category. The chapter further discusses the research problem, the central aim, objectives and significance of the study.

### *Chapter 2: Literature Review*

This chapter constitutes an in-depth review of some of the past scholarly contributions regarding ‘sugar daddy’ relationships and the construction of masculinities. In addition, the chapter highlights the applicability of ‘sugar daddy’ relationships as a predictor of the construction and enactment of male masculinities in contexts such as Africa and KwaZulu-Natal. Furthermore, the chapter gives an insight into the causes, effects, and resultant perceptions of men in traditional and modern times, while striving to understand some of the paradigm shifts that may have occurred. The study is further contextualised within the broader interrogation of patriarchal forms of (traditional *amaZulu*) masculinity and investigates these relationships on the construction of masculine identities.

### *Chapter 3: Methodological and Theoretical Framework*

The third chapter includes a description of the procedure that was used to collect, interpret and analyse data. This includes the research design, justification for the selected design, population and sample (recruitment strategy), data collection, informed consent and voluntary participation, data analysis, assumptions, limitations and delimitations of the selected methodology, the researcher's role and potential ethical issues. Theories which have guided the study include Social Constructionist Theory and Social Identity Theory. Both theories have contributions to make in terms of understanding group membership and the construction of traditional *amaZulu* masculinities in the context of the 'sugar daddy' phenomenon.

### *Chapter 4: Problematizing Themes of 'Culture' and Hegemonic Masculinity*

This chapter critically analyses two critical and contextually situated themes from the study which are 'culture' and 'hegemonic masculinity'. Research participants provide insights into the role of culture and how it dictates the way they behave, relate to and treat women. The chapter highlights that despite the fact that the men come from different provinces, have different backgrounds and educational qualifications, they are in agreement when it comes to the role *amaZulu* culture plays and has played in their lives. The narratives of the men suggest that in *amaZulu* communities, men are initiated from boyhood into manhood and exposed to community traditions so that they can learn how to behave and stand out. Part of the initiation includes lessons on how to be a man, their role as providers and the significance of having multiple relationships. This chapter further discusses the fact that in the *amaZulu* context, hegemonic masculinity is closely related to qualities like physical strength, the ability to provide, sexual prowess, among others; this is every man's dream. Hegemonic masculine identities in the *amaZulu* communities are closely tied to a man's ability to attract and maintain sexual partners, play the breadwinner role as well as sustain a leading and dominant position in a sexual relationship while the woman holds a subordinate role.

### *Chapter 5: Probing Control and Power and Patriarchy*

This chapter critically analyses the need for power and control over women and the emergence of 'sugar daddy' relationships in KwaZulu-Natal. In relation to this attribute, some of the issues explored included the relationship between feelings of power and control and women's expectations. Age differences are examined as it is assumed that it placed women in disadvantaged positions in terms of feeling control or challenging the men. The dominance of men will be critically discussed from their economic status. This chapter further probes if the need for power and control is directly correlated with the evolution of 'sugar daddy'

relationships in KwaZulu-Natal. The role of money as the means of control and power in ‘sugar daddy’ relationships is examined. This chapter seeks to understand whether ‘sugar daddy’ relationships are aimed at constructing traditional *amaZulu* masculinities through power and control over young women and whether these masculinities are a form of identity that defines the men of KwaZulu-Natal.

#### *Chapter 6: Gender and Masculinity and Cross-Generational and Transactional Sex*

This chapter discusses cross-generation sex and transactional sex as relationships between older men and younger women; which are normally marred by risky sexual behaviour where more often than not, the young women do not have a voice in whether a condom should be used or not (Hope, 2007). This section discusses the young women’s vulnerability to exploitation in many cross-generational relationships, given the structural and institutional issues such as lack of choice facing those living in poverty, the need to pay school fees, and purchase uniforms and school books. It also discusses the risk of unwanted pregnancy and dangers of sexually transmitted infections normally linked to these relationships.

#### *Chapter 7: Beyond Sugar Babies and the ‘Sugar Bowl’*

This chapter will critically discuss understanding intimacy in transactional sexual relationships and its implications for the construction of traditional African masculinity. In this chapter, I discuss the fact that ‘sugar daddy’ relationships are similar to other kinds of intimate relationships, and some parallels can be drawn with traditional dating relationships. I also highlight the fact that while ‘sugar daddy’ relationships can be likened to traditional dating in terms of emotional connections and going on dates, there are also important differences. This assertion informs this chapter in terms of understanding the state of intimacy in transactional sexual relationships and its implications for the construction of *amaZulu* masculinity.

Additionally, this chapter discusses the notion that masculinity is ‘in crisis’ and this crisis is caused by society trying to intentionally deceive men with false substitutes for true masculinity (Harbinger, 2018). This chapter also explores whether sex is something people do, not necessarily something that defines who they are. Therefore, having multiple sexual relationships or transactional sexual relationships with younger women is not what makes a man, *indoda emadodeni*.

#### *Chapter 8: Conclusion*

This study sought to find out the role played by ‘sugar daddy’ relationships in shaping the construction of *amaZulu* masculinities. Conclusions emanating from the study are discussed in this final chapter.

## CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

### 2.1 Introduction

Current interest in ‘sugar daddy’ relationships is mostly due to the ravaging impacts of HIV/AIDS. For example, Leclerc-Madlala (2008) asserted that the stereotype of older men engaging in sexual relationships with young women plays an important role in the HIV/AIDS discourse in Southern Africa. Wyrod et al. (2011) stated that much has been written about ‘sugar daddies’ and the problems they bring in the context of HIV/AIDS. They attributed what they call ‘unbalanced relationships’ to the spread of the disease. UNAIDS (2004) added that in sub-Saharan Africa, young women ranging between 15 and 24 years are three times more likely to be infected with HIV/AIDS than young men their age. This is largely due to the risky ‘sugar daddy’ relationships. Even though the studies inevitably touch on the link between ‘sugar daddy’ relationships and HIV/AIDS, the purpose of this study is to focus on the ‘sugar daddy’ relationships and the construction of hegemonic masculinity. As a socially constituted behaviour, the motivations, values and meanings ascribed to transactional sex vary within particular populations and across cultures. According to Stoebenau et al. (2011), sexual expression and ‘sugar daddy’ relationships encompass a range of ideologies and behaviours such as moral codes, beliefs, attitudes and sexual activities in such a way that economic and historical forces negotiate their meanings.

It remains widely acknowledged that ‘sugar daddy’ relationships in South Africa are primarily shaped by normative heterosexual activities. For instance, Holmes (2003:3) stated that it is well acknowledged that “HIV/AIDs in sub-Saharan Africa is predominantly spread through normative heterosexual activity”. Leier (2014) asserted that it is widely recognised that normative heterosexual activity is the primary mechanism for spreading HIV/AIDS. Leclerc-Madlala (2004) asserted that while it is primarily recognised that normative heterosexual activity in Southern Africa is the main cause of the spread of HIV/AIDS, it is vitally important to take into cognisance that what is understood as normative heterosexual activity in the continent’s countless political, cultural and socio-economic contexts is not the full picture. Similarly, the need to understand the meaning of what constitutes transactional sexual relationships in the *amaZulu* contexts of KwaZulu-Natal cannot be overemphasised and this understanding is far from complete. Zembe et al. (2013:5) asserted that adding to that “coupled with the effects of globalisation, the rapid pace with which change has been experienced in this society implies that the patterns and nature of activities that, not so long ago, were considered

normative are likely to be different in modern-day society”. Thus, descriptions of what is considered normative in the current society of KwaZulu-Natal (including sexual descriptions) ought to stretch beyond issues of contextual or spatial specificities of these ways to include the temporality of the issues in settings where they take place, KwaZulu-Natal in this case.

Transactional sex has been documented as defining a state of older men exploiting younger women, with material resource provision in exchange for sex and this remains common practice. For example, Ranganathan (2015) described transactional sex as a sexual relationship which entails an exchange of material good especially money for sex. He stated that these relationships normally involve older men with multiple younger partners and are largely associated with the vulnerability of women to HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted infections. Hoeffnagel (2012) called transactional sex, “something for something relationships”: in order to get something, one party has to give something and in this case, the young girls give sex to older men in order to get money or material gain in exchange. Okonkwo (2016) defined it as the way young women exploit sexual acts to earn money or accumulate goods. He highlighted an interesting point: transactional sex brings to the fore questions about morality, equality and personal autonomy. However, this thesis is not going to engage with these issues as the main focus is on linking transactional sex to *amaZulu* men and masculinity.

Material and financial exchanges are clearly motivating forces behind sexual relationships for women (Ott et al., 2011). However, MacPherson et al. (2012) added that poverty is not the sole determinant of the prevalence of ‘sugar daddy’ relationships in South Africa. Their research was informed by observations that most young people in this country are likely to have shelter, food and other services provided by their parents while living in urban areas. As such, women living in these communities may end up exchanging sex for lifestyle and financial rewards, rather than for reasons of poverty. The implication is that “words such as survival sex and prostitution end up misrepresenting the character of relationships in which implicit understandings associate sex with material expectation, rather than being separate from needs for everyday life” (MacPherson et al., 2012:43).

According to Jewkes and Dunkle (2012), women who engage in these forms of transaction are however, not categorised as sex workers. According to Majola (2014), it seems many women aim to attract men who can provide expensive commodities that include fashionable clothing, cellular phones and jewellery. In addition, the young women seek opportunities to be seen as



passengers in luxurious automobiles to satisfy their wants, rather than to meet the needs of everyday life (Mojola, 2014).

Against this background, this study represents an attempt to reveal the meanings and motives that ‘sugar daddies’ attach to their relationships. A close examination of the shared understandings and implicit meanings underpinning transactional sexual relationships among *amaZulu* men in South Africa would shed some light regarding the nature of ‘sugar daddy’ relationships and their impact on the construction of traditional African masculinities. The study also explores the reality surrounding ‘sugar daddy’ relationships, with critical insights regarding material gain and sexual exchange in the context of KwaZulu-Natal. Therefore, the study built on previous research on ‘sugar daddy’ relationships in South Africa and Africa, drawing on wider literature regarding traditional African masculinities. The central concern was to determine the relationship between ‘sugar daddy’ relationships and the construction of traditional *amaZulu* masculinities.

## **2.2 An overview of the *amaZulu* ‘culture’**

The *amaZulu* people are an African so-called ethnic group found mainly in the province of KwaZulu-Natal, even though they also populate other parts of South Africa. According to South Africa History Online (2016), the largest urban concentration of *amaZulu* people is found in Pietermaritzburg and Durban, while the largest rural concentration is in KwaZulu-Natal province.

Like many societies, the *amaZulu* people have their own traditional ‘cultural practices’ that set them apart from other groups. Maluleke (2012:2) concurred stated that “every social grouping in the world has specific traditional cultural practices and beliefs”. Idang (2015: 97) averred that “the culture of a people is what marks them out distinctively from other human societies in the family of humanity”. Thus we use culture to separate the *amaZulu* group of people from others. ‘Culture’, in anthropological terms, is therefore “an historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life” (see Geertz 1973:89). In the *amaZulu* context, culture is passed down from generation to generation through the process of socialisation; thus an *amaZulu* child “just grows into and within the cultural heritage of his people. According to Fafunwa, “culture, in

traditional society, is not taught; it is caught. The child observes, imbibes and mimics the action of his elders and siblings” (1974:48).

Therefore in the *amaZulu* culture, boys are raised to be patriarchal heads of households and leaders of their communities. As a result, they are raised in a specific way that ensures that they meet the requirements needed for them to be real men. John (2006:28) stated that in the *amaZulu* context, “the *amaZulu* man is the head of the *umuzi* (household). He is the commanding figure with the authority to make all decisions that pertain to his household.” John (2006) added that the *amaZulu* man owns everything in his *umuzi* (homestead) and every decision that is made in his absence is not even given a place in his ears. A woman is also part of his property and rarely consulted on any issues. From the above, it appears as if control, patriarchy and male dominance are key markers of what it means to be an *amaZulu* man. Additionally, according to Shaw (1974), a real *amaZulu* man is one who can take care of his family financially. This *amaZulu* man is a provider and he ensures that in his home, there is no lack (Shaw, 1974). Shope (2006:1) asserted that it is this “homestead economy and the training of boys into manhood that created the vulnerability of women. It helped entrench male supremacy.” Rudwick and Shange (2006: 473) claimed that it is this kind of “mentality that has led to this deep patriarchal system among the *amaZulu* people.”

Another important aspect of being an *amaZulu* man is polygamy. In this system, men can have as many wives as their money or cattle allows. Mathonsi (2002: 51) noted that the more wives an *amaZulu* man has, the higher the number of his offspring meaning the “stronger the power of immortality in that family”. Zondi (2007) also added that polygamy is a practice that is deeply entrenched in the *amaZulu* culture and that within the patriarchal system of *amaZulu*, *ilobolo* plays an important role. This payment of *ilobolo* has led to some women suffering as some men who have paid *ilobolo*, consider the women paid for; hence, the women are seen as tools that these men can use at whim. Such instances reveal that the *amaZulu* manhood is marked by authority and power, sometimes to the detriment of women.

In order for the *amaZulu* men to effectively and efficiently take up their position as leaders in the homestead, they are socialised in a particular way and they have to go through some training. This socialisation grants them the status of being *indoda emadodeni* (real men) not boys. Carton (2001:76) stated that this “socialisation of boys prepares them for their transportation from boys to men (also called *abamnumzane* or household heads). Some of the stages that usher an *amaZulu* boy into manhood include rituals; these are cultural rituals that

measure a man's worth or strength."Hadebe (2010) asserted that it is a fundamental requirement for an *amaZulu* boy to partake in a number of rituals before being labelled a real man, not *indojelana*. "These rights include the right of incorporation, the rite of transition and the rite of separation" (2010: 56). Aziza (2001) also posited that these rights help to harden boys as well as provide training ground for turning the boys into men who are well able to face any challenges with courage. In addition to the right of incorporation, the rite of transition and the rite of separation, boys go through kinship and communal rite trainings. "The role of the two is to ensure that they do not become men who are islands, instead they are meant to ensure that these men have good human relationships with the people they live or connect with" (Hammond-Tooke, 1974:352). Hammond-Tooke (1974:352) further highlighted that the world of the *amaZulu* is deeply linked to ritual activities. He stated that these rituals are divided into: "(a) life-cycle rituals, the sacralisation of important stages in the life of the individual, and (b) peculiar or contingent rituals, those performed in response to specific stimuli, in particular to illness."

Not only are the boys taught how to be household herders, they are also taught about the importance of defending one's honour as well as the honour of the household through fighting. Against this background, Field (2001) stated that stick fighting was an important aspect of the boy's growth into manhood. Shaw (1974:124) added that "at the initiation ceremonies marking the transition from childhood to manhood they are emphatically reminded that cattle-herding and warfare is the two spheres of masculine activity". Aggression, ability and supremacy are also an important part of the *amaZulu* culture. Young boys are taught early in their lives the importance of these attributes. Field (2001) noted, in the context of *amaZulu* fighting, that fighting is linked to masculinity. He propounded that in the *amaZulu* context, masculinity is closely linked to discipline and reason. Real men don't just fight; there is always a strong reason for getting involved in fights while weak men just fight for the sake of fighting.

Mager(1997) noted other important aspects of the *amaZulu* transition from boyhood to manhood. She stated that circumcision, hunting and shepherding are vital aspects of this transition and every boy who wants to be considered a real *amaZulu* man, has to go through these rituals and learning experiences. Additionally, the boys are taught about the importance of bravery, having a fighting spirit and male power, as these are attributes of manliness. Vulnerability in men is considered a clear mark of weakness (Hunter, 2012). From the above, it appears as if aggression, physical strength and being tough are core attributes of what it means to be an *amaZulu* man.

Another important aspect of the *amaZulu* culture that needs to be mentioned is that of respect. Even though it seems as if the *amaZulu* men have no respect for the women around them, culture demands that they respect their elders. Hammond-Tooke (1974:362) stated that in the *amaZulu* culture, “the virtues of a good man are, namely: respect for seniors, loyalty to kinsmen, freedom from suspicion of witchcraft, generosity, meticulous observance of custom, loyalty, kindness and forbearance”. It can be said that this issue of respect is possibly linked to the way *amaZulu* men respect their culture and how they endeavour to be culturally appropriate. Mathonsi (2006) asserted that the *amaZulu* culture and tradition may generally be regarded as very oppressive to women. This section has discussed the core parts of the *amaZulu* culture that are closely linked to the topic. The section has explored some of the behaviour patterns and attitudes that underpin what it is to be called an *amaZulu* man in the Zulu culture.

## **2.3 Clarification of concepts**

This section describes the concepts that are used in this research.

### **2.3.1 Gender**

The term ‘gender’ is of course not a biological term but is applied in reference to social and cultural differences. It refers to the social constructs normally assigned to men and women. Additionally, it refers to the performance/s of being socially male or female’. Butler (1988, 519) asserted that gender “is in no way a stable identity or locus of agency from which various acts proceed; rather, it is an identity tenuously constituted in time – an identity instituted through a stylized repetition of acts”. De Beauvoir (1949:38) agreed, stating that “one is not born, but rather becomes, a woman”. Thus, gender is not an inborn part of the human journey; it is a process of socialisation that begins at birth and the way people are socialised accounts for a substantial amount of gendered behaviours. No person is an island and no one is raised in a vacuum. As a result, women aren’t born embracing ‘women roles’, nor are men born with manly roles; they embrace them as a result of socialisation and societal expectations.

Newman (2018) highlighted that historically the terms ‘sex’ and ‘gender’ have been used interchangeably. Lately their use has become more distinctive and it is important to differentiate as well as understand the differences between the two. Newman stated that the term ‘gender’ is more difficult to define. It can refer to the roles assigned to males and females in society or cultural background. The World Health Organisation (2004) defined gender as:

Gender refers to the socially constructed characteristics of women and men, such as norms, roles, and relationships of and between groups of women and men. It varies from society to society and can be changed.

Newman (2018, 2) further propounded that “gender tends to denote the social and cultural role of each sex within a given society. Rather than being purely assigned by genetics, as sex differences generally are, people often develop their gender roles in response to their environment, including family interactions, the media, and education. “Gender is, thus, a “construction that regularly conceals its genesis. That genesis is not corporeal but performative so that the body becomes its gender only through a series of acts which are renewed, revised, and consolidated through time” (see Butler, 1988, 273-274). As Butler reminded us, “gender is not innate but it is a socially constructed role that human beings perform” (ibid.).

### ***2.3.2 Patriarchy***

Burris (1996) highlighted that the term ‘patriarchy’ has been largely debated because of its controversial, multifaceted and multidimensional nature. In Burris’s argument, the term has gone through much rejection especially from some of the feminist schools of thought with some using it albeit making changes to it. Cranny-Francis et al. take us back to the history of the penning of the term. They claimed that the term ‘patriarchy’ emerged as a result of the feminist movements and debates of the 1960s and the 1970s and apparently replaced the concept of sexism. They defined it as a “social system in which structural differences in privilege, power and authority are invested in masculinity and the cultural, economic and/or social positions of men” (2003:15). Aziza (2001) asserted that as a concept, patriarchy stressed institutional rather than individual oppression of women. Thus, it was used by many feminists as an analytical framework to explain power relations in society, by examining how systems favour men and disadvantage women. In a patriarchal society, women, according to Nussbaum (2000), are not treated as individuals in their own right, or as people worthy of being treated with dignity and deserving of respect from laws and institutions. In the words of Nussbaum, women are instead treated as mere instruments of men’s needs, as caregivers and sexual outlets. Kane (2006) described patriarchy as a system or practice of oppression which makes it legitimate for males to be privileged over women. In the words of Kane (2006), the main purpose of patriarchy in a society is to legitimise men’s dominance over women. Thus, in a patriarchal system, men have a hold over the lives of the women in their lives.

### ***2.3.3 Masculinity***

Like the term ‘patriarchy’, ‘masculinity’ is multifaceted and multidimensional; it means different things to different people and it varies depending on a particular context.

Simone de Beauvoir (1973) stated that masculinities are not something men are born with, rather they become masculine or not, as dictated by their cultural backgrounds. Connell (1995), argued that in order for one to define the term ‘masculinity’, a link has to be made between the relationships of men and women. In the words of Connell (1995:71), masculinity is “simultaneously a place in gender relations, the practices through which men and women engage that place in gender, and the effects of these practices in bodily experience, personality and culture”. According to the Oxford Dictionary (2008), in a natural everyday setting, the term ‘masculinity’ is normally linked with the biological male sex and the qualities or physical appearance culturally linked with the male sex. The Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children (2005), borrowing from Connell (1995), stipulated that in the context of gender, the term takes on a different meaning. It thus is used to refer to social, cultural and temporal constructs, rather than a biological construct. The term includes notions or ideals on how men are expected to behave or carry themselves in a particular setting, for example, a cultural setting.

### ***2.3.4 Hegemonic masculinity***

Connell (2005) asserted that the concept of hegemonic masculinity has influenced a number of gender studies across different academic fields. However, it has also attracted serious criticism. It is a practice that makes it legitimate for men to assume dominant positions over women while at the same time justifying women's subordination. Hegemonic masculinity as a practice also justifies a whole system of marginalised ways of being a man in a society (Connell, 2005). However, Connell (1987) described hegemonic masculinity as a concept where a dominant socially constructed form of masculinity is in existence which is culturally placed above other expressions of masculinity including femininity. In this type of masculinity, boys and men are expected to behave in certain so-called ‘masculine ways’. If men do not adhere or live up to these expectations, they are called derogatory names and might even face discrimination from other men and some women. Hegemonic masculinity is consequently seen as superior to other forms of masculinity and far above femininity.

### **2.3.5 Cultural/traditional practices**

According to Maluleke (2012: 2), “traditional cultural practices reflect the values and beliefs held by members of a community for periods often spanning generations. Every social grouping in the world has specific traditional cultural practices and beliefs, some of which are beneficial to all members, while others have become harmful to a specific group, such as women.” Green (1997) stated that traditional cultural practices play an important role in many societies and are therefore passed down from generation to generation in order to be preserved. The Merriam-Webster Dictionary defined it as an inherited, established, or customary pattern of thought, action, or behaviour. Bello (1991: 189) defined ‘*culture*’ as “the totality of the way of life evolved by a people in their attempts to meet the challenge of living in their environment, which gives order and meaning to their social, political, economic, aesthetic and religious norms thus distinguishing a people from their neighbours”. Aziza (2001:31) asserted that it refers to “the totality of the pattern of behaviour of a particular group of people. It includes everything that makes them distinct from any other group of people for instance, their greeting habits, dressing, social norms and taboos, food, songs and dance patterns, rites of passages from birth, through marriage to death, traditional occupations, religious as well as philosophical beliefs.”

### **2.4 Culture, hegemonic masculinity and transactional sex**

In many African contexts, including in the *amaZulu* cultural group, boys are socialised and groomed into manhood. They are taught what it is to be a real man and the appropriate behaviour for a real man. It is in this particular cultural set-up of appropriate male behaviour among *amaZulu* where one hears statements like *indoda ayikhali* (real men don’t cry). Furthermore, men are raised to become providers or risk being called *isjendevu* (a useless man). In the *amaZulu* culture, *indoda yindoda nge nkomo zayo* (manhood is determined by the number of cattle you own) or your wealth accumulation. Hegemonic masculinity therefore “relates to complete cultural dominance of a society as a whole” (Connell, 2005:78). Okonofua (2001) stated that in the African culture, boys are socialised into hegemonic masculinities that teach them how to be *indoda emadodeni* (real men). In the same vein, it was asserted by Simpson (2007) that hegemonic masculinities bring a separation between *isjendevu* (useless men) and *indoda emadodeni*(real men). They place great emphasis on men’s physical strength, sexual strength, athletic abilities, fighting abilities, number of sexual partners and social capital.

This point is corroborated by Beynon who asserted that masculinity is not an inborn part of men's genetic make-up. It is something which is dictated to them by society and culture and consists of social codes of conduct which they learn to reproduce in culturally appropriate ways. "This notion of masculinity is indexical of class, subculture, age and ethnicity, among other factors" (2002:2). Connell and Messerschmidt (2005:76) added that hegemonic masculinity is the "male ideal which puts gender into hierarchies and where inferior masculinities and men who do not comply with it are subordinated". It is because of this that many *amaZulu* men are under pressure to comply with this ideal.

Hunter (2005) stated that being a breadwinner is a core part of hegemonic masculinity. It dictates that the main role of men is to be providers in their homes and for their female partners. It is through effectively and efficiently playing this breadwinner role that men earn their male authority. Anfred (2004) asserted that since time immemorial, men have always been expected to be breadwinners. This role is symbolic of a man's ability to be a leader and provider of the house. This provider mind set is still a fundamental part of society. Hence, the hegemonic masculinity/breadwinner ideal among African men still consists of this historically inherited provider ideal (Anfred, 2004). In the *amaZulu* culture, for a man to be considered *indoda emadodeni* (real man), he has to live up to this hegemonic masculinity.

Added to the breadwinner ideal, Varga (2001) connected men's sexual behaviour to hegemonic masculinities. Varga (2001) asserted that men are socialised into manhood and it is during this period of socialisation that ideas of appropriate sexual conduct, awareness and understanding of gender roles are shaped. "It comes as no surprise that many men who embrace hegemonic masculinity, and socially constructed conceptions of appropriate sexual behaviour" (Holland et al, 1990'98) view engaging in cross-generation sex as part of normal life. These men accept it because hegemonic masculinity encourages it. It is asserted by Kvasny and Chong (2008) that the ideals of hegemonic masculinity teach men to be sexually liberal. It is against this sexually liberality that some *amaZulu* men embrace transactional sex.

The *amaZulu* culture asserts that boys be taught how to be men and as a result according to Okonofua (2001), they are socialised into hegemonic masculinities that teach them about the dominant position of men. This training places emphasis on hegemonic masculinity of power as a "means of fulfilling its ideals and expectations" (Blanc, 2001:91). Adding to the argument, it is reported by Beynon (2002:3) that hegemonic masculinity is "established either through consensual negotiation or through power and achievement. This achievement includes sexual



proWess, hence the engagement in transactional sex”. Swidler and Watkins (2006) observed that transactional relationships are part of a broader system that characterises African societies in which men need an outlet for the display of power, prestige and social dominance.

According to Connell (1995:83), hegemonic masculinities stand out because of their predominancy in the “matrices of power, inequality and gender structures”. Furthermore, they have taken centre stage in the analysis of gender relations (Hearn, 2004). Connell has played a prominent role in masculinity studies and has applied the concept of hegemonic masculinity to the study of relations between men and women (Connell, 1994). Sugar daddy relationships and men’s sexual behaviour are intertwined and closely linked with patriarchy. This linkage has ensured the dominance of hegemonic masculinities (Jewkes and Morrell, 2010). Connell (1985) therefore states that transactional sex is closely linked with hegemonic masculinity and is another way of distinguishing between men and real men. I use this concept to explain relations between ‘sugar daddies’ and their young women.

Kurtz (1996) also noted the close relationship between hegemonic masculinities, hierarchy and social class. He stated that hegemonic masculinities are frequently linked to an advantaged social class and hegemony is understood in terms of men who are ranked high in power and complicity. Hence, hegemonic masculinity is viewed as a fundamental cultural prototype or ideal masculinity which is principally recognised, acknowledged and accepted by both women and men, even if they might not get the chance of conforming to the ideal (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005; Okonofua, 2001). Even though it is not my main point of focus, it is vital to point out that as a result of the above, many researchers have used the concept to highlight its linkage to the dominant gender inequalities and prejudices, particularly in South Africa.

The practice of ‘transactional sex’ is an old phenomenon which has its roots in the pre-capitalist era where African society was still rooted in polygamous and arranged marriages (Ulin, 1992). These marriages entailed what one would call a ‘transactional element’ which saw the exchange of cattle for a wife between a man/future husband and future in-laws (*ukulobola* or *ilobolo*). This exchange/trade saw a man having full and absolute rights over a woman’s sexuality and offspring (Hunter, 2009). This indicates that even though the issue of ‘sugar daddies’ and transactional can be considered ‘sneaky and illegitimate’, it has its roots in culture.

It has been documented that for old men and girls in rural Kamuli, Uganda, a girl’s sexual maturity is defined in terms of bodily changes linked to her transition from girlhood to

womanhood. “Therefore it is culturally acceptable for a post-pubescent girl to have sex with an older man. Furthermore, cross generational sex is not an issue in the traditional Kamuli sociocultural context. A single goat can be used to marry off a post-pubescent girl to an old man” (Bantebya, Ochen, Pereznieto and Walker, 2014:8). Additionally, findings in rural Kamuli brought to light the presence of cultural practices that legitimise and promote cross-generational/transactional sexual relationships. Despite the fact that the Kamuli community did not find anything wrong with cross-generation sex and marriage, they noted the “associated gender power imbalances disfavouring girls and women in such relationships” (Bantebya, Ochen, Pereznieto and Walker, 2014:9).

There are a number of perceptions about the existence of so called ‘lop-sided’ or asymmetrical relationships, and in the South African context, one of the most possible links to the “sugar daddy” phenomena is the construction of traditional masculinities amongst African men, and within many African societies. Studies in African masculinities in turn seek to understand how boys are socialised to become men in specific historical and cultural contexts, and why men behave the way they do in order to be identified or to be seen and respected as masculine. This is hegemonic masculinity – a form of masculinity dominant in the context of African societies. This is the “type” of masculinity that boys most aspire to or that they measure themselves against. The concept of hegemonic masculinity was first proposed in reports from a field study of social inequality of Australian high schools (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2007). Connell (1985:82) also noted that men gain a dividend from “patriarchy in terms of honour, prestige and the right to command”. All this makes situated sense in the context of transactional sexual relationships, hegemonic masculinity and the ‘sugar daddy’ phenomena in South Africa.

On a different note, due to different traditional and cultural backgrounds, men do not share or enact the same (kind of) masculinity because “it is interpreted, enacted and experienced in culturally specific ways” (Beynon, 2002:2). Hence, it is advisable to avoid generalisation of masculinities as experiences differ due to different backgrounds and cultural settings. Beynon (2001:2) argued against the generalisation of masculinities. He stated that the “use of terms like ‘working class’, ‘middle class’, ‘gay’ or ‘black’ masculinities are deceiving and ambiguous because within these groups there are different experiences”. Even though this study focuses mainly on *amaZulu* men in KwaZulu-Natal, it also considers *amaZulu* men who are from different provinces, classes and educational backgrounds in order to explore how these different classes of *amaZulu* men experience interpret, enact and define the concept of masculinity.

## 2.5 Defining transactional sex and ‘sugar daddy’ relationships

Luke (2005) contended that one of the major difficulties in studying transactional sex relationships is defining precisely what constitutes transactional sex. Leclerc-Madlala (2008) pointed out that a misguided approach, often within the literature has been to reduce all transactional sex relationships to the transaction itself, disregarding that sometimes, forms of relationships occur within the context of transactional sex (see Ankrah, 1989; Hunter, 2002; Dunkle et al., 2007). This has raised concerns around equating ‘sugar daddy’ relationships with prostitution (see Ankrah, 1989; Hunter, 2002; Leclerc-Madlala, 2004; Dunkle et al, 2007). Transactional sex is said to be similar to sex work in certain aspects, as it involves engaging with multiple concurrent partners for rewards (see Hunter, 2002; Luke, 2002). However, indicating that ‘sugar daddy’ relationships are synonymous with prostitution becomes complicated as it fails to accommodate understandings of transactional sex relationships (see Ankrah, 1984; Hunter, 2002; Leclerc-Madlala, 2004). Relations between sex workers and their clients are usually based on a contractual and impersonal agreement where money is directly exchanged for sexual services. Leclerc-Madlala (2004:70) concluded that “the lack of a formal once-off exchange/transaction, a pronounced feature of prostitution, is one differentiating characteristic that differentiates between ‘sugar daddy’ relationships and prostitution”.

With the above in mind, this study asserts that transactional sex is a form of barter trade. It involves the trading of favours, gifts and or money for sex. According to Day (1992), the term “transactional sex” was coined as a result of anthropological debates and discussions on the definition of sexual exchange relationships in Africa when the HIV pandemic was first discovered. Critics condemned what they saw as a careless use of the labels “prostitution” or “commercial sex work” in reference to all forms of sexual exchange (1992:2). Transactional sex is therefore differentiated from commercial sex because there is no reference to prostitutes or clients by the participants involved. It is stated that in southern Africa, gift giving linked to sexual access is a widely practised norm (see Kaufman and Stavrou, 2004; Poulin, 2007). The giving of the bride wealth, *lobola*, is perhaps an example of this. From this point, Luke (2005) explained that any sexual relationships where gifts have been given and sexual relations have occurred, cannot ultimately be classified as transactional sex. Standing (1992) asserted that it should be noted that a huge amount of sexual activity in Africa is money related and because sexual exchange in Africa has monetary exchange this does not mean that it is prostitution. She further noted that it would be inappropriate to define it as such without contextualising the behaviour: “labelling it as such, contributes nothing to an understanding of the social

phenomenon lying behind the label” (1992: 477). Against this background, Strive (2014:1) defined transactional sex as “a sexual relationship, outside of marriage or sex work, defined by the unspoken assumption that sex will be exchanged for material benefit or status. Even though these relationships are mainly driven by instrumental intentions, they may also be underpinned by emotional intimacy.” Adding to this argument, Luke and Kurz (2002) stated that transactional sex normally involves a relationship between a younger woman and an older man. These older man are normally referred to as ‘sugar daddies’ and the younger women are called ‘sugar babies’.

Linking transactional sex to the issue of ‘sugar daddies’, Kuate-Defo (2004) stated that the term ‘sugar daddy’ is the name given to older men having sexual relationships with young girls in exchange for money and/or material goods, drinks, gifts, clothes and favourable treatment including favours in many aspects of life such as education, employment and payment of tuition fees, financial support for living costs, and other kinds of support. Some of the main reasons why young women engage in transactional relationships include their struggle for employment and tuitions in college. The concept of ‘sugar daddy’ illustrates the exchange of money with a mutual agreement for sexual relations (Engel and Ramos, 2013). According to Hunter (2004:5), the “‘sugar daddy’” relationship is constituted by the centrality of the transaction as the transaction is the reason young women engage in this type of relationship. The ‘resource’ is implicated in the very structure of ‘sugar daddy’ relationships as the relationship itself is structured around it. As a result the ‘transaction’ becomes the subject that all aspects of ‘sugar daddy’ relationships are mediated by. Hunter (2002:40) also pointed out that “what has been rarely documented in the literature, are the resulting intimacies beyond the transaction,” as emotive responses of love, desire and pleasure are frequently expressed by young women in relation to their ‘sugar daddies’ (see Hunter, 2002; Leclerc-Madlala, 2004; Dunkle et al., 2007). Even though sex-money exchanges appear, as the literature indicates, essential to both relationships, the young women in ‘sugar daddy’ relationships see themselves as ‘girlfriends’, thereby emphasising the constructed relationship context of the ‘sugar daddy’ relationship (Ankrah, 1984; Wood and Jewkes, 2001; McPhail and Campbell, 2001; Hunter, 2002; Leclerc-Madlala, 2004). However, as Seliko and Mbulaheni (2013:23) stated, the resources provided by the ‘sugar daddy’ are central in “the invocation of claims of love”, pleasure and sexual desire and these feelings are induced by markers of money, power and social status signified by the ‘sugar daddy’. In this study, I use the term ‘girlfriend’ in inverted commas to indicate that these are not ‘girlfriends’ in the conventional sense.

Because the transaction transpires within a so-called ‘relationship’, ‘sugar daddy’ relationships do not readily fit into conventional definitions of prostitution. “Though intimacies extend beyond the transaction, they are also stimulated as a result of it. More recently, it has been noted that in some settings, ‘sugar daddy’ relationships occur in the belief that the young people are free from HIV” (Kuate-Defo, 2004:32). Additionally, Chatterji and Murray (2005) described it as a partnership between a younger woman and an older man and is characterised by a power differential in favour of the ‘sugar daddy’.

Therefore, this study approaches transactional sex as occurring within the context of a ‘relationship’ where gifts, favors, services and/or support are provided in exchange for sexual behaviours. As pointed out by Leclerc-Madlala (2004), they usually occur over a protracted period of time and cannot be clearly separated from everyday life. A cursory look at the scholarly landscape in the field of transactional sex has focused largely on qualitative work, with the women (see Mealey, 2000; Machel, 2001; Leclerc-Madlala, 2004; Hunter, 2007, 2010; Bhana and Pattman, 2011; Rosenbaum, Zenilman, Rose, Wingood, and DiClemente, 2011), rather than with the (older) men in these constructed ‘relationships’.

Nelson (1993:52) who asserted that sugar babies are also known as “kept women” also provided us with a background on how the concept of a ‘kept woman’ has been used, articulated and changed over time. A kept woman is one who lives in luxurious comfort, is lavishly taken care of by a wealthy and mostly older man in exchange for his sexual pleasure. The man takes responsibility for the woman’s financial needs the same way he would his wife’s. Even though monetary and sexual exchanges occur, this kept woman is not a prostitute or a sex worker. “The main difference was the emotional and social relationship, rather than a direct, quid pro quo between the money and sex act. In addition, the kept status follows the establishment of a relationship of indefinite term as opposed to an explicit paid sexual transaction” (Nelson, 1993:53).

Kuate-Defo (2004:24) pointed out that “some of the attractive features of older men who are ‘sugar daddies’ to young girls are their social influence and the opportunities they can offer to them in terms of pursuing their studies and securing a good job upon graduation”. Sexual relationships of young women with ‘sugar daddies’ can also be considered as an alternative means of survival. They are weapons used by marginalised and poor young women to eke out a living. Leclerc-Madlala (2003) termed it ‘survival sex’. Leclerc-Madlala (2002) observed that in South Africa, young women use their sexuality to access goods and services and this is

understood as a way to survive the costly urban life. Groes-Green (2012) contended that in the wake of changing gender structures and deepening social inequality sparked by regional economic reforms, transactional sexual relationships are said to be growing, as sexual economies expand.

In his 1993 study, Nelson (1993:68) used the term ‘gentleman’ to highlight the behaviours of ‘sugar daddies’. His study which explored the relationships between young women and ‘sugar daddies’ who were involved in these relationships, highlighted that there was a code of conduct which underpinned the behaviour of the ‘sugar daddies’. He indicated that these ‘sugar daddies’ had to be gentlemen; hence there was protocol to the ‘sugar daddy’ role. This code of conduct and protocol enabled ‘sugar daddies’ to view themselves as a “ladies’ man”, “something of a Casanova, virile and wealthy enough to maintain a woman in luxurious style,” rather than anti-social or deviant. Moreover, the ‘sugar daddies’ and sugar babies framed their relationships not as a sex-for-hire arrangement, but as more as a benevolent exchange (Nelson, 1993:68).

According to Moore, Biddlecom and Zulu(2007), ‘sugar daddies’ argue that their role as provider to the young women ostensibly entitles them to sex. Other men indicated that their motivation for transactional sex was to meet the financial needs of women in clear anticipated and justified anticipated exchange for sexual satisfaction. Also termed consumption sex (Leclerc-Madlala, 2003), this kind of relationship is characterised by economic and power asymmetries (see Kuate-Defo, 2004). Jewkes, Morell, Sikweyiya, Dunkle and Penn-Kekana (2012) stated that transactional sex also known as the male provider role, seems to be backing subtle understandings of gender inequality even while it seems more acceptable than the inequalities that are apparent in the commoditised arena of prostitution. They added that transactional sex assumes a resourced male in a supplicant sexual relationship with a woman who is assumed to be passive, but potentially can give or withhold sex. Similarly, for men with resources, it is the place where these resources are converted into heterosexualised masculinity in a way that avoids the public slur of *isoka lamanyala* (a man who takes womanising too far) (Jewkes, Morell, Sikweyiya, Dunkle and Penn-Kekana; 2012).

Lwambo (2011) asserted that some studies have distinguished between transactional sex to meet basic needs and that of meeting consumer wants. For example, it appears that in Durban South’s urban township ‘sugar daddy’ relationships satisfy wants, rather than meet needs. However, according to Foley and Drame (2013:24) “the two motivations (wants and needs) may not necessarily operate as mutually exclusive aspects and they can overlap. A seemingly

luxurious item (including mobile phones) in one societal setting may be considered a necessity in another societal context.” What also needs to be considered is the possible role of transactional sexual relationships in forming investments for a more solid future, such as social mobility and education. It is further notable that the observation regarding the dominance of wants-related motivations in shaping transactional sex in Durban South fails to differentiate between survival sex and strategic sex. According to Maclin et al., (2015), some women engage in strategic sex which is a calculated move with the sole purpose of meeting their luxurious lifestyles and not for survival. On the other hand, survival sex arises in situations where limited options are reported on the women’s side. It therefore seems important to look at whether ‘sugar daddies’ in KwaZulu-Natal engage in strategic sexual relationships or survival sexual relationships, or both. In addition, it is useful to investigate the potential difference in the impacts of survival sex and strategic sex in shaping the construction of traditional *amaZulu* masculinities.

Qualitative studies have also focused on the nature of transactional sexual relationships in relation to the motivation of material exchange (Wamoyi et al., 2011). These suggest that sexual favours in exchange for material possessions are seen as a woman’s expression of worth to a man. Thus, the man is seen to be on the receiving side and benefits from the relationship due to the woman’s expression of worth (by engaging in a sexual relationship). However, these indicate that sexual favours are emphasised at the expense of the material possessions that the woman receives. Specifically, the woman is seen to express worth by engaging in sex with a ‘sugar daddy’ but the extent to which the gifts and money given by the man ‘affects’ the ‘state’ of masculinity on the part of the ‘sugar daddy’, remains largely unaddressed. Transactional sexual relationships have been associated with social criticism, a double standard that is more detrimental to the young girls than to the ‘sugar daddies’ (Jewkes and Dunkle, 2012).

## **2.6 Gender, culture and masculinity**

According to research by the UN (2008), the main drivers of these unbalanced ‘sugar daddy’ relationships are gender based power differentials between men and women and among different groups of men (Lalor, 2004). The past 25 years have seen an increase in the amount of research that has been conducted on masculinity, by researchers in the USA, UK and Europe (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005).

The early 1970s saw male sex roles being contested owing to the gradual rejection of the sex role theory and an increasing emphasis on the importance of social factors. The 'male sex role theory' faced much criticism for being the main cause of men's oppressive behaviour (Brannon, 1978:30). In the article "Towards a New Sociology of Masculinity", Carrigan, Connell, and Lee (1985) critiqued the male sex role literature and proposed a model of multiple masculinities and power relations. This of course makes contextual and situational sense as the early sex role theories evolved in a so-called 'western' context, while this study is cognisant of multiple and situational masculinities.

Connell (2005) believed that gender identities and masculinities are intertwined and socially constructed. Thus masculinity was understood as the pattern of practice, not only things done but a set of role expectations or an identity and it allowed men's dominance over woman to continue. Other researchers (such as Andrea Cornwall, Nancy Lindisfarne in Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005) agreed that gender identities are socially constructed but stress fluidity and multiple identities and questioned male power over women; how it is exercised, maintained and perpetuated. "Masculinity is a concept which gets transmitted from one generation to the next through talk and text" (Edley and Wetherell, 1995:208) and thus is open to constant reinterpretation. This means that hegemonic masculinity is not a fixed character type, but rather the masculinity that occupies the dominant position in a given pattern of gender relations (Connell, 1995). Hegemonic masculinity was defined by Ampofo and Boateng (2007) as a dominant form of masculinity in society and pertains to relations of cultural domination of men over women. Valdes and Olavarria (1998) found that even in a culturally homogenous country, such as Chile, there were different masculinities as patterns vary by class and generation. The same pattern was found in Japan (Ishii-Kuntz, 2003). Connell further described four categories of masculinity as: dominant, complicit, submissive and oppositional or protest.

Studies in African masculinities in turn seek to understand how boys are socialised to become men in specific historical and cultural contexts, and why men behave the way they do in order to be identified or to be seen and respected as masculine. This is hegemonic masculinity – a form of masculinity dominant in the context of African societies. This is the 'type' of masculinity that boys most aspire to or that they measure themselves against. The concept of hegemonic masculinity was first proposed in reports from a field study of social inequality of Australian high schools (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2007). Connell (1985:82) also noted that men gain a dividend from "patriarchy in terms of honour, prestige and the right to command".



All this makes situated sense in the context of transactional sexual relationships, gender hegemonic masculinity and the ‘sugar daddy’ phenomena in South Africa.

Several studies (Edley and Wetherell, 1997; Frosh et al, 2002; Blackbeard and Lindegger, 2007) on young masculinities conducted within this tradition have sought to comprehend how boys attempt to keep self-esteem and social status in positioning themselves relative to normative, dominant and hegemonic forms of masculinity they encounter in everyday life, particularly amongst their peers. Much of these behaviours quite possibly may continue as the boys grow into adulthood and beyond. This study focuses more narrowly on older *amaZulu* men and their transactional sexual relationships in a bid to probe if there is a relationship between traditional African masculinities, gender and these constructed relationships. According to Connell (1995), patriarchy and culture have given men control over women. Additionally ‘culture’ has emerged as a vital feature in explaining sexual behaviours in many societies. For example, in the African culture polygamy is permitted and ‘condones’ males’ so-called promiscuity because there is a general belief that men’s sexual drive cannot be controlled (Shelton, 2009).

The concept of hegemonic masculinity thus provides a way of explaining that, though a number of masculinities coexist, a particular version of masculinity holds sway, bestowing power and privilege upon man who claim it as their own. According to Connell (2005:5), hegemonic masculinity is “exclusive, anxiety provoking, internally and hierarchically differentiated, brutal and violent”, and it features misogyny, homophobia, racism (and compulsory heterosexuality). Connell and Messerschmidt (2007) further explained that, although it seems like force is used, hegemony is not linked to or seen as violence, it is only male dominance achieved through culture, institutions, and persuasions. One can assert that hegemonic masculinity ideologically legitimates the global subordination of women to men. Hegemonic masculinity is the key element of patriarchy, where males are the primary authority figures central to social organisation, occupy roles of political leadership, moral authority, control of property, and where fathers hold authority over woman and children. Also, examples of hegemonic masculinity are documented by Dasgupta (2000), Ferguson (2001) and Taga (2003).

Closer to home, the South African work of Morrell et al. (2014) on masculinity and gender has a different emphasis compared to the international literature. For example, in the international context, the concept of hegemony places emphasis on power without violence, but in South Africa this is much less so (see Morrell et al., 2014). It has been demonstrated (e.g Glaser,

1998; Mager, 1998; Campbell, 1992; Wood and Jewkes, 2001) that in contemporary South Africa, particularly within the domain of the social sciences and social policy interventions, there has been a growing concern with the impact of masculine identifications and associated behaviours on the lives of girls and women (as well as the lives of boys and young men). According to Owino (2014:188), “as long as aggression remains central in cultural and popular portrayals of being a man, violence towards women and girls is inevitable”. Thus challenges in South African society are increasingly linked to gendered practices and in particular, more recently, linked to men’s enactment of masculinity (Davies and Eagle, 2007). This provides the broader intellectual rationale for a study of this nature.

Connell (1995) stated that this means that hegemonic masculinity is not a fixed character type, but rather the masculinity that occupies the dominant position in a given pattern of gender relations. Unpacking hegemonic masculinity, Scott-Samuel (2008, 1) asserted that:

Given what we know of the massive scale of global sociocultural variation it is extraordinary that, despite this diversity, a relatively specific form of gender relations has for many years remained globally dominant. I am referring to the variant of masculinity which is characterised by generally agreed negative attributes such as toughness, aggressiveness, excessive risk-taking, suppression of emotions; positive attributes such as strength, protectiveness, decisiveness, courage: and more contested attributes like individualism, competitiveness, rationality, and practicality.

Thus, hegemonic masculinity is a form of masculinity that many men prefer to associate with despite its impacts on their lives and the lives of the women around them. Hegemonic masculinity was defined by Ampofo and Boateng (2007:7) as “a dominant form of masculinity in society and pertains to relations of cultural domination of men over women.” Valdes and Olavarria (1998) found that there were diverse masculinities as patterns vary by class and generation. The same pattern was found in Japan (Ishii-Kuntz, 2003).

Scott-Samuel (2008, 1) added that:

Perhaps the hegemonic dominance of this form of masculinity is not all that surprising if one considers its obvious overlaps with the equally dominant (neo) liberal economic relations of the free market. More worrying is the fact that worldwide acceptance of childhood socialisation into the above negative features of this hegemonic masculinity is what subsequently results in power inequalities between individuals, between

social/racial/gender groups and between institutions – and in turn – in the individual and the structural violence through which power inequalities are expressed.

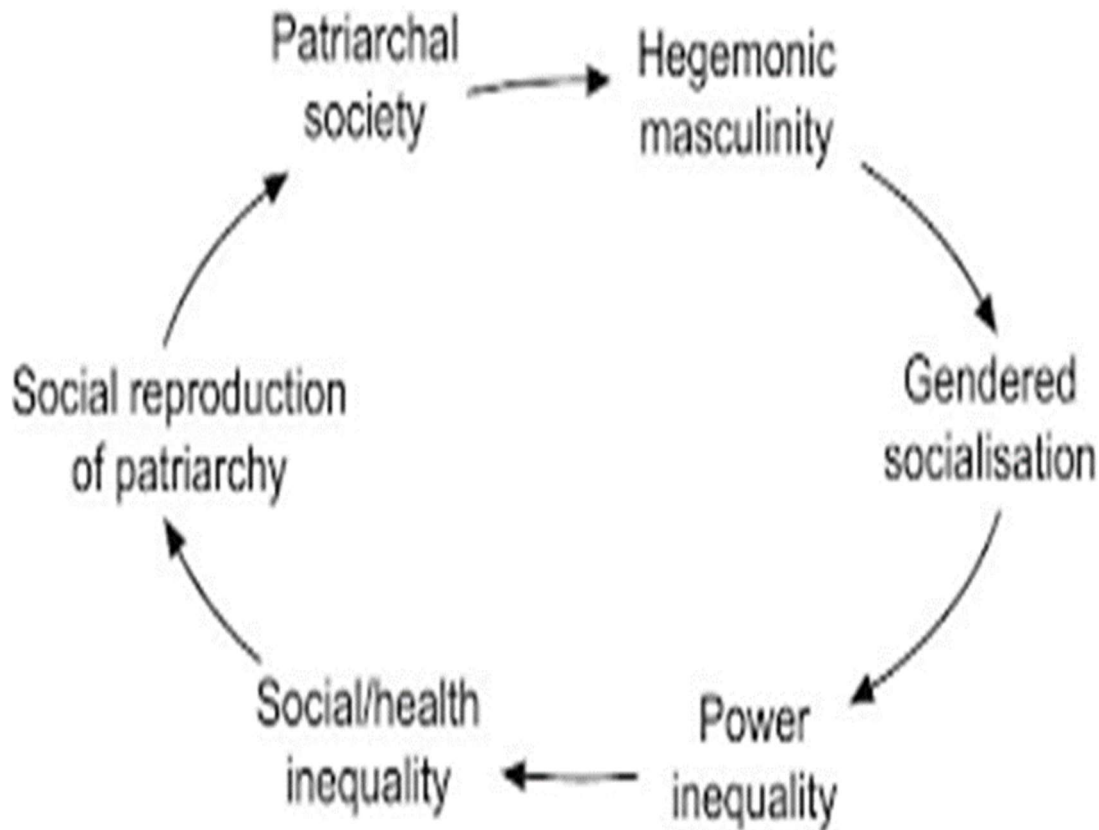


Figure 2.1: How hegemonic masculinity is reproduced (Scott-Samuel, 2008)

Hegemonic masculinity is a vicious cycle that is never ending, a cycle that reproduces itself from generation to generation. Scott-Samuel (2008) developed a table that simplifies the representation of how social relations under this type of masculinity are produced and consequently sustained. His point of departure was that patriarchal socialisation and hegemonic masculinity are very visible in society but nobody wants to acknowledge them as playing a role in inequalities. As a result, the cycle never ends but keeps reproducing itself in one form or another, for example in the case of ‘sugar daddies’ in KwaZulu-Natal.

## **2.7 Transactional sex and risky sexual behaviour**

Public concern over adolescent sexual health and the resolutions to these concerns has over the past three decades generated political debate and academic inquiry the world over. Researchers have stated that early sexual activity among adolescent girls, early pregnancy and induced abortions are among one of the several pressing health concerns in Sub-Saharan Africa (see Hunter, 2002, 2007; Leclerc-Madlala, 2004; Dunkle et al., 2007). At the core of adolescent sexual health is the issue of teenage pregnancy and abortions. One of the reasons for this is the perceived vulnerability of adolescent girls to older and married men's sexual exploitation (see Luke, 2003, 2005; Longfield et al., 2004; Leclerc-Madlala, 2008). Qualitative research indicates the phenomenon of 'sugar daddy' wherein adult men engage adolescent girls in economically dependent relationships is widespread (see Mealey, 2000; Machel, 2001; Rosenbaum, Zenilman, Rose, Wingood, and DiClemente, 2011).

According to Potgieter et al.(2012:146), "inquiry into teenage pregnancy in Africa began in the 1980s". South Africa has not been spared from the challenges of teenage pregnancy. In an effort to control the prevalence of teenage pregnancy, academics and policy makers alike have developed various strategies and policies targeting teenagers. In South Africa, the strategies include creating awareness among the teenagers to stay away from 'sugar daddy' relationship so as to protect themselves from adverse consequences (Kwazulu Natal Department of Health, 2016). Yet three decades later, teenage pregnancy still remains a topical issue in Africa (Potgieter et al., 2012).

Mazibuko (2014:6) stated that "about 16 million adolescent girls between 15 and 19 years give birth each year worldwide, and 80% of these girls are found in developing countries". In Africa, 40% of all births involve girls under the age of 19 years, and 35% of these teenagers give birth before reaching the age of 19 years (Norton and Mutonyi, 2010, 45). According to Groes-Green (2011), approximately 45000 teenagers in Africa were pregnant in 2008. Mazibuko (2014) added that in 2009 the number increased to 49000 and 2012 saw it escalating sharply.

According to Mazibuko (2014:4) "such emphasis has been placed on transactional sexual relations in the context of intergenerational sex and the potential dangers of HIV infection in South Africa. Beyond this, pertinent studies highlight the commonality of sex relations among the older men and young women. Many studies focus on the high vulnerability of young women to HIV, STIs and interpersonal violence." These aspects are interrelated to the

concomitant issues of gender power inequalities when negotiating on equitable and safe sex practices.

Engel and Ramos (2013) asserted that there is high reluctance of ‘sugar daddies’ in making use of condoms and young women also find it difficult to make demands for condom use. This increases the risk of transmission of STI’s and HIV (Health 24, 2016). For instance, young women contribute towards 60% of the STIs and other kinds of infections in Mozambique. In 2010, young females were identified to be among the most vulnerable group towards the risk of HIV infection (Engel and Ramos, 2013).

Teenagers may avoid “negotiating contraceptive usage, in particular condoms, for fear not only of violent reactions, but also of emotional rejection, of being labelled unfaithful or HIV positive” (Groes-Green, 2011: 291). Furthermore, women attempting to use other ‘invisible’ contraceptive methods, such as the injection, may be accused by their partners of causing ‘infertility, ‘disabled babies’ and vaginal ‘wetness’, which diminishes male sexual pleasure (Mac, 2011). Clearly, men dominate in sexual matters as women are constrained by their subordinate position in gender and social hierarchy, forced and coerced sex and inaccessibility of contraception (Mac, 2011).

Sexual violence is more pronounced between young girls and their older partners, especially where the relationship is founded on material gain on the part of the teenager. Additionally, in respect of contraceptive negotiation, younger women are often more easily coerced into having sexual relations with their partners, leaving them vulnerable, not only to pregnancy, but to HIV and STIs (Mac, 2011). The men have control over sexuality, and as Honwana (2013) noted, some teenagers view coercive sex as an expression of love and as an inevitable part of relationships. Sexual violence also increases the chances of repeat pregnancy. Moolman, (2012) noted that condom use between teenagers and their older partners and between teenagers themselves was a problem. Interestingly, in Sweden, teenagers stated that the use of contraceptives is the responsibility of both partners, even though some girls wanted boys to carry this responsibility alone.

Given that South Africa has the highest number of people infected with HIV/AIDS in the world (UNAID,2008); transactional sex has (quite rightly) been afforded critical attention by numerous researchers (see Silberschmidt and Rasch, 2001; Nyanzi et al., 2001; Hunter, 2002; Luke, 2003; Leclerc-Madlala, 2004) with the aim of better understanding youth sexualities in order to reduce youth infection rates. According to Kaute (2004:88), “indeed research

conducted in countries with high HIV prevalence, particularly in sub-saharan Africa has shown transactional sex to be a significant contributor to HIV among young females through heterosexual transmission". Studies done in South Africa revealed that from the sample of 600 grade 11 and 12 urban school girls, 25 had been involved in relationships with older men (Leclerc-Madlala, 2004). Such statistics illustrate the necessity of a comprehensive understanding of youth sexualities in South Africa and 'sugar daddy' relationships are claimed to be some of the sexual behaviours that are said to be contributing to the high statistics of HIV/AIDS infections. Kaute (2004:88) noted that "even though transactional sex has been established as a focal point of gendered power differentials and resulting implications to endangerment for HIV infection, not enough is known about 'sugar daddy' relationships, and about the so-called 'sugar-daddy' i.e. the older men themselves."

Given the above, this study is located within the broader discourse of the risky behaviours and the gendered nature of the HIV/AIDS pandemic is further exacerbated by risky sexual behaviour. According to Avert (2009:176), "sexual risky behaviours (unprotected sex, an early sexual debut, consuming alcohol or drugs before sexual intercourse) are defined as sexual activities that may expose an individual to the risk of infection with HIV and other STI's., multiple sexual partners, forced or coerced sexual intercourse for reward". Others include multiple concurrent sex partners and commercial sex (Kongnyuy et al., 2006).

This study contends that sexualities of younger women can be meaningfully approached through studying the older men (the 'sugar daddies') with whom they have constructed transactional 'relationships'. This is because, put simply, gender regimes and sexual power differentials in complex transactional heterosexual relations, are constructed and propped up in and between both genders. A study that focuses on the relatively under-researched 'male' ('sugar daddy') and his construction of dominant masculinity, is thus posited as being able to potentially yield valuable insight/s into this particular form of risky sexual behaviour, especially in a local, South African context.

## **2.8 Trends in 'sugar daddy' relationships**

In addition to the need for meeting basic survival necessities, consumerist motivations have also been pointed out as key motivators to the development of transactional sexual relationships in the humanitarian crisis context. These motives include gaining connections in social

networks, covering education-related expenses as well as a desire for a luxurious lifestyle in the midst of a crisis. As Maclin et al. (2015) put it, it is mostly young women who engage in these kinds of relationships. Young unmarried women appear to engage more in transactional sexual relationships in sub-Saharan Africa when compared to married and/or older women (Maclin et al., 2015). Some studies affirm that certain adolescent girls have limited negotiating power and end up in ‘sugar daddy’ relationships for purposes of social, financial and material gain (Wamoyi et al., 2011). As articulated by Watson (2011:101), “most of these young women engage in ‘sugar daddy’ relationships as an entrée to society based on the power and status of the ‘sugar daddies’. In the face of a humanitarian crisis, adolescent girls in disadvantaged positions, combined with the men’s power and high status, can easily be drawn to transactional sexual relationships”. Factors on both the men’s and women’s sides play a role. But these affirmations fail to give an insight into the role played by the eventual relationships on the construction of traditional *amaZulu* masculinities.

In a study by Choudhry et al.(2014:80), it was ascertained that “the need for material gain in exchange for sex forms a focal point behind the aforementioned. Whereas the youth in humanitarian crisis situations may feel the pressure to keep up with their peers regarding luxurious material possessions parental pressure indicates that girls in particular survivalist contexts, are encouraged to engage in ‘sugar daddy’ relationships to meet the families’ needs.” For example, “post-conflict Liberian and Ugandan contexts have seen parents uphold this practice despite the adverse effects in the wider socio-cultural context, as well as on family system functions” (Davis, 2014:114). These arguments are content and context-specific in the way they account for peer pressure and parental pressure as the specific forces driving some of the adolescent girls into ‘sugar daddy’ relationships but, again, research has not examined these in the context of traditional *amaZulu* masculinities.

Transactional sex has also been examined in post-conflict contexts. According to Watson (2011:3), women in these situations “have sex for material possessions to be used for purposes of family support. Poverty in post-conflict settings such as in the Democratic Republic of Congo has driven people into ‘sugar daddy’ relationships.” Choudhry et al. (2014) added that situations such as internally displaced persons (IDP) in camp life mean that young women turn to sex to earn a living. Girls are also sometimes subjected prematurely to marriage and this can be attributed to poverty. Orphaned teenage girls sometimes agree to marriage as the means to having a house. Davis (2014) concurred, stating that war situations lead to despair with many young women feeling hopeless and dejected, resorting to ‘sugar daddy’ relationships. Wamoyi

et al.(2011) also asserted that some authors can be criticised for overemphasising the role of sexual favours as key drivers of ‘sugar daddy’ relationships in conflict-stricken areas when sometimes ‘sugar daddy’ relationships involve material provision from the men’s side in exchange for company from young women.

Lwambo (2011) averred that crises, natural disasters and conflicts destroy livelihoods and are responsible for pushing individuals, families and communities into poverty. In crisis situations, many people become separated from their economic sources of livelihood and many more lose property. In these kinds of situations, women can resort to ‘sugar daddy’ relationships to make ends meet. According to Foley and Drame (2013), in war torn countries, women and girls bear the brunt of human rights violations. They are very vulnerable to armed conflict situations such as displacement, family separation, ethnic cleansing, torture and terrorism. In order to ease their burden, women and young girls resort to embracing transactional sexual relationships. Much of the literature is focused on violence and sexual exploitation arising from risks and vulnerabilities of women in humanitarian situations but does not provide an in-depth analysis of how ‘sugar daddies’, upon engaging in transactional sexual relationships with younger women, construct their traditional *amaZulu* masculinities in these contexts.

Exploring family dynamics in post-conflict Liberia, Atwood et al. (2011:51) stated that “many young people would attribute the emergence of ‘sugar daddy’ relationships to war and parental pressure”, with similar accounts reported by Maclin et al. (2011) and Muhwezi et al. (2011) in the DRC and Uganda. The UNHCR (2011:4) also asserted that “most of the Haitian women displaced by an earthquake that occurred in 2010 were found to live in camps and had engaged in transactional sexual relationships that they had not practised prior to their displacement”. The current research however, fails to account for the potential impact of the emergence of these ‘sugar daddy’ relationships on the construction of traditional *amaZulu* masculinities.

More complex dynamics have been reported in countries where peacekeeping forces are present. According to Beber (2015:55), “the last two decades have witnessed marred allegations of peacekeeping troops participating in transactional sex with internally displaced children and women, as well as refugees”. According to WHO (2012), sexual exploitation has been preceded by the need for protection and basic needs that include food. A UNHCR (2011) study focused on an earthquake-ravished Haiti, asserted that transactional sex in IDP camps has been widespread and arises from social and economic vulnerabilities facing the victims. In the study, 150 women were sampled from Port-au-Prince’s IDP camps. Findings indicated that



every one of the participants had either witnessed transactional sex or been involved in it as a coping mechanism. According to WHO (2012), therefore a need for protection emerges as another factor contributing to the girls' and other young women's engagement in transactional sex. The implication is that some of the transactional sexual relationships arising are neither driven by the women's side nor the men's side. Instead, situational factors such as the need for protection contribute to high vulnerability.

In Liberia, a study by Beber et al. (2015) sampled 1381 households on a random basis. Of the sampled group, 475 women were aged 18-30 years. Findings indicated that over 75 percent of the women had engaged in transactional sex with peacekeeping troops. Researchers established that each additional battalion led to a significant increase in the possibility of a woman engaging in a first transactional sexual activity. The need for protection and to enhance livelihoods makes some of the young women sell sex due to limited opportunities and choices.

Choudhry et al. (2014:44) stated that "in humanitarian crises, women have been documented to adopt various coping mechanisms. These mechanisms are perceived to be responses to multiple vulnerabilities and risks faced in such situations." According to Davis (2014:64), one of these mechanisms entails engaging in transactional sexual relationships as a survival technique. With sexual exchange for financial or material resources (including gifts), 'sugar daddy' relationships have been reported in various contexts and "gendered cultural and socio-economic factors appear to influence this trend". The implication is that in the wake of humanitarian crises, transactional sex occurs in situations where women experience limited opportunities and choice. Thus, crisis situations can be seen as indirect causes of 'sugar daddy' relationships though research is lacking regarding specific crises that lead to limited opportunities and 'sugar daddy' relationships.

Foley and Drame (2013) have also noted that in places facing humanitarian crises, some women have embraced 'sugar daddy' relationships in order to meet their basic needs. Food insecurity has been identified as one of the driving forces behind women engaging in survival sex. These women are mostly from disadvantaged backgrounds. Additionally, men in positions of authority have been accused of perpetuating the situation by taking advantage of the women's vulnerability. The compromised position of the women due to socio-economic stress can be seen as a major contributory factor to 'sugar daddy' relationships (in the wake of humanitarian crises). However, the impact of these relationships on traditional *amaZulu* masculinities requires further inquiry. Lwambo, (2011:44) argued that transactional sex in sub-Saharan

Africa is driven by three major factors. One of these factors involves the “men’s privileged economic position that is rooted in their capacity to access the informal and formal economy’s most lucrative segments, in addition to resources that include housing. The second factor entails masculine discourses in which high value has been placed on the practice of men having many or multiple sexual partners. Lastly, expressions of agency among women imply that they may engage in transactional sexual relationships to access resources and power in ways that can reproduce and challenge patriarchal structures, rather than engaging in ‘sugar daddy’ relationships as passive victims”. Thus, changing societal norms are seen as contributory forces responsible for the emergence of some of the ‘sugar daddy’ relationships in sections of sub-Saharan Africa.

## **2.9‘Sugar daddy’ trends, dynamics and perceptions in Africa**

Jewkes et al. (2010) argued that whereas marriage has continually been central to the transition to adulthood for both women and men in most of the African zones, different interests have been reported regarding marriage and sexual relations. Lwambo (2011: 78) added that in most of these societies, men are “expected to have multiple sexual partners before proceeding with marriage. Traditionally, fathering many children and having many wives was a sign of virility and success.”However, according to Jewkes et al. (2010), not all courtships lead to marriage. Rather, some of the resultant lover relationships end up being enjoyed for their own sake. The implication, according to Majola (2014), is that some of the men in this region would have a “main” ‘girlfriend’ whom they expect to marry after being introduced to her parents. Notably, the perfect wife would be perceived as one who exhibited total commitment to serving her husband’s interests, as well as those of the children. Given the minimal chances of marrying the other girls, men would not emphasise with them the aforementioned feature that the “main” ‘girlfriends’ were expected to possess. For instance, Maclin et al. (2011) remarked that even though men date and court many women, they have a way of identifying ‘wife material,’ from those they did not consider marrying but enjoyed dating and courting. ‘Wife material’ refers to women who have a vision and goals and were educated or pursuing an education. These are women that are deemed suitable and marriageable. Indeed, these affirmations are important because they sensitise audiences regarding the nature of sexual relationships in Africa.

From the perspective of women, the right man in Africa is perceived as one who is able to support his children and the wife economically. In addition, a study by Maclin et al. (2015:71)

indicated that “most of the educated girls in sub-Saharan Africa prefer to marry men with professional qualifications but the scarcity of such individuals suggests that most of these girls have ended up looking for good family backgrounds, physical attractiveness and love”. However, this assertion could be criticised in that it subjectively categorises educated girls as those who are unlikely to engage in transactional sexual relations, yet in the study by Mojola, (2014) most of the young women seeking secondary needs such as luxurious tours and jewellery are likely to be educated and only interested in material possessions beyond basic needs.

According to Morrell et al. (2012:107), “the traditional society of Africa has held a belief that women ought to remain faithful to men regardless of infidelity or marriage intentions of the men”. Mudaly (2012) noted that this observation can be likened to mid-19th century KwaZulu-Natal in which young men would be permitted to have many girls around them but not vice versa. The documentation seems to point to the origin of ‘sugar daddy’ relationships but fails to highlight the motivations behind the introduction of gifts and money in exchange for sex. In addition, the observation does not account for the significance of material possessions on the construction of traditional *amaZulu* masculinities in KwaZulu-Natal, a failure that prompted the current study’s inquiry in the aforementioned region.

Whereas the literature above documents the evolution of multiple partner relationships in Africa, other studies suggest that there has been a decreasing value placed on formal unions (see Ott et al., 2011). According to Pitpitani et al. (2013:113), “in relation to this paradigm shift, some women have ended up being more committed to future careers with relationship-related affairs approached with essentially casual attitudes. The need to increase economic security has also seen some of the young women in the region strive to maximise the number of sexual partners”, a trend that Pettifor et al.(2012) documented as that which deviates from traditional norms. On the one hand, this observation is critical because it highlights the cause of the evolution of multiple-partner relationships as that which lies in the need for an increased degree of economic stability in some of the young women concerned. On the other hand, the observation fails to examine the age differences characterising these multiple-partner relationships and whether an increase in the level of economic stability on the side of women causes a simultaneous increase in the degree of masculinity among the men involved.

From the latter assertions, informal unions are no longer perceived to be precursors to marriage. Rather, they constitute alternatives to formal marriage. Indeed, these changes suggest that some

of the women in Africa, who placed little value on formal marriages, have ended up becoming “informal wives” to married men and the role of these men is to recognise the paternity of children or support the women in the resultant unions. This is crucial because it acknowledges the fact that changes in values placed on formal marriages could account for the emergence of ‘sugar daddy’ relationships. Thus, the reduced emphasis on formal marriages is seen to have complemented the demand for economic security among some of the young women to yield to ‘sugar daddy’ relationships in Africa. However, these do not highlight whether the men who finance “outside wives” exhibit greater degrees of feelings of masculinity or not. In addition, they do not offer a comparison between ‘sugar daddies’ who end up having children with the younger women and those whose relationships do not involve children.

According to Pitpitani et al. (2013:119), some of the educated women in sub-Saharan Africa are likely to “prefer informal unions because these institutions involve less direct control exerted by men, compared to situations in which customary marriages exist. Thus, these women end up choosing not to marry with the chief aim of avoiding subordination. Indeed, these women may have access to agricultural land or be employed in formal wage sectors.” However, the extent to which these women make the men feel in terms of increased masculinity is yet to receive in-depth analysis. As such, this study sought to unearth the feelings and experiences of ‘sugar daddies’ in terms of masculinity construction in Durban, in the hope that findings could be usefully applied to the rest of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa, and the African region.

The section acknowledges that sexual activities are behaviours negotiated between partners in wider economic and socio-cultural contexts. “Indeed, the resultant construction of masculinities due to older men’s engagement in ‘sugar daddy’ relationships depends on individual characteristics and power asymmetries between partners” (Zembe et al., 2013:234). Similarly, economic determinants of behaviour are likely to shape the emergence of ‘sugar daddy’ relationships, “as well as the eventual constructions of masculinity that may be attributed to the transactions involved. Given the decline in traditional structures while responding to pressures that come with globalisation” (Zembe et al., 2013:234), this section indicates further that familial control over young people’s behaviour continues to decrease but formal education is yet to replace traditional functions fully (WHO et al., 2012; Watt et al., 2012).

In Africa, “transactional sex has been linked to young adulthood and adolescent stages. Some of the gifts offered include meals out, dresses and perfume, becoming symbolic of the worth of girls in relation to the interest of men” (Ranganathan, 2015:5). The implication of this observation is that girls who do not receive gifts and money after offering sexual favours to the men end up feeling humiliated. It is further notable that a fundamentally imbalanced state of ‘sugar daddy’ relationships has been aggravated by limited negotiating power among the young women and adolescent groups. Thus, men have been documented to have more power (Mudaly, 2012). This assertion is important because it accounts for the cause of the perceived power felt on the part of men involved in these ‘sugar daddy’ relationships. However, the assertion fails to explore the extent to which the limited negotiating power on the part of these younger women affects the construction of masculinity. Similarly, the observation fails to highlight the potential differences in the experiences of men who fail to provide gifts for sexual relations and cases in which gifts are provided.

Variations have also emerged regarding the meaning attached to ‘sugar daddy’ relationships in Africa. For instance, Watt et al. (2012) stated that the exchange of money or gifts for sex has been interpreted to signify a display to impress men, an obligation fulfilled, an expression of affection, an acknowledgement of respect, or a committed relationship. Research indicates further that transactional sex is a common practice in many African countries, including Uganda and Ghana. In a Population Council and UNICEF report concerning Adolescent Girls Vulnerability Index, Amin et al. (2013) documented that a national average of about 12.7 percent of sexually active women have engaged in a ‘sugar daddy’ relationships. These women are aged 15 to 19 suggesting a broad range of the rate of prevalence of ‘sugar daddy’ relationships. Transactional sex has also been reported in such a way that “18.6 percent of the young women aged 20 to 24 and 11.8 percent of those who are aged 15 to 19 have been found to engage in sexual relationships with older men” (WHO, 2012). Qualitative cross-sectional studies whose central focus lies in South Africa have also pointed out a significant correlation between ‘sugar daddy’ relationships and risky sexual behaviours. For example, Townsend et al. (2011) observed that most of Africa’s transactional sexual relationships translate into increased coital frequency, sexual concurrency and multiple sexual partners. Whereas women are likely to be fearful and demonstrate reluctance to engage in sex (Zembe et al., 2013), situations where partners provide financial and material support tend to reduce the reluctance (Wamoyi et al., 2011). This reveals the role of material possessions in encouraging risky sexual behaviours among girls and young women.

From the aforementioned trend in recent research, an increase in the number of ‘sugar daddy’ relationships is highlighted and associated with the transactional nature of relationships that the affected groups face. The capacity of these women to either negotiate safe sexual practices or assert their sexuality is seen to have been undermined by normative gender roles that require women to be submissive and passive sexually (Townsend et al., 2011). Furthermore, double standards that see men rewarded for promiscuity and sexual prowess have led to the undermining of an equitable negotiation while engaging in sexual relationships (UNHCR, 2011). The implication is that normative gender roles have contributed towards participation in ‘sugar daddy’ relationships among young women. The trend highlights further that limited access to resources yields relationships with those who have access, with ‘sugar daddies’ assuming more importance.

According to Wamoyi et al. (2011), ‘sugar daddy’ relationships such as those involving multiple partners, form a means by which young women supplement livelihood options. One of the countries in which this has been reported is Gambia, a context where young women and girls have seen significance in the need to look for ‘sugar daddies’ capable of fulfilling aspirations for geographic and socio-economic mobility, as well as basic survival needs. In such cases, it is clear that adverse conditions on the part of the female groups account for the emergence of most ‘sugar daddy’ relationships. However, the assertion fails to acknowledge secondary reasons that could make women engage in ‘sugar daddy’ relationships, including the need for luxurious travels and secondary needs such as jewellery and alcohol. In addition, the observation does not highlight a correlation between these women’s engagement in ‘sugar daddy’ relationships (due to their compromised state of negotiating power) and the construction of masculinity on the part of African men.

Another study by Watson (2011) indicated that disparities in access to resources have led to a change in perception regarding masculinity in Africa. Specifically, this affirms that the traditional emphasis on attributes such as marital prospects, concerns for social respect (from peers and parents), kin-based expectations, gendered identities and norms, emotional satisfaction, pleasure and physical attraction continue to face danger in such a way that ‘sugar daddy’ relationships, which are dominated by material exchanges, threaten to alter societal values regarding qualities of a masculine member. The relevance of this lies in its capacity to illustrate the manner in which an urban-based society negotiates love in settings such as Gambia.

A similar study by Davis (2014) indicated that marriage decisions and premarital relationships in most parts of sub-Saharan Africa are frequently dependent on motives of economic support. Eventually, this motive pushes young women into ‘sugar daddy’ relationships; it can be attributed to issues such as unemployment and lack of adequate education. From this, it can be seen that the young women’s motives to engage in transactional sexual relationships often lie in the aspect of convenience, rather than as an exercise in true love. As such, the men involved in these relationships are portrayed as those with complex intents. Specifically, some of the reasons behind these men’s engagement in ‘sugar daddy’ relationships remain unaddressed and it seems important to understand the potential impact of these unions on the construction of masculinity.

To maximise ‘returns’ in contexts marred by widespread economic hardship, women in sections of sub-Saharan and the rest of Africa (including Gambia, Malawi, Tanzania, Uganda and Mozambique) have resorted to multiple-partner relationships (Bhana and Pattman, 2011). This trend is informed by assertions that a majority of young men are unlikely to meet the financial demands of the women. As such, ‘sugar daddies’ have ended up in relationships either knowingly or unknowingly to fill in the gap regarding financial satisfaction on the part of the younger women. The eventuality is that the women may be enticed or lured into ‘sugar daddy’ relationships because of the young men’s failure to meet their demands; the young men’s inability can be attributed to poverty, lack of education and unemployment. On the one hand, whether the degree of masculinity on the part of ‘sugar daddies’ is increased due to their capacity to offer financially rewarding relationship opportunities or not (while diminishing the degree among young men) remains imperative to explore. On the other hand, a conflict arises regarding the aspect of convenience on the part of young women and a break away from traditional norms that dictated the need for non-sexual partnerships until marriage. Thus, this study sought to address the dilemma by highlighting whether winning these women from the hands of poverty-stricken young men contributes to the construction of traditional African masculinities among ‘sugar daddies’ in sub-Saharan Africa.

## **2.10 Multiple partners in KwaZulu-Natal**

According to Shabane, the 19th century saw value placed on largely self-sufficient homesteads in KwaZulu-Natal society and the 1950s witnessed a majority of rural areas relying on migrant labour (Shabane, 2011). Similarly, this period was characterised by a growing interest among

women to build livelihoods in urban zones. The latter group engaged in informal activities that included beer brewing, as well as operating as domestic workers. Shefer and Strebel (2012), added that wage labour gave men more power and there were fresh expectations on them as they assumed positions of breadwinners and took up primary responsibilities of support provision to the homestead. Therefore, according to Bhana and Pattman (2011), the 1950s and 1940s were marked by significant transmutations regarding accepted thinking on multiple-sexual partners. On the other hand, the unmarried and young women would witness prerogative permissions of multiple partner relationships. It's also unclear whether these multiple-partner relationships of the 1950s and the 1940s permitted sexual activities while deviating from the former eras that would only permit non-penetrative sex (such as thigh sex) partners at the pre-marital stage.

Morrell et al. (2012) stated that the late 1950s saw Christianity being introduced as a way of minimising multiple sexual partnerships in support for a moral code that called for monogamous relationships among believers. Therefore, Christianity resulted in negative attitudes among women to the extra-marital affairs of their husbands. According to Mudaly (2012:34), a "further challenge to heterosexual norms was the existence of same sex relations while men who engaged in multiple-partner relationships faced an additional risk of contracting embarrassing illnesses". Jewkes and Morrell (2012) asserted that men in the urban regions of KwaZulu-Natal society continually perceived penetrative sex as a mark of manliness, but the embarrassing symptoms of conditions such as syphilis would continually remind them of the hazards surrounding masculinity in which multiple-sexual conquests were celebrated. Potgieter et al. added that these harsh realities were aggravated during the migrant labour era by the jealously guarded sexuality of women in some circumstances, with several women having extra-marital affairs only with certain levels of implicit approval. Specifically, the first man would be associated with the 'main pot' while secondary lovers ended up being dubbed as the 'tops of pots'. These metaphors were associated with the need for sexual relations among women and, at times, support in the absence of their husbands (who were working in the towns) (Potgieter et al., 2012). This dilemma translates into the debate of whether a man who engaged in multiple-partner relationships to secure manliness had their state of masculinity compromised by their wives' engagement in extra-marital sexual relationships.

In the majority of South Africa's African communities, the influence of Christianity seems to dominate. However, as stated by Jewkes and Morrell (2012), common practices have often taken forms of religious syncretism in such a way that individuals professing to be Christian



would attend church on a regular basis to partake in Christian-related rituals and yet maintain many traditional beliefs, often performing traditional rituals. These rituals seek to protect the communities against possible misfortunes through honouring ancestors. Therefore, according to Morrell et al. (2012), numerous African independent churches exist and combine aspects of traditional culture and religion with aspects of Christian ritual. The growing Christian charismatic movement, which extends at the regional level, suggests a blend of Christian values and socio-cultural norms emanating from the society.

Whereas men could engage in thigh sex with different partners, attaining the position of a respected member of the society required one to build a homestead and have a wife (see Selikow and Mbulaheni, 2013; Potgieter et al., 2012). It is also worth considering that men with many ‘girlfriends’ were perceived negatively in terms of masculinity (Shefer and Strebel, 2012). However, the number of ‘girlfriends’ required to be considered masculine is unclear.

Pettifor et al. asserted that with enormous pressure placed on women to guard their sexuality, mid-century KwaZulu-Natal Christian society frowned on women who engaged in multiple-partner relationships. Therefore, a blend of Christian and KwaZulu-Natal’s societal values accounted for the apparent new tradition in which women (particularly the unmarried) were limited to one boyfriend (Pettifor et al., 2012). However, it was unclear whether a woman who engaged in a relationship with one partner and ended up in marriage with this boyfriend should have had a sexual relationship before or after marriage.

Shabane (2011) stated that aspirations and expectations for manhood in mid-century KwaZulu-Natal society are unclear. Men were placed in difficult positions: they needed to establish families and build rural homes which forced them to work in towns, yet separation from home and family undermined the very rural-based institutions they sought to construct. Women left in the rural areas would often end up tolerating second lovers (metaphorically referred to as the tops of pots – while their husbands were deemed to be the main pots) and engaging in sexual relationships (see Shabane, 2011; Potgieter et al., 2012).

Shefer and Strebel (2012) added that over the years, men in KwaZulu-Natal, have needed to make considerable investments to become homestead heads and assert their masculinity. In the 20th century, men would progressively become reliant on wage labour to provide bride wealth. Bhana and Pattman (2011) stated that while they strived to be called manly men at home, in the workplace they were positioned as boys, facing critical humiliation. Further factors which posed critical threats to South African men’s quest to secure masculinity statuses included

women's greater participation in the labour market and the difficulty experienced by men in marrying while striving to set up independent households (Selikow and Mbulaheni, 2013). Morrell et al., (2012) also state that as women participated more actively in the labour market, many became independent of men. Furthermore, more educated women also gained new work opportunities while migrant labour continued to affect both men and women's ability to engage in long-term relationships. With 'sugar daddy' relationships dominated by material exchange, these women's increasing state of independence was perceived to be a threat to these relationships. Thus, the sole reliance on material exchange to form 'sugar daddy' relationships and, in turn, achieve masculinity statuses, is worth exploring.

According to Selikow and Mbulaheni (2013), from the 1960s, marital rates in KwaZulu-Natal dropped significantly. This drop can be attributed to the increasing level of town-based co-habitation, compromising the traditional emphasis on jealously guarded sexual relationships that would be dominated by virginity testing ceremonies. Changes in the roles and statuses of women served to further undermine the position of men as homestead heads, especially in situations where they were not sole providers. In such contexts, where some women were independent, marriage was perceived to be unnecessary and undesirable (Selikow and Mbulaheni, 2013; Potgieter et al., 2012). This resulted in societal fragmentation in which urban areas reworked sexuality with town-based growth, fashioning the emergence of alternative urban masculinities. Whether the emergence of 'sugar daddy' relationships in KwaZulu-Natal can be linked to this form of alternative urban masculinity is worth considering.

In South Africa, inequality is still a part of society. There are large gaps between the 'haves' and the 'have nots', especially between races and the African has been hardest hit, with the African woman being lowest in the social rank. As a result, poorly paid or unemployed women have been forced to find an alternative means to survival. This has seen them embracing transactional sex with older, financially stable men, with some of the sexual engagements involving multiple men (Shabane, 2011). Thus the women can be seen to engage in penetrative sex relationships with men to secure a living rather than simply for pleasure. It is also interesting to consider the effect on masculinity status when different men engage in sexual relationships with the same woman.

Stoebenau et al. (2011:81) asserted that "a new theme is emerging in the history of masculinity among young men of 19th century KwaZulu-Natal regarding men with multiple partners coming to be perceived as a cultural norm based on similar accounts by their grandfathers. In

addition, “women are often blamed for promiscuity but it seems that insecurity among men continues to be propelled by the progressive critique arising from sections of women. Specifically, the critique targets irresponsible men who infect women with HIV” (Ott et al., 2011:164). According to Stoebenau et al. (2011), there are therefore changing opinions regarding the need to celebrate multiple partners in KwaZulu-Natal. “Male doubt has come to be institutionalised in KwaZulu-Natal in groups that include men for change. In turn, self-doubt has had far-reaching consequences on bravado and risk-taking in dominant masculinities”(Jewkes andDunkle, 2012:164).

According to Stoebenau et al., (2013), political and historical processes in South African have seen norms associated with transactional sex change and evolve. An example of this was shared by Pettifor et al. (2012) who stated the apartheid’s migrant labour system caused much separation and family disintegration. Husbands and wives were forced to live apart for considerable periods. Eventually these laws paved the way for the arrival of new sexual behaviours that included an increase in the demand for multiple concurrent partners, infidelity in marriage, and high rates of commercial sex work. This situation has evolved to affect sexual activity in modern-day South Africa. This research gives insights into the forces responsible for the emergence of ‘sugar daddy’ relationships in regions such as KwaZulu-Natal. Specifically, the research indicates that restrictive laws confining a majority of the women to urban areas formed a contributory factor that led to infidelity and high demand for multiple concurrent partners in South Africa. However, the affirmations fail to provide a correlation between transactional sex and the attainment of masculinities among ‘sugar daddies’ in the context of South Africa.

Mudaly (2012) asserted that the post-apartheid era witnessed most men separated from their partners for extensive lengths of time and the demand for multiple concurrent partners is documented to have increased in South Africa. This differs from the apartheid era which was dominated by perceptions that sexual behaviours were not necessarily driven by premarital sex relationships. Rather, reciprocal gift giving was demonstrated among women and men in relationships.

## **2.11 Socio-cultural values in South Africa in relation to ‘sugar daddy’ relationships**

According to Jewkes et al. (2012a), in many African communities, polygamy is still tolerable which makes allowances for some men to continue marrying many wives while others pursue women outside marriage. Even though Christians marry monogamously, some embrace extramarital concurrent partnering. Across the African communities of South Africa, implications and nature of residence, descent and marriage are similar. Jewkes and Morrell (2010) highlighted three factors that are of importance in terms of marriage, the first one being that polygamy is acceptable and permitted. Based on his choice or number of cattle, a man can marry as many wives as his heart desires. Secondly, after marriage a married couple is expected to reside with or build a homestead closer to the husband’s family. Lastly, *ilobolo* plays a vital role in African marriages. The issue suggests that legitimate marriage is preceded by the transfer of bride wealth, from the husband-to-be to the family of the wife. Traditionally, the bride wealth takes the form of cattle.

Pitpitan et al. (2013) assert that while various modern and traditional pressures have continued to undermine these social arrangements, system combinations of patriliney, patrilocality and polygamy with bride wealth have continued to pose significant influences and repercussions on the general nature of social and marital relations. Watt et al. (2012) added that therefore, the socio-cultural context of South Africa contributes to giving meaning and legitimising the values, expectations and assumptions that people hold regarding day-to-day activities. Male virility in most of the South African communities continues to be measured based on the number of sexual partners an individual has at a given time. Thus, virility seems to be measured by the number of sexual partners and the emergence of concurrent (and multiple) partnerships. However, research fails to give an insight into the correlation between these partnerships and the construction of traditional African masculinities in the context of KwaZulu-Natal.

Jewkes et al. (2012b) asserted that new wants and needs have been created by an expanding economy. This form of growth suggests that poverty is not solely what prompts young women to engage in transactional sex. Hunter (2012) added that rather, the women appear to view relationships with older and employed men as those that reflect relatively easy paths of meeting their growing desire to secure consumer commodities. This new group of women is able to meet basic needs but may end up engaging in ‘sugar daddy’ relationships to exchange sex for money and gifts.

According to Stoebeanau et al. (2013), few studies have focused on explorations of transactional sexual relationships from the men's perspective. This situation reflects the need to study transactional sexual relationships from the perspective of the men or 'sugar daddies' involved. Jewkes et al. (2012b) observed that most of the men are not keen to have their involvement with young women and girls exposed, suggesting that they are not easily reached for purposes of research. Townsend et al. (2011) added that with traditional southern Africa perceived to define masculine identity as a man's ability to attract and maintain many sexual partners, studies focusing on transactional sexual relationships have continually made reference to the manner in which these partnerships play the role of boosting the social standing and self-esteem of men. This accounts for the cause of transactional sexual relationships in southern Africa as that which lies in the women's awareness of the men's desire to exhibit masculine identities in situations where they attract and maintain many girls around them. The implication of this is that women are presented as parties initiating 'sugar daddy' relationships with the aim of exploiting older men. In turn, the older men are unlikely to resist these relationships because they desire to achieve masculine identities, a scenario that works to the advantage of women who, seemingly, are aware of the unlikely resistance of their advancements as the men desire to achieve masculine identities. This finding is relevant because it associates the young women and girls' awareness of the men's desire to achieve masculine identities as a driving force behind the establishment of 'sugar daddy' relationships.

Zembe et al. (2013) documented that in some cultural contexts of Botswana, ageing men are allowed to have sexual relationships with younger women as this helps them curb sexual impotence. It is believed that sleeping with a younger woman helps improve an older men's sexual performance. Foley and Drame (2013) noted that in this case, cultural norms form a driving factor behind the men's engagement in relationships with young women but whether this translates into a 'sugar daddy' relationship (because material exchange is not involved) or not is unclear. By attracting these girls and engaging in sexual relationships, the social statuses of these men were improved. However, the latter observation reveals that young women who engage in 'sugar daddy' relationships are motivated by the need to improve their lifestyles and statuses.

Research by authors such as Amineh and Asl (2015) and Beber, Gilligan, Guardado and Karim (2015) describes some of the factors that motivate girls to engage in 'sugar daddy' relationships. However, factors acting as motivators, drivers, or forces that make the men engage in 'sugar daddy' relationships are very limited and yet to be examined in an in-depth

manner. By examining some of the factors that drive men to engage in ‘sugar daddy’ relationships in the context of KwaZulu-Natal, this study sought to fill the aforementioned gap, especially from a socio-cultural perspective.

According to Amin et al. (2013), much literature has been documented to recognise transactional sex as not only a sign of agency and self-respect but also as demonstrating a feeling of love. In addition, transactional sex in this region has been associated with demonstration of love and commitment by a partner (Amin et al., 2013). Thus, the research aids in understanding some of the socio-cultural forces responsible for the rooted nature of the practice. However, Beber et al. (2015) indicated that the provision of money and gifts in exchange for sexual favours (especially in situations where girls face humanitarian crises and poverty) could be a form of exploitation, rather than the provision of love and commitment on the side of men. The resultant dilemma is that the former research reveals the factors responsible for the tolerance of transactional sex in some of the societal settings while the latter states that material provision are a sign of exploiting the vulnerable state of girls, rather than being perceived as a sign of appreciation and commitment.

Transactional sexual relationships have also been associated with the pursuit of so-called modernity. For example, the rapid pace of change and effects of globalisation in some of sub-Saharan Africa’s communities suggest that the patterns and nature of activities previously perceived as normative are likely to be very different today. Thus, descriptions of what could be perceived to be normative in the current world (such as sexual beliefs, attitudes, desires and activities) are expected to consider both the contextual or spatial specificities and the temporality of settings in which these aspects occur (Hunter, 2010). Paradigm shifts have become evident in situations where young women exploit their desirability in a quest to attract ‘sugar daddies’ who can provide expensive commodities that include fashionable clothing, cellular phones and jewellery, as well as opportunities to be driven in luxury automobiles. Therefore, pursuit for modernity is one of the critical contributors to the emergence of ‘sugar daddy’ relationships.

Previously, regions such as KwaZulu-Natal were characterised by women’s efforts to guard their virginity implying that material possessions were unlikely to alter their stands (Jewkes and Dunkle, 2012). However, the quest for modernity seems to point to the affirmation that ‘sugar daddy’ relationships in the current society are no longer solely dependent on poverty-related survival strategies. Instead, the demands of young women have changed. However, this

observation does not focus on the extent to which the quest for modernity defines the degree of manliness in 'sugar daddies'. Indeed, the existence of this gap formed one of the motivations behind this study, seeking to not only determine the existence or non-existence of a relationship between 'sugar daddy' relationships and the construction of masculinity but also examine possible differences in the degrees of masculinity, if any, felt by different 'sugar daddies' in different contexts and relationships.

Stoebenau et al. (2013) noted that a few researchers have focused on explorations of transactional sexual relationships from the men's perspective. Even though Stoebenau did not specifically mention these studies, he stated that this situation reflected the need to study transactional sexual relationships from the perspective of the men or 'sugar daddies' involved. Townsend et al. (2011) observed that most of the men are not keen to have their involvement with young women and girls exposed, suggesting that they are not easily reached for purposes of research. Watt et al. (2012) observed that with traditional southern Africa perceived to define masculine identity as a man's ability to attract and maintain many sexual partners, studies focusing on transactional sexual relationships have continually made reference to the manner in which these partnerships play the role of boosting the social standing and self-esteem of men. "Thus, the near total awareness of the young women regarding the need for men to demonstrate sexual prowess and manhood (by being seen to attract and maintain many sexual partners) is sometimes used as a basis to justify the exploitation of older men" (Townsend et al., 2012:32). This accounts for the cause of transactional sexual relationships in southern Africa as that which lies in the women's awareness of the men's desire to exhibit masculine identities in situations where they attract and maintain many girls around them. The implication of this is that women are presented as parties initiating 'sugar daddy' relationships with the aim of exploiting older men. In turn, the older men are unlikely to resist these relationships because they desire to achieve masculine identities, a scenario that works to the advantage of women who, seemingly, are aware of the unlikely resistance of their advancements as the men desire to achieve masculine identities. This finding is relevant because it associates the young women and girls' awareness of the men's desire to achieve masculine identities as a driving force behind the establishment of 'sugar daddy' relationships.

Whereas literature exists regarding some of the factors that motivate girls to engage in 'sugar daddy' relationships, factors acting as motivators, drivers, or forces that make the men to engage in 'sugar daddy' relationships are very limited and yet to be examined in an in-depth manner (Amineh and Asl, 2015; Beber, Gilligan, Guardado and Karim, 2015). By examining

some of the factors that drive men to engage in ‘sugar daddy’ relationships in the context of KwaZulu-Natal, this study sought to fill the aforementioned gap, especially from a socio-cultural perspective.

According to Amin et al. (2013), some African authors have also been documented to recognise transactional sex as not only a sign of agency and self-respect but also as demonstrating a feeling of love. In addition, transactional sex in this region has been associated with demonstration of love and commitment by a partner (Amin et al., 2013). Thus, the research aids in understanding some of the socio-cultural forces responsible for the rooted nature of the practice. However, Beber et al. (2015) indicated that the provision of money and gifts in exchange for sexual favours (especially in situations where girls face humanitarian crises and poverty) could be a form of exploitation, rather than the provision of love and commitment on the side of men. The resultant dilemma is that the former research reveals the factors responsible for the tolerance of transactional sex in some of the societal settings while the latter states that material provisions are a sign of exploiting the vulnerable state of girls, rather than being perceived as a sign of appreciation and commitment.

Jewkes and Dunkle for instance claimed that “previously regions such as KwaZulu-Natal were characterised by women’s efforts to guard(sic) their virginity implying that material possessions were unlikely to alter their stands” (Jewkes and Dunkle, 2012:98). However, in contemporary times, ‘sugar daddy’ relationships are no longer solely dependent on poverty-related survival strategies.

## **2.12 Trends in ‘sugar daddy’ relationships – On women’s agency**

According to Maclin et al. (2015), power refers to one’s capacity to make choices and the ability to define one’s goals, and act upon them (agency). Therefore, agency can be associated with the capacity to make informed choices in households, as well as the society at large. Women’s agency encompasses the purpose, motivation and meaning entailed in the actions they undertake. In turn, the choices made imply the ability to make wise decisions and the possibility of alternatives. The implication is that one’s exposure to insufficient means to meet basic needs may translate into a compromised state of exercising choice. Three interrelated issues appear to shape people’s ability to exercise choices. These issues include achievements, agency and resources. In the sub-Saharan context, Wamoyi et al. (2011) argued that the



women's engagement in 'sugar daddy' relationships provides them with certain levels of control over their lives. Indeed, the observation highlights that the need to secure a sense of control over one's life forms one of the contributory forces behind young women's involvement in transactional sex. Thus, engaging in 'sugar daddy' relationships becomes very possibly suggestive of the women's agency.

In a similar observation, Watson (2011) avowed that women may approach 'sugar daddy' relationships to access resources and power, rather than act as passive victims. The study found that some of the women would view multiple-partner relationships as those that could enable them to gain control over their lives. A lack of choice differs from women's need to gain control over their lives. However, the extent to which the women's agency and desire to gain control over their life (which may translate into 'sugar daddy' relationships) affects the construction of traditional African masculinities remains unknown. The current research also does not adequately explore women's agency in rural settings and differences in peri-urban and urban contexts.

An example of the need to gain control by women can be seen in the issue of employment. The willingness to engage in transactional sex to access employment has been documented (WHO,2012; Watt et al., 2012; Choudhry et al., 2014). Irrespective of the setting, scenarios in which women engage in transactional sex to gain material possessions place the female groups in positions of limited negotiation and bargaining power. Sex is ultimately a commodity that is purchased and results in the 'sugar daddies' exploiting these sexual encounters to maintain power (Davis, 2014). However, the degree of this power is yet to be examined based on context-specific circumstances and whether the power felt in conflict-stricken areas, driven by a lack of choice and opportunities, differs from that which men engaged in transactional sex with women driven by agency. In addition, it is important to examine the possible difference felt by these men in urban settings, compared to a similar scenario of maintaining power in rural settings.

### **2.13 The dynamics in women's motivation**

There is a wide range of literature focused on transactional sexual relations in sub-Saharan Africa (Amineh and Asl, 2015), some of which includes reasons why both men and women

engage in these relationships. In Chapter 1 I touched briefly on some of the reasons. Here, I expand and elaborate on the different motivations that pull young women to older men.

The first reason that literary contributions acknowledge, concerns sex for improved social status. Kuate-Defo (2004) argued that not all young women who embrace ‘sugar daddy’ relationships are poor. There a number of factors influencing these women, some of which include peer pressure, the desire to look fashionable and privileged among their peers, and a sense of pride in being sexually intimate with the most influential and wealthy men in their communities. This example places women as sexual agents whose sole purpose of engaging in ‘sugar daddy’ relationships is to attain a life of ‘glitz and glam’(Davis, 2014). The eventuality is that the need to improve one’s status in the social environment is seen as a motivating force behind young women’s engagement in sexual relationships with ‘sugar daddies’.

Hunter (2010) noted that transactional sexual relationships exhibit varying degrees of coercion because they have continually been associated with both economic asymmetries and age, complemented by a lack of options for income among the girls. This paradigm is observed as that which places women as victims of ‘sugar daddy’ relationships, paving the way for interventions to protect the group from exploitation. Thus, this paradigm deviates from affirmations of sex for convenience in which girls are seen as individuals who spearhead the relationships, rather than fall victim to them. The contribution of this observation lies in its capacity to highlight the need for basic needs such as food as major causative agents responsible for the emergence of transactional sexual relationships in sub-Saharan Africa. As Amin et al. (2013) have observed, some of the women’s motivations to engage in transactional sex have been documented to include the need for family support, school fees, and food. Studies by Jewkes and Morrell (2012) and Mojola (2014) have established that the lack of access to employment, health services and education compounded by a weak economy that arises from poverty in most of the rural settings of Southern Africa forces girls and younger women into transactional sexual relationships. This has been attributed further to the need to secure economic benefits or favours. In a related study, MacPherson et al. (2012) documented that the money obtained by women engaging in transactional sexual relationships is used to buy clothes and pay for education, in addition to simple luxuries that include snacks, body lotions and soaps. However, the research does not sensitise audiences regarding the potential impact that these relationships pose on the construction of traditional African masculinities. In addition, the paradigm shift does not account for some of the differences and similarities that could be

drawn between ‘sugar daddy’ relationships in contemporary sub-Saharan Africa and those that may have been witnessed in the past.

Sex and material expressions of love form another reason for women’s motivation. This paradigm draws attention to the correlation between money and love, as well as the primary role of ‘sugar daddies’ as those who are expected to provide in relationships (Hansen, 2012). The paradigm suggests further that material expressions of love precede sexual relationships and form a determining factor that shapes the length of the bond. Thus, important commonalities can be drawn in the three paradigms associated with transactional sexual relationships. Some of the notable commonalities include processes of economic change and gender inequality. Indeed, it can be inferred that aspects of instrumentality, agency and deprivation account for the emergence of some of the ‘sugar daddy’ relationships in sub-Saharan Africa. However, this assertion does not account for the role played by these paradigms in shaping masculinity among African men, a background from which this study sought to understand the feelings and perceptions of men in KwaZulu-Natal.

Another study by Morrell, Jewkes and Lindegger, (2012) revealed that simple gifts such as a packet of peanuts or a pencil were sometimes adequate incentives for a girl to engage in a sexual relationship with an older partner. Similar conclusions have been documented in sections of Eastern Africa, including Madagascar and Tanzania (Mudaly, 2012). “These studies reveal that parental pressure for their children to engage in transactional sex relationships with older partners is not uncommon, enabling these parents to benefit financially to support household necessities. In situations where these relationships translate into marriage, the parents are documented to benefit further in terms of bride wealth” (Bhana and Pattman, 2011:102). These observations suggest pressure from parents as a causal agent responsible for the emergence of ‘sugar daddy’ relationships in sections of Southern Africa (such as Zambia), as well as the larger part of Eastern Africa (Choudhry et al., 2014). These studies also do not explore the relationship between transactional sex and the construction of traditional African masculinities though. The observations do not shed light on implications on the degree of manliness, if any, that the men feel. It is further notable that these assertions do not define the period within which a sexual relationship can be considered to be transactional. Specifically, they fail to indicate whether the relationship is no longer transactional if the girl marries the ‘sugar daddy’.

According to Ott et al. (2011), findings in rural Zimbabwe reveal a significant age difference between the female and male sexual partners. The difference is postulated as a central determinant of the emergence of 'sugar daddy' relationships. Ott et al. asserted that whereas young men are observed to have relationships with women perceived to be slightly younger or of a similar age, young women are seen to, routinely, engage in partnerships with men who are five to ten years older. What arises is that young men engaged in relationships with women of a similar age perceive themselves as those who possess higher degrees of masculinity, compared to their counterparts in the older men's group. If so, the study does not highlight the potential drivers of differences in preference in which young women form partnerships with older men while young men prefer partners with a lower age difference. Similarly, the findings pose the dilemma that young men are seen to prefer younger women while the younger women are seen to prefer older partners. The eventuality is a potential struggle or scramble for the younger women, a competition arising between older men and young men. It is also notable that the observation fails to highlight motivational factors driving young men to prefer women of their age, failing to account further for the driving forces behind the girls' preference for older partners. Indeed, these gaps attract a more in-depth analysis to not only highlight or examine trends in 'sugar daddy' relationships but also account for the driving forces from the African men's perspective.

In Botswana, a section of Gaborone schoolgirls (especially those in grade 11 and 12) have been documented to engage in relationships with older men (Beber et al., 2015). The main motivational factor that accounted for over 80 percent of these relationships was the need for material gain. Apart from material gain, these girls were found to be motivated by the need to have fun, associated with a lifestyle consistent with urban contexts or residences, enjoyment of material goods, and glamour (Potgieter et al., 2012). It appeared that these girls did not need to meet their subsistence needs. Rather, most engaged in 'sugar daddy' relationships to acquire 'top ups' that enable them to boost their status amongst their peers. Thus, two primary causes and motivators responsible for the schoolgirls' engagement in 'sugar daddy' relationships in the urban context of Botswana, include material gain and the need for fun or enjoyment. But there was no correlation of these relationships with the construction of traditional African masculinity among the 'sugar daddies'. These factors were largely considered from the schoolgirls' side as chief drivers responsible for the emergence of 'sugar daddy' relationships but there was no examination of possible factors that drive men into these partnerships. Similarly, differences in potential feelings, experiences and attitudes of men engaged in 'sugar

daddy' relationships with schoolgirls seeking material gain and those who engage in relationships with schoolgirls seeking fun, were not explored comprehensively.

This trend of dating older wealthier men for material gain appears to be commonly found in Southern Africa's urban and peri-urban settings and there seem to be various external factors that 'push' these young women into these 'sugar daddy' relationships. According to Rosenbaum et al. (2011), some of the reasons why young women in urban parts of Southern Africa embrace 'sugar daddy' relationships are the need to be connected with the 'right' people as well as competition with their peers. These young women compete on the basis of who owns the best and up to date cellular phones, who is best dressed and who has the best hairstyle. Additionally, the type of car the 'sugar daddy' drives as well as the amount of money they get plays a big role in these so-called competitions.

In addition to the 'competition of being the best in the hood,' according to Connell (2005), peer pressure seems to be another defining factor of these 'sugar daddy'/multiple sexual partner relationships. One can then say that these young women yield to peer pressure in order to please their friends/peers more than the 'sugar daddies' or themselves. This demonstrates a scenario in which the women's focus lies more in the need to reach the top of the hierarchy in the social group, with the needs of the 'sugar daddy' given less priority. From the perspective of the men, the documentation fails to explain whether these relationships affect the degree of manliness among the young women's 'sugar daddies'. There is also no explanation as to whether these 'sugardaddies' are aware of the women's intention to secure their resources and please other members of the peer group and whether situations where the men are aware of these intentions pose a significant effect on their feelings of accomplishment.

Drawing attention to some of the socio-economic changes that have led to increased casual partnerships and the decline of formal marriages, Selikow and Mbulaheni (2013) observed that a normative 'disadvantage' has been felt in economic transfers. In a quest to establish a difference between transactional sex and commercial sex, their study indicated that the socio-economic disadvantage forms a major factor behind the occurrence of the two forms of sexual relationships. Indeed, the observations contribute to knowledge regarding the primary importance of economic transfers in shaping the nature and trend of contemporary relationships. However, conclusions do not focus on the extent to which these economic transfers affect the construction of masculinities among African men.

Manipulations of sexual and economic power imbalances have also been reported in southern Africa, with young women in Mozambique reported to use these partnerships in constructing their identities. According to Shabane (2011), these urban young women see themselves as holding high positions in society where they are able to actively make decisions about which path to take in their lives. They also base their identity of becoming modern empowered women on these relationships where they are able to get material and financial resources from older men in exchange for sex. This is highlighted and reveals the manner in which Mozambique's young women's aspirations and goals are contextualised within changing economic and social conditions. The documentation reveals further that young women have continually sought to forge new roles for themselves, shifting sexual expectations. With these urban women mindful of some of the factors that may constrain their future goals – such as low wages, corruption, lack of access to education, and limited employment opportunities (see Shefer and Strel, 2012) – transactional sexual relationships with older men form the most natural and easiest way through which a means to a better life can be achieved. Indeed, these are similar to the studies of Botswana in which material gain forms a major drive of schoolgirls towards engaging in 'sugar daddy' relationships in urban contexts, followed by the need for fun and glamour. However, the study concentrated on the women's perspectives but failed to correlate them with the potential effect on the feelings of the men involved. Similarly, the studies are worth acknowledging because they identify uncertainty for the future among young women as a central drive towards engaging in transactional sexual relationships but fail to highlight the contribution of these relationships in determining the position of men in social contexts.

Therefore, poverty and its concomitant factors have been identified as responsible for the emergence of the majority of 'sugar daddy' relationships in sub-Saharan Africa. However, the studies have not provided an insight into the association between the state of poverty, and the construction of traditional African masculinities. Secondly, although some observations have been linked to the rural setting of Southern Africa, little has been explored within urban settings. Given the growth of cities such as Durban, men are documented to have sought employment opportunities, with some of the women moving to these urban zones to provide labour (see Jewkes and Morrell, 2012). Existing studies do not explore the reasons for 'sugar daddy' relationships in these regions, limiting their focus and observations to the rural zones of Africa.

## 2.14 Chapter summary

This chapter has provided a review of literature regarding transactional sexual relationships within and outside the sub-Saharan African region. Existing scholarly documentation and contributions suggest that various reasons account for the emergence of ‘sugar daddies’. These factors justify the positions of both the ‘sugar daddies’ and the girls or young women with whom they engage in transactional sex. From the men’s side, factors include cultural beliefs, hegemonic masculinity, sexual enjoyment and other conveniences. Factors influencing the girls range from socio-cultural to economic factors. One of the notable aspects involves poverty, which is complemented by parental pressure (to secure basic needs) and peer pressure (to attain desirable statuses while in the company of other women). Apart from poverty and its resultant pressure, the aspect of humanitarian crises has been cited as a key contributor to ‘sugar daddy’ relationships. For instance, the earthquake-stricken part of Haiti and post-war Liberia, Uganda, Rwanda and DRC have been documented to experience a rise in ‘sugar daddy’ relationships because of the dire situations for so many women there. Peacekeeping troops have been known to engage in ‘sugar daddy’ relationships with these women who view them as providing both security and necessities such as food and clothing. The need to pay for the girls’ education has also been found to contribute to the rise of transactional sexual relationships. These findings do not, however, give critical insights into the role played by ‘sugar daddy’ relationships in the construction and enactment of traditional African masculinities, a gap that this study sought to fill.

As mentioned above, there are young women who embrace ‘sugar daddies’ to simple secure basic needs and those whose needs stretch beyond basic commodities to secondary needs such as jewellery and expensive tours. The study argues that whereas the literature acknowledges the presence of these two categories of women, it does not give an insight into potential differences in feelings and perceptions of ‘sugar daddies’ engaged in transactional sex with the respective categories. This study sought to specifically explore perceived feelings and perceptions *from the context and perspective of ‘sugar daddies’ in South Africa.*

## **CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGICAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

### **3.1 Introduction**

This chapter provides a description of the methodology used in this study to collect, analyse and interpret data. According to Babbie (2010:4), methodology is a set of “procedures for scientific investigation”. Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill (2012) stated that research methodologies entail different processes which see researchers engaging in the identification of a problem and endeavour to arrive at feasible and sustainable solutions through the collection of new forms of knowledge. Thus methodology is a set of designs or plans about how to advance in gathering and validating data on a specific subject matter. It entails choosing the kind of information and data needed as well as an overview about how to go about analysing the information and data gathered.

The sampling method adopted for this study was purposive sampling and the data collection instruments were semi-structured interviews and open-ended questions.

This chapter begins by providing a research design, which preceded the process of collecting data and which was applied to the research population and topic. Three processes were used to achieve the research process. The first process involved collecting data from *amaZulu* ‘sugar daddies’ in Durban. The second and third process involved analysing the data with the aim of interpreting the data before engaging in detailed discussion and inference making.

### **3.2 Research design**

When qualitative researchers begin the research process, their aim according to Creswell (2009) is to gain an understanding or a ‘feel’ of the background, context as well as the setting of their research and research participants. This is done through field visits where they get to collect information personally. Leedy (1997:195) defined research design as a “plan for a study, providing the overall framework for collecting data”. The idea is to make connections between theory and practical and Punch (2006:47) asserted that research design therefore “means connecting the research questions to data”. MacMillan and Schumacher (2001:166) defined it as a “plan for selecting subjects, research sites, and data collection procedures to answer the



research question(s)”. Therefore, the ultimate aim of a research design is to offer information that is trustworthy and reliable.

### **3.3 Explorative study**

According to Collis and Hussey (2003), exploratory research normally works very well in settings where a research problem has not yet been clearly defined. Exploratory research as the term implies is therefore used to explore a research problem. The study was exploratory in nature. A central reason for choosing exploratory research lay in the need to offer a better understanding of *amaZulu* masculinities. In addition, the nature of the subject informed the choice of an exploratory research approach. Thus in this case, exploratory research was adopted because the topic of *amaZulu* masculinities in relation to the ‘sugar daddy’ relationship phenomenon has not been studied more clearly or in depth and the researcher therefore intended filling this gap. Ruan (2006) noted that exploratory research is normally adopted when a researcher is interested in getting to know or increasing an understanding of a new or little researched group or phenomenon used to gain insight into a research topic. This method was therefore helpful in understanding the construction of traditional *amaZulu* masculinities in KwaZulu-Natal as well as to develop operational definitions and improve the final research design.

Research on the subject of ‘sugar daddy’ relationships has been linked to the issue of HIV/AIDS and or gender. However, not much has been probed in terms of linking ‘sugar daddy’ relationships to masculinities, *amaZulu* masculinities to be precise. As Zikmund (2003:281) stated, the main objective of exploratory research is to gain a better and deeper understanding of a subject and this method has been deemed appropriate because of its ability to lay a foundation for future more in-depth studies. This method therefore helped in highlighting the role of ‘sugar daddy’ relationships in shaping and forming the construction of traditional *amaZulu* masculinities in KwaZulu-Natal.

As documented by Cooper and Schindler (2006), this technique takes on a probing approach where the initial stages include inference drawing followed by the conception of fresh ideas that are independent and unique from other techniques of conducting research. Thus, the approach was selected to aid in collecting data from the perspective of the target population, upon which inferences could be made in relation to insights from the existing secondary sources.

Zikmund (2003) highlighted that the initial step in exploratory research is the analysis of existing research in the chosen field. When this process is finished, one needs to identify issues that are relevant to the subject area, then unpack and group them into more defined problems to develop research objectives. Chapter 1 and 2 have analysed existing literature on the topic of ‘sugar daddies’ as well as African masculinities including the *amaZulu* masculinities. Secondary data aided in examining explorative aspects based on the role of ‘sugar daddy’ relationships in shaping the construction and enactment of traditional *amaZulu* masculinities. The practice of collecting data involved interview sessions. The interviews were guided by open-ended and closed-ended questions. In the end, findings fostered the establishment of a level of concurrence between primary data and the existing literature from secondary research sources. According to Creswell (2009), an important factor in explorative research is that it enables the researcher to understand the views of participants through the examination of interesting phenomena. In this case, the focal phenomenon concerned ‘sugar daddy’ relationships and the potential role they play in the construction of masculinities in KwaZulu-Natal’s city of Durban. “Given that explorative research promotes the communication of significant stances while allowing the researcher to comprehend various phenomena” (Mason, 2002:30), the approach enabled exploration of assumptions and previous statistical literature.

The main research aim was to obtain the opinions of *amaZulu* ‘sugar daddies’ regarding the way their relationships with girls and younger women made them feel or react. As will be discussed further, a purposive process of selecting these participants implied that those who failed to meet or satisfy the designed criteria were replaced by alternative groups until a desirable number of responses were achieved. It was projected that highly valid and reliable information would be collected.

Cooper and Schindler (2006) added that exploratory research is typically qualitative. It was therefore appropriate that a qualitative approach was used to collect and analyse the data in this research.

### **3.4 Qualitative study**

According to Denzin and Lincoln (2005:58), qualitative research is a “situated activity intended at locating the observer in the world. It includes an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world meaning that qualitative researchers study phenomena in their natural settings,

attempting to make sense of, or interpreting phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them.” Denzin and Lincoln (2005:10) added that “qualitative research places emphasis on the qualities of entities and on processes and meanings that are not experimentally examined or measured”. Salkind (2003) asserted that this type of research is normally adopted when a researcher intends to gain an understanding of underlying opinions, reasons and motivations behind a particular subject, cultural/traditional beliefs among others. It also helps the research develop initial ideas on the topic under study. As Babbie and Mouton (2006) noted, qualitative researchers employ qualitative methods so as to collect rich information on their topic of interest. In this study, qualitative research was deemed to be appropriate because it provided a desirable level of convenience during the process of data collection and sampling. As observed by Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill (2009:47), “this level of convenience offers an opportunity for effective and efficient organisation of the research findings and when the research findings are organised effectively and efficiently, it helps ease the process of data analysis”. Similarly, a qualitative approach to research was selected because it provided an opportunity through which elements such as trends, impacts, challenges faced and the resultant opinions regarding traditional *amaZulu* masculinity could be understood. In addition, qualitative research was adopted because, at the time, the findings were not apparent to the researcher. It is also worth noting that the approach was adopted because of its capacity to collect detailed and comprehensive data (Collis and Hussey, 2003). It enabled the researcher to gain an inclusive mental picture from different viewpoints of the participants, leading to the formulation of more practical and realistic recommendations.

Furthermore, the qualitative research approach encouraged participants to increase their responses through open-ended questions, and revealed new ideas regarding ‘sugar daddy’ relationships and the construction of masculinity among *amaZulu* men.

Cooper and Schindler (2006:38) claimed that qualitative research involves “the collection, analysis and interpretation of data by observing the activities and gaining views of the research population”. Therefore, in qualitative research as a researcher observes the behaviours and responses of participants, he is enabled to understand their preferences regarding the subject under study.

### **3.5 Focus area of study**

The focus area of the study was the KwaZulu-Natal province and it is in this area that the ‘bitter sweet’ reality of ‘sugar daddy’ relationships was examined in relation to the construction of traditional *amaZulu* masculinities. This was evaluated in terms of how masculinity can be understood within particular expressions of hegemonic masculinity or what has been termed traditional masculinity. The traditional *amaZulu* masculinities studied are the *amaZulu* men from all over South Africa but the focus is on those based in Durban, Kwa-Zulu Natal.

### **3.6 Population and sample of the study**

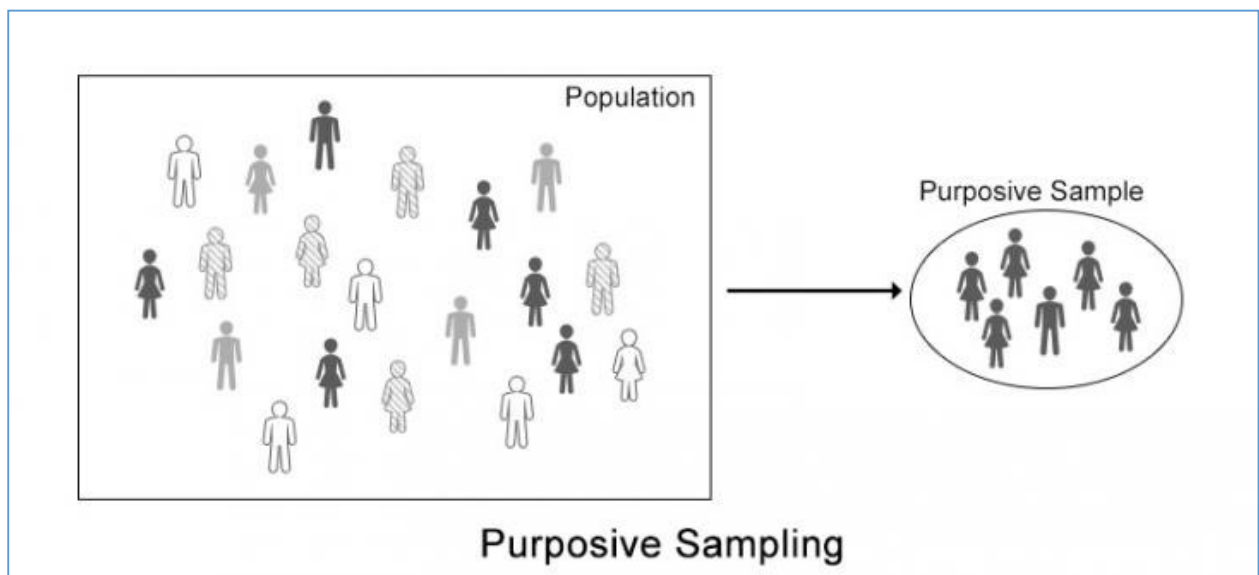
In this study, 22 participants were selected to present their views. Criteria for participants included: *amaZulu* men engaging in ‘sugar daddy’ relationships who were residents of Durban or its outskirts (though it was hoped that findings could be generalised to the rest of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa and possibly even beyond to the sub-Saharan region). In addition, participants had to be engaged in ‘sugar daddy’ relationships for substantial periods to ensure that the study focused on an experienced group that was capable of discerning issues regarding transactional sexual relationships and the construction as well as the enactment of traditional *amaZulu* masculinities.

#### ***3.6.1 Sampling procedures***

According to Ruan (2005:104), sampling is a process where people “study a few in order to learn about many.” Notably, the participants were selected purposively to avoid an overrepresentation of certain groups of individuals, such as those with a high level of desirability. Babbie and Mouton stated that in purposive sampling, the researcher may study a “small subset of a larger population, to further understanding of fairly regular patterns of attitudes and behaviour” (2009:166), hence validating the sample frame of my study of 22 participants. According to Black (2010:1), “purposive sampling (also known as judgment, selective or subjective sampling) is a sampling method where the researcher is solely dependent on his or her own judgment when selecting members of the population to participate in the study. It is a non-probability sampling method and it occurs when elements selected for the sample are chosen by the judgment of the researcher. Researchers often believe that they can obtain a representative sample by using a sound judgment, which will result in saving time and money.” This method, was therefore deemed appropriate because the researcher was looking

for respondents that would adequately respond to her questions and meet her objectives. Purposive sampling according to Babbie and Mouton is appropriate since one has prior “knowledge of the population” (2009:166), its elements and nature of the aims of study, i.e. constructions of traditional masculinities. Thus, purposive sampling aimed to ensure that members were selected across different *amaZulu* backgrounds so that a range of viewpoints could be included. Bless and Higson-Smith (1995:88) held that purposive sampling has pragmatic advantages. They stated that purposive sampling can “save time and money and the disadvantages of such sampling can be reduced by enlarging the sample or by choosing an homogeneous population and they are thus frequently used in the social science”.

Figure 3.1: Purposive sampling highlighted



Source: Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill (2012)

Purposive sampling was also appropriate due to limited research resources which meant the population of *amaZulu* ‘sugar daddies’ in Durban could not be studied in its entirety. Resources were limited due to financial and time constraints. Mason (2002:108) inferred that the resultant data obtained from such samples could “be generalised to the rest of the population or geographical region”. In this case, the experiences or feelings expressed by some of these ‘sugar daddies’ in relation to the construction of traditional *amaZulu* masculinities could possibly be generalised to the rest of KwaZulu-Natal, other parts of South Africa and the sub-Saharan region.

Salkind (2003) indicated that purposive sampling is advantageous because it promotes the

study of populations that are extremely large and unevenly distributed. In Durban, it was unlikely that ‘sugar daddies’ would be evenly distributed, given the size of the city and its resultant population. Therefore, the study targeted a sample of ‘sugar daddies’ from this larger population. The risk of using purposive sampling is that a poor selection of participants could lead to misleading conclusions and recommendations and other related policies (Saunders et al., 2009). Poor sample selection can also lead to misleading information which can compromise both the validity and reliability of the study. To counter this, the study used an appropriate sample size.

Recruitment was potentially difficult due to the sensitive nature of the subject; it was unlikely that older *amaZulu* men engaging in transactional sexual relationships would be easily available for identification and purposive sampling. Thus, a key informant was identified. The role of the key informant was to act as an entry point into the target population. Mr. Mike Maphoto, who wrote two blogs on subjects such as the diary of an *amaZulu* girl, was identified because of his familiarity with men involved in transactional sexual relationships with younger women. Not only has Mr. Maphoto interviewed women but also men, leading to the writing of the book *Confessions of a Sugar Baby*. Therefore, Mr. Maphoto was viewed as an appropriate key informant who could help to identify as well as boost the level of confidence in potential participants.

A letter seeking permission was given to Mr. Maphoto to secure consent to allow him to not only act as a key informant but also as a “gatekeeper” who would moderate the discussions and establish a balance, should feelings of uncertainty arise during the interview sessions. As mentioned, the sample constituted 22 ‘sugar daddies’ who, at the time of the research, were engaging in transactional sexual relationships with younger women (about 15 years younger or more than them). Participants (the men) were between 35 to 55 years of age. Interviews were conducted in three groups: the first group constituted of 12 participants while the second group involved ten participants. In the third group, ten participants who had agreed to respond to other follow-up questions (during the first two groups) were identified and interviewed further. Due to personal safety concerns on the part of the participants and the researcher, the interviews were held in public spaces. In situations where answers were deemed unclear, further probing aided in achieving clarity. Each interview session lasted between one and one and a half hours.

### **3.8 Data Collection Instruments**

The process of collecting data involved in-depth face to face interviews. Bilton et al. (1996: 117) noted that the use of face-to-face interviews can provide a richer data base since the researcher can “clarify meaning, can probe for additional information on an unexpected issue that emerges during interviews, and can ensure that all the dimensions of the research are properly covered”. A semi-structured interview schedule with open-ended questions guided the interview process. The interview questions aimed to enable the participants to respond without intervention or interference from the researcher. Thus, the interviewees were asked questions and requested to respond. Consent was sought from the participants before the interviews commenced.

Saunders et al. (2007:88) affirmed that primary data is important because it “provides possible answers to the research questions. The researcher may ask the lead questions and engage in further inquiry through probing questions, with the participants’ observable behaviours aiding in discerning possible states of reliability and validity that could arise from the responses received.” Collis and Hussey (2003) indicated that approaches used to collect primary data include the use of interviews. The use of interview sessions requires face-to-face situations (Cooper and Schindler, 2006). In this study, participants were engaged in interviews and this choice of the collection procedure was informed by the research time frame. The research time frame was limited in that it needed to minimise schedule interruption on the part of the interviewees. Interviews also enabled an opportunity for observation.

The interview questions were designed to cover firstly the socio-demographic information of the interviewees such as the participants’ ages, work-related information, and their places of residence. This was followed with questions on the main issues such as the feelings and perceptions of the ‘sugar daddies’. According to Saunders et al. (2007), there are various advantages to interviews. For example, interviews are not time consuming particularly in a situation where the researcher knows the research context. Additionally, based on the availability of time and finances, interviews are easy to conduct because it is relatively easy to determine the most appropriate way of asking the questions (Collis and Hussey, 2003). The tight schedule of senior executives meant that short interviews were most practical. An additional observation by Cooper and Schindler (2006) indicated that interviews encourage participants to provide honest responses. In the study, honesty was encouraged by assuring the participants of anonymity and data confidentiality. By assuring anonymity and confidentiality,

it was predicted that the reliability and validity of the findings would be increased, paving the way for informed responses and sound interpretations.

Secondary data, which refers to the existing data collected and analysed by previous researchers in the same or similar field, was helpful to this study. As noted by Creswell (2009:138), “secondary data precedes primary research because of the need to understand the research problem and offer a supportive platform from which a new study can be conducted”. Thus, secondary data was used to complement primary data in this study: information received from the selected ‘sugar daddies’ was compared with some of the past research in other regions within sub-Saharan Africa and the rest of Africa. Parallels were carefully considered between the primary research received and the findings documented in the existing secondary sources.

According to Mason (2002), secondary data gives the researcher an understanding of the processes and procedures applied by previous researchers. This can aid the researcher in determining the most suitable design for a given sample. Salkind (2003) observed further that secondary data is divided into internal and external information. Internal secondary data can also be termed biographical data which entails data around a person’s biography, an organisation, company or region under study. This kind of information is important because it gives the researcher a clear understanding of people’s socio-cultural manifestations at the regional level (Saunders et al., 2009). External secondary data refers to the existing information external to a given organisation, company or community. In this case, external secondary data included some of the past research that has been documented in regions outside the sub-Saharan African zone, including Haiti and other areas that have been vulnerable to humanitarian crises and which affirmed that ‘sugar daddy’ relationships are often based on survival purposes for the women involved. Regarding external secondary data, the study utilised past research conducted in South Africa and its neighbouring countries including Zimbabwe, Malawi and Mozambique. The aim of incorporating this information was to complement primary research.

All the interviews were conducted in English and discussions were audio-taped and transcribed. All individuals participating in the study gave their permission for this. Themes that emerged were examined and analysed, with data transcription playing a critical role in this process.

Following the provision of informed consent, the purpose and summary of the study was explained to participants. While participants were expected to be fluent in English and be employed in positions where the language was used in daily communication, copies of the interview questions and informed consent forms were also available in isiZulu.



### 3.9 Data Analysis

Primary data outcomes were analysed by classifying the participants' responses based on the degree of similarity. The same question would receive varying responses from different interviewees. To make this data more meaningful, the participants with a close correlation in terms of experiences and feelings in their relationships with younger women had their responses classified and grouped together. The aim of this classification was to identify forces that could account for the perceived similarities and differences in the sugar daddies' feelings. These results could provide information about the state of masculinity in KwaZulu-Natal and could be potentially applied to the rest of sub-Saharan Africa. Apart from explorations of the significance of differences between the responses received, descriptive and inferential statistical approaches were applied to ascertain critical evidence of rational and emotional perspectives among the interviewees. Ultimately graphical and tabular representations of the research outcomes were used to reflect the results, giving an insight into how KwaZulu-Natal's sugar daddies feel while engaging in transactional sex with younger women, especially regarding the construction and enactment of traditional African masculinities. It was important to investigate whether parallels could be drawn between the feelings reported and those of the men in previous eras in South Africa.

The process of analysing the data involved the use of Nvivo, a qualitative data analysis technique that aided in classifying the participants and their responses into respective categories before drawing inferences. According to Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill (2012), researchers participate in projects concerned with the interpretation of semi-structured and unstructured data for various reasons. Some of these reasons include evaluation, theory building, theory testing, pattern analysis, comparison, description, and exploration. Therefore, Nvivo was adopted with the aim of managing data and organising records. In addition, Nvivo was selected due to the need to manage ideas, visualise data, query ideas, and draw reports from the data collected. While the technique was mostly appropriate, there were various disadvantages. For example, the method distances the researcher from the data collected. In addition, Nvivo has been criticised for its emphasis on and dominance of a code-and-retrieve method which excludes other analytic activities. Furthermore, there are fears that the use of computers tends to mechanise the process of analysing information.

Despite these weaknesses, Nvivo was selected for its evident benefits in analysing qualitative data. For example, Nvivo has the capacity to collect and archive nearly any data type and to

connect the outcomes to the researcher's transcribed data. In addition, Nvivo is advantageous because it can search large data sets and create word trees. According to Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill (2012), the qualitative research software's ability to retrieve word strings from large sets of data translates into an additional merit of the ability to create codes that aid in pattern identification. Nvivo supports data organisation into various themes, making the retrieval processes more efficient and quicker. Given these merits and aspects of efficiency and time, Nvivo remained suitable for this study because of its ability to link large sets of data.

### **3.10 Reliability**

According to Zikmund (2003), the reliability of data is visible when it is consistent with data from other scholars in the field. Joppe (2001:1) added that reliability is the "degree to which findings are consistent over time, and are an accurate representation of the total population under study. If the findings of a study can be reproduced under a similar methodology, then the instrument is considered to be reliable." In this study, the use of interview sources improved the level of reliability. The responses from the different *amaZulu* men supported each other.

### **3.11 Ethical considerations**

In research practices, the need to conform to ethical specifications cannot be overemphasised (Saunders et al., 2009). Clough and Nutbrown (2002:84) put forward the following comment with regard to ethics in research: "in order to understand, researchers must be more than technically competent. They must enter into chattered intimacies, open themselves to their subjects' feeling worlds, whether these worlds are congenial to them or repulsive. They must confront the duality of represented and experienced selves simultaneously, both conflicted, both real." In this case, the role of the researcher was to operate in line with scientific principles that guide research practices. Validity was assured by ensuring that the interview sessions did not contravene research ethics. Babbie and Mouton (2001) warned that the researcher's right to collect data from participants should not override the participant's right to privacy, as with the sensitive nature of the proposed study. Miles and Huberman (1994:387) stressed that "social scientists cannot focus only on the quality of the knowledge we are producing, as if its truth were all that counts. They must also consider the rightness or wrongness of their actions

towards the people whose lives they are studying.” The following research ethics were thus observed during this study.

### ***3.11.1 Permission***

Permission was sought from the participants and other relevant authorities, including the educational institution to which the findings would be presented. The letters of permission for each can be found in the appendices.

### ***3.11.2 Confidentiality and privacy***

The researcher assured the research participants of confidentiality. This meant that the *amaZulu* men would remain anonymous and whatever information they shared with the researcher would remain confidential. To this end, Neuman (1997) stated that to ensure anonymity, the research participant’s identity must be protected by being given a fabricated name and location. Thus, for this research, participants were given pseudonyms or only referred to as participants. Furthermore, their places of work and other personal information were not disclosed in this research. Additionally, primary data was treated with privacy and confidentiality and all data files and electronic devices used were password-protected.

### ***3.11.3 Informed consent***

According to Berg (in David and Sutton, 2011:43), “informed consent means the knowing consent of individuals to participate as an exercise of their choice, free from an element of fraud, deceit, duress, or similar unfair inducement or manipulation”. Newman (1997) further adds that social research has the potential to harm participants both physically and psychologically. Thus prior to the research, informed consent was obtained. The issue of informed consent was explained to the participants.

### ***3.11.4 Voluntary participation***

All the participants were informed about the voluntary nature of participation and the freedom to withdraw from the interviews at any stage. Participants were also given the choice of venue for interviews, with open places where they would feel secure and relaxed being suggested.

### ***3.11.5 Other ethical considerations***

The collection and analysis of secondary data adhered to ethical specifications in terms of intellectual property rights. Data was not manipulated and sources were acknowledged. Research findings and other necessary documents were submitted to the UKZN-Research Office for approval and ethical scrutiny, based on the policy of the University. Questions were carefully framed to avoid potential psychological harm to the participants. The use of audio recorders was declared at the onset of each interview. The participants were allowed to select interview settings. As adults, the research population was taken to be well informed and aware of their responses, and it was assumed that their consent was valid and that the resultant responses would be reliable. Overall, the study conformed to ethical specifications through consent provision and data privacy, as well as participant anonymity.

### **3.12 Theoretical framework**

This section provides the theoretical framework that informs this research on the emergence and impact of ‘sugar daddy’ relationships from a socio-cultural perspective. Social Constructionist Theory was considered most appropriate as a framework for exploring human behaviour in social contexts.

#### ***3.12.1 Social Constructionist Theory***

According to Burr (2003:3), Social Constructionist Theory proposes that

a person’s experience and interaction with others shapes his or her realities. The implication is that socially constructed events or aspects depend on the people’s social selves. Thus, events or practices may not have existed had people not ‘built’ or created them. The theory suggests further that if people had been part of a different kind of society or had different interests, values and needs, the events, issues, subjects or objectives shaping group behaviour might have been constructed in a different manner.

Burr (2003:4) added that “indeed, different societies hold different perceptions and abilities and the occurrence of events is likely to be context-specific, shaped by societal preferences differing from one region to another”. However, the theory does not apply to naturally occurring objects or events that exist independently from people’s influence and which people may not have had a hand in shaping. According to Andrews (2012:138), “some of the objects that may not have existed without the influence of society include newspapers, citizenship, and

money. Indeed, none of these is likely to have existed without the people's intervention. Similarly, the findings might have been different, had the society existed differently." Thus, socially constructed events are those that are dependent on people's decisions and interventions. A change in societal norms, values, attitudes and perceptions causes a simultaneous change in events.

Social Constructionist Theory was highly relevant to this study. Specifically, the study sought to understand the role played by 'sugar daddy' relationships in constructing and enacting traditional *amaZulu* masculinities in the Durban region of KwaZulu-Natal. The theory was useful for examining whether 'sugar daddy' relationships and the resultant trends are socially constructed and pose specific or unique findings amongst men in the selected contexts. Similarly, the theory aided in explaining whether the findings of 'sugar daddy' relationships in relation to the construction of traditional *amaZulu* masculinities could have been different, had the current society existed differently.

As observed by Young and Collin (2004:34), social construction "stretches beyond worldly items (facts, kinds and things) to incorporate beliefs". Thus, the theory was particularly relevant to the study because the inquiry was based on the need to examine beliefs in the correlation between 'sugar daddy' relationships and masculinity construction. An example of the way in which the theory stretches beyond worldly things can be seen when we consider women refugees and their social construction. Clearly, the intention is not to insist that social events account for these women becoming refugees. Rather, the intent lies in the way social forces have shaped a certain belief, specifically the belief that a woman refugee, this particular kind of person, should be selected for attention. It is important to consider societal members' roles, upon considering factors that shape beliefs. If the need to invoke contingent social values holds, the theory affirms that another society different from the given context (in its social values) would have arrived at an incompatible and different belief. As such, the theory is relevant because it aims at providing a solution to the question of whether 'sugar daddy' relationships and *amaZulu* masculinities are socially constructed in KwaZulu-Natal and, if so, whether certain societal beliefs and the 'sugar daddy's experiences are unique to this sub-Saharan region or if similarities can be drawn when compared to other regions in southern Africa and the rest of the world.

The theory suggests that "social group and individual participation in perceived realities determines resultant behaviours, with social process mediation implying that the instinctive and natural forms of behaviour are socially constructed. For the latter, socialisation has to take

place and must be complemented by culturally mediated identities, values and norms” (Burr, 2003:4). In addition, the theory reflects ongoing processes in which individuals continually learn to conform to the fundamental societal values and norms. Indeed, the findings correspond to the theory’s assumption that experiences shape people’s behaviour, and that the existence of a society determines the fate of socially constructed events and beliefs. An important example is that of children being taught about societal expectations especially gender-based roles and responsibilities. Important to note is that the roles of girls in one society may not be the same as those that are considered feminine in another society (Andrews, 2012). According to Burr (200:4), if this finding holds, “the manner in which the children imitate their parents and other older members of the society is likely to vary from one context to another. In turn, the qualities learned may be perceived to be socially constructed in such a way that common issues are perceived by different societies differently, becoming context-specific, rather than generalised.”

Moreover, the theory afforded an examination on how taught behaviours reflect modern-day states of sexuality in South Africa, compared to the existing documentation of olden-day sexuality in the same region. Specifically, the theory sought to explore the possible changes that may have occurred regarding the situation of having many girls around a man and the implication of this on the construction of traditional African masculinities. A specific question that arose was whether traditional *amaZulu* masculinity was socially constructed in this context or not and whether ‘sugar daddy’ experiences in this region are society-specific, compared to scholarly contributions about the experiences documented in other regions. The theory’s applicability lay further in the need to investigate issues such as physical attractiveness in women and men in the given context, striving to understand whether physical attributes played a role in selecting a partner and whether common features, characteristics or considerations emerged among the selected participants. The projection was that a commonality that arises could reveal that physical attractiveness is socially constructed and that members in KwaZulu-Natal perceive certain common characteristics as attractive in women. Whether masculinity construction and enactment is socially constructed was also important to investigate, validating once again the applicability of this theory.

According to Young and Collin (2004), Social Constructionist Theory posits that humans are not born with behaviour set in stone; instead behaviour is learned.

Everyone’s life is affected by stereotyping women and men as opposites. In society, individuals define femininity and masculinity as what is taught to them while growing

up, stretching from childhood to adulthood. Some of the sources of femininity and masculinity-related teachings include the media, friends and family. (Young and Collin, 2004: 154)

Andrew (2012) stated that an example of the theory's illustration is a case in which a person follows a certain profession because it is what is expected by society but is not a personal choice. Therefore, the theory asserts that most of the behaviour linked to gender and masculinity is learned. From the time they are born, people are taught the difference between what is right and wrong based on society's acceptance and rejection of certain behaviours. Comments such as those that describe boys as big and strong are also used to encourage "male" behaviour while girls are moulded towards female behaviours by being encouraged to be sensitive and kind. Therefore, this theory acknowledges the role of childhood interaction and exposure to societal and other environmental conditions as a predictor of the degree of masculinity and femininity among individuals. However, the theory can be critiqued as it does not explain the role of biological factors in shaping character. Whereas Young and Collin (2004) affirmed that the role of genes in determining individual character cannot be overemphasised, this theory fails to make a possible correlation between genetic characteristics or biological factors and individual behaviour. Furthermore, this theory focuses on social constructs, its anchors, as those that represent specific group artefacts but fails to account for some of the factors that account for differences in behaviour-related perceptions from one society or environment to another.

Social Constructionist Theory affirms that learning occurs by understanding and knowledge that is slowly constructed by the prior experience of individual, as well as their idiosyncratic version of reality. Indeed, the theory's basis lies in Jean Piaget's work regarding the understanding of learning and child development as foundations that shape socio-cultural interactions in various settings. Networks of knowledge, referred to as schemas, imply that individuals build around a particular topic or theme. In this case, the theory is applicable in such a way that the central idea lies in the construction of masculinity in the sub-Saharan setting. According to the theory, any new information perceived to exhibit a close correlation to the same theme is likely to contribute or add to the structure of the schema constructed. The implication is that 'sugar daddy' relationships constitute new information that may add to the structure of knowledge behind the construction of traditional *amaZulu* masculinity. The theory acknowledges the critical role played by prior experiences and childhood relationships in shaping human behaviour in socio-cultural settings. However, the theory falters in that it does

not explain the role played by experiences faced by individuals in the later stages of life in altering behaviour. For example, factors responsible for the construction of traditional *amaZulu* masculinity (such as the construction and maintenance of homesteads in rural areas) may have been altered by the ever-changing and globalisation-driven world. According to Andrews, (2012:100), Social Constructionist Theory “does not account for the possible effect of the experiences that arise in later years in shaping behaviour and the construction of attributes such as masculinity in sub-Saharan Africa”.

According to Pritchard and Woollard (2010:10),

any new information that is likely to be contradictory might fail to fit in with the existing schemas of knowledge, creating a state of denial. Therefore, an attainment of equilibrium becomes inevitable, with the factors witnessed in terms of the elimination of contradictions in mental perception within the surrounding environment. By establishing equilibrium, schemas or networks of knowledge end up being adjusted in a quest to accommodate the new contradictive information or idea. Notably, the period of accommodation occurs over a given duration based on the experiences gained in the area of concern.

In the current study, the theory highlights the manner in which socio-cultural changes in South Africa may have altered the construction of traditional African masculinity and, the manner in which new ideas might have led to the rise or fall of *isoka* masculinity (the *amaZulu* man with multiple-sexual partners) over the last century.

### ***3.12.2 Social Identity Theory***

According to Reicher, Haslam and Hopkins (2005), social identity is based on group membership and defines one’s sense of being. When people are grouped together, for example as football teams, family and social class they tend to find a sense of belonging as well as a source of pride. Social groups therefore give people a sense of identity where they end up belonging to the social world. As documented by McLeod (2008:78), “an increase in one’s self-image is preceded by enhancements of statuses among groups to which people belong. Through social categorisation that puts individuals into social groups, society ends up divided into “us” and “them”, with the former the in-group while the latter is associated with the out-group.”



Regarding the use of Social Identity Theory in this study, with its emphasis on the issue of constructing and enacting traditional *amaZulu* masculinities, it was felt that the theory could help to understand peer influence on the part of girls and young women to engage in ‘sugar daddy’ relationships. The theory also helped to guide answers as to whether the men engaged in these relationships to achieve the goal of group membership and whether, had they not involved themselves in transactional sexual relationships, they may have had different feelings and experiences regarding their state of manliness. With data collected from the perspective of men, the specific question that the theory was applied to entailed the push factor that might have driven the young women into transactional relationships with these men. Thus, Social Identity Theory was relevant in that it aided with understanding the push factors from the side of men and, through these men’s opinions, it was possible to gain insight into the factors operating on the part of the women. For the ‘sugar daddies’, the theory helped to explore reasons behind their engagement in the relationships. Regarding the women, the question to be answered was whether these relationships were a means of seeking love or belonging to certain peer groups.

Social Identity Theory was formulated by Tajfel and Turner in 1979. Turner (1982:17) defined social identity as “the process of locating oneself or another person within a system of social categorizations.” Social identity theory assumes that

social identity is derived primarily from group members and proposes that people strive to maintain a positive social identity and that this positive identity derives largely from favorable comparisons between the in-group and relevant outgroups. Social identity is about being part of a social group that is, being able to see things in the same perspective and practicing the same social norms as people within the social group. (Brown, 2000:746)

Social identity theory was used to probe ‘sugar daddy’ relationships and how masculinities are constructed in the *amaZulu* context. A sense of belonging and being part of a group gives a person a sense of identity as they are able to relate and identify with other members of the group. According to Bhugra and Becker (2005:4), “identity is the totality of one’s perception of self, or how we as individuals view ourselves as unique from others”. The link with social identity theory is where one is either seen to be and belong to a particular group identified as *amaZulu* and men. In this case, the *amaZulu* men identify with the Zulu culture. Moreover, it affords interrogation of how power and access privileges them to engage and maintain

hegemonic masculinities. It refers to how individuals see themselves as part of a group, and how they may use their common interests in defining themselves. Using this theory, the study probes how identity accounts for the development of distinct masculine identity roles of being an ‘*amaZulu* man’. Through the use of the social identity theory, the researcher was able to understand how males strive to belong to these groups in order to identify with the group and the characteristics attached to it. This helped the researcher understand the roles and identity attached to hegemonic masculinities.

### ***3.12.3 Insights from the two theories***

Overall, the choice of Social Constructionist Theory and Social Identity Theory was appropriate for various reasons. For example, Social Constructionist Theory helped to guide understanding and meaning, and facilitated in discerning whether masculinity was socially constructed in KwaZulu-Natal. Furthermore, the theory helped with understanding the potential role played by ‘sugar daddy’ relationships in shaping masculinity and whether this was socially constructed with unique features in the South African context. Similarly, Social Constructionist Theory was selected because of the need to understand some of the cultural changes (regarding masculinity) and values that may have emerged and differentiated modern-day South Africa, from previous eras. By understanding some of the changes that may have occurred, the theory sought to guide the investigation on whether previous values held by the target community regarding masculinity in relation to transactional sexual relationships would hold. The theory was further significant because of its capacity to inform concerning the role of the environment in shaping human behaviour, with childhood experiences perceived to play a crucial role in determining group belongingness and behaviour.

Social Identity Theory perceives a social group as a set of individuals who view themselves as members belonging to the same social category or holding a common social identification. Therefore, social comparisons play the role of enabling individuals perceived to be similar to the self to be categorised with the self and constitute the in-group while those whose values and beliefs differing from the self, belong to the out-group. In this case, the in-group constituted ‘sugar daddies’ seeking to construct traditional *amaZulu* masculinities by engaging in transactional sex with younger women while the out-group included individuals who did not engage in transactional sex with younger women. Thus, the theory helped to guide the examination of possible commonalities between ‘sugar daddies’. In addition, the theory aided in drawing parallels between societal expectations of men in KwaZulu-Natal and the realities

that the participants were likely to depict regarding the construction of masculinities. Whether alternative masculinities were emerging was important to explore, an issue that was guided by Social Identity Theory. The theory was also relevant in that it affirmed that in-groups and out-groups exist and that there are similarities between members of the in-group while differences characterise members of the out-group. However, Social Identity Theory could be criticised for assuming that positive intergroup comparisons shape a positive social identity. According to Reicher et al. (2005:27)

there is a positive relationship between the level of in-group bias and the strength of group identification, an aspect that Social Identity Theory fails to address. The implication is that high levels of in-group bias are likely to yield stronger group identifications and translate into subjective group formations based on member similarities.

Notably, Social Identity Theory explains the way human beings are likely to make sense of each other. The implication is that social identity is important to the construction of culture. Similarly, the theory explains construction of society and its values, as well as the attitudes, perceptions and experiences of people. Therefore, the need for human beings to know the intentions, beliefs and affiliations of others to predict their future behaviour and interpret their actions cannot be overemphasised (Reicher et al., 2005). Whereas the qualities are unlikely to be observed directly, they may be manifested externally through signals that reveal the internal self. In this study, the qualities of masculinity formed the focal point and were unlikely to be observed directly. However, signals that reveal the construction of masculinity were worth understanding and could be established through the experiences, feelings and expectations of the ‘sugar daddies’ in focus. It is further notable that identity is affected by critical factors that include consensus, voice and cohesiveness. In situations where similarities are reported in terms of the people’s voice, consensus, and cohesiveness, social identity may result.

In summary, the two theories played a critical role in forming a platform or foundation from which to explore the role of ‘sugar daddies’.

### **3.13 Chapter summary**

This chapter describes how a qualitative approach was adopted for an in-depth analysis of participants in this research as it enabled effective collection and analysis of data. A total of 22 participants were selected, who were *amaZulu* ‘sugar daddies’ residing in Durban (or its

outskirts) through purposive sampling. To collect data, interview sessions were held. Questions were carefully designed. Primary data collected in this study was complemented by existing information from secondary sources. Responses from the participants were classified based on degrees of similarity. Permission was sought from relevant authorities and the participants to avoid contravening individual and organisational rights. Furthermore, participant anonymity and data confidentiality was assured. The chapter also included a discussion on the relevance of social identity theory and social constructionist theory for this study.

## CHAPTER 4: PROBLEMATISING CULTURAL IDENTITY AND HEGEMONIC MASCULINITY

### 4.1 Introduction

A number of critical and situated themes were extracted from the data gained from the interviews with the participants in this research. These contextual themes include cultural identity, power and control, hegemonic masculinity, transactional sex and cross generational sex, patriarchy and gender in KwaZulu-Natal. In this chapter, I discuss two of these themes which are ‘cultural identity’ and ‘hegemonic masculinity’. There was a clear overlap across these two themes as will be seen from the discussion below.

The findings that emerged from the 22 participants were grouped in order to enable the researcher to easily identify the themes which formed part of the data analysis process. Literature relevant to the research was discussed alongside the findings to show how the study compares and links with existing literature on the topic of ‘sugar daddies’ and masculinities.

This chapter thus critically analyses two themes from the study which are the slippery notion of ‘culture’ and hegemonic masculinity. In this chapter, the participants give insights into the role of (African) ‘culture’ as they understand and experience it, and how it dictates the way they behave and enact themselves, relate to and treat women. What is highlighted is that, despite the fact that the men come from different backgrounds and have different educational backgrounds, they are in agreement when it comes to the role ‘culture’ plays and has played in their lives. The responses of the men highlighted that in many *amaZulu* communities, men are ‘trained’/ socialised both formally (as a rite of passage during the circumcision rites) and informally from boyhood to manhood, to be a man. Part of the training includes lessons on how to be a man, their role as providers and the significance of having multiple relationships. Chapter 4 further highlights that in the *amaZulu* context, hegemonic masculinity is closely related to qualities like physical strength, the ability to provide, sexual prowess among others and it is every man’s dream. This chapter brings to the fore that hegemonic masculine identities in the *amaZulu* context are closely tied to a man’s ability to attract and maintain (multiple) sexual partners, play the breadwinner role as well as sustain a leading and dominant position in a sexual relationship while the woman holds a subordinate role. Being a man is understood, in the situated *amaZulu* context, within expressions of hegemonic masculinity where manhood is hierarchically exclusive.

## **4. 2 Socio-demographic analysis**

This study specifically targeted married participants or ‘sugar daddies’ that belong to the *amaZulu* cultural group in order to probe their perceptions about ‘sugar daddy’ relationships and their construction of hegemonic masculinity. As mentioned in Chapter 3, 22 participants from KwaZulu-Natal were selected for the study. Even though all participants were *amaZulu*, they did not all originally hail from KwaZulu-Natal. They came from diverse parts of South Africa and settled or worked in KwaZulu-Natal and were from the *amaZulu* group. Their ages ranged from 35 to 55 and they were all married (traditional and/or so-called white weddings) and length of marriage ranged from 8 to 15 years and they were all in their first marriages. Regarding the number of sexual partners, some of the participants stated that they currently had one or two ‘girlfriends’, with most having had more than two partners. Also, all the ‘sugar daddies’ in the sample were employed in sectors such as business, the motor vehicle industry, and security firms and owned some property or were planning to do so.

This chapter opens with a focus on some of the interviewees’ ages, backgrounds, professions, marital statuses, the number of ‘girlfriends’, descriptions of these ‘girlfriends’, the manner in which they conduct their relationships, and the frequency of meetings. By describing the profiles of a little more than half of the men (randomly chosen from the 22), the aim was to offer a qualitative sense of the participants so the reader can attach a ‘face’ to the participants.

Some of the common background-related characteristics that could be identified formed a platform for further analysis in Chapters 5 and 6. As mentioned, pseudonyms were used.

## **4.3 Profiles of participants focusing on the physique, economic status, experience and preference of the interviewees**

This section begins with a focus on the profile of some of the ‘sugar daddies’ interviewed, providing descriptions of aspects such as their age, economic status, appearance, and the appearance of their ‘girlfriends’ (as described by the men). A selection of the profiles are given to allow the reader to ‘assemble’ a sense of these men and attach a qualitative ‘face’ to the participants as their responses are shared. Fourteen profiles are presented and these 14 are representative of the 22 men interviewed.

### ***Jabula***

Jabula is 55 years old. He lives in Durban and is married with three children. He and his wife are married for over 10 years, having got married at 24 when his wife was 17 years old. For work, he fixes air conditioners, and is working with a well-known company in South Africa. This secondary school leaver notes that he has four ‘girlfriends’ and that his ‘girlfriend’s knew each other, but not his wife. He began relationships with two of the four ‘girlfriends’ before marriage and later engaged in two further relationships (after marriage). The youngest ‘girlfriend’ is aged 18 while the oldest is 22 years old, translating into an age range of 12-16 years younger than him. They meet at a lodge either during the day when he is off-duty or at night. He owns a car.

### ***Paul***

Paul is 39 years of age and works with one of the fire prevention and control firms in South Africa. He is married with two children and the marriage has lasted over ten years. However, he did not stay with his family and claims to be engaged in relationships with “some young girls”. He has three years of work experience with his firm. He left school because his father could not afford to pay fees, necessitating him to seek an alternative means of survival in South Africa. He recalls meeting one of the ‘girlfriends’ when she was 18 at university (aged 23 at the time of the interview). In comparison to the previous participants, his expenditure on his ‘girlfriends’ is remarkably high. He admits to buying a car for one of them. He claims that it was the girls who had initiated the relationships.

### ***Melusi***

The third interviewee is a 35 year old married man, Melusi, who has “a very small family” consisting of one wife and one child. They are married traditionally but not legally. He has graduated with a degree in Public Administration and intends to enrol for a master’s degree the following year. His current wife is not the mother of his daughter whom he had prior to the “arranged marriage”. Regarding the number of women he has had relationships with, he indicates that he is engaged in transactional sexual relationships with ten women. The age range of these women is between 16 and 32 years with the ‘most expensive’ girl being given around R1100 while the ‘cheapest’ received about R60.

### ***Themba***

Themba is 40 and owns a salon, running it jointly with his brother. Married with one child, he indicates that he stays with his family and works as a barber in his salon. He could not state the

exact number of former ‘girlfriends’ he had because he would go out with some of them for only short periods (two weeks). He has four ‘girlfriends’ at the time of the interview and the youngest was aged 23, 17 years younger than he was. He owns his own house.

The trend thus far was that most of the ‘sugar daddies’ had initiated the transactional sexual relationships, although some claimed that it was the girl. Additionally the men’s economic status determined the number and nature of their ‘girlfriends’. Furthermore, all the participants were married and their ‘girlfriends’ were aware of this but proceeded to engage in ‘sugar daddy’ relationships and would meet in lodges, clubs and other social places.

### ***Jeff***

Jeff is one of the ten interviewees in the second selection. He is 46 years old. The jovial quality controller indicates that he is married but claims that finding solace in another woman was a good form of “de-stressing”. The father of two notes that his wife did not work and that he stays with his family, affirming that he has a good relationship with his wife. Specifically, he indicates that relationships imply attributes such as love, happiness and trust. He admits to having initiated and engaged in a second relationship with an 18-year old girl. What is notable is that the difference between Jeff’s age (46) and that of his ‘girlfriend’ (18) is 28 years, indicating a true ‘sugar daddy’ relationship. Material exchanges in the form of money or gifts were further examined in later chapters as was the perspective of the ‘girlfriend’ and her decision to offer sexual favours or simply company.

Jeff was interviewed a second time. Here he indicated that he has worked as a quality controller for about ten years, having begun in the year 2006. Jeff is tall and dark with a “six-pack” though he regrets he is not as good looking as he had been in his younger days as a soccer player. He prefers golf shirts and other designer wear. He is able to drive and owns a house on a farm but only a single garage in a township near Durban. He described his ‘girlfriend’ as tall, dark and “skinny”.

### ***Stuart***

Stuart was also interviewed twice. He is 40 years of age. This store manager is married with four children. He takes solace in other women because “not everyone is perfect” and he enjoys variety. He stays with his family and loves his wife but claims she changed her character after they got married. Asked about the significance of other relationships outside his marriage, he stated that they help him “de-stress”. He claims to have numerous other relationships and at the time of the interview, he is in two relationships which he has initiated. Both other partners



are aged 16 and they will often meet after work. The duration of these relationships was approximately a year. Stuart began operating as a tuck shop owner in 2009, and so has worked for about seven years, thus becoming self-employed at about 23 years old. The age difference between him and his 'girlfriends' is 14 years. Stuart said he prefers slim tall women "fair in complexion". Stuart's girls were frequent customers in his shop and they have not only been good to him but also "treated him good in bed". Physically, Stuart is tall (1.6 metres) and had a moderate complexion with a "fit physique" attributed to his past life as a soccer player. He wore sneakers and tracksuits. Stuart said he drives and he owned a three-bedroom house along one of the streets in Durban with a big garden for his children to play in.

### ***Lubile***

Lubile, 42 years old, is also a business owner, since 2010, having become self-employed at 36 years old. He is married with four children but found solace in other women because this makes him "feel like a man". He lives with his family and trusts his wife but other relationships help him to feel complete. The gap somehow left by his wife and filled by the other women was worth exploring and is discussed in chapters that follow. Regarding multiple-partner relationships, Lubile claimed he has more than five 'girlfriends' but, at the time of the interview, he only had one relationship outside his marriage. Lubile has initiated his current 18 month-old relationship with a 19-year old girl and they would meet once or twice in a week.

Lubile described his 'girlfriend' as a medium-sized lady who was neither tall nor short and who was "very good looking" and was "great in bed". Lubile himself was about 1.5 metres tall and prefers formal dress with long-sleeved shirts. He drives and has a two-bedroom house in Dassenhoek. Lubile is a jovial man and he claims that dating a 19-year old girl made him "feel younger".

### ***Alex***

Alex, 51 years old, operates as a head of security for one of the well-known companies in Durban where he works for the past 20 years. He is a married man with two children and his wife is not employed. The driving factor behind his engagement in extra-marital affairs is to "gain exposure to different forms of love and sex". He describes his relationship with his wife as formal and feels that the outside relationships implied that he is "still good looking to younger women". His 23-year old 'girlfriend' is about 28 years younger than him. He would meet his 'girlfriend' almost daily after work, and has been in the relationship for 17 months. He describes his 'girlfriend' as beautiful and of medium size, and they meet at a supermarket.

Asked about what attracted him to the girl, he claims it was her beauty and smartness, complemented by the fact that she was young and that this makes him “feel young again”. Approximately 1.3 metres tall, Alex is well-dressed for his work which involved meeting many people from different backgrounds and professions. For casual wear, he opted for anything comfortable that made him “look younger”, including cotton shirts. He drives and owns a four-bedroom house, a large swimming pool and a garage. Physically, he is overweight (122 kilograms).

### ***Innocent***

Innocent is 39 years old and originally from Soweto, has been married for over ten years to the same wife. He works as a long distance truck driver in Durban and enjoys other women for “the thrill of variety”. His wife works and he has children but he lives away from home. He claims he has been in many relationships but, at the time of the interview, was engaged in a transactional relationship with only one girl. He had initiated the relationship with this 17-year old girl and they would meet two to three times in a week. All the ‘sugar daddies’ thus far documented having initiated the transactional relationships, suggest that the push factors on the men’s side dominated as causative agents for the ‘sugar daddy’ relationships under investigation in Durban. Notably, the difference between Innocent’s age (39) and that of his ‘girlfriend’ (17) was 22 years, and the duration of their relationship is two months.

Innocent had started working at his current firm at the age of 34 in 2011, translating into five years of experience. He describes his ‘girlfriend’ as a dark and average-sized individual with “sexy legs”. He had met his ‘girlfriend’ at a friend’s party and describes her as one who likes to have fun, with the beauty acting as a “bonus” for him. Physically, he is neat, well-trimmed and presentable with a fair complexion. Being a soccer fan, he expressed his preference for soccer outfits or jerseys with jeans. Economically, he said he drives and owned a three-bedroom house. He also describes himself as a “respectable person” who “goes to church and loves the Lord”.

### ***Ray***

Ray, originally from Johannesburg, is a 53-year old married man with children. He worked as an electrician and his wife is unemployed. He claims his ‘sugar daddy’ relationship is driven by the need “for pleasure and satisfaction”. Ray lives with his family and has been engaged in two previous relationships, with one in existence at the time of the interview. He has initiated the current relationship of two years with a 26-year old; the difference in their ages is 27 years.

Ray describes his 'girlfriend' as one who is beautiful with character and a good-structured body and a fair complexion. He also describes his 'girlfriend' as one who is "good for tension and stress relief". He is neatly shaven and took good care of his appearance. About 1.5 metres tall, Ray preferred clothing that was branded. He also said that he has a "beautiful two-bedroom house with a garage" and he drives. He is dark and slim, bald with a white beard and wore spectacles.

### ***Sphamandla***

Sphamandla, a 50-year old man, operated as a supervisor in a shoe-making firm. He is traditionally married to a woman, who is working and helping out with the bills. But "certain things" lacking in his partner has driven him towards engaging in transactional sex. He has had four partners over the years and has always initiated the relationships. Two 'girlfriends' are between the age of 18 and 21 years old and his relationships have lasted about four months.

Sphamandla describes his two current 'girlfriends' as those that "almost look alike" but one of them is "shorter and sexy" and he met them while delivering products to different shops. He is neat, fair in complexion, well-dressed with dreadlocks and about 1.7 metres tall, with no preferences in clothing as he would "look good in anything". He drives but did not own a car and is living in a "bachelor flat". Compared to previous participants, Sphamandla's socio-economic status is relatively lower. Comparisons could indicate possible differences in the value of material possessions provided by 'sugar daddies' and how these shaped the nature of the bond.

### ***Vusi***

Vusi, a 52-year old married man, is a supervisor at one of the garages in Durban, with 17 years of work experience. He turned to other women, to find someone "who makes you happy without asking too many questions". Thus, the need for stress avoidance or relief was seen as a motivating factor to engage in transactional sexual relationships. He indicates that his wife works and that they have three children. Vusi has about seven relationships, with two still in existence at the time of the interview. He initiated the relationships with these current 'girlfriends', one of whom is aged 28 (one-year relationship) while the other one is 24 (seven-month relationship). Thus, Vusi is in a multiple-partner relationship and the difference between his age and that of his 'girlfriends' is 21 and 25 years. He met one of the women at church and the other at a traditional ceremony. Vusi is dark, of average weight, about 1.6 metres and prefers designer clothes. He owns a two-bedroom house but was yet to own a car.

### ***Mandla***

Mandla, a man aged 50, has operated as a self-employed events organiser for the past seven years, is married, has a child with another woman and documents that his 'girlfriend' is employed. He initiated the relationship with the 'girlfriend'. Aged 20, his current 'girlfriend' of nine months, would meet him about three to four times in a week. She is described as being "fair in complexion", is about 1.2 metres and "a bit overweight". This average-sized participant narrated further that he "likes to work out" and prefers clothes that suit his personality. He stays in a rental house but drives and is planning to buy himself a "big house soon".

### ***Solo***

Solo, a 39-year old, is a married mechanic who indicated that his interest in 'sugar daddy' relationships lay in his need to "see if he is still man enough". His wife does not work and they have three children. His wife stays on the farm with their children, while he lives in the township. Solo has been and was in two relationships, which he had initiated. Both Solo's partners were aged 17 and they would meet almost daily, and have been in these relationships for about three months. Transactional sexual relationships made him "feel younger and more powerful". He has worked for about nine years and is aged 25 when he began the job. He describes one of his 'girlfriends' as dark, slim and tall while the other one is of medium size. He is about 1.4 metres, dark-skinned with dimples and "bent legs". He prefers "comfortable and good-looking clothes", preferably branded. Solo owned a four-bedroom house with a garage and a swimming pool and he drives. He is respectable, clean shaven and he kept his hair short.

All these men had initiated the transactional sexual relationships, (rather than having been "pushed" into the liaison by the young girls), with the number of 'girlfriends' and duration of relationships being dictated by the men's preferences. Most of the relationships had lasted less than two years, with the frequency of meeting high. There was a significant range in age between the 'sugar daddies' and their 'girlfriends', with most stretching beyond 15 years. Most of 'sugar daddies' stayed with their families, unless work prevented this.

Money and gifts went only one way, from men to girls; it was only the men who provided material possessions. In exchange, all the participants cited sex as a favour expected in return, in addition to companionship.

Regarding physical attributes, there appeared to be little emphasis on the men's physical attractiveness as a predictor of 'sugar daddy' relationships. Rather, economic gains formed the focal force behind these relationships. Overall, the 'sugar daddies' interviewed were financially stable but varied in terms of education, level of income, physical outlook, and the number of 'girlfriends' they each had.

Now that we have a sense of the profile of some of the 'sugar daddies', we move to some of the emergent themes. As mentioned, the above profile aimed to enable putting a 'face' to these men.

#### **4.4 Cultural identity**

According to Selikow and Mbulaheni (2013:148), "cultural identity is defined as a sense of belonging, and it includes shared senses of interests, beliefs, companionship, and basic principles of living. Cultural identity also links a person with their heritage and helps them identify people who share their worldview, values, traditions and belief systems". Potgieter et al. (2012) added that one's cultural identity constitutes the groundwork or foundation on which all other aspects are built.

Given that this section focuses on *amaZulumen's* interpretation of manhood in the context of culture, it aims to explore this by taking into consideration the cultural practices that influence the formation of the men's identities as real man or *indojelana*.

##### ***4.4.1 How to become a Man: The 'Sugar Daddies' Speak***

Responding to the question on how to be a man, all participants indicated that (*amaZulu*) 'culture' dictates how to behave as an *amaZulu* man. This is in line with social identity theory which predicts certain aspects as the main factors that dictate how a social group behaves. In this case, 'culture' as understood and described by the men, is the main factor that shapes how an *amaZulu* man should behave, according to the men. While some of the *amaZulu* men indicated that they were taught by their fathers how to be a man, some indicated that this is information that was orally handed down to them from various sources. Innocent (39), a married father of two who is originally from Soweto and has been married for over ten years to the same wife, worked as a truck driver in Durban and had this to say:

My dad, he taught me a lot of things, good things, how to live life, how to take care of my family, how to be a man and how to be a man of the house. Not to abuse, to respect, so I learnt that from my dad.

Innocent believed that for a man to be a real man he has to be taught. He suggested that manhood is a learned experience that is passed down from generation to generation.

Ray, originally from Johannesburg, was a 53-year old married man with children. He worked as an electrician and his wife was unemployed. Ray shared that “Through culture we learn how to behave as men”.

Stuart, aged 40, was a store manager and married with four children. He shared that ‘culture’ teaches men how to be men.

The term ‘culture’ is very difficult to define precisely. However, English anthropologist and founder of cultural anthropology Edward. B. Tylor in his 1871 work titled *Primitive Culture* defined it as “... that complex whole which includes knowledge, beliefs, arts, morals, law, customs, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by [a human] as a member of society.” Tylor also specified that ‘culture’ is learned and acquired, as opposed to being a biological trait (Tylor, 1871:1). Bronislaw Malinowski, another anthropologist, defined ‘culture’ as “the assemblage of artifacts and organized traditions through which the individual is moulded and the organized social group maintains its integration and achieves continuity” (1944:175). Malinowski (1944) also argued that the core function of ‘culture’ was to “meet the needs of individuals rather than society as a whole” (1944:175). We see from the narratives that one doesn’t just ‘wake up’ and decide that one is a man; one has to be ‘moulded’ into manhood. From what these men were sharing, certain so-called cultural practices have to be taught, followed and adhered to in order for one to graduate from being a boy to being a man. In the *amaZulu* cultural context, the grooming and socialisation of boys into manhood seems to play a fundamental role in how they behave and how they decide to navigate life’s experiences. The *amaZulu* cultural context differentiates between a man and a real man. A key assumption in social identity theory is that individuals are fundamentally motivated to achieve positive uniqueness. That is, every individual strives for a positive self-concept (Tajfel and Turner, 1979). Therefore, in the *amaZulu* context, a real man is seen in the way he behaves and this behaviour is called appropriate behaviour for a real man. It is in this particular cultural set-up of appropriate male behaviour, one hears statements like *isijendevu* or *indojelana* for men who are considered half men.

According to Robinson (2008), as a social constructionist concept, 'culture' is the guideline that men use in their constant and dynamic construction of masculinity. Against this background, it appears that aspects of 'culture' have been constructed by some men to define men and manhood. The reference to 'culture' in the narratives gives a clear picture of how it is deeply entrenched in the lives of some *amaZulu* men and how it has significantly shaped their lives. Regardless of social status, level of education and upbringing, all the men participants had a sense of respect for their 'culture' and were fully devoted to the lessons learned.

Sphamandla, was a 50-year old man who operated as a supervisor in a shoe-making firm. He was traditionally married and shared that:

Ja, because being a man is not just what we wake up in the mornings and say we are a man. You have to fix a lot of challenges, like sometimes your family will be on your neck, even though you are right, you and your wife will have some misunderstanding, like we are swearing, shouting and other ways. But my dad, he taught me that when my wife is screaming or shouting at you, I just keep quiet, when she's done I have to call her and sit her down, talk to her woman this is not the way it is, do it in this way, we have the kids here so why do you want us to teach our kids as if we are forces.

It seems that cultural values play a fundamental role in the *amaZulu* 'culture' as shared by some of the men. It appears that 'culture' is the cornerstone by which some *amaZulu* men measure their manhood. According to Langa (2014), cultural values have always been at the forefront of the African 'culture' and they represent an ideal type of being a man in the *amaZulu* context. Langa (2014) added that traditionally, 'culture' entails the handing down of information from generation to generation. This is normally done through practice or orally. In many African communities, men are initiated from boyhood into manhood. Osório (2009) added that during this process, boys are exposed to community traditions so that they can learn what it is to be a man and what to avoid. This is the same in the *amaZulu* context. Boys, are trained to become full community members. It is a very influential process and strongly affects what individuals subsequently consider to be wrong or right. It is at this stage where men are told about social expectations, about who they must be, and about what they are permitted to think, speak and experience (see Osório 2009; Langa, 2014).

Themba was aged 40 and owned a salon, running it jointly with his brother. Married with one child, he also shares that in the *amaZulu* 'culture' a man is taught how to be a real man. He

added that they are taught to work hard “Oh, so to be a man you’re supposed to work hard. You are supposed to work hard.”

Looking at the responses, it is clear that cultural norms still influence dominant thinking and the functioning among *amaZulu* men. From the narratives, it therefore appears that the way some *amaZulu* men view their roles as men and their behaviour is informed by their social identity as *amaZulu* men. These sentiments are also echoed by existing literature. Mason (2006) asserted that one of the first message boys learn through ‘culture’ is how to be real men and what is culturally expected of them as men in society. In the social constructionism theory, Brittan (1989) stated the gender constructions in most societies tend to mirror the general definitions of gender. “Different cultures have certain constructions of masculinity and define behaviours and attitudes that are considered to be appropriate for men in accordance to race, ethnicity and history of that particular society” (1989:158). From the responses above, we see the strong connection of *amaZulu* men with so-called real manhood.

Social identity is about being part of a social group, that is “being able to see things in the same perspective and practicing the same social norms as people within the social group” (Brown, 2000:746). It therefore appears that *amaZulu* boys are taught to behave and become men in specific historical and cultural contexts. In order for the men to be identified with a certain cultural group, they are expected to behave in a certain way and for them to be respected and acknowledged as real men not *indojelana*, they have to exhibit certain traits that are consistent with their cultural background. Hence we see some of the *amaZulu* men behaving in a way that is linked to their specific historical and cultural context. Dein (2004:138) asserted that “culture advocates for guidelines that individuals learn as members of a particular society which impacts on how they view the world, how they experience it and how they behave in relation to others”. From both the social identity and social constructionism perspectives, through the narratives of the *amaZulu* men, one can see the unquestioned power and influence of their ‘culture’ in their lives and day to day decisions. The insights offered by these men give an indication of their mindsets and thoughts on being men as socially constructed by their cultural beliefs.

Idang (2015:99) asserted that “every human being who grows up in a particular society is likely to become infused with the culture of that society, whether knowingly or unknowingly during the process of social interaction”. Consequently, it appears that some of the *amaZulu* men who have been ‘infused’ with *amaZulu* culture have embraced transactional ‘sugar daddy’ relationships as a way of being culturally accepted as *indoda emadodeni*. As already



mentioned, in the *amaZulu* ‘culture’ *indoda emadodeni* is one who can attract a lot of women, especially younger women as this is believed to contribute to a man’s virility. It therefore seems that the men who were interviewed have intentionally pursued ‘sugar daddy’ relationships as a way of embracing their ‘culture’ and being labelled real men. Idang (2015: 98) noted that “culture serves to distinguish a people from others.” Interestingly, in the *amaZulu* language one hears words like *umZulu phaqa* which means a real Zulu man, who can be easily identified through the way a man carries himself. It therefore appears that through engaging in these ‘sugar daddy’ relationships, these *amaZulu* men desire to be culturally distinguished and set apart as *amaZulu phaqa*.

#### **4.4.2 Men as providers**

From the men’s responses, whether one comes from Durban, Johannesburg or Soweto and whether one has educational qualifications or not, there is an agreement on what it is to be an African man and how to behave as an *amaZulu* man. All the participants claimed that their ‘culture’ taught them that real men take care of their women. They also claimed that strict socialisation ensures that people accept cultural norms, values and practices without questions. In line with the social identity theory, the *amaZulu* men’s choice of behaviour is posited to be dictated largely by the perceived intergroup relationship (McLeod, 2008) meaning that the men’s sense of who they are is based on their group membership.

Some of the things that distinguish *indojelana* (weak man) from *indoda emadodeni* (real men), according to the *amaZulu* cultural teachings are described by the participants below. Mandla claimed that a real man, “makes sure that there is food, shelter, and the family is taken care of”. Solo stated that his role as a real man means that, “I buy food, rent, school fees etc.” Vusi shared that his role as a provider is to “look after the family and bring food and buy clothes”. Additionally, Lubile, married with four children, said as a man and provider, he was responsible for “buying food, clothes etc.” Siphoh (39) who owned a small business and was married with children shared that being a real man and provider means “to be able to support your family with their basic needs and also some luxuries”. Siphoh further added that “men should be able to provide for their families and partners”.

In the *amaZulu* context, masculinity is intertwined with attributes like physical strength, the ability to provide, sexual prowess, among others, and it is every man’s dream. Hunter (2005) stated that in order for a man to stand out in terms of hegemonic masculinity, he has to meet the breadwinner ideal. This breadwinner ideal refers to men who are able to put food on the

table for their female partners and families. The research participants indicated that a man who cannot provide for his family is an *indojelana*. Linked to this, Tajfel and Turner (1979) in their social identity theory proposed that the groups (e.g. social class, family, football team etc.) which people belonged to were an important source of pride and self-esteem. Accordingly, the *amaZulu* men see their role as provider as a source of pride. Through adhering to their social group, they get a sense of social identity and a sense of belonging to the social world.

Bilton et al. (1996: 205) described the social constructionism perspective as “an ongoing process whereby individuals learn to conform to society's prevailing norms and values”. In the *amaZulu* context, infant boys and girls learn what is expected of their different sexes. The social constructionist theory proposes that a person’s experience and interaction with others shapes his or her realities. The implication is that socially constructed events or aspects depend on the people’s social selves. The issue of men being providers was discussed in the context of culture and social norms. All the participants indicated that they are taught that real men take care of their women. Ray (53), an electrician who was originally from Soweto and was married with children, stated that to be a man one must be “One who provides and provides. A man must take care of the family and looking after them. It means I must bring food and buy them clothes.”

Burr (2003:4) asserted that “different societies hold different perceptions and abilities and the occurrence of events is likely to be context-specific, shaped by societal preferences differing from one region to another”. In this case, a real man in the *amaZulu* ‘culture’ is identified as one who can provide for his family. From a social identity perspective, one can see that in order to improve their self-image, the *amaZulu* men enhance the status of the group to which they belong. It appears that *amaZulu* men strive to achieve and maintain positive social identity through playing their expected cultural roles. As stated by Bett (2015:1), “through the years, culture has defined the roles of men and women– he brings the bread, she bakes it. It is the way of the world.” Most of the participants stated that the role of the *amaZulu* man as provider for the family cannot be overemphasised

Gilmore (1990) grouped the traditional roles of males in most cultures under the three P’s: protector, provider, and progenitor. In his view, manhood is often defined within a culture as a man’s ability to achieve all three roles.

These perspectives which construct the role of men and expect them to be the providers and protect their families, were dominant and continued to be practised. Notably, there was no

significant difference across the participants of different ages and backgrounds. Whether one is an *amaZulu* man from inside Kwa-Zulu Natal or outside, the role as a provider does not change. Irrespective of province of origin, an *amaZulu* man is groomed as the leader and provider of his family. His social identity as an *amaZulu* men as stated by Bett (2015) is to lead the family, protect it and provide for it.

#### ***4.4.3 Multiple sexual partners***

According to Kimmel (2004), in the social constructionist framework, it is explained that people's experiences are shaped by the societies they live in and they in turn reshape those societies. It therefore appears that cultural beliefs impact on beliefs about sexual relationships and having multiple partners is a form of social identity that appears to play a critically important role in the lives of some of the *amaZulu* men. As already observed from the respondents above, in the *amaZulu* 'culture', men are taught *how to be a man*. As noted in the social constructionist framework, thus we talk of "a gendered people living in a gendered society" (Kimmel,2004:27).Part of the lessons learned are around women, sex and relationships. Langa (2014) talked about views, beliefs and values that stipulate what it means to be a man and how real men usually tend to represent themselves as sexually skilful and successful. It is evident that cultural beliefs impact on these 'sugar daddy' relationships as well as multiple sexual partners. In line with the above, we see the *amaZulu* men defining appropriate *amaZulu* behaviour by reference to the norms of groups they belong to (social identity, Tajfel and Turner, 1979).

Against this background, Hansen (2012) noted that some older men embraced multiple sex partners with young women for cultural and traditional reasons. Adding to this line of argument is Goody (1976) who asserted that men who are staunch followers of tradition are more likely to embrace multiple sexual relationships. The Population Reference Bureau (PRB, 2007) reports that perceptions and views on masculinity and what it means to be a real man still persist and they continue to perpetuate the belief that men need frequent sexual gratification and multiple partners. In such situations, men's sexual networks may include their spouse, casual 'girlfriends', and adolescent girls as non-marital sexual partners.

All the participants claimed that cultural norms encourage men to have more than one sexual partner, they talked about polygamy as a cultural benchmark that allows them to have multiple partners. As a means of social identification, polygamy is therefore used to justify multiple relationships, thus in social identification, it appears that the *amaZulu* men interviewed have

adopted the identity of the *amaZulu* cultural group they categorised themselves as belonging to (social identity theory).

Sipho (39) explained that: “To be a man is not only being a male but to behave according to what society prescribes”. He added that the *amaZulu* ‘culture’: “teaches me that it is OK to have an outside relationship”. Ray shared that his ‘culture’ teaches him that it’s OK to love many women.

From the responses of the participants it appears that *amaZulu* men’s realities regarding their role as men and their sexual lives are deeply entrenched in their ‘culture’ and this shows how they validate their engagement in multiple-partner relationships. According to the men interviewed, an inability to have and maintain multiple partners is a sign of weakness, “it is a message to society that one is an *indojelana*”. Furthermore, the men indicated that having multiple partners, including dating sugar babies, is a means of identification and recognition. It gives them social status and a sense of belonging. In this respect, it appears that having multiple sexual partners among some *amaZulu* men is a social construct that is culturally accepted as natural. The link with the social identity theory is where one is either seen to be and belong to a particular group identified as *amaZulu*. In social identity theory, McLeod (2008) proposed that if one has categorised oneself with a particular group, the chances are one will adopt the identity of that group and begin to act in the ways one believes that group acts (and conform to the norms of the group). As shared by the men, it therefore appears that the *amaZulu* men have adopted their sexual behaviour from their cultural context.

From the narratives, it appears as if ‘culture’ allows men to engage in risky sexual behaviour. The participants claimed that there is a belief that culturally, men are not expected to control their sexual desires. Thus, there was overall consensus that men can pursue any sexual relationship with any woman they wanted. This means that they earn benefits from ‘culture’ and they feel they have a right to use these benefits despite the consequences. Linked to this, Langa (2014:3) stated that

undoubtedly, the sexual terrain is one of the central *loci* of masculinity and male power in our societies. The attempt by many men to behave according to predominant and strongly sexualized forms of masculinity explains a number of challenges that we face today in the field of sexuality and human rights.

It therefore seems that culture predicts *amaZulu* sexual behaviours.

Vusi, a 52-year old married man, was a supervisor at one of the garages in Durban, with 17 years of work experience. Vusi claimed that ‘culture’ “teaches me that I am free to have as many spouses as I can”.

The social constructionist theory suggests that “social group and individual participation in perceived realities determines resultant behaviours, with social process mediation implying that the instinctive and natural forms of behaviour are socially constructed” (Young and Collin, 2004:44). Langa (2014:2) stated that “a lot of African men behave according to predominant and strongly sexualised forms of masculinity and this is something which has only been possible with the active – or silent – complicity of many cultural institutions”. From the interviews, it therefore appears that there are some socially constructed aspects that shape the resultant behaviours of *amaZulu* men. From the social identity theory lens, it appears that *amaZulu* identity accounts for the development of distinct masculine identity roles of being an *amaZulu* man. PRB (2014:2) added that “in many African countries, multiple partnerships are generally accepted for men, often due to the entrenched social acceptance of polygamy”. Langa (2014:1) added that “the kind of men we find today is a result of how men have been socialised within a broad set of social institutions and they end up engaging in a sexual culture conducive to HIV infection and sexual dominance over women”.

Jeff (46) who worked as a quality controller indicated that he was married but admitted to having initiated and engaged in a second relationship with a ‘sugar baby’ because “it is allowed”. Melusi (35) shared that he was married but found solace in other women because this made him “feel like a man”.

Solo (39) noted that he had four ‘girlfriends’ and that his ‘girlfriends’ knew each other, but not his wife. According to him:

To be an *amaZulu* man, first thing is you have to have an ego. You must have a lot of ‘girlfriends’. You must show off. That’s an *amaZulu* man. An *amaZulu* man with one woman doesn’t sound like an *amaZulu* man.

From the narratives, one can also see that men think that culture affords them the privilege to engage in these relationships without feeling remorse. The value of a cultural perspective is very clear in this research. Respondents drew on cultural notions to justify their actions and behaviours. Overall, research findings reveal common reasons for multiple partnerships and these reasons are driven by cultural norms. From the above, one notes the major focus of social constructionism which is “to uncover the ways in which individuals and groups participate in

the construction of their perceived social reality. It involves looking at the ways social phenomena are developed, institutionalised, known, and made into tradition by humans” (Bilton et al, 1996:305).

Etuk (2002: 13) noted that culture is the way of life of a people and in most African cultures, the *amaZulu* culture included, polygamy and sex with multiple partners is a ‘way of life’ for some men. “Sex with multiple partners is so entrenched in Southern Africa that it is a religion, a basic moral philosophy for most people here. It is often simply called culture or, specifically, African culture. Political leaders who marry an increasing number of wives and royalty that flaunts an equal number of wives and concubines are highly visible” (Gqola, 2009). Thus it seems that some of the *amaZulu* men linked having multiple, transactional and ‘sugar daddy’ relationships with ‘culture’. To this, Chitando and Chingoroma (2008) noted that there is an urgent need to interrogate the social construction of manhood because men have adopted cultural values that have been and are detrimental to the well-being of women.

According to Pitpitan et al. (2013), traditional society of sub-Saharan Africa was characterised by multiple-partner sexual relationships in situations where men sought to attain and boost their degree of masculinity. In this study, findings indicated that similar views existed among *amaZulu* men, and that some of these participants would engage in extra-marital affairs because their ‘culture’ permitted this and the practice of these relationships aids in continuing the ‘culture’. Thus, it appears that some *amaZulu* men in KwaZulu-Natal continue to engage in multiple sexual relationships because their ‘culture’ defines manhood in terms of attributes such as having many sexual partners.

#### ***4.4.4. Hegemonic masculinity***

The above section dealt with ‘culture’, how men have been taught to behave and what defines a real man. Furthermore, we saw that in the *amaZulu* context, it is all right for a man to have multiple sexual partners. The reference to ‘culture’ in the narratives above lends substantive depth and understanding of how ‘culture’ is deeply entrenched in the lives of *amaZulu* men and how it has significantly shaped their lives and their subsequent relationships with women.

As already mentioned in the introduction to this section, there is an overlap between hegemonic masculinity and culture. However, in this section, the researcher contextualises the overlap for specifically the theme of hegemonic masculinity. This is because masculinity is not one thing, but a wide range of embodiments, behaviours, practices, relationships, and ideologies that are

used to define who men are, and who they are not (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005) and hegemonic masculinity refers to dominant forms of masculinity “that a society views as most important to being male” and which “work in relationship to elements society views as being antithetical to maleness” (West, 2001: 372). According to social construction theory, masculinity is constructed differently depending on the social conditions in which people are situated.

Themba (40), married with three kids and director of his own construction company, shared:

As an African man as a Zulu man...you have to be the head of the house. You are here to provide, you need to grow up, you are supposed to lead a certain way, until you are a certain age. There are expectations, when you get to this stage this is what you need to do. But ultimately you need to be the provider, you need to be basically there.

Bobo (40) owned a small business and was married with one child and shared that: “When a man has no money and he cannot support his family he feels less of a man”. Vusi also attached emotions to the breadwinner ideal stating that: “A man feels less or that they are not strong enough...men must take care of their families and support them.” Zulu (46) shared that: “A man must look after his family... and people will respect him”. Alex (51), married and a head of security shared that: “If you are unemployed the community members look down up you”.

From the above, one can see that the *amaZulu* men interviewed were very much influenced by the notion of hegemonic masculinity. They brought to light the close link between hegemonic masculinity and being able to be the head of the family. Emotions, respect and ego are also attached to this notion. The feeling of being a useless man, a ‘nobody’ or an ‘unmanly man’ can be sensed from these responses. It seems that some *amaZulu* men fear being labelled a ‘nobody’ or an unmanly man. In order to assert their manhood, these men then engage in ‘sugar daddy’ relationships where they fulfil their hegemonic masculinity role by providing for their wives and children as well as outside their marriages. Joseph and Black (2012) noted that men who feel insecure about their masculinity are more likely to engage in compensatory behaviours to reaffirm their masculine status. It appears that it is for this reason that these men aim to live up to this ideal of the ‘breadwinner’ hegemonic masculinity.

From the narratives of the men, the importance of the role of breadwinner and head of the household was clear and how it feels to be unable to fulfil this role as a way to exercise their male power. The stories revealed the men’s fear of being less of a man and their narratives revealed that they gladly take up this breadwinner role so that they can fit into the gendered

norms of hegemonic masculinity. These were men who embrace and identify with hegemonic masculine discourses (Joseph and Black, 2012).

It is interesting to note that these men who embrace their role as breadwinners in their marriages also embrace this role without any qualms outside their marriages. They engage in multiple sexual relationships with the sole purpose of playing ‘breadwinner’ in exchange for sex. As stated by Alie: “I buy her things, she gives me sex”.

Sipho also added that he bought his women nice things in exchange for sex. The participants indicated that women did not take them seriously if they couldn’t provide for them. This part of being breadwinners is not only confined to their marital homes or families. Participants extended this to the younger women they dated. The fact that they are able to fulfil this role in and outside their homes enables them to align with the notions of hegemonic masculinity (Connel, 1897). Using social identity theory, it is clear how ‘sugar daddy’ relationships and how masculinities are constructed. *amaZulu* men see their role of breadwinner to their wives and ‘sugar babies’ as a vital part that sets them apart and identifies them as *amaZulu*.

The social construction of masculinity from the narratives also reveals that *amaZulu* men attempt to hold onto their authority and position as real men by playing the breadwinner role in and outside their marital beds. From the narratives, the men highlighted the importance of being able to provide for these young women that they were dating as it boosted their ego. They reasserted their masculinity through successfully playing the breadwinner role. This part will be dealt with in depth under the theme of ‘sugar daddies’ which will explore transactional sex.

According to Hunter (2010), hegemony refers to a dominant culture or ruling class in social contexts. Therefore, hegemonic masculinity refers to a practice that gives men dominant positions in society while placing women in subservient and inferior positions (Morrell et al., 2012). In this study, the concept of hegemonic masculinity was important because of the need to understand whether ‘sugar daddy’ relationships in KwaZulu-Natal formed one of the platforms from which the men’s dominance in society continues to be advocated. Thus, the aim was to explore the extent to which ‘sugar daddies’ felt satisfied by dating younger women and the degree to which they continue to exert supremacy while placing women in subordinate positions. Overall, this section sought to understand whether ‘sugar daddy’ relationships were a means through which *amaZulu* men in KwaZulu-Natal continue to exercise and maintain their authority over women.



Jabula (55) and married with children shared that “As a man I must be dominant”. He added that dating younger women “makes me feel in control as younger women do not challenge me”. Alex, also shared that dating younger women, “gives me power and control”. Alie also stated that dating a younger woman “makes me feel younger and more powerful”. Tendo (35), a married father of two who works as a technician, shared that dating a younger woman gave him “feelings of control”.

In social identity theory, Tajfel (1979) asserted that the groups which people belonged to were an important source of pride and self-esteem. They give people a sense of social identity, a sense of belonging to the social world.

As a discursive set of ideals, hegemonic masculinity is something to which men aspire. It is something they want to identify/be identified with. It is a moving target that is rarely reached and not easily maintained. It is therefore better thought of as a perpetual quest whereby men are ceaselessly at risk of being considered insufficiently masculine. (Joseph and Black, 2012:488).

Though the participants indicated that they respected women, they still put forward that they enjoy the feeling of having the upper hand in their relationships. They indicated that it is for this reason that they engaged in ‘sugar daddy’ relationships as they fostered these feelings of domination, power and control especially when age disparity combined with economic power rendered these women unable to challenge these men. Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) noted that hegemonic masculinity plays a big role in perpetuating men’s dominance over women. It is clear from these narratives that men equate their masculinity with dominance. They felt that because these younger women did not challenge them or their masculinity, they were on safe ground. Dating younger women is a way of boosting masculinity and self-esteem. Their stories revealed that their claim to the dominant role in the ‘sugar daddy’ relationships is motivated by a “need to successfully align gendered norms of hegemonic masculinity” (Connell, 1987:18) in which dating younger girls and being able to provide for them, makes them feel in control.

It was shared by the respondents that a real *amaZulu* men takes a leading role in his sexual relations with women. Mdadane (50), a married business-owner, claimed that “As a man I make final decisions”. Mthwanazi (55), another married businessman stated that “I am the one who makes the decisions”. Another participant claimed that “As a man I must be dominant”.

These responses indicate the power that men exert in their relationships. The fact that they specify that “*as a man*” means that they place much value on their manhood and how they

project themselves in their relationships. As a concept, hegemonic masculinity has been used in gender studies since the early 1980s to explain why men feel the need to exert control over women. It has also been used as an analytical instrument that serves to identify attitudes and practices among men that perpetuate gender inequality and male dominance over women (Connell, 1987).

It is clear from these responses that men in the *amaZulu* context place themselves in a superior position over women. Their place in the lives of women must be felt and their authority unchallenged. Their relationships with women is not that of equal partners but of submissive and superior partners with the women occupying the former. Jewkes and Morrell (2012:40) contended that hegemonic masculinity is comprised of

a set of values, established by men in power that functions to include and exclude, and to organize society in gender unequal ways. It combines several features: a hierarchy of masculinities, differential access among men to power (over women and other men), and the interplay between men's identity, men's ideals, interactions, power, and patriarchy.

According to Morrell et al. (2013), in South Africa, demonstrating strength, toughness and dominance are very much part of hegemonic masculinity.

From these selected responses, the men's expressions reveal control and supremacy in their relationships with women taking a minor position. It appears that the dominance of these men arose from their economic advantage and the perception or expectations of the society. As mentioned in Chapter 1, African or *amaZulu* traditional society encouraged men to have many women while women were only allowed to engage in non-sexual relationships with one man or they would be considered promiscuous. In this study, it was evident that aspects of age disparity, economic advantage and societal expectations combined to account for the resultant hegemonic masculine culture that the 'sugar daddies' seemed to establish (through transactional sexual relationships that enabled them to secure many women around them).

It is also worth noting that there was no significant difference in the construction of a hegemonic masculine culture based on the participants' economic statuses and background. In both situations where participants were from KwaZulu-Natal or outside (now residents due to work), similar findings emerged: transactional sexual relationships were cited as platforms from which the men continued to exert their hegemony in society, with women continually

placed in inferior positions and expected to neither challenge nor assume leadership roles in the relationships.

#### 4.5 Chapter summary

In summary, this chapter critically analysed two themes from the study, ‘culture’ and hegemonic masculinity, and focused on the profile of ‘sugar daddies’ in the research sample, gaining insights from the individuals selected for participation.

McLeod (2008:67) observed that there are “social structural factors” which influence an individual’s behaviour, meaning that the way an individual or group of people behave can be traced back to their cultural or societal background. One cannot group all *amaZulu* men into one category, we cannot assume that they all behave in a similar way. However, from the participants’ responses, it appears that there are some staunch *amaZulu* men whose lives, choices and behaviours are shaped by their very specifically constructed and construed understandings of African ‘culture’. It appears that the way the men behave is in line with ‘culturally’ relevant constructs that shape and vindicate and even validate their behaviour, specifically how they behave as *amaZulu* men (*indoda emadodeni*). Consequently, ‘culture’ and traditional practices emerged as significant in the way men actively choose to define themselves and their behaviours. From participant responses, it appears that the cultural identity of *amaZulu* men (as that which permits polygamy or multiple-partner relationships) continues to exist. Based on this constructed understanding of culture, it may be arguably inferred that cultural (self) expectations account for the evolution of multiple sexual relationships.

Additionally, the participants claimed that masculinity and male identity centre on a man’s ability to provide for his woman and family. Interestingly, transactional ‘sugar daddy’ relationships revolve around the exchange of gifts and or money and ‘providing materially’ for the girlfriend. As already noted, men play the ‘financial’ provider role in these relationships, by taking care of the needs of the younger women. The role of men as providers was therefore a key finding in this study. It appears that some *amaZulu* men have embraced their role as providers. I suggest that it is for this reason that they easily embrace transactional ‘sugar daddy’ relationships.

# CHAPTER 5: PROBING PATRIARCHY AND POWER AND CONTROL

## 5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents two additional critical themes that emerged from the narratives with the *amaZulu* men based in KwaZulu-Natal. These situated themes are patriarchy and power and control. It is important to indicate again that there is an overlap in these themes due to the very multifaceted nature of homogenous masculinity.

This chapter will critically analyse the need for power and control over women and the dynamics of ‘sugar daddy’ relationships in KwaZulu-Natal. Some of the issues explored include the relationship between feelings of power and control and women’s expectations. Age differences will be examined as they placed women in disadvantaged positions in terms of feeling control or challenging the men. The dominance of men will be critically discussed from their economic status, thus the role of money as the means of control and power in ‘sugar daddy’ relationships will be examined. The women’s feeling of subordination needed to be explored versus men’s dominance. Similarly, a difference in feelings of power was found regarding the number of ‘girlfriends’ that a ‘sugar daddy’ had. The implication of this was further unpacked in relation to masculinity. This chapter will seek to understand whether ‘sugar daddy’ relationships are aimed at constructing traditional *amaZulu* masculinities through power and control over young women and whether these masculinities are a form of identity that defines the men of KwaZulu-Natal.

According to Shefer and Strebel (2012), patriarchy refers to a system of society in which power is held by men while members from the female group are largely excluded. In communities or society where patriarchal lines dominate the state of organisation and operation, either the father or the eldest male forms the head of the family. The importance of examining the practice of patriarchy will seek to determine and understand whether ‘sugar daddy’ relationships continue to assume the same line of operation among *amaZulu* men in KwaZulu-Natal, upon which inferences could be made in relation to the absence or continued presence of patriarchy among members of the target population. This chapter will further determine if the patriarchal need for power and control is directly correlated with the evolution of ‘sugar daddy’ relationships in KwaZulu-Natal.

## 5.2 Patriarchy

According to Connell (1995), patriarchy refers to a system whereby men in society gain dividends in terms of honour, prestige and the right to command. In line with the social constructionist theory, patriarchy is a socially constructed system that places men in superior positions to that of women. This theory looks at the roles and activities which are regarded as appropriate for women and men. Jabula, who was at the time of the research was having sexual relationships with six younger (!! ) women, shared that dating more than one woman made him feel like a strong man. He shared that it gave him feelings of power. Themba (40), who was dating four women who younger than him by 18 years, shared that dating many younger women makes him feel powerful. Vusi (52) shared that dating many women is linked to power: “Yes it does become a power thing”. Therefore, it can be inferred that ‘sugar daddy’ relationships complement KwaZulu-Natal’s society where the socially constructed tendency to hold power among men while using women continues to flourish.

Hartmann (1979) defined patriarchy as a socially constructed set of social relations between men and women, which have a material base, and which, though hierarchical, establish or create interdependence or solidarity among men that enable them to dominate women. This is linked to social identity theory, where men tend to identify with patriarchy and most or all its tenets. This theory proposes a basis for describing the categorisation of individuals into social groups (Connell, 1987). According to this theory, boys and girls actually develop the traits of character considered appropriate. Men and women are thus confined into stereotypes. Thus, as a form of identification in communities or societies where patriarchal lines dominate the state of organisation and operation, either the father or the eldest male becomes the head of the family. As such, the male line forms a platform from which descent is traced (Jewkes and Morrell, 2012). The importance of examining this practice lay in the need to understand whether ‘sugar daddy’ relationships continue to operate in the same way in KwaZulu-Natal, upon which inferences could be made in relation to the absence or continued presence of patriarchy among members of the target population. This chapter also explored the experiences and opinions of ‘sugar daddies’, as well as their possible sexual dominance and continuity of KwaZulu-Natal’s dominant patrilineal society in relating to their ‘girlfriends’.

Gender roles are acquired through socialisation and role learning. In masculinity studies, the two theories used in this study help to explore the patriarchal expectations for men. They give us an idea of what patriarchy constructs as the role of men. From the research interviews, it

seemed as if male domination is something which still exists in society and is still a defining factor in *amaZulu* men. Male dominance is a core part of patriarchy and some of the characteristics exhibited by *amaZulu* men included the fact that all men interviewed indicated that they were responsible for making all the decisions in their homes as well as in their ‘sugardaddy’ relationships. Interesting to note was the tone that some of them took which seemed to indicate that they believed patriarchy was their birth right. For example, mechanic Maurice (35) shared that as a man, he was the backbone of the family as well as in his sexual relationships. He stated that “The woman must follow what I say”. Vusi, who indicated that his culture taught him to respect women and take care of them, brought forward a new angle to his manhood. He shared that “I am a man and my women must respect me and obey my commands as the head of the house”. Another salient response came Lungile (42) who said the following: “As a man, I make final decisions.”

Relationships of domination and subordination structured through social institutions such represent the institutional dimensions of domination. Racism, sexism and elitism all have concrete institutional locations. Although these dimensions of domination may be obscured by policies claiming equality of opportunity, in actuality, race, class and gender place certain groups in favourable positions (Collins, 2011:38). This results in different forms of masculinities being constructed. According to the social constructionist school of thought concepts around masculinity and patriarchy are informed by cultural beliefs, traditions and religion, among other contributors. It comes as no surprise that due to cultural beliefs, in a patriarchal system, men hold all the power and prevail in all their relationships with women. In a family context, fathers and father figures hold authority over women and children (German, 2006; Kerbo, 1996). From the above, it appeared that these men made all the decisions in their homes and in their ‘sugar daddy’ relationships. It also seemed that they were keen to hold all positions of power and authority in both contexts. In that respect, as noted above, the social constructionist framework showed that patriarchy is not a mere product of a top-down socialisation process but rather an active construction by men as they interact among themselves and with women (Galliano, 2003:76). Therefore, these narratives seem to indicate the unquestioned power of patriarchy among the *amaZulu* men.

In the social construction theory, masculinity is context specific and the cultural resources available in a particular area shape especially boys and men. Frosh et al. (2002:65) pointed out that different masculinities are produced through performances that draw on the cultural resources available. To demonstrate his manliness, a man proves to the rest of the society how

well he can control his daughters, 'girlfriends' and wives (Beber et al., 2015). Davis (2014:21) stated that this deeply embedded notion has been extended to school environments and workplaces whereby men have ended up displaying their manhood through means that continue to place women in subordinate positions (Davis, 2014). In relation to this data, this study sought to understand the possible experiences and opinions of 'sugar daddies', as well as their possible sexual dominance and continuity of KwaZulu-Natal's dominant patrilineal society in relating to their 'girlfriends'. From the narratives, it appears that sexual domination exhibits a close linkage to the aspect of male control over members of the female population (Beber et al., 2015). Most of the research (regarding the men's quest to assert their manhood while seeking intimacy) concurred with the existing research contributions. As Johnson (1997: 89) put it, whether a woman desires sex is often irrelevant to whether she has sex. It therefore appears that the men play a dominant role in matters of sexual intimacy— as cited below by five *amaZulu* men:

The first participant indicated that when the woman says no to sex, he does not take it too well. He described the aggression associated with masculinity: "I get angry but she always makes sure I get some whenever I need to". The second participant also described his aggression when denied sex: "I always threaten to take away my benefits". Another participant described how when it came to sexual intimacy with his 'sugar baby', "I make decisions and she follows". Participant 4 also told us that he made all the decisions when it comes to his sexual relationships with his sugar babies. Participant 5 corroborated this stating that he is in charge of his sexual relationships with the sugar babies. He shared that "I am the one who is in charge". As Johnson (1997:44) put it, in patriarchy, "men are sexual subjects and women objects – women's sexuality exists to please men". This is in line with social identity theory where gender roles are acquired through socialisation and role learning – where boys and girls learn the traits of character considered to be appropriate and they identify with these. As such, it appears that men use sex with young women to proclaim their manhood and to assert male dominance so as to identify with the teachings of their culture. Thus, the socio-cultural context plays a large role in shaping common, everyday assumptions and behaviours (social constructionist theory).

On another dimension, the participants indicated that dating younger women helps them with their manhood. Solo shared that he was dating younger women "to see if I am still man enough". Lungile added: "It makes me feel like a man". Lungile went on to say regarding dating younger women: "They help me to be complete". Vusi shared that sentiment and confirmed that it made him feel good about himself. He said that when he is dating younger

women, “I feel good...” These narratives are in line with social identity theory where a sense of belonging is fundamental to the men. Tajfel and Turner (1979)’s social identity theory explained that part of a person’s concept of self comes from the groups to which that person belongs. An individual does not only have a personal selfhood, but multiple selves and identities associated with their affiliated groups. The men treasure the sense of belonging to the *amaZulu* group and being identified as ‘real men’.

Themba shared that these relationships were more about pleasure and manhood than love. He added: “Because it’s all about fake, maybe it’s not the real thing...Because you get what you want to get, you see...Eish, to be honest with you this thing is not about love...”

Social construction theory is an interdisciplinary discourse. Human reality is greatly influenced, understood, and experienced through cultural and social norms. This constructed reality generally sets parameters on notions of biology, gender, and sexuality. Johnson (1997) further stated that patriarchy is a social system that is male-identified, male-controlled, and male-centred and as such, it will inevitably place significance on masculinity and masculine traits while undermining femininity and feminine traits. Under patriarchy, men are normally encouraged to regard women as beings suited to fulfil male needs (Johnson, 1997). It appears that young women help men feel like ‘real men’. Thus, it appears that in this patriarchal system, young women play a fundamental role in meeting the needs of men and socially constructing their manhood.

According to Maclin et al. (2011), the country is one of the many highly patriarchal societies and attributes of aggression, assertiveness and dominance are associated with masculinity, the state of being a man. This trend is evidenced by cases in which “structural discrimination and ideologies continue to place women in subordinate positions while violence is used by some of the men to exert authority over women and children” (Maclin et al., 2011: 2). In this study, violence in the ‘sugar daddy’ relationships was found to be minimal but the desire to dominate and remain assertive was a predictor of the interviewed men’s quest to continue the society’s patriarchal lines. Furthermore, aggression was a salient feature in some of the men’s responses. This perspective relates to social identity theory where men define their masculinity through asserting themselves as ‘real’ men in authority and in command who are dominant and able to efficiently manage their home affairs.

Social constructionism provides theoretical insight as to how our society is organised and why it is organised in specific ways. This perspective places emphasis on meaning, significances



and metaphors and how these inform power relations in our society (Dunphy, 2000). Experience, feelings and thought all exist on and come from a social level of meaning (Terre Blanche and Durrheim, 1999). In other words, as *amaZulu* men within the *amaZulu* cultural context, their social world plays a large and significant part in shaping, reproducing and constructing their experiences, thoughts, feelings and actions.

Khumbu (35) who worked for a big South African company, had been married for more than 12 years and had two kids, shared that he managed everything at home and in his ‘sugar daddy’ relationships. He added that:

I manage everything ... As my father used to talk to me all the time, you’re the man you have to carry your family, your wife and everything.

Mandla shared that he was the one with the upper hand in his relationships with his women. As a man he says he has to assert himself, have the final say and be the figure of authority. Solo added that he enjoyed his relationships because they make him feel like he is charge of everything. He shares that he likes “...being in charge”.

In the context of masculinity studies, the social identity and social constructionist frameworks look at what cultural expectations are placed on men. Thus, these two theories therefore portray patriarchy as prescriptions within the *amaZulu* culture that dictate how *amaZulu* men should interact with and treat women. In these theories masculinities are constructed through power relations. From the above narratives, it therefore appears that men value their sexual dominance over the younger women.

Burr (1995:12) further elaborated that an important tenet of social constructionism is that knowledge is created and sustained by social processes and thus knowledge can differ according to social and cultural context. Thus the *amaZulu* accepted ways of understanding the world is a product of social processes and interactions in which they are constantly engaged with each other. Therefore, they act according to the cultural group they belong to. It therefore seems like young women play a number of important roles in patriarchal culture and boosting a man’s masculinity. Johnson (1997:4) said, perhaps the most basic role of women in men’s identity is the use of women and femininity to define men and masculinity. In patriarchy, a woman can be a trophy, symbolizing and signalling a man's success against and to other men. Most men are far from the top of the patriarchal hierarchy of dominance and authority; women are important as consolation prizes, giving men who have little authority someone over whom they have rights of asserting their dominance and authority (Johnson, 1997:4; Becker,

1999:29). This perspective relates to social constructionism where men construct and enact their masculinities as superior to women. It also gives us a glimpse into the exploration of how the *amaZulu* men exercise their authority in 'sugar daddy' relationships.

Whereas the study was limited to 'sugar daddies' in the province, the findings can be generalised to the rest of *amaZulu* in South Africa. The researcher also noted that the insights offered by men with tertiary education were also patriarchal. For example, Themba who is a qualified technician shares that as a man, he is in charge of the relationship. Jabula who is also a qualified Geologist indicates that he makes all the decisions in his relationships. It also shows that *amaZulu* masculinities are constructed in ways that realise the patriarchal dividend.

The social identity theory asserted that group membership can help people to in still meaning in social situations. Group membership helps people to define who they are and to determine how they relate to others. Another interesting aspect that came from the narratives was the reference to youthfulness. The emerging trend was that these 'sugar daddy' relationships made most of the men feel young. Some of the responses from the narratives included the following: Lungile (42) told us that when he is dating 'sugar babies' he is happy because according to him: "I become younger." 52 year old Vusi shares that: "I feel good and young again." While 39 year Solo also says: "It makes feel younger and more powerful." Like Solo, 50 year Sphamandla shares that sugar babies make him feel younger. He states that: "It makes me feel younger and more powerful." Themba also adds that: "It means I'm still good looking to younger woman."

According to Bhana and Patman (2011), in the traditional society of KwaZulu-Natal masculinity was closely linked with being a young man or 'being young and virile.' Jewkes and Morrell (2012) added that this masculinity trait was measured in terms of the ability of a young man to attract, keep and control many girls or show male dominance over them. This study found that these perceptions have been passed on to current generations. As reflected in the views of 'sugar daddies', the need to attain higher degrees of masculinity lies in the capacity to exercise authority; to construct and enact masculinity, they would resort to 'sugar daddy' relationships. It appears that to bring back the "youth" in them and locating themselves within a system of social categorisations (social identity theory tenet), some of these men resort to 'sugar daddy' relationships. Given that the target society is that which has fostered a close linkage between youthfulness and masculinity, it was found that 'sugar daddy' relationships form an indirect mechanism that enable the men to construct their masculinities (social

constructionism theory tenet). The indirect aspect would arise in such a way that they engaged in the relationships with expectations of becoming or feeling young, upon which this latter status would translate them into masculine men whose degree of social status could increase, enabling them to fit in with other members of the peer groups.

### **5.3 Male power and control**

Another interesting aspect that came forth from the interviews was the aspect of power and control in the 'sugar daddy' relationships. From the responses, it appears that men engage in sexual relationships with younger women in order to assert their power and control.

From the responses, a difference in feelings of power was found regarding the number of 'girlfriends' that a 'sugar daddy' had. Specifically, 'sugar daddies' with one or two 'girlfriends' were likely to look for additional women while those who had as many as seven or ten expressed satisfaction. The implication is that feelings of power and control depended on the number of women that a 'sugar daddy' has, and that the more women secured, the greater the feelings of power and control over the women.

Jabula, who was, at the time of the research, having sexual relationships with six younger women shared that dating more than one woman makes him feel like a strong man. He shared that it gives him feelings of power. Themba who is dating four women who are younger than him by 18 years shares that dating many younger women makes him feel powerful. Vusi shares that dating many women is linked to power. He shares that dating many younger women "Yes it does become a power thing." Therefore, it can be inferred that 'sugar daddy' relationships complement KwaZulu-Natal's society where the tendency to hold power among men while using women continues to flourish.

It could be inferred that the modern-day state of masculinity in South Africa can be likened to that of the early and mid-19<sup>th</sup> century eras in regions such as KwaZulu-Natal. Specifically, the first and second chapter presented some of the existing scholarly contributions regarding the construction and feelings of traditional African masculinity in the selected region. Jewkes et al. affirmed that young men were regarded as more masculine if they attracted many girls around them (Jewkes et al., 2012a). Similar to these eras, findings in this study affirmed that 'sugar daddies' that had many 'girlfriends' were likely to exhibit greater feelings of control and power, often associated with masculinity. The difference was that the past was dominated by non-sexual relationships while sexual relationships characterise the modern-day era. In

addition, the provision of money and gifts dominate current 'sugar daddy' relationships while long ago, the emphasis lay in the need to provide company.

Males having multiple sexual partners is linked to KwaZulu-Natal's traditional ideal of being *amasoka*, which refers to men who are popular with women. Men are encouraged to prove their manhood in order to become *amasoka*, often by using liaisons with women (Jewkes et al., 2012a). The implication is that men with reputations of having many current and previous 'girlfriends' bear the titles as badges of esteemed *amaZulu* manhood. Thus, it appears the society of KwaZulu-Natal has continually viewed multiple sexual relationships as essential and natural to what Jewkes et al. (2012a) term the men's nature as men. The social identity theory relates to a collection of prescriptions, prohibitions, requirements, and expectations for a person in a particular social category" (Galliano 2003:59). It therefore appears that the *amaZulu* culture prescribes and requires men to prove they are real *amaZulu* men by having multiple sexual relations.

The feelings of participants were explored further regarding the role of age differences in shaping the 'sugar daddies' perceived sense of masculinity. The perception that younger women are unlikely to challenge the men prevailed, making the men feel more in power and in complete control of the relationships. Jeff shares that the fact that he is a man and that the woman is young ensures that he is in control all the time. He tell us that he is able to hold all the power because "I am a man and she is still young..." Solo added that dating a younger woman is good for his masculinity because younger women are not argumentative and they "don't challenge my manhood." Ray shared that his women did not challenge him since they were younger and he was much older than them. He shared that dating a younger woman shapes his masculinity because his decisions go unchallenged because "I'm older than her..." Sphamandla also agrees that younger women are easier to manage because they allow his masculinity to flourish since they do not challenge his manhood. Another participant put forward that dating younger women is good because: "It makes me feel in control as younger women do not challenge me."

Literature has increasingly recognised the influence of gender-based dynamics while considering sexual relationships between women and men. In sexual interactions, power imbalance has been documented to arise from gender power imbalance (Robinson and Yeh, 2011). In many societies of sub-Saharan Africa, the male partner continues to be considered older than the female. This has resulted in an unbalanced power differential (Ranganathan,

2015). Specifically, age differences between partners have been observed as a form of power imbalance in patriarchal societies that include South Africa. In these societies, seniority and age are considerable aspects in people's social life. Thus, older members of the family command the greatest respect. Whether 'sugar daddy' relationships contribute to these forms of patrilineal societies was worth examining in this study. Two participants noted: "If you have no respect you are nothing..." "A man needs respect..."

Furthermore, in addition to the younger women playing a role in shaping participants' masculinity through power, respect and control, the issue of money seems to play a big role in ensuring the younger women's submissiveness. It seems that feelings of dominion and supremacy were also found to be shaped by the money coming in from the side of the 'sugar daddies'. The context of transactional sex in KwaZulu Natal can be seen in such a way that the money is the means of control in 'sugar daddy' relationships. Therefore, money was used as a medium that gives men power and control of the relationships, deviating from long ago when issues such as physical attractiveness and the construction and maintenance of homesteads characterised masculine groups.

Sphamandla shared that he maintained his supremacy in the relationship because: "She expects security and provisions from me". Vusi stated that he was able to play the authoritative part without being challenged by his women because "They are young ... They want money and love from me." Jabula brings forward the point that money plays a key role in these relationships and Themba agreed that money ensures that he goes unchallenged. One other participant also indicated that the lady cannot go against him because she knows he can withdraw his money and gifts anytime. The money and power dynamics are also observed in these responses: Sphamandla told us that: "I buy her airtime and some clothes. Airtime I provide when she needs it but clothes normally end of the month. She provides me with intimacy". Jeff shared that he gave the women money and other things in exchange for sex. He shared that he gives them: "money, shoes and going out...in turn I get sex." Lungile says: "Money. I give her when we meet or transfer. I get intimacy." Solo says he gives his women: "Pocket money and gifts. The pocket money I give them weekly and the gifts anytime when I want to see them for sex."

Bilton et al. (1996:200) defined social constructionism as "the process whereby 'natural', [and] instinctive forms of behaviour become mediated by social processes....and in this way [become] socially constructed". As already mentioned in Chapter 2, in the *amaZulu* 'culture', the breadwinner role is socially constructed into hegemonic masculinity. Jewkes et

al. (2012) state that culturally, a man is expected to provide for a woman financially. However, in the *amaZulu* masculinities, it appeared that giving the young women money is linked with greater power given to men to determine sexual intimacy.

Mandla shares that his money is what enables him to have sex as well as have the power in the relationships. He shares that: "*Cash does the trick.*" Alex also states that money is what gives him the upper hand in his relationships. He said "Its money, good times and ..."

Hunter (2005:54) explained that "hegemonic masculine norms promote men's sexual entitlement to women and often result in men's higher-risk sexual behaviour, controlling behaviour and the pursuit of multiple sexual partners. Processes of social constructionism may be achieved through socialisation which is the process through which these culturally mediated norms, values and identities are learnt.", It therefore appears that these hegemonic masculine norms help maintain men's power over women.

Kuate Defo (2004:7) further explains that "giving young women money or gifts can be seen as an assertion of power in cultures and perspectives show that it leads to a decrease in negotiating power for the woman". What could be analysed critically from the narratives was the impact that money might have had on the unchallenged dominance of the men over these seemingly submissive girls. For example, the responses suggested that differences in economic statuses (between 'sugar daddies' and the girls) accounted for the minimal challenges that these men encountered. To this, Worrienes (2017:28) stated that the "significant influencers of these kinds of relationships are socio-cultural, economic, and political conditions and many qualitative studies suggest that giving gifts and money is a normative practice of courting and dating rooted in economic and gender inequalities and sometimes pressing economic needs." Thus, it could be inferred that money controlled the relationships, rather than allowed the girls to express their feelings and dictated the resultant nature of issues such as intimacy, frequency of meetings, and places of meeting.

However, this aspect of the money controlling the relationship was evident in some of the cases where, instead of attributing the girls' submission to the disparities in economic statuses, a significant number of the 'sugar daddies' claimed that the submissive nature of these girls could be linked to age differences. This two-fold findings regarding the question on whether it is the money or age disparity that accounts for the girls' submissive nature was worth probing as the data collection process progressed. Ultimately it appeared that a combination of the power of material possessions (in the form of money on the men's side) with age disparity accounted for

the submissive nature of the girls. Notably, there was no significant difference in the degree of feeling of control and power between ‘sugar daddies’ who dated younger girls (for example, Solo who dated a 17 year old woman) and those who dated older girls (Mthwananzi who dated a 24 year old). Similarly, there was no significant difference in the degree of feelings of power and control between younger ‘sugar daddies’ (for example Maurice and Solo) and older ‘sugar daddies’ (for example, Mdadana (50) and Sphamandla (also 50 years old)). The implication is that it seems that in Kwa-Zulu Natal, most of the ‘sugar daddies’ were likely to exhibit feelings of power and control to a similar degree, despite differences in their age and the age of their ‘girlfriends’. It appears that power is a characteristic of being a ‘real’ man in the *amaZulu* context.

However, a marked difference in terms of expenditure was noted. For example, some participants would spend more on their ‘girlfriends’ compared to others. Despite this disparity in expenditure, the number of ‘girlfriends’ and degree of feeling in control and of having power did not differ significantly. Therefore, the amount of money spent was not found to affect the number of ‘girlfriends’; neither did it affect the degree of feelings of power and control. For instance, one of the ‘sugar daddies’ stated that he only spent R60 on one of his ten ‘girlfriends’, which differs significantly from those who would spend over R3000.

The participants were requested to describe how they felt in situations when their ‘girlfriends’ talked to or dated other men. Most of the participants stated that they would feel jealous if their ‘girlfriends’ were engaged in multiple relationships. This group attributed the jealousy to the need for intimacy and a stronger bond for a substantial period; they strived to “own” the girls, shunning possible competition. This group asserted that the feeling of power and control was likely to be compromised if they “shared” a girl with other men. Vusi told us that he cannot share his women. He adds that no man can have a woman who is sleeping with other men. Lungile also told that if he were to discover that one of his ‘sugar babies’ was cheating, he would get angry. He shared: “*They know how angry I will be...*” Thus, it appears that for some of the men, feelings of masculinity (through power and control) appeared to arise in situations where they dated younger women who did not date other men.

#### **5.4 Chapter summary**

This chapter covered matters concerning patriarchy and how it links to the subordination of women. Some of the issues covered included men's dominance over the younger women because they had the financial upper hand and because patriarchy expects them to. Other issues explored were whether 'sugar daddy' relationships are aimed at constructing traditional *amaZulu* masculinities through power and control over young women and whether these masculinities are a form of identity that sets *amaZulu* men apart and puts them as *indoda emadodeni*. Additionally, the relationship between feelings of power and control and women's expectations were explored; these were linked with age differences between the men and women. This was done to probe whether age placed these young women in disadvantaged positions in terms of feeling control or challenging the men. The dominance of men was discussed from their economic status, thus the role of money as the means of control and power in 'sugar daddy' relationships was also examined.



# **CHAPTER 6: GENDER AND MASCULINITY, CROSS GENERATIONAL AND TRANSACTIONAL SEX AND SAFE TRANSACTIONAL SEX**

## **6.1 Introduction**

This chapter discusses ‘Gender and Masculinity’, ‘Cross Generational and Transactional Sex as Risky Behaviours’.

Gender norms shape socially acceptable notions of masculinity as well as femininity and help define what it means to be a man as well as a woman. Terms like *real men* are used and in the *amaZulu* context, men would rather be called *insizwa* (real men) than *indojelana* (weak man).

This chapter discusses cross-generation sex and transactional sex as relationships between older men and younger women; which are normally marred by risky sexual behaviour where more often than not, the young women do not have a voice in whether a condom should be used or not (Hope, 2007). This chapter discusses the young women’s vulnerability to exploitation in many cross generational relationships given the structural issues such as lack of choice facing those living in poverty, the need to pay school fees, and purchase uniforms and school books. It also discusses the risk of unwanted pregnancy and dangers of sexually transmitted infections normally linked to these relationships.

Additionally the chapter discusses transactional sex as a common practice that contributes to unsafe and inequitable sexual practices. Since many of these relationships are inscribed within unequal power dynamics across, and across differences of wealth, age and status that intersect with gender in multiple, complex ways, it is argued that these may be exacerbating unsafe and coercive sexual practices among this group of people.

## **6.2 Gender and masculinity**

Gender is a social construct which refers to the characteristics that men and women possess. According to the World Health Organisation (WHO, 2017), gender refers to the socially constructed characteristics of women and men such as norms, roles, behaviours, activities, attributes and relationships of and between groups of women and men. Additionally, Connell (2009:11) stated that “gender is a structure of social relations that centres on the (re)productive

arena, and the set of practices that bring (re)productive distinctions between bodies in to social processes.” WHO (2017) further reports that these vary from society to society and can be changed. Even though gender refers to both men and women, it is normally associated with women and girls and Betron, Barker, Contreras and Peacock (2007) stated that while the concept of gender is often perceived to refer primarily to women and girls, gender norms shape socially acceptable notions of masculinity as well as femininity and help define what it means to be a man as well as a woman.

Gender norms emerge from prevailing patterns of hegemony and patriarchy and are in turn reinforced and reconstructed by families, communities and social institutions. We have observed from previous chapters that *amaZulu* boys are taught what manhood means by observing their families, where they often see women and girls providing care-giving for children, while men are often outside the family setting working (Bilton et al., 1996). Kimmel (2000) asserted that as a conceptual framework, the social constructionist perspective has guided many interventions with men and boys from a gender perspective. Closely related to social constructionism is Social Identity theory. The social identity theory was formulated by Tajfel and Turner in 1979. Turner (1982:17-18) defined social identity as “the process of locating oneself or another person within a system of social categorizations”. Linked to this, we have seen how the *amaZulu* men interviewed in this study seek to locate themselves within the *amaZulu* cultural system. Gender is therefore constructed, sustained and imposed as a way of life among the *amaZulu*.

As Connell (1995) puts it, under these masculine qualities, there are a set of social norms that dictate the way men should behave in order to be legitimised and recognised as men (Connell 1995). Betron, Barker, Contreras and Peacock (2007), put forward that these gender norms and the gender-based power differentials between men and women, amongst different groups of men, and amongst different groups of women, are key drivers of men’s and women’s vulnerability to HIV.

According to Connell (2002), gender is constructed within institutional and cultural contexts that produce multiple forms (Connell, 2002) It is therefore documented by Betron, Barker, Contreras and Peacock (2007) that men are expected to be sexually knowledgeable and active, and they face pressures to engage in sexual risk taking or even violence. This argument is supported by the narratives of the *amaZulu* men. One of the men shared that his father had many wives so he did not see anything wrong with having a young woman on the side. Another

respondent indicated that he used to watch his father with his ‘girlfriends’ when he was younger so he knows that it’s normal for a man to have a ‘girlfriend’ outside of marriage. Another participant also put forward that his father had younger sexual partners so it felt natural for him to do the same. These perspectives are in line with the social constructionist theory as it focuses on ways in which individuals and social groups participate in their perceived reality. In this case, the men’s perceived reality is that of having many ‘girlfriends’ as reinforced and reconstructed by the males in their lives. Additionally, these narratives are linked to social identity theory as they explain *amaZulu* men’s quest to be part of the *amaZulu* cultural group where they “can be able to see things in the same perspective and practicing the same social norms as people within the social group” (Brown, 2000:746).

Connell (2002) stated that gender roles are social constructs created by individuals within a society who choose to instil a particular structure with meaning. Consequently, these gender roles are often changed and manipulated by actors subscribing to and questioning them (Connell, 2002). In this regard, the fact that these ‘girlfriends’ are not a secret might be an indication that the men are showing off their prowess as well identifying with their culture where men are allowed to have extra-marital affairs. When asked if anybody knew about their extra-marital affairs with younger women, all the respondents indicated that the relationships were known. Alex shared that his friends know about his relationships but his family doesn’t know. Lungile shared that his son and friends knew, Solo’s friends also did and Stuart’s friends and uncles knew about his relationships. This is in line with the social identity theory where people find meaning in their lives by being part of a social group and practising the same social norms as people within the social group.

Additionally, it appears that some of the men conformed to peer pressure in order to fulfil gender expectations. From the narratives, we see that some of the men were pressured by their friends to get involved in ‘sugar daddy’ relationships. Stuart shared that he was pressured by his friends to have an extra-marital relationship and Sipho shared that he met his ‘girlfriend’ through some friends even though they know he was a married man. This is in line with Giddens’ (1997) argument about men being pressured into irresponsible sexual behaviours in order to subscribe to gender social norms. Furthermore, it is closely linked with social constructionist thinking which asserts that masculinity as a concept is informed by those behaviours, languages and practices, existing in specific cultural settings which are commonly associated with and accepted by males.

What we consider as appropriate has been shaped throughout history, in the eyes of society (Connell, 2002). As already mentioned, in the *amaZulu* culture, because of the values of polygamy among other things, men are allowed to have many sexual partners. Against this background, having multiple partners is seen as a fundamental aspect of manhood. As Giddens (1997) asserted, sexual behaviour studies around the world show that men have higher incidences of partner change than women – whether married or single, heterosexual, homosexual or bisexual – men change sexual partners much more than women. It is documented that men are likely to have more sex partners on average than women. This point is in line with the narratives from the men. Some of the *amaZulu* men reported having slept with at least 45 women including prostitutes. Thando shared that “a black man can never be with only one woman, whether he is married, living with his wife or not, a black man must always have another woman”. He added: “A black man will always like many women”. This is linked to social identity theory which assumes that social identity is derived primarily from group members and proposes that people strive to maintain a positive social identity which is closely connected to their peers, social group or background.

Khumbu shared that he has slept with so many women he has lost count. When probed further, he said: “More than 35 women”. Swazi asserted that he had also lost count “but it’s more than 45” while Vusa shared it was more than 40 women. Another participant added that he loves women a lot. Sabatha shared that “Now I only have four ‘girlfriends’.” Other participants shared having as many as six or seven ‘girlfriends’. Betron, Barker, Contreras and Peacock (2007) reported that due to gender social norms, men are more likely to have multiple partners simultaneously, more likely to have a sexual partner outside of their regular or long-term relationship, and more likely to buy sex. This point was corroborated by the men in the interviews.

Betron, Barker, Contreras and Peacock (2007:79) contended that “dominant and prevailing norms of what it means to be a man shape many of the attitudes and behaviours that fuel the HIV epidemic. These include: multiple and concurrent partnerships, low or non-use of condoms, viewing sexual and reproductive health as a woman’s issue, limited health-seeking behaviours, and homophobic attitudes. These behaviours and attitudes interact with structural factors such as poverty and social exclusion, increasing men’s vulnerability to HIV. In agreement, Leclerc-Madlala (2009) stated that in South Africa, statements that prescribe recipes for living hold that male sexuality is perceived as uncontrollable and that men are biologically programmed to need sex regularly and with more than one woman. This is a social

constructionist line of thinking which asserts that masculinity is constructed through culturally mediated norms, values and identities.

The above is corroborated by Sphamandla who said, as a Zulu man, he was taught that “I am free to have as many spouses as I can.” According to Leclerc-Madlala (2009), such scripts also promote norms of womanhood to accept and tolerate a man’s infidelity in relationships as inevitable. From the narratives, it appears that even though the ‘sugar daddies’ did not want their wives to know about their relationships, the ‘girlfriends’ however knew about each other and had no choice but to accept it. Luke (2003) and Shefer (2012) put forward that hegemonic masculine norms promote men’s sexual entitlement to women and normally result in men’s higher-risk sexual behaviour or the pursuit of multiple partners. It is the same philosophies of masculinity that encourage multiple sexual partners and also support the idea that male sexuality is “uncontrollable” and “spontaneous”. These perceptions are linked to the social constructionism theory which describes constructions of men and their sexual behaviours as beliefs and conducts that are culture specific and connected to the men of a particular cultural context.

Sabatha said, “Well, I don’t need to lie, I do have a ‘girlfriend’. Not one, not two, I got four. The four of them know each other, but my wife doesn’t know any of them...” Zama said that he also had four ‘girlfriends’; three of the ‘girlfriends’ know each other but the wife and one other ‘girlfriend’ don’t know each other. Themba, who also has four women shared that all his younger women know each other except the wife.

In line with men seeing sexual reproductive health as a woman’s issue, it appeared that even though many of the participants indicated that they were not using any protection with their ‘girlfriends’, they expected them to ensure that they did not fall pregnant. For example, Siphos said even though he is not using protection, if his ‘girlfriend’ falls pregnant “she must abort”. Vusa said “I will deny it” while Mandla said he would be angry because he doesn’t want any more children. He added, “I will force her to abort”. Gaba shared that even though he does not use protection, if his women were to fall pregnant, he won’t take any responsibility because he already has a family. He added, “But they know that I stay with a woman so they can’t tell me that.” When asked what he would do if they tell him they are pregnant, Gaba says, “They must find a way to find what they will do. I won’t be responsible. I won’t, ever. Because to be responsible is cause more problems for myself.” Stuart shared that he would deny the pregnancy while Siphos said he would force the girl to abort. UNAIDS (2006) said a number of

young women who are forced to abort are normally involved in ‘sugar daddy’ relationships. Conversely, it appears as if men expect the younger women to be responsible for sexual and reproductive issues in the relationship. Nkosana (2006) stated that age, gender and economic differences play a role in increasing the irresponsible and dicey sexual behaviour while lessening young women’s ability to negotiate for safe sex with the ‘sugar daddies’.

There is a widespread documentation that women often hold less power in relationships in terms of sexual decision-making (see Shefer et al., 2007) and as Mfecane (2013) argued, women’s agency around sexual decision-making must be understood within the gendered power inequalities in South Africa. Gender is therefore unpacked in line with the social relations between men and women and this therefore indicates that gender is a result of social constructions which guides the interactions and power relations between men and women.

From the narratives, it appears that the younger women have limited power in terms of sexual relationships. This is seen in some of the participants’ responses who indicate that when the young women withhold sex, they either get angry or withdraw their benefits as Stuart puts it “I threaten her when she refuses to have sex with me”. In contrast, females are expected to be subordinate to males, sexually passive and non-promiscuous, and materially dependent on their male sexual partners (Risman, Loberand Sherwood, 2012). Thus, it seemed as if women are expected to be sexually available for men all the time. It further appeared that the gender structures in the *amaZulu* culture assume a hegemonic masculinity front by prescribing that males in society are ideally dominant, aggressive, sexually opportunistic, and should provide materially for their female sexual partners.

According to WHO (2017:1), even though most people are born either male or female, they are groomed into being men and women... “these men and women are taught gender appropriate norms and behaviours – and these norms and behaviours include how they should interact with others of the same sex or opposite sex”. When individuals or groups do not fit established gender norms, they often face stigma, discriminatory practices or social exclusion and are even called demeaning names like called *isjendevu* (a man who cannot attract many women) and *indojelana* (weak man). Consequently, since the term masculinity is closely linked to a particular contextual setting, there is always a clear distinction between a man and weak man and therefore a man can be defined as a weak man if he behaves in a way that is not expected of a man in a particular contextual setting (tenet of social constructionism). From the narratives, it appears as if the men do not want to be called or referred as such as seen from

their emphasis on the use of the word man or a real man in their responses. For example, Themba called a man who can't provide for his family and the women in his life a 'weak man'. Bobo says a man who cannot attract a number of women is questionable while Melusi said no man wants to be labelled as weak, hence men do their utmost to deliver according to the labels that define them as real men.

Most of the respondents made statements like a man is ABC...or you are not a man if you don't do ABC. For example, Alex shared that "A man works hard to bring money and food to his family". Paul claimed that "a real man does not lay his hand on his women no matter how angry they make him." Menzi shares that being a man "means you have to work hard and take care of your immediate family and extended family". Siphso shared that an amaZulu man: "must have many children especially boys so as to continue my family". Siphso further added that real men should "be able to provide for their family and sexual partners". Another participant added that being a black man is difficult. "There are a lot of things we need to break through to get to the same level as your male counterparts." Swazi shared that being a man is a privilege. He claimed that African men are more privileged than women because "I would say that men designed 'culture'. They came up with it so they made all the rules to suit them." Ricardo and Baker (2008) stated that cultural norms and the resulting gender roles and privileges they perpetuate play important roles in determining how people, behaviours, and ideas are perceived and valued. The social constructionism theory states that gender roles are attained through socialisation and role learning. In masculinity studies, this theory looks at what is culturally and socially expected of men and whether men are able to fulfil these expectations.

In these 'sugar daddy' relationships, it appears that the younger women are likely to face mistreatment from the 'sugar daddies' as some of the participants indicated that they do not love the women, they are doing it out of pressure, fun or because they want to feel like real men. Some of the narratives follow. Swazi shared that his relationships with the younger women are too artificial. He added that "I don't like to be real with them because it's not supposed to be that way." He added that he does not see the need to be real with them as he does not love them. Qiniso said: "I'm not really in love, just having fun" and Jomo shared that it's only about sex. O'Sullivan et al. (2006) brought to light the argument that these young women may experience mistreatment, including abuse or abandonment because men do not have any feelings for them.

Jewkes and Morrell (2010) asserted that some of the dominant social norms of gender include men wanting to be socially recognised as men. This unpacks the attributes and social standards that men are encouraged to meet in order to be embraced as men and this has to be constantly aspired to, rather than being a given quality (Shefer et al., 2007). These standards not only maintain men's power over women, but also produce hierarchies between men, as men who do not endorse dominant norms of masculinity are often marginalised by both genders (Connell, 1995).

Izugbara (2004:8) asserted that while “male children are socialised to see themselves as future heads of households, breadwinners, and owners (in the literal sense, sometimes) of their wives and children, female children are taught that a good woman must be an obedient, submissive, meek, and a humble housekeeper.” This notion gives power to the men as observed from the responses.

Ricardo and Baker (2008) posited that gender as we use it here refers to the social roles, expectations and definitions of what it means to be men and women in a given context (in contrast to sex which refers to the biological fact of being born male or female). Male gender norms are the specific social expectations and roles assigned to men and boys in relation to women and girls. These often include ideas that men should take risks, endure pain, be tough or stoic, or should have multiple sexual partners – sometimes including paying for sex – to prove that they are “real men”. It is these norms and standards that supposedly give birth to the exploitation of women. Against this background, Finger (2004) observed that while men are taught how to be men and how to stamp their manhood, young girls are not really taught how to protect themselves from men whose sole purpose is to sexually exploit them. According to Finger (2004), these young women are unable to protect themselves because of gender inequity in education and as a result, girls and young women are still disadvantaged with respect to understanding key issues about HIV transmission and AIDS. The UNAIDS (2006) added that approximately half of 15 to 24 year old women in sub-Saharan Africa are oblivious of the fact that there is a difference between being healthy and looking healthy. They assume that a healthy looking man cannot be infected with HIV and this renders them vulnerable to STIs. Additionally, gender constructs that encourage female passivity increase the imbalance of power in sexual partnerships between young females and older males (UNAIDS, 2006; UNAIDS, 2004).



In light of the above, the researcher observed that the social construction of gender in the manner described above “generates and sustains socio-political and economic inequalities, which in turn drive overlapping risk behaviours, including age-disparate sexual encounters, sexual exchange or transactional sex, coerced sex, gender-based violence and inability to negotiate sex and safer sex practices” (UNDP, 2014:22). The two theories used have enabled a deeper interrogation of how *amaZulu* male identities are reinforced, maintained and encouraged in order to conform to society's prevailing norms and values. They have also offered the theoretical lens to probe the construction and enactment of masculinities in the context of gender among *amaZulu* men.

### **6.3 Cross-generational and transactional sex**

According to Hope (2007), cross-generational sex refers to relationships between older men and younger women; although in some cases (albeit much less common) it is used to refer to relationships between older women (also known as ‘*sugarmamas*’) and younger men. These cross-generational relationships are marred by risky sexual behaviour and more often than not, the young women do not have a voice in whether a condom should be used or not. As Shefer et al. (2012) stated, girls and young women are often unable to negotiate condom use in cross-generational sexual relations. In addition to the risky sexual behaviour associated with these relationships, young women are less knowledgeable about how HIV is transmitted and how they might protect themselves from HIV infection. Furthermore, to exacerbate an already dire situation, women are more biologically vulnerable to sexually transmitted infections and HIV and this consequently makes these sexual relations more risky for them than their ‘sugar daddies’ (Luke and Kurtz, 2002; Hawkins, Mussa and Abuxahama, 2005; Shefer et al., 2012).

Luke and Kurtz (2002) posit that some of the reasons why men may engage in relations with young women include the belief that young women are less likely to be infected with HIV infection. Furthermore, some men engage in these relationships for the prestige and self-esteem that may be associated with men having multiple young partners and demonstrating that they are able to “conquer” and maintain many women (Luke and Kurtz, 2002). It is from this perspective where men construct their male identities through having multiple sexual relations with young women. Shefer et al (2012) add that these cross generational relationships have taken centre in research on the spread of HIV/AIDS.

Additionally, Luke and Kurtz (2002), UNAIDS (2006) and Shefer et al, (2012) state that young women are arguably vulnerable to exploitation in many cross generational relationships given the structural and institutional issues such as lack of choice facing those living in poverty, the need to pay school fees, and purchase uniforms and school books. Furthermore, these young women may not fully realise the risk of unwanted pregnancy and dangers of unsafe abortion or sexually transmitted infections (UNAIDS, 2004).

From the responses, we observe that the *amaZulu* men were involved in cross-generational sex. 51 year old Alex shared that his youngest ‘girlfriend’ was a 23year-old woman. 46 year old Jeff shares that he is only seeing 18 year olds. 42 year-old Lungile shared that his youngest ‘girlfriend’ is a 19 year old. While Siphon shares that he has two 20 year olds among his ‘girlfriends’. Additionally, 50 year old Mandla shared that he was dating a 20 year old, 35 year old. Solo dating has a 17 year old young woman, 53 year old Ray is sleeping with a 23 year old, 39 year old Siphon’s youngest woman is 17 while 50 year old Sphamandla has an 18 year old. Linked to social identity theory, these men see themselves as part of a group and use their common interests in defining themselves and their masculinity. It is evident that the *amaZulu* men’s behaviours is dictated by social processes. These processes of social constructionism may be achieved through “socialisation which is the process through which these culturally mediated norms, values and identities are learnt. This approach affirms that masculinities and gender norms are: (1) socially constructed (rather than being biologically driven), (2) vary across historical and local contexts, and (3) interact with other factors such as poverty and globalisation” (Ricardo and Barker, 2008:8).

Luke (2005) added that these cross generational relationships are characterised by material rewards and as such, Shefer (2012) argued that these relationships are very complex and are most likely exacerbating unsafe and coercive sexual practices among this group of young people. Nkosana (2006) also observed that social factors increase young women’s vulnerability in cross generational relationships. It is in these relationships where we explore the how men exercise their power (social constructionism).

Lurie and Rosenthal (2009) stated that since HIV/AIDS was discovered in Southern Africa, many efforts have been put to understand its main drivers as well as understanding its transmission. When the pandemic was first discovered, the initial concerns about its roots were focused on sex workers as a particular ‘risk’ group in efforts to understand the rapid progress of heterosexual infections in Southern Africa (*Gould and Fick; 2008, p.24.*).

Mah and Halperin (2010:1) stated that it has been proposed that “in sub-Saharan Africa the main means of transmission for the HIV pandemic are the low prevalence of condom use, multiple and concurrent sexual partnerships and heterosexual sex. South Africa has been rated one of the countries most affected by HIV. Morrell et al. (2012) added that, roughly 5.2 million are living with the virus in the country. In South Africa, men’s sexual behaviours have been placed as the major driver of HIV/AIDS. Avert (2009) asserts that sexual risky behaviours (unprotected sex, an early sexual debut, consuming alcohol or drugs before sexual intercourse), multiple concurrent sex partners and commercial sex are defined as sexual activities that may expose an individual to the risk of infection with HIV and other STI’s. Transactional sexual relationships have been labelled as one of the key drivers of the pandemic. Even though the initial assumptions on the origins of the pandemic were mainly focused on sex work, over the years there has however been an increasing concern and a focus on transactional sex, more broadly in heterosexual relationships (Shefer et al., 2012). According to Shefer et al. (2012), transactional sexual relationships, especially where age and material difference are marked, are increasingly an area of concern in addressing HIV transmission as well as gender-based violence in Southern Africa. Leclerc-Madlala (2004) further asserted that transactional sex is an important risk behaviour for HIV and South Africa has not been spared this pandemic. Transactional sex which is the exchange for cash and/or material goods and/or alcohol for sex (Leclerc-Madlala, 2004) has been rearing its ugly head for a long time and in recent years, the country has faced a recent surge. Luke (2003) stated that transactional sex is normally between young women and male sexual partners who are older and financially better than they are.

When discussing their transactional sexual activities, the *amaZulu* men revealed a wide range of gifts and favours that were exchanged with the ‘sugar babies’ from their transactional sex feats. These gifts and favours included money, food, entertainment, time, cellular phones, food and clothes among others. Vusi shared that, his role in the transactional sex with the sugar babies is to give them money to buy the things they need. He also mentioned that he paid for their hair and added that he does what he can when he has money for the ‘sugar babies’. Mandla narrated that he provided his ‘sugar baby’ with lots of entertainment. He stated that he takes her places she’s never been before. He also added that they go for braais and to cinemas. Jabu shared that he gives his ‘sugar baby’ time, love and money. He also mentioned that he drives her around in his car, takes her to watch local soccer matches, the beach and to some good restaurants. Jomo added that he bought one of his women a car two years ago. He further added that he bought “groceries, clothes, jewellery, you know women want shoes, airtime”.

The exchange of gifts or material goods for sex is sometimes expected as a sign of appreciation in sexual relationships among African youth, and such can be fittingly viewed in the ensuing context of a man's responsibility to provide for a woman (Djara et al.,2013). This exchange of gifts seems to fit perfectly with the hegemonic breadwinner role that *amaZulu* men are culturally expected to fulfil (social constructionism); the difference is that in these relationships it's a give and take situation with little or no emotions attached.

From the narratives of the men it appears that when the young women accept these items that they give them, it automatically means that they are going to give them sex in return. All the men indicated that they gave the 'sugar babies' items and gifts in exchange for sex. Ali mentioned that the main reason he gave his 'sugar babies' gifts was because he expected sex in return. Jomo shared that the girls he sleeps with always expect things in return, he shares that he buys them clothes. He said "I buy them clothes from Pavilion, Woolworths. Sometimes I go to Woolworths, sometimes I go to Edgars. It depends." Another participant indicated that he gave them money and paid their debts for sex. From the narratives of the men, it is clear that men's involvement in these cross-generational and transactional sex relationships are circumscribed by a framing of masculinity and male sexuality within the dominant male sexual drive reproducing a simplistic and deterministic picture of masculinity and sexuality (Hollway, 1989).

#### **6.4 Transactional sex and safe sex**

Even though this research sampled men not women, from the narratives it can be assumed that the younger women engaged in transactional sex for mostly economic reasons and it was stated by KuateDefo (2004) that transactional sexual relationships are influenced greatly by socio-cultural, economic, and political conditions. Many qualitative studies suggest that transactional sex is a normative practice of courting, dating, and partying amongst youth, rooted in economic and gender inequalities, peer pressure for material consumption, and sometimes pressing economic needs. Linked to the above, Hunter (2002) stated that transactional sexual interactions are embedded in notions of gender, love and exchange. Shefera, Clowesa, and Vergnanib (2012) put forward that given the imperatives of HIV and gender equality, South African researchers have foregrounded transactional sex as a common practice that contributes to unsafe and inequitable sexual practices. Since many of these relationships are inscribed within unequal power dynamics across the urban-rural and local-foreigner divides, and across

differences of wealth, age and status that intersect with gender in multiple, complex ways, it is argued that these may be exacerbating unsafe and coercive sexual practices among this group of young people. Transactional sex can be seen as an assertion of power in cultures, perspectives show that transactional sex leads to a decrease in negotiating power for the woman (Djara et al., 2013).

The concept of unprotected sex was very popular among the men. Although some of the participants indicated that they faithfully use protection, others indicated that they did not use any protection. The reasons for not using protection ranged from the fact that they trusted the young women, to that they did not enjoy sex using condoms and that they failed to reach ejaculation when a condom was in use. Some of the responses follow.

Gaba who has four 'girlfriends' shared that "For these two I'm using a condom. Cause I don't know them." Lungile said he doesn't use protection, because he trusts his women. Sabatha claimed he didn't use protection while Jeff shared that he uses protection sometimes. Solo added that he doesn't use protection on any of his women and Siphon further put forward that he also doesn't use protection. It appears from the responses that condom use was not important in some of these 'sugar daddy' relationships. It seems as if some of the men have a casual attitude towards condom use. Condoms were described as neglected due to the fact that they took the pleasure out of the sexual act. Furthermore, if used, it was on an inconsistent basis. Bongani said "I don't use them, you see with condom I don't feel anything." Jomo also shares that "You know what, the thing is, when I'm using condom, there's no way I'm going to come."

In light of the above, Casale and Posel (2005) stated that the rate of young women having sexual relations with men who are older than them by more than five years increased from 18.5% in 2005 to 27.6% in 2008. This upsurge possibly brings to light the unequal status of particularly young, poor women and how this may facilitate their exposure to unequal, exploitative relationships and unsafe sexual practices. Leclerc-Madlala (2004) further stated that the focus is increasingly shifting to transactional sex and it is now being seen as a major driver in unsafe sexual practices in the Southern African region. The transactional nature of these 'sugar daddy' relationships lessen a younger woman's ability to negotiate safe sex and use of condoms with the older partner. This was corroborated by Jomo in the narratives who shared that since he is the provider in the relationship, they don't use the condoms because "I've got the power. Because I'm the man. I'm the man who provide everything that the woman want."

Jomo shared that “There are young ladies who want a man that will take care of them. They want a man who will take care of them. Whatever I tell them to do, they will do it. They want me to take care of them.” Commenting on his transactional relationships, Gama who has four ‘girlfriends’ said that while two don’t demand a lot from him, the other two are too demanding. He shared that: “Those two...they are the ones eating my money too much. They ask for cash, money to do their hair, money for shoes, a lot of things.” The link between sex and money or gifts is clearly very apparent in these responses. Casale and Posel (2005) explained that there is a connection between sex, gender and money and this is clearly significant in a society where men take home almost two thirds of the total income. For the most part, transactional sexual interactions were represented as involving *amaZulu* men having sex with young women in and around KwaZulu-Natal

In light of the above, Shisana et al .(2009:2) posited that “the National HIV Prevalence, Incidence, Behaviour and Communication Survey conducted by the HSRC indicated that transactional relationships between young women and their ‘sugar daddies’ is a significant risk factor for the young women in terms of being infected with HIV”. Gukurume (2011) further asserted that transactional sex exploits between these young women and older men is categorised by a carefree attitude towards the HIV pandemic, risk taking in terms of sexual engagement and male dominance. Leclerc-Madlala (2004) argued that another defining factor of these ‘sugar daddy’ relationships is multiple, concurrent sexual partnering and little or no condom use.

Most *amaZulu* men shared that they were normally engaging in transactional sex with younger women they considered as their ‘girlfriends’. However, some of the men shared that besides the younger women, they have had sexual exploits with prostitutes. Gama said when he first moved to Durban, he didn’t have a ‘girlfriend’ so he hired prostitutes. He shares that “earlier when I came here new. Ja when I came here I don’t have a ‘girlfriend’ so I find prostitutes.” Themba added:

Ja, sometimes, for the first time I left my wife I used to go to town to pick up a prostitute, ask them how much for the night, to spend it with me or how much for two nights. They will tell me how much, I will say okay fine, they jump in, and then I will drive to the hotel, I will pay for two days, pay for food, phone numbers, KFC, or whatever for her. Give her what she want and spend the two days with her. Pay her what she want and let her go.

As already mentioned above, transactional sexual relationships between young women and older partners have been identified as one of the contributing factors to the HIV/AIDS pandemic. However as seen in the comments above, some of the men not only engage in transactional sex with their young ‘girlfriends’ but they also engage with prostitutes. These transactional exchanges have been labelled as contributing factors to the HIV pandemic because not all people use protection. In a 2014 survey conducted by Africa Check (2014:1) on whether 60% of South Africa’s estimated 150,000 sex workers are HIV-positive, it was found out that “78.1% of female sex workers in Johannesburg were HIV+, 53.5% of those in Durban and 39.7% of the sex workers in Cape Town...”

As already mentioned above, the use of condoms was not popular with some of the participants. When asked if they had ever tested for HIV/AIDs or any other sexually transmitted disease, some of the men indicated that they have, some still do, others have never while others have not tested in the last five years. A case in point is Swazi who shared that he normally tests often whenever he has a new woman. Alie shared that he last tested five years ago. Linked to this, the participants were asked if they have ever had a sexually transmitted infection (STI), some of the participants indicated that they had never had an STI while others told the researcher that they have had an STI. From the narratives, Swazi shared that he was once diagnosed with an STI. Alie shared that he also has been diagnosed with an STI. After the diagnosis he got some medication and when it was finished he was healed, and did not need to go to the doctor after that. Khumbu also shares that he has had an STI before. He says “It was paining in my penis but I said right, let me try to use this medication if it will be right and I used by myself and now it’s fine.” Themba also adds that he had an STI once and he says he still doesn’t in using condoms. However, Themba shared that “No, ja, you see like after I have sex I normally go and I buy a, you know what they call it, antibiotics.” Alie also adds that he uses some medication after sex, he says “Yeah. Just to take out, to avoid.... Avoid any disease. Any disease. Okay. Ja, all the time I’m using that.”

It can be seen from the above responses that these transactional sex exploits expose both the ‘sugar daddies’ and the young women to numerous risk behaviours that they could have avoided in the absence of these relationships. Most of these transactional relationships emanate from a patriarchal context and consequently compromise young women’s ability to negotiate safe sex practices (Luke, 2003).

As already mentioned, this research was targeted towards 'sugar daddies' not the younger women. Hence the researcher can only assume from the men's responses that the women's motivation for engaging in these relationships is mainly for survival. Weissman (2006) stated that pinpointing the exact reason/s why younger women get involved in these risky sexual relationships is not an easy task. However, at the core of these relationships is the need for money, survival, desire for material possessions, and perception of social status.

From the responses of the men as well as the young age of the women, it is clear that the young women they are dating are not yet economically secure especially considering the age range (17, 18, 19, 20 etc). Therefore, it can be assumed that the young women entered these relationships for survival and economic upliftment. Nkosana (2006) states that young women engage in these cross-generational/ transactional relationships as a survival strategy and a way of getting by in a world of poverty and disempowerment. However, there are some scholars like Leclerc-Madlala (2004:2) who indicate that some of these young women are not in these relationships because they are poor but for the purpose of meeting their consumption desires as well as a pursuit of images of modernity and success (consumption sex) in the context of globalisation. In this type of context, we see "young women exploiting their desirability in an effort to attract men who can provide them with expensive commodities such as jewellery, cellular phones, fashionable clothing and opportunities to be seen as passengers in luxury automobiles." It is argued by the same author that this consumerism seemingly has little to do with poverty-related survival strategies. "Arguably, such practices are more about satisfying 'wants' as opposed to meeting 'needs', and may reflect a desire to acquire what Handler (1991) referred to as 'symbol capital', in this case symbols of a modern and successful life" (Leclerc-Madlala, 2004:2). This is closely linked with the social constructionism theory where the young women are actively constructing their ideal world and they use these relationships as a guide. Leclerc-Madlala (2004: 1) argued against the "tendency to assume too readily that all forms of sexual exchange are oriented towards subsistence, and not consumption." She further argued that sexual exchange is the means used by women to pursue images and ideals largely created by the media and globalisation. It is revealed that transactional sex is perceived as 'normal' leading many women to accept men's multiple partners and to put themselves at risk of contracting HIV/AIDS (despite having knowledge of the pandemic). It appears that this consumeristic practice is a reflection of the young women's structural socialisation. As stated by Bauman (2000:47), it reflects their adaptation and adoption of modernist consumerist ethos and practices, which orients them towards the construction of materialist and symbolical



difference from peers, despite the gap between individual autonomy and actual life chances (Bauman, 2000:48). Furthermore, the consumeristic practice closely links with the social identity theory which is of the assumption that social identity is derived primarily from group members and proposes that people strive to maintain a positive social identity and that this positive identity derives largely from favourable comparisons between the in-group and relevant out-groups. Thus it seems that these young girls are involved in these relationships as a way of identifying with what they see as a positive social identity.

Poline (2005) shared that the moment these young women accept the gifts from the men, they hand over their rights to negotiate safe sex. Accepting these gifts is usually taken as a sign that they have agreed to have sex whenever and whichever way the man wants despite the fact that the relationship increases the power imbalance and reduces the likelihood of using condoms. It appears that the transactional sexual relationships between 'sugar babies' and 'sugar daddies' were very risky, mostly unprotected thereby increasing both parties' vulnerability to HIV. The responses by the 'sugar daddies' on transactional sex are dictated by masculinity and male sexuality within the dominant male sexual drive discourse (Hollway, 1989). Social identity theory places great emphasis on the fact that individual behaviour is a reflection of people's larger societal units. Consequently, it appears that some of the interviewed *amaZulu* men use 'culture' and societal structures to guide the way they behave towards women and sexual behaviour.

## **CHAPTER 7: BEYOND ‘SUGAR BABIES’ AND THE ‘SUGAR BOWL’**

From the findings it appears that ‘sugar daddy’ relationships are similar to other kinds of intimate relationships in some ways, and some tentative parallels can be drawn with traditional dating relationships. Some of the research participants indicated that they ‘loved’ their ‘girlfriends’ and that these ‘girlfriends’ loved them too, as evidenced by the following responses.

Describing his relationship with one of his younger women, Khumbu said the woman loves him. Alex also said about his youngest woman “she loves me for who I am” and Vusi said he thinks his young women all love him.

However, it is important to note that while ‘sugar daddy’ relationships can be likened to traditional dating in terms of emotional connections and ‘going on dates’, there are also important differences. For example, ‘sugar daddy’ relationships are different from traditional dating relationships in terms of the negotiation of expectations regarding time spent together and economic benefits (see Gukurume, 2011). According to Hunter (2010), this does not characterise dating relationships. This assertion informs this chapter in terms of understanding the state of intimacy in transactional sexual relationships and its implications for the construction of traditional African masculinity.

From the findings obtained, ‘sugar daddies’ appeared to construct ‘sugar babies’ as both physically smart and attractive. The participants in groups 2 and 3 all described their ‘girlfriends’ as attractive. Similarly, ‘sugar babies’ are perceived as those who are goal-oriented, ambitious and intelligent. When a woman of intelligence is “consumed”, the woman appears to offer lively conversation, ambition and humour, more than mere beauty and sex. ‘Sugar babies’ are not prostitutes, escorts, or “whores”. A ‘sugar daddy’ relationship was constructed as that which sought to obscure money-for-sex transactions and represent transactional sex as more conventional. The relationships were also different from prostitution in that they involved more emotionally intimate connections and most of the expense, effort and time was spent outside the bedroom. Most of the participants did not want their ‘sugar babies’ to engage in multiple-partner relationships. Asked about how they would feel if their sugar babies talked to and even dated other men simultaneously, responses included feelings of anger and jealousy. Melusi stated that if his women were to date other men, young or old he would become jealous. Lubile also shared that he would become very angry too.

Indeed, there was a noticeable similarity between the early and mid-19<sup>th</sup> century state of multiple-partner relationships and the current state of affairs in KwaZulu-Natal. Specifically, in the past, men were permitted to have many women around them but the women who engaged in multiple-partner relationships were considered promiscuous. In addition, a similarity between masculine men of olden times and the current 'sugar daddies' was found regarding the needs arising on the men's side, which included the company of their 'girlfriends'. However, the difference was that the earlier relationships entailed non-sexual activities while today's relationships are dominated by sexual activities. Another parallel concerned the jealousy exhibited by men in both eras: men want to "own" many girls but only plan to marry one, yet they do not wish their girls to engage in other relationships.

According to Beber et al. (2015), real masculine men are independent or self-reliant and confident. Whether the interviewees associated these values with the aspect of being sexually aggressive was important to understand as well as whether any evidence of these attributes could be linked to societal expectations. In this study, self-reliance as a predictor of masculinity was examined in a two-fold way by asking where participants lived and about their decision-making while interacting with their 'girlfriends'. Self-reliance is concerned with economic stability and the nature of residence (staying alone, with parents, or other family members such as spouses and children). Most participants had established families and were either staying away from them or with their spouses and children. The age of participants, with some as old as 55 years, might have contributed to the nature of residence. Self-reliance on the part of the men was further affirmed with most of the participants claiming to have initiated the relationships. Whereas men perceived as masculine in the past in KwaZulu-Natal were younger, parallels between modern-day society and the past could be observed in the process of independence: both today and in the past, it was considered masculine to construct and maintain a homestead. In addition, the attribute of self-confidence as masculine was noted when the 'sugar daddies' strived beyond initiating the transactional sexual relationships and sought to maintain these relationships for as long as possible.

Apart from age, sexual aggressiveness was also linked to physical separation from families, some of whom had been left in home countries, as far away as Gauteng and settled in Durban for employment. It was worth investigating whether sexual aggression, an attribute associated with masculine men, had resulted from the issue of physical separation with their families or whether it was more innate. Sugar daddy relationships can be inferred to have formed a

foundation for practising the perceived qualities of masculine men in South Africa's patrilineal society and beyond.

## **7.2 Masculinity as materiality**

According to Amin et al. (2013: 45), "materiality refers to the character or quality that is composed of matter, the nature of transaction involving both non-financial and financial items that, regardless of the amount, were likely to influence the recipient's decision." The provision of financial and non-financial items was seen to be a central predictor of the nature and direction of decision-making on the side of the recipient. In relation to this study, the aspect of masculinity as materiality was examined to understand some of the paradigm shifts observed in the society of KwaZulu-Natal as well as the similarities and differences that emerge based on historical accounts.

The current state of 'sugar daddy' relationships is similar to relationships in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century in that material possessions continue to be associated with masculinity. For example, the construction and maintenance of homesteads in rural areas was perceived in the past as a sign of masculinity among young men, especially when complemented by the attraction of many girls. Similar to this, in the current study, most of the participants were found to possess houses, business premises, cars and other assets. Therefore, masculinity as materiality today was found to be similar to that of the early 19<sup>th</sup> century which involved homestead construction and maintenance while the former is characterised not only by the ownership of homesteads in rural zones but also by an acquisition of assets in townships including cars, houses and business premises. However, it is worth noting that the nature of materiality today is closely associated with older men, unlike in former times when young men would also possess property and engage in multiple-partner non-sexual relationships to be considered masculine. One of the responses from this research follows:

"I have a house at the farm and one here in the township with a single garage."

It was interesting to consider whether this form of property ownership was likely to give the man an advantage while engaging in transactional sexual relationships and whether different findings could be drawn in relation to 19<sup>th</sup> century society of KwaZulu-Natal. Similarities to early 19<sup>th</sup> century society included ownership of rural homesteads and the attraction of many girls but the older age of the participants in this study suggested this had placed them in advantageous positions in terms of wealth. Today's 'sugar daddy' relationships are unique in

terms of higher expenditure and societal changes such as the dominance of formal education have perhaps placed participants in economically advantageous positions. Despite these similarities and differences, the central aspect was that masculinity as materiality within Durban and KwaZulu-Natal continues to exist in such a way that material possessions tend to place men in dominant positions while engaging in multiple-partner relationships.

From the findings, masculinity as materiality continues to dominate. Notably, there was no significant difference in the association between material possessions and masculinity across members of the research population. Most participants expressed similar feelings and experiences regarding the power of dominating the relationships and the possession of material goods as complementary. Less emphasis was placed on physical attractiveness, with most of the 'girlfriends' reported (by the sampled 'sugar daddies') to hold expectations of receiving material items, rather than being satisfied with the men's looks or characters while engaging in sexual relationships. In terms of physical make-up, some of the interviewees described themselves as follows:

Bobo stated that he was "tall and dark and many women like the way I walk". Solo described himself as "tall and fair in complexion with a fit physique as I was once a soccer player," and Ray claimed he was "dark in complexion and not too slim, I wear size 34 waist." Additionally, Maurice said "I must admit that I'm overweight as I weigh around 122kgs," while Innocent described himself as "a well-presented gentleman who looks neat and always well trimmed. Fair in complexion."

Despite differences in complexions, there were no clear links of physical looks to the achievement, construction and enactment of masculinity. The interviewees did not indicate the possible effects of physical features on attracting girls. Transactional sexual relationships appear to depend on material possessions alone. Responses included that of Solo who stated that "No we are just having sex for exchange of money and gifts." Lubile added that, "I own a three-bedroom house in Westville and I have a massive yard for the kids to play" while Khumbu stated that "I have a two-bedroom house situated in Mpola in Dassenhoek."

Thus, it can be inferred that material possessions are necessary in 'sugar daddy' relationships in Durban. In early and mid-19<sup>th</sup> century society, cattle ownership was also linked to masculinity and men were considered masculine if they could attract girls for non-sexual relationships. Morrell et al. (2012) affirmed that physical attraction was a vital contributor and an added advantage to men who sought to attract girls, an aspect that this study found to be of

less importance among the ‘sugar daddies’ interviewed, with exchange of material possessions playing a greater role. Many others agreed. For example, Ali mentioned that, “We book in at the lodge most of the times and the sex is good”. Paul indicated that “We are not in a relationship because I have to buy her things in order to sleep with her” and Bobo indicated if he didn’t have the things that he has, he doesn’t think his younger women would date him.

As noted in the first chapter, early 19<sup>th</sup> century society in KwaZulu-Natal was characterised by non-sexual relationships with practices such as thigh sex being permitted but not sexual relationships. Material exchanges were unlikely to dominate unless the young men reached the point of paying bride wealth. The resultant situation was no dominance of material provisions and no sexual favours from the girls who would jealously guard their virginity until marriage, as evidenced by virginity testing ceremonies. This differs with current society in which there is a dominance of material provisions and sexual favours from the girls.

In both cases, masculinity is seen to be linked to material possessions. It is interesting to note that this study did not find a significant difference between the type of material items the ‘sugar daddy’ possessed and the number of girls attracted, as well as the exertion of power and control over these girls. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, men were expected to own cattle and homesteads in rural areas. In this research, participants were involved in various occupations including engineering, quality control, shop ownership, security service provision, truck driving, electrician, supervision in shoe factories and garages, and self-employment in events management. Property owned included cars, houses, swimming pools and lounges, shops and gardens. The number of girls attracted was shaped by the wealth of the ‘sugar daddy’. Girlfriends were unlikely to resist sexual advances but if they did, men were able to successfully use threats to withdraw provisions.

Material wealth dominates ‘sugar daddy’ relationships and this can be compared to 19<sup>th</sup> century society of KwaZulu-Natal. In both times, wealth was seen to precede the attraction of girls but in the past, it was young men seeking to acquire masculinity statuses while today the situation involves older and mostly married men. In addition, the former era was dominated by an absence of sexual favours while the current era is associated with the provision of sexual favours in anticipation of material possessions. Given that ‘sugar daddy’ relationships are defined in terms of the provision of money and gifts in exchange for sexual favours, it can be inferred that the aspect of masculinity as materiality and the emergence of ‘sugar daddy’ relationships traces its roots to the migrant labour period, rather than the preceding periods. In the preceding periods (early 19<sup>th</sup> century and previously), emphasis was on the provision of

company by the girls, an aspect which continues to be found in ‘sugar daddy’ relationships. However, in the past, sexual practices were discouraged and young men only shared material possessions such as cattle at the marriage stage so their relationships could not be categorised as those of ‘sugar daddies’ or transactional. Furthermore, a significant disparity in age between current ‘sugar daddy’ relationships makes the relationships of the past different. The migrant labour period and beyond saw men take control of many women who moved to major cities such as Durban to serve as labourers. Morrell et al. (2012) documented that some of the women left in rural homes would engage in multiple-partner sexual relationships in a quest to satisfy some of their material needs, as their new men would offer material possessions in exchange for sexual favours. This study traced the possible origin of ‘sugar daddy’ relationships to the migrant labour period. Furthermore, the study affirmed that the materiality of masculinity cannot be overemphasised and that material possessions define masculinity, rather than masculinity defining material possessions. Ownership of property appears to contribute to masculinity but is unlikely to operate in isolation, with additional features such as courage, hard work, and sexual aggressiveness, being required.

### 7.3 Complexity around masculinity

“It seems to me that women in general have fewer doubts about gender identity than men do. The implication is that womanliness is something which cannot be taken away from you: it is both self-evident and enduring. Manliness appears in comparison as a frail, elusive thing.” (MacLeod, 1985: 18).

The above quote from MacLeod (1985) sums up the issue of masculinity. It seems that being a man is something that men constantly have to strive for. It appears that manhood is a difficult thing that men have to find in order to be. Men must always identify what is really needed in their lives in order to feel like men or be labelled as *indoda emadodeni* (real man). Against this background, as observed from the responses, *amaZulu* men engaged in sexual relationships with younger women in order to feel like real men. We see this in their responses where most of them admit that dating and having sexual relationships with younger women makes them feel like men. For example, Khumbu added that the reason why he is dating a younger woman is because “it makes me feel like a man” and Bobo echoed these sentiments by stating that when he is with a younger woman he feels like a real man. It is clear that the crisis on masculinity is the crisis of manhood. According to Harbinger (2018:1), this crisis is caused by

society trying to provide a warped sense of reality as false substitutes for true masculinity. One of the pointers that masculinity is in crisis is the fact that men use sex with younger women as a masculinity identifier. Harbinger (2018:2) states that:

Sex feels good. Not just the act itself, but the feeling of knowing a woman intimately. But sex is something we do, not something we are. There's nothing wrong with that, of course, but we must recognize that sex isn't what makes us men. So chasing after sex, "conquering" women and having a deep bench of booty calls isn't going to make you any better of a human. More to the point, it's not even going to make you feel like a better man in a long-term, sustainable manner.

Thus, having sex with young women is not a determinant of manhood. It will not turn one into *indoda emadodeni*. As stated by Wilkinson (2018:1), "while there is a connection between these substitutes and the masculine core, none of them will truly make you feel complete as a man."

According to Wilkinson (2018: 1)

in spite of this masculine identity crisis true masculinity is a powerful and positive force for good. A man who is truly masculine embraces responsibility and loves, honours, protects and provides for his family and loved ones. He lives with integrity, motivated by conviction, not comfort or convenience. True masculinity is not determined by how much physical strength a man has but rather the strength of his character. It is not a matter of how much wealth or power a man has but what he does with the wealth and power that he does have. A truly masculine man is courageous and uncompromising in his convictions. He is a source of tenderness and a place of safety for those he loves.

From the responses of the men we saw that power plays a vital role in their definition of manhood. Most of the men attributed their masculinity to the power they hold in their relationships with women in their lives. They indicated that being with younger women makes them powerful. For example, Vusi mentioned that dating a younger woman makes him feel powerful. Additionally Khumbu added that younger women make him feel powerful because of their submissiveness compared to older women.

It therefore appears that in their quest to be powerful, men have resorted to dating younger women in order to prove that they have what it takes to be called *indoda emadodeni*.

Wilkinson (2018: 2) stated



It's easy to see why we confuse power with masculinity. But power is a characteristic of masculinity, not a substitute for it. Power over other people won't, in and of itself, make you a better man (even if it sometimes – and it's always only sometimes – makes you feel like one). The apparent respect and attention that comes with power (true or false) is a tempting proxy for the real authority of being a passionate, influential person.

It appears that the idea that grown men end up engaging in sexual relations with younger women in order to assert their manhood through power over them is an indication that masculinity is indeed in crisis. It seems that old forms of masculinity are falling apart and male identity seems to be fragile as reflected in the *amaZulu* responses above.

The above responses are in contradiction to Wilkinson's arguments. According to Wilkinson, masculinity is portrayed in a positive light. The supporting data from the research study demonstrated masculinity as having been misused that resulted in yielding power at the expense of young vulnerable women. The quote's of Wilkinson was used to present a counter argument to the analysis of masculinity.

One can also argue that 'sugar daddies' are now taking advantage of their wealth and the patrilineal nature of society that places women in subordinate positions. They exert their manhood through the use of money. Additionally, it can be argued that the fact that these women are younger, financially dependent on the men and less likely to challenge these men makes them more vulnerable. From the responses of men we see that money is the driving force behind them taking advantage of these younger women. As Bobo put it "She eats my money, so she can't say no to me." Soloalso brought to the fore the fact that because these women are dependent on him they have no say over what happens in the relationship. He tells us that "My money makes all the decisions." Hence, it appears that men are using the status quo to attain, construct and enact their masculinity statuses. It is all these dynamics that bring to the fore arguments on masculinity being in crisis.

Findings from this study indicate a consistent link between material possessions and the attraction of many 'girlfriends' and the eventual construction and enactment of masculinity, leading to the concept of 'masculinity as materiality'. Today's masculinity is very different from what it used to be in the past. Current 'sugar daddy' relationships provide evidence of men continuing to exert power in this patrilineal society, differing from the past when younger men engaging in non-sexual multiple-partner relationships were the norm.

In South Africa, central to an increase in the level of urban poverty in the post-apartheid era is an increase in the rate of unemployment (Bhana and Pattman, 2011), providing the point of departure for this section. According to Morrell et al. (2012), apartheid left an ineffective and unequal municipal system that required fundamental transformation for South Africa's cities to be managed more effectively and become politically united. In addition, sluggish economic growth in the 1990s and the 1980s led to a dramatically high level of unemployment, leading to a compromised ability of some men to amass wealth which involved cattle, homestead construction and maintenance, and the payment of bride prices (Morrell et al., 2012). The eventuality has been a mix whereby some of the older men who are not financially strong have ended up engaging young women in transactional sex due to the men's inability to attract many girls (as dictated by the materiality of masculinity). These older men's inability to create wealth has been compromised as described by Morrell et al., 2012.. Therefore, it appears that in order for these men to meet the masculine standard of *indoda emadodeni* (real man), they have to resort to dating younger women who won't challenge their manhood. This consequently places the notion of masculinity in crisis.

What further places masculinity in crisis is the fact that the economic stability of the older men compared to the younger women complements patriarchal-related societal expectations enabling 'sugar daddy' relationships. Young men are left in a difficult situation because of their inability to compete favourably with most of the 'sugar daddies' that have an economic upper hand and age-disparity advantage that makes their 'girlfriends' remain loyal to them. This study found that sexual aggressiveness of the 'sugar daddies' was linked to a combination of wealth, significant age disparities, and the patrilineal society in which they live. What results is an unfair battleground with mostly unemployed young men on one side and older, economically stable men on the other. It was interesting to investigate whether, if given similar economic statuses as those of the older men, the young men would experience similar feelings of power and control and thus, higher degrees of masculinity while engaging in multiple-partner relationships with girls in Durban. Whereas a less significant difference in feelings and experiences was unlikely to be observed, it was evident that the 'sugar daddies' would still remain in an advantageous position because of the age superiority factor and other issues related to the patrilineal society's expectations. Indeed, it is this dilemma that stimulated an in-depth analysis of the issue of masculinity in crisis whereby early 19<sup>th</sup> century KwaZulu-Natal society acknowledged the attainment of similar attributes by young men but older men seemed to have the upper hand because of economic- and demographic-related merits.

As mentioned previously, masculine men are defined by attributes such as sexual aggressiveness, self-reliance and independence, assertiveness, and responsibility. At the societal level, issues such as physical attractiveness, attracting many 'girlfriends', and owning property such as cattle and homesteads complement the attributes of masculine men. However, the age limit within which a male member of the society may be compared to others while assessing the degree of feelings and experiences of masculinity is yet to be explored in sub-Saharan Africa. For instance, this study found that some of the 'sugar daddies' were as old as 55 years and more while some were as young as 35. The difference between the ages of these 'sugar daddies' and those of their 'girlfriends' was always relatively big. Regardless of the extent to which the participants differed in age from their partners, similar feelings of manliness and power of command were reported across the sampled population. The complexity that arises concerns the minimum and maximum age limit within which individuals may be compared based on the aspect of masculinity.

In addition, it was found that material possession was likely to precede 'sugar daddy' relationships and that these materials were not only owned by the 'sugar daddies' but also exchanged. This differs from early 19<sup>th</sup> century society where physical attractiveness and the construction and maintenance of homesteads were complemented by the ownership of wealth in the form of cattle and other related property. Whereas young men of the past only parted with bride wealth and married one of the girls (prior to polygamy), today material possessions are given after the men are married and when they are interested in transactional sexual relationships. The state of the crisis of masculinity in Durban was also examined in terms of the 'sugar daddies'' combined effort of maintaining homesteads in rural areas while extending similar efforts to multiple-partner sexual relationships with their 'girlfriends' in townships. Most of the interviewees were found to engage in this dual effort, which differed from the past when most of the newly married men were likely to concentrate their efforts on the maintenance of the constructed rural homesteads. Whether the dual effort exercised by 'sugar daddies' in Durban was an additional merit to their feelings and degree of masculinity was worth exploring. A similarity to the migrant labour period was found in how some of the married men in the latter period moved to major cities such as Durban and Pietermaritzburg for employment and, having left the rest of their families in rural areas, ended up controlling groups of labourers from the female population (especially the unmarried group that had also moved to urban regions to seek employment). However, the difference is that the current 'sugar daddies' appear to be better placed in maintaining their homesteads while engaging in multiple-partner

relationships with younger women in Durban. During the migrant labour period, as documented by Jewkes et al. (2012a), some of these men's wives resorted to multiple-partner sexual relationships in exchange for the material possessions they needed. This study could not draw a similar parallel to the current 'sugar daddies' wives' possibility of engaging in other sexual relationships when left by their husbands at home, sometimes in other regions (such as Gauteng). It was also inferred that the economic advantage of these 'sugar daddies' continued to place them in an advantageous position regarding their ability to maintain families while engaging in 'sugar daddy' relationships with young women in Durban, compared to migrant labourers who were desperate for employment and thus moved to towns.

Participants in this research showed various responses concerning the definition and role expectation of a man. For example, Khumbu shared that "A man brings food for his children and he provides shelter for them. ... He makes sure that there is food, shelter and the family is taken care of."

This response could be perceived as like the expectations of 19<sup>th</sup> century society in KwaZulu-Natal in which masculine men would not only construct homesteads but also maintain them. The implication is that some of the societal expectations regarding traits of manliness have been passed on from one generation to another. However, participants in this research held different economic positions and it is important to consider whether the meaning of masculinity is continually changing in South Africa. Developments such as industrialisation, the evolution of urban zones and improved education systems account for the emergence of new positions noted in participants in this research, such as those of quality controller. Although this study was limited to *amaZulu* men in Durban and did not consider practices such as herding in rural areas, it is likely that these would be outperformed by 'sugar daddies' in urban zones when it comes to the rating of the degree of masculinity and exertion of power and control over women. Participants stated their job positions as follows: Shop manager, Shop owner, Head of security, Truck driver, Supervisor (shoe making company) and Self-employed (Events organiser).

Whereas commonalities could be drawn regarding the meaning and role expectation of a man (such as that which entails the position of a provider and a protector), critical deviations from the past societal expectations were noted. For example, Bhana and Pattman (2011) documented that masculine men would not only own property such as cattle but also be able to pay a bride price. None of the participants mentioned bride price or wealth in relation to the expected roles and responsibilities of a masculine member of the society. In addition, some interviewees focused on individual physique (strong and muscular) as a predictor of masculinity in Durban

while others focused on the economic aspects (bring money and food to his family). Some of the participants focused on the socio-cultural perspective of KwaZulu-Natal as a platform from which masculinity could be defined (being a man is not only being a male but behaving according to what society prescribes as manly). Regardless of the participants' marital state, age and nationality of origin, it was evident that varied definitions of masculinity exist. No considerations of bride wealth as a predictor of masculinity can be linked to the marital status of the 'sugar daddies' and their lack of interest in marriage with their 'girlfriends'.

Differences in expectation were also noted to pose a further dilemma that places the perception and definition of masculinity in crisis. In a study by Hunter (2010), it was affirmed that most of the men considered masculine in the past were likely to hold prospects of company and marriage. In this study, most of the participants seemed to expect some company, but sexual exchange remained a priority. In relation to feelings and expectations of 'sugar daddies' interviewed, responses included "I give her in exchange for intimacy" and "I get sex and good company".

Variations in the interviewees' opinions on whether their families and peers know about their 'sugar daddy' relationships were also noted. These differences brought up the question of whether the society's awareness of the relationships qualifies the men involved as being masculine or if a similar status is attained even when the society is not aware of the relationships. Some of the responses were noted as follows:

"...two know and they say I must think about it happening to my daughter."

"Yes they know [sic] but my family doesn't know.

"My friends and some members of the society know about the relationship and they are fine with it."

Some of their families knew but mostly the relationships went unnoticed. Most of the participants whose relationships were known to none or only a few members of the society were married. Fear of divorce may have accounted for the secrecy. This result was found to contrast with the past when society's permission of young men to have many (but non-sexual) partners implied that the people's awareness of these relationships would operate to the advantage of the young men, who would be considered to be masculine. These young men were, however, unmarried. In the study, there was no significant difference in the feelings of power and control between men whose relationships were known to the rest of the society and those whose relationships remained unknown. In either case, it was found that the men's

engagement in transactional sex with younger women sought to extend exertions of power and control.

The study also found that the concept of masculinity seems to shift from rural areas to urban settings. During and after apartheid, many young men in rural areas shifted to urban regions in search of employment and to improve their economic circumstances. Sugar daddies owned houses in rural areas but needed to earn their money elsewhere in the township zones. This trend reflects a shift in the concept of masculinity from rural areas to urban areas. The traditional emphasis on homestead construction and maintenance in rural areas was evident. But the young men who were expected to take up the role of herding often end up moving to major towns. A shift and de-valuing of rural-based practices such as herding and homestead construction might have accounted for the shift in the concept of masculinity with young men striving for power and control as expected in the patrilineal society, but in different ways in urban areas.

Masculinity is in crisis due to socio-economic changes and pressure resulting from unemployment which has compromised young men's capacity to attract girls, especially in rural areas. According to Jewkes et al(2012a), the significant decline in marital rates in KwaZulu-Natal, reported after the 1960s, can be attributed to the increase in levels of town-based co-habiting that have compromised society's traditional emphasis on jealously guarded sexual relationships. Women are still expected to commit to one partner while it is acceptable for men to have multiple partners. Similarly, new work opportunities have appeared for more educated women and, combined with the effects of migrant labour period, may have contributed to a decline in long-term relationships (Morrell et al., 2012). Changes in the women's statuses and roles have also been observed to undermine the men's position as heads of homesteads. Young men are no longer sole providers and women who have been more educated and secured formal jobs now also contribute (Morrell et al., 2012). Young men are still expected to display high degrees of masculinity by being responsible and providing for their families but sometimes women play this role following education (Mudaly, 2012). The result has been a compromised state of exercising power and control in the patrilineal society, putting masculinity in crisis.

The above documentation regarding the conflict facing men's state of masculinity in KwaZulu-Natal was evidenced in the participants' responses on whether their wives work. It was evident that women were increasingly complementing the role of material provision in homesteads and posing a threat to society's expectation of men to dominate and exercise power and control

over women. Asked whether their wives or 'girlfriends' were working and whether there have been times when they felt their role as men was threatened in the family, workplace, and community, most of the participants attributed the threat to the women's rising statuses upon gaining education and securing formal jobs. Complexity in the crisis facing the issue of masculinity arose when the study found that the state of economic stability on the part of these 'sugar daddies' 'girlfriends' did not have a significant effect on the men's feelings and expectations, as well as the exertion of power and control in terms of decision-making on the matters that include the frequency of meeting and the use of protection during sexual encounters. However, it could be inferred that aspects of age disparity in this patrilineal society that places women in subordinate positions and expects young girls to respect men and, to a greater degree, older men, might have contributed to the unshaken nature of the 'sugar daddies' who may have been dating girls that were economically stable. It was interesting to consider situations in which these girls dated younger and unemployed men, whether the disparity in economic statuses that seem to place the women in superior positions (compared to the young and unemployed men) might have altered the degree of masculinity and feelings of power and control among the men but this was beyond the scope of this study which was undertaken from the perspective of current 'sugar daddies', rather than younger and unemployed men or the perspective of 'sugar babies'.

The frequency of sexual interactions formed another focal aspect that was observed to place masculinity in crisis. For example, some of the 'sugar daddies' would have only one 'girlfriend' while others would have as many as ten. Important to acknowledge was that the number of 'girlfriends' that one needed to have to be considered masculine in the past in KwaZulu-Natal was unclear but if one had too many partners, one was considered promiscuous. It was also unclear the number of 'girlfriends' or frequency of sexual interaction though this was worth examining in relation to the feelings of power and control among the participants. Some of the responses included: "We met maybe up to six or seven months" and "Maybe twice a month, three times".

Despite the mixed findings regarding the frequency of meeting and number of times that the 'sugar daddies' were found to have sex with their 'girlfriends', the number of 'girlfriends' that they dated did not pose a significant effect on their feelings and expectations or on their exertion of power and control. Whether the participant had one 'girlfriend' or ten 'girlfriends' did not alter the nature of interaction and feelings of control. Thus, parallels could be drawn to earlier times in which the number of 'girlfriends' that one was likely to have to be considered

masculine was unspecified but too many would be perceived as promiscuous. The crisis that arises regarding the construction and enactment of masculinity in South Africa can be linked to whether the number of ‘girlfriends’ and sexual encounters are shaped by societal expectations. This study found that these two aspects were unlikely to alter men’s feelings and expectations, but could not be generalised to the rest of the society because younger men were likely to have different perceptions and experiences – based on the perceived narrow age gap when compared to the age of other young women.

#### **7.4 Chapter summary**

In summary, this sub-section suggests that masculinity is in crisis in South Africa because the number of ‘girlfriends’ that one needs to have to be considered masculine remains unaddressed across the age groups and the age bracket of men striving to exert power control over women in the patrilineal society is shifting noticeably to the older side. In addition, it was documented that the quest to acquire and maintain masculinity statuses has shifted from rural areas to urban areas because of the high rate of unemployment in the periods during and after apartheid. Also contributing to the crisis of masculinity in KwaZulu-Natal is a decrease in marital rates among women who are more educated and continue to secure formal jobs. Women’s increasing abilities to complement some of the men’s efforts (in terms of wealth to provide for the family) could compromise the latter’s positions of masculinity.



## CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION – FINDINGS AND CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE STUDY

### 8.1 Introduction

The objective of this final chapter is to present the main conclusions that emanated from the previous chapters of analysis of the study and thereafter to present some direction for future studies and conclusion.

The title of the study was specific in the use of the terms “bitter” and “sweet”. As discussed in the literature, the responses by the ‘sugar daddies’ on transactional sex are dictated by masculinity and male sexuality within the dominant male sexual drive discourse (Hollway, 1989) . It thus draws reference to sweet returns for both the men and women. For the males, it is ‘normalised’ as sexual favours, and for the women it is ‘naturalised’ also as seemingly sweet exchanges, through material possessions. However the ‘bitter’ reality is that this kind of relationship hinges on power and domination as cited from the narratives the aspect of power and control came forth from the interviews was in the ‘sugar daddy’ relationships. The responses indicated that men engaged in sexual relationships with younger women in order to assert their power and control.

Crous (2005) stated that critical studies about men have translated into a growing discipline in its own right. Indeed, the focus on constructions and enactments of traditional African masculinities have formed a critical shift in the international and situated study of gender.

As a contribution to the debates and discussion on studies about men, this study sought to probe how ‘sugar daddy’ relationships shape the construction of *amaZulu* masculinities. The context of the study was Durban, KwaZulu-Natal Province.

Initially, the homestead economy is documented to have dominated the construction of masculinity whereby maintaining a homestead in rural areas formed one of the predictors of ‘manliness’. Other attributes included the young men’s ability to attract and have many girls around them, as well as property ownership through material possessions such as cattle and the eventual herding practices that formed reflections of hard work and responsibility. Imperative to note is that the number of girls that one had to have to be considered masculine remained undefined but (initially) those who had too many ‘girlfriends’ were likely to be considered promiscuous.

The early and mid-19<sup>th</sup> century however, is documented to have been marred by societal permissions of young men to have many ‘girlfriends’ and engage them in non-sexual relationships in which practices such as thigh sex were permitted, excluding penetrative sex. Indeed, the society expected men to have many ‘girlfriends’ while girls would be expected to be committed to one partner and in situations where the girls dated many boyfriends or engaged in multiple-partner relationships, they were more likely to be considered promiscuous. What changed the trend was the entry of a so-called colonial era in which labour migrants accounted for the shift from a homestead economy to an urban-based economy in which men and women moved to mining areas to secure employment. In these areas, men are documented to have extended their dominance of masculinity by exercising power and control over labour forces from the female group. After the 1960s, the dominance of a free market economy and shifts in preferences regarding material possessions, implied that some of the men would move to major towns to seek employment while their wives and children were left in rural homes. As the women remained in rural homes, some would engage in multiple-partner and sexual relationships with the intention of securing material possessions that they needed; an aspect that led to complex enactments in situations where their husbands engaged in sexual relationships with other women in townships. Whether the men whose wives engaged in sexual relationships with other men in rural areas were likely to have their degrees of masculinity compromised is yet to be discerned.

Specifically, high rates of unemployment meant that most of the young men could no longer afford ‘bride prices’, an aspect that was highly appreciated and perceived to define masculinity in the society of KwaZulu-Natal. Similarly, a significant decline in marital rates that coincided with the attainment of formal education and eventual employment among sections of young women have been found to have accounted for the women’s failure to commit to partners in anticipation or with prospects of marriage. Whether this trend coupled with high unemployment rates yielded to ‘sugar daddy’ relationships (and the eventual construction of masculinity in Durban) was worth highlighting, an aspect that this study explored.

The existing literature points to various paradigms as major causative agents behind the emergence of ‘sugar daddy’ relationships. One of the issues identified concerns sex for basic needs. These needs include food, clothing and shelter. The implication is that ‘push factors’ on the side of girls and other young women are documented to yield transactional sex relationships to secure material possessions from the ‘sugar daddies’. Another issue concerns sex for improved social status. In this case, the need to improve one’s social status is considered as a

push factor emerging from the side of ‘sugar daddies’ that end up yielding to pressure from other members of the society, especially those that are patrilineal and continue to concentrate power and control in the hands of men. In situations where humanitarian crises have been reported (such as Haiti, Uganda, DRC Congo and Liberia), the need for security and food provision among women has been affirmed as a major factor pushing them to engage in transactional sex with the troops sent from different regions. The pursuit of so-called ‘modernity’ forms an additional paradigm that has driven some women in sub-Saharan Africa to engage in transactional sex with ‘sugar daddies’ to secure material possessions such as expensive jewellery and fashionable clothing, a move that translates into the need for social identity and group belongingness.

According to the Social Constructionist Theory, an individual’s interaction and experience with others shapes the resultant realities. Thus, people build socially constructed events that may, otherwise, have not existed. Indeed, if people have or had different needs, values and interests, the manner in which subjects, issues or events might have been built to shape group behaviour is likely to have been different. Social Constructionist Theory acknowledges context-specific aspects as those that determine group behaviour, and that the construction of masculinity is likely to vary from one society to another; based on issues in the surrounding environment and other historical factors. In addition, the theory formed a guide for understanding some of the issues that may have made the participants behave or respond in the manner in which they did. Whether the promotion of transactional sex relationships was unique to the society of KwaZulu-Natal or depicted some parallels that could be drawn in relation to the olden eras and the rest of the sub-Saharan Africa was imperative to explore.

Specifically, the study sought to understand the role played by ‘sugar daddy’ relationships in constructing and enacting *amaZulu* masculinities in the Durban region of KwaZulu-Natal.

Data was collected specifically from the perspectives of men. Social Identity Theory was relevant in that it aided with understanding the push factors from the perspective of men and, through these men’s opinions, it was possible to gain some measure of insight into the factors operating on the part of the women. For the ‘sugar daddies’, the theoretical lens of constructionism, helped to explore reasons behind their engagement in the relationships.

Regarding the methodology, a qualitative research approach was adopted. The research design was informed by the exploratory nature of the study whereby there was a need to gain an in-depth understanding of the subject from the views of the participants. An interview technique

was utilised. In addition, the participants were needed to be *amaZulu* men and have engaged in transactional sex with younger women for a substantial period. The aim was to ensure that the study collected views from an experienced sample population that was likely to be well placed in discerning issues concerning masculinity and some of the motivations that lead older men into transactional sex with many ‘girlfriends’. Notably, the qualitative research technique was selected because it gives comprehensive or detailed information especially when interview sessions are held, and that it aids in informing or opening new subject areas that could be studied in future while fostering research continuity. In addition, the qualitative approach was selected because it is convenient in terms of effective and efficient organisation of data, upon which interpretations and analysis can be conducted with ease. Similarly, the qualitative approach was used because the resultant open-ended and complementary questions end up increasing the participants’ responses; issues that the aim and objectives of this study were unlikely to cover but could end up emerging as interview sessions progressed.

In relation to the recruitment strategy, 22 participants were selected. The process of collecting data was conducted in three parts whereby the first part involved 12 participants while the second part entailed 10 interviewees. In the third part, the participants who had expressed interest to provide additional information, were selected and interviewed. This group constituted 10 respondents who had provided information before, but were selected to gain additional insights into the subject under study. A purposive sampling technique was used to select the participants. One of the aspects prompting the use of a purposive sampling lay in the limitation of resources. Particularly, the perceived limitation of time on the part of probable interviewees (who were expected to entail executives and working class groups) suggested that they would be selected or sampled purposively. The large population in Durban formed another aspect prompting the use of a purposive sampling technique.

With the sensitive nature of the subject under study and the likelihood of older *amaZulu* men engaging in transactional sex relationships being relatively unavailable for purposive sampling, a key informant was used. Mr. Mike Maphoto’s experience as a writer and blogger, and familiarity with men involved in ‘sugar daddy’ relationships, implied that he would be used as an entry into the selected population. A letter was written to seek his permission and secure consent that would allow him to play the roles of a ‘gatekeeper’ and a key informant.

The interviews were held in such a way that questions were designed to avoid interference and intervention from the part of the researcher, an aspect that could have compromised the validity and reliability of data.

One of the limitations of this study was that the responses received could be manipulated by the researcher. In addition, the study was prone to risks such as social desirability bias, misunderstandings and misinterpretations, and fear of victimisation among the participants. To address these limitations, the data was received and analysed in their original form while information from secondary sources was treated based on the aspect of intellectual property rights. In addition, permission was sought from the participants and other relevant authorities to avoid contravening both individual and organisational rights. Furthermore, participant anonymity was assured by treating the findings with privacy and confidentiality, besides declaring audio recorders on the onset of the interviews to avoid suspicion among the interviewees. Lastly, misinterpretations and misunderstandings were minimised by using an interpreter and, in cases where participants preferred to be interviewed in isiZulu, questions in the selected language version were provided.

Regarding the profiles of 'sugar daddies', the participants' ages ranged from 35 to 55 years. The number of 'girlfriends' that the interviewees were found to be dating was varied: some had as few as one while others had as many 'girlfriends' as ten. In addition, a significant number of the participants were found to own some property, including houses, garages, shops, cars, swimming pools and other material possessions. In addition, a majority of the participants indicated that they were married. Regarding residency, some of the participants were found to be living with their families while others had left their families in rural areas. The duration of 'sugar daddy' relationships were also varied with some relationships having lasted for as short as two months while others had had their transactional sex relationships stretch for several years. Overall, money and material possessions or property ownership characterised the participants who, in turn, claimed to have initiated the relationships.

One of the themes under investigation concerned the aspect of power and control. 'Sugar daddy' relationships were found to have emerged out of the need to continually exert power and control over women. Specifically, the patrilineal nature of the society in KwaZulu-Natal was revealed through the feelings, expectations and experiences of 'sugar daddies' under study. With the men's need to continually exert power and control over younger women, this study established that their 'girlfriends' were likely to expect money and gifts or other incentives. Notably,

aspects of age disparity and the society's expectation of young women or girls to be submissive to older men were found to complement the power and control exerted by 'sugar daddies' over their 'girlfriends'. One of the aspects that suggested the men's continued exercising of power and control over young women concerned decision-making regarding sexual activities. In most cases, it was found that the decision regarding the use of protection while having sex was vested squarely in the hands of the men. In addition, power and control exerted by men was evidenced by the fact that most of the interviewees asserted to have initiated the transactional sex relationships, rather than let the push factors (such as poverty) on the girls' side take precedence in the relationships. Furthermore, there was no significant difference in marital statuses of the 'sugar daddies', the needs of the 'girlfriends', and the economic status of the 'sugar daddies' on the expectations, feelings and exertion of power and control. Whereas most of the 'sugar daddies' interviewed were married, similar feelings of power and control were expressed by the unmarried group. In addition, the 'sugar daddies' were found to hold different positions and earn varying amounts of income, but feelings and experiences of power and control appeared uniform across the population under study. As such, parallels were drawn between the current state of multiple-partner relationships and those that existed in and during the early, as well as mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. The comparison revealed that the former society's expectation of men to have many 'girlfriends' but the latter group to commit to one partner continues to hold in KwaZulu-Natal. It is also worth noting that differences in age disparities between the 'sugar daddies' and their 'girlfriends' did not alter the expectations and feelings of power and control. Whereas some of the participants were in their late 30s, others were in their 50s. In either case, the participants were found to have initiated the relationships and remained decision-makers regarding the use of protection during sexual activities. As such, the black *amaZulu* patrilineal and patriarchal society, which concentrates power in the hands of men, while placing women in subordinate positions, continues to hold regardless of whether the relationships occur in rural areas or peri-urban spaces.

Apart from the theme of power and control, another issue under investigation concerned the hegemonic masculine 'culture'. In the former theme, it was noticed that the need to continue to exert power and control over women accounted for the establishment of most of the 'sugar daddy' relationships in Durban, and that these relationships make the men feel manly. On the other hand, 'sugar daddy' relationships were associated with feelings of dominance. Indeed, this was found to be more pronounced in cases where the economic power of 'sugar daddies' was likely to be complemented by age disparity to compromise the young women's possibility

of challenging the men's decisions such as those that would involve the type of gift and amount of money to give. What posed a dilemma was whether the women love these 'sugar daddies' or they love their money. Imperative to note was that most of the 'sugar daddies' affirmed to have had 'girlfriends' whose needs were unrelated to survival sex. As such, 'sugar daddy' relationships in the urban setting of Durban were found to involve 'girlfriends' seeking social statuses and modernity or lifestyles that could be likened to those of their peers.

Cultural identity formed another theme under investigation. Specifically, it was imperative to explore whether the men's engagement in 'sugar daddy' relationships had been informed by the need for cultural identity in the patrilineal society of KwaZulu-Natal (where olden eras permitted men to have multiple partners) or not. In this case, cultural identity was defined as a sense of belonging and one that includes shared senses of companionships, beliefs, basic principles of living, and interests. This study established that the men who claimed to identify with 'culture' is likely to embrace traditions that also tend to privilege them.

It was found that financial and non-financial items continue to shape the construction of masculinity through 'sugar daddy' relationships in South Africa. Thus, parallels could be drawn to the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. Whereas the state of KwaZulu-Natal in the olden eras centred on the homestead economy, physical attractiveness and the ownership of property such as cattle and herding-related activities, the current era was found to rely on material possessions such as houses, cars, business premises and other assets. Indeed, materiality as a predictor of men's achievement of masculinity statuses could be likened to the earlier eras but the difference was found to lie in the fact that the current era is a product of the free market economy in which cash exchanges tend to outperform the ownership of homesteads and other rural-based property such as cattle. It was also noted that rising unemployment among the youths was likely to have accounted for the younger women's engagement in transactional sex relationships with 'sugar daddies', as young men end up failing to afford bride price and other material possessions that could put them in superior positions to attract and have many girls while constructing and enacting *amaZulu* masculinities.

There was a significant difference in age between 'sugar daddies' and their 'girlfriends'. This study found that material possessions attracted the 'girlfriends', and that this attraction was likely to translate into the construction and enactment of masculinity. The implication is that masculinity in KwaZulu-Natal is in crisis because physical attractiveness, which was emphasised in the past, seemed to be replaced by material possessions and, in turn, given less

priority among the ‘girlfriends’. With an increase in levels of urban poverty attributed to increased unemployment in the post-apartheid era, older men were found to attract younger women due to the issue of financial superiority. This superiority did not only place the men in commanding positions but also led to the emphasis of materiality of masculinity at the expense of traditionally emphasised qualities such as physical attractiveness and other possessions in the homestead economy. Nearly all the participants placed little emphasis on the importance of (being able to pay) a bride price, an issue that was central to masculinity in the past.

Whereas the previous years were marked by the expectation of company and marriage among women, this study found that most of the ‘girlfriends’ engaging in transactional sex relationships with ‘sugar daddies’ were unlikely to hold prospects of marriage. Instead, the provision of sexual favours in anticipation of money and other material gifts remained central. Most of the participants stated that neither their family members nor other members of the society were aware of their involvement in transactional sex relationships with younger women. Indeed, the need to protect their marriages and prevent possible adversities such as divorce from their wives were cited as primary reasons why the ‘sugar daddies’ would keep their relationships secretive.

## **8.2 Directions for future study**

As mentioned earlier, this study sought to understand the ‘sugar daddy’ relationships and the eventual construction of *amaZulu* masculinities in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal Province. In addition, the study focused on African men, 22 participants who were perceived to be engaged in transactional sex relationships with younger women and exposed to interview sessions. As such, a few areas were left out and could be studied in future towards gaining an in-depth and critical insight about the subject. For example, there is a need for future studies to focus on some of the factors that prompt ‘sugar babies’ to engage in transactional sex relationships with older men in South Africa, as well as the feelings and expectations of these ‘girlfriends’. In so doing, it is predicted that additional information about the role of ‘sugar daddy’ relationships in spearheading the patrilineal nature of the society in KwaZulu-Natal and, the concentration of power and control in the hands of men might be understood from the perspective of the ‘girlfriends’. In addition, it is recommended that future studies focus on rural areas to understand whether ‘sugar daddy’ relations in the current era of KwaZulu-Natal can be likened to the early and mid-19<sup>th</sup> century where multiple-partner but non-sexual relationships were



encouraged. Furthermore, a future study that focuses on ‘sugar daddy’ relationships in the rural context of KwaZulu-Natal is projected to highlight whether the increase in masculinity and whether this rise can be attributed to high unemployment and rural-urban migration or other push and pull factors operating on the sides of young men and their ‘girlfriends’ in South Africa.

This study recommends further that future studies focus on the relationships between ‘sugar daddy’ relationships and the construction of traditional African masculinity in the wake of HIV/AIDS prevalence. The significance of such studies lies in the fact that this study found high concentrations of power and control in the hands of the ‘sugar daddies’ whose economic superiority and older age were complemented by the patrilineal and patriarchal nature of the society to translate into a near sole decision-making regarding issues such as the use or rejection of protection during sexual activities. Whether these decisions form major or minor contributory factors to the prevalence of HIV/AIDS in South Africa, remains imperative to explore. Similarly, there is a need for future studies to focus on transactional sex relationships in relation to the construction and enactment of traditional African masculinities using a participant observation approach. In this study, interview sessions were used. The implication is that the participants were aware that they were being studied. Whereas the aspect of participant anonymity was assured through data confidentiality and privacy, and that ethical conformity was achieved by declaring audio recorders on the onset of the interviews, there was a likelihood that some of the participants would fail to behave naturally; despite being interviewed in natural settings of their choice. As such, future studies should adopt a participant observation technique by utilising a purposive sampling method and allowing the researchers to visit major social places such as bars and restaurants to observe issues such as profiles of the participants in terms of grooming and possible property ownership that includes cars and other assets. Whereas this procedure might prove cumbersome and require much time, the fact that the participants will be unaware or ‘forget’ that they are being observed/studied, suggests that they are likely to behave more naturally. However, care should be taken in such that the researchers should obtain permission or consent from relevant authorities to avoid contravening ethical specifications that guide the research practice.

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## ***APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS***

1. From your understanding, what does it mean to be a man
2. Are there situations where you think men at time feel as though they are not “man enough”?
3. What is your position on power relations between husband and wife?
4. Has there been moments when you felt your role as a man is threatened in:
  - a) Your family;
  - b) At work or
  - c) In your community?
5. What does it mean for a man to be a ‘provider’ in his home?
6. How do you feel men should behave?
7. What makes a stronger African man? How is this different form a white man?
8. What does your culture teach you about relationships?
9. What does love or a relationship mean to you?

### **Relationships:**

1. How many relationships have you had?
2. How many relationships do you currently have?
3. Who initiates this relationship?
4. How old is your partner/partners?
5. How often do you see her?
6. What is your role in the current relationship with your partner?
7. Where do you meet?
8. How do you meet her?
9. Do you share any social activities together?
10. What is the duration of your “relationship” with your partner?

### **Feelings and Expectations:**

1. How does dating these younger women make you feel?
2. When you date a much younger woman is it about power?
3. Does it make you angry to see your “girlfriend” talking to others?
4. What do you think is expected from you?
5. How do you think she feels about you?
6. How do you feel about her?

### **Transactions:**

1. What do you provide for her?
2. Elaborate on how and when this is given?
3. What do you receive in exchange?

### **Negotiating intimacy:**

1. Is condom use necessary?

2. Do you encourage the use of condoms?
3. What happens if she does not feel like having sex but you do?
4. Have you ever used violence?
5. How do you exercise your power in this relationship?
6. Who controls the relationship?

**Protection, Pregnancy and STI's**

1. Should she get pregnant what is your first reaction when you find out?
2. Do you protect yourself from STI's?
3. Do you worry about STI's?

**Opinions of Society, Family and Peers:**

1. Do your friends or family know about these relationships?
2. Does/did your father or any significant other male adult in your life engage in a 'sugar daddy' relationship?
3. What do think about people's perceptions about you and your relationship with a younger woman?
4. How many of your closest friends know about her and what are their reactions?

**APPENDIX B: CONSENT FORM**

I \_\_\_\_\_ consent to participating in the research project and confirm that my participation is completely voluntary.

I confirm that Rosheena Jeawon has told me about the purpose of the research project and what my participation entails. We have read through the information sheet, and I have a copy to keep, which includes contact details in case I have questions or concerns about the research.

I understand that I will be interviewed, but that I can at any time say that I do not want to answer a question, or that I do not want to take part in the research anymore. I understand that this decision will not affect me negatively.

I also understand that this research project that will not benefit me personally.

I understand that the interviews may be recorded, and that all recordings will be kept securely so that the only research team has access to them. I understand that parts of what we say may be included in the report, but my name will never be mentioned, and no information will be given that could clearly identify me or my family.

\_\_\_\_\_

**(Signature of participant)**

-----

**(Date)**

## ***APPENDIX C: INFORMED CONSENT DOCUMENT***

Dear Participant,

My name is Rosheena Jeawon. I am a PhD student studying in the School of Development Studies at the University of KwaZulu Natal. I am conducting a study to investigate how the construction of a 'traditional' African is enacted in "'sugar daddy'" relationships and how sex and sexuality is conceptualized. I hope to gain a better understanding of the concept of masculinity and how it can be understood within the context of a particular expression of hegemonic masculinity or what has also been termed 'traditional masculinity'.

I will be working mainly in the province of Kwa Zulu Natal. I have chosen this particular province as there has been many "relationships" between younger women with older African men.

If you decide to participate in this study, I would like to meet with you initially for a hour to a hour and a half at a place and time convenient for both of us. I will be working together with a male [Mike Maphota] who is assisting me with this research and speaks IsiZulu, so that you can choose to speak in English or Zulu, whichever you are more comfortable with.

During this meeting we will ask questions about the reasons for sexual exchange relationships with younger women and how does this "relationship" with younger women make the older (African) men feel? We also try to determine the how the older men feel in terms of control, dominance and if this is linked to traditional African masculinity.

We will always try to avoid asking about topics that are too sensitive or personal, but if anything we ask makes you feel worried or uncomfortable in any way, please tell us. You do not have to answer questions that you do not feel comfortable with.

In order to help me remember what is said in these meetings, I will write notes and also record our conversations on a recorder. I will then be able to listen to the conversations later, and if the discussion is in IsiZulu I will have it translated. The notes and recordings will be kept in a safe place in my office and my translator Mike Maphota and I will have access to them. The information that you give us will be kept safe and confidential. The university has strict rules to ensure that private information is kept securely for five years in case there are any questions or concerns about it, and that it is securely disposed of. When all the research and analysis is finished, I will ensure that documents and recordings with your personal information are erased.

Excerpts from the interview may be made pat of the final research report but no real names will be used and no information will be given that could clearly identify you or your family.

I would now like to ask whether you agree to participate in this study. Please understand that your participation should be entirely voluntary. Declining to take part in this research will NOT affect you in any way and participating in the research will not benefit you directly,

except that it is an opportunity to talk about you and your experiences. If you agree to participate, you may change your mind and withdraw at any time.

If you agree, then I will ask you to sign a form to say that you consent. I will leave you with this information sheet, which has my contact details and those of the university, in case you have questions or concerns about the research or the way in the project is managed.

**My contact details:**

Rosheena Jeawon

Student number: 9407139

Tel: 0724813254

Email: [jeawond@gmail.com](mailto:jeawond@gmail.com)

**Contact details for my Supervisor**

Dr. M. Naidu

School of Social Sciences

University of Kwa-Zulu Natal

**Contact details for my University's Research Office:**

University of Kwa-Zulu Natal

HSSREC Research Office

Ms P. Ximba

## ***APPENDIX D:INFOMU LOKWAMUKELA***

Mina \_\_\_\_\_ ngiyavuma ukuba yinxenye yalolu cwaningo kanti lokhu ngikwenza ngokuzinikela ezingeni loku volontiya.

Ngiyavuma ngokunesiqiniseko ukuthi U-Rosheena Jeawon. Ungichazelile konke okumele ngikwenze futhi nokumele ngikwazi mayelana nalolucwaningo. Sizofunda imininingwane esephepheni kanti name ngizothola iphepha engizoligcina elinemininingwane nencazelo yalolucwaningo.

Ngiyakwamukela ukuthi ngizobuzwa imibuzo ethize kanti nginayo imvumo yokungawuphenduli umbuzo engizwa ngingakhululekile ukuwuphendula, noma ngizwa nginga senaso isifiso sokuba yinxenye yalolucwaningo. Ngiyaqonda ukuthi lezi zinqumo angeke zenze ngibukeke kabi neze.

Ngiyaqonda futhi ukuthi ayikgo imali noma umvuzo engizowuthola ngokuba yinxenye yalolucwaningo.

Ngiyaqonda ukuthi inox yethu izoqoshwa kanti futhi lokho okuzobe kuqoshiwe kuyogcinwa kuvikelekile futhi kuyoba wulwazi lalowo ebesixixa naye nozakwabo kuphela. Ngiyaqonda ukuthi ngizosebenzisa igama lami kepha lizogcinwa liyimfihlo futhi angeke lidalulwe ukuze ngivikeleke kanye nomndeni wami.

---

**Isignesha Yowhlanganyeli**

---

**Usuku**



## ***APPENDIX E: INFOMU LESAMUKELO ELINEMININGWANE***

Mhlanganyeli Othandekayo,

Igama Lami U-Rosheena Jeawon. Ngingumfundi owenza izifundo ze-PhD ebizwa nge-School of Development Studies enyuvesi Yakwa Zulu-Natal.

Lapa ngizonibuza imibuzo mayelana nokuthi isiko nezinkolelo zesintu zihambisana kanjani nabesilisa asebekhulile abathandana nabesifazane abasebancane nseminyaka. Empheleni sifuna ukwazi kabanzi ngalaba ababizwa ngo-'sugar daddy'. Sifuna nokwazi ukuthi baluhlongoza kanjani ucansi nalaba besifazane abaseba ncane.

Ngifuna ukwazi kangcono ukuthi ubudoda babusebenzisa kanjani ukuze lobudlelwano nabesifazane abasebangane ngeminyaka buhumelele.

Sizosebenza lapha KwaZulu Natal ngoba baningi abesifazane abasebancane ngeminyaka abathandana nabesilisa abadala kunabo.

Uma enesifiso sokungisiza kulolucwaningo ngizondinga nje ihora noma ihora nesigamu sesikhathi sakho ukuze sixoxele endaweni ezokwenza kube lula ukuthi sikhulume kahle futhi singaphazamiseki. Ukhona owesilisa engisebenza naye, igama lakhe U-Mike Maphota ozobe engilekelela ngolwimi lezisulu ukuze nawe uzizwe ukhululekile ukungiphendula ngesizulu noma ngesingisi. Unemvumo yokusebenzisa lololwimi okhululekile ukuzichaza ngalo.

Kulenxox sizokhuluma ngaloko okwenza amadoda aye ocansini nabesifazane abasebanoane nokuthi bona laba besilisa asebekhulile bazizwa kanjani mayelana nobudlelwane abanabo kahle mayelana nokuziphatha, nokusetshenziswa kwamandla obudoda kulobudlelwane.

Sizoyibalekela imibuzo ejule ngokweqile kanti futhi sizocela usitshele nathi uma umbuzo esiwubuzayo ujule kakhulu noma uzithola ungekho esiemeni sokuwuphendula.

Ukuze ngkhumbule konke ozobe ukusho, ngizobhala phansi futhi ngiqophe. Lokhu okuqoshiwe ngizokulalela bese ngifaka nakho lokhu engizobe ngikubhala ukuze ngichazeleke kahle. Konke lokhu kuzohlala ehovisi uka Mike Maphota futi kuzobe kuphephile kakhulu ukuze sikwazi ukuthi sibuye sikusebenzise uma sesifike enyuvesi. Akekho ovumelekile ukuthi alalele lenxoxo ngaphandle kwami nozakwethu abasenyuvesi futhi nenyuvesi ibeke imigomo eqinile mayelana nalolucwaningo, nokuqoshwa nokugcinwa kwalo luyimfihlo. Uma sesiqedile ngalo siyoli-desroya ngenlela efanekile ukuze lingatholakali futhi lingasetshenziswa neze.

Bakhona abanye abakwazi ukucubungula imininingwano ephuma ezinxoxweni eziqoshiwe abasosisiza kepha angeke silidalule igama lakho kubo futhi siyolishintsha ukuze uvikeleke.

Nsithanda ukwazi ukuthi ungathanda yini ukuba yinxenye yalolu cwaningo na? Khumbula ukuthi uzobe uvolontiya futhi ayikho imali noma umvuzo ozowuthola ngokuba yinxenye yalolucwaningo.

Awuphoqelekile ukuphendula lembuzo kanti futhi angeke ubukwe ngeso elibi uma ungathandi ukuba yinxenye yalolucwaningo.

Lolucwaningo liyindela esifuna nagyo ukuthi yiziphi izinto abazenzayo ukuze ubudlelwane nalabo abathandana nabo bubeyimpumelelo.

Uma unesifiso sokubayinxenye yalolucwaningo ngizocela ukuthi ungalisebensisi igama lakho langempela.

Uma uvuma, ngizocela usayine ifomu bese ngikunike lefomu elinemininingwane yasenyuvesi lapho engifunda khena ukuze ukwazi ukuthola izimpendulo zanoma yimuphi umbuzo ongabo nawo mayelana nalolucwaningo esilenzayo.

**Imininingwane Yami Imininingwane Kantsumpa**

Rosheena Jeawon

Inowbolo Yomfundi: 9407139

Ucingo: 0724813254

Email: [jeawond@gmail.com](mailto:jeawond@gmail.com)

Dr. Maheshvari Naidu

School of Social Science

University of Kwa-Zulu Natal

Tel: (031) 260 7657

Email: [naiduu@ukzn.ac.za](mailto:naiduu@ukzn.ac.za)

**Imininingwane Yasehovisi Locwaningo**

University of Kwa-Zulu Natal

HSSREC Research Office

Ms. P. Ximba

Tel: (031) 2621879

Email: [ximpap@ukzn.ac.za](mailto:ximpap@ukzn.ac.za)

## **APPENDIX F: UCWANINGO NEMININGWANO**

### **Igama:**

#### **Iminyaka Onayo:**

30-39

40-49

50-59

#### **Ubuzwe Bakho:**

South

African

International

### **Imibuzo:**

1. Ingabe kusho ukuthini ukuba yindoda, uma ucabanga nje?
2. Ingabe zikhona izikhathi lapho amadoda ezizwa sengathi awasiwo amadoda ngokwanele?
3. Ucabanga ini uma sikhuluma ngamandla anikwe umyeni ne nkosikazi?
4. Ingabe sikhona isikhathi lapho okewezwa sengathi ucindezeleliwe:
  - a) Umdeni wakho
  - b) Lapho usebenza khona
  - c) Emuphakathini?
5. Kuchuza ukuthini kume “ukondla” umndeni?
6. Iyiphi indlela ekumele amadoda aziphathe ngayo?
7. Yini eyenza owesilisa womdabu abe namandla futhi ahluke kunalowo omhlophe?
8. Ingabe lithini isiko mayelana nezothando?
9. Luyini uthando kuwe?

### **Mayelana Nawe:**

1. Wenza muphi umsebenzi?
2. Ingabe ushadile na?
3. Uma ushaile, ini eyenza uthole ukunethezeka komunye umuntu wesifazane?
4. Ingabe unkosikazi wakho uyasebenza?
5. Ingabe ninazo izingane?
6. Ingabe uhlala nomndeni wakho noma uhlala ngaphandle komndeni na?
7. Chaza ngobudlelwane bakho nonkosikazi wakho?
8. Busho ukuthini lobudlelwano kuwe?

### **Ezobudlelwane:**

1. Bangakhi osuke wathandana nabo phambilini?

2. Bangakhi othandana nabo manje?
3. Ubani oqale lobudlelwane?
4. Baneminyaka emingaki labo noma lona othandana nabo/naye?
5. Ingabe ubabona ngasipih isikhathi?
6. Iyiphi indima oyidlalayo kulobudlelwane onabo manje?
7. Nbonana kuphi?
8. Nihlangana kunjani naye uma ufuna ukumubona?
9. Yiziphi izinto enizenzayo ukuze nizithokozise?
10. Senithandane isikhathi egingakanani?

**Imizwa Nokulindelwe:**

1. Uzizwa kunjani ngokuthandana nowesifazane osemncane?
2. Uma uthandana nowesifazane omncane, ingage lokho kutshengisa amandla obudoda bakho na?
3. Ingabe uyadinwa yini uma ubona intombi yakho ikhuluma nabanye abantu?
4. Ingabe yini elindeleke ukuthi yenziwe nguwe kulobudlelwane eninabo?
5. Ingabe yena uzizwa kunjani ngawe?
6. Ingabe wena uzizwa kunjani ngaye?

**Ukubonelelana:**

1. Yini oke umuphe yona?
2. Chaza ukuthi umunikeza kunjani futhi kuphi nendawo?
3. Yini akupha yona yena ngokumupha kwakho lokho osuke umunikeze kona?

**Ezocansi:**

1. Ingabe ukusebenzisa 1-condom kunesidingo na?
2. Ingabe uyakugquguzela ukusetshenziswa kwama-condom?
3. Wenza njani lapho yena engafuni ukuya ocansini nawe kodwa lapho wena unesifiso sokuya ocansini?
4. Ingabe ulifuna ngodlame noma ngendluzula ucansi na?
5. Ingabe uyawasebenzisa ngendlela efanele amandla onawo kulobudlelwane eninabo na?
6. Ubani inhloko yalobudlelwane?

**Ukuzivikela, Ukukhulelwa nezifo Zocansi (STI's):**

1. Ingabe yini oyoyenza uma uthol ukuthi lona othandana naye ukhulelwe?
2. Ingabe uyazivikela yini wena kwizifo zocansi?
3. Ukhathezekile ngezifo zocansi na?

**Imibono Yomphakathi, Yomndeni Nabangani Bakho:**

1. Ingabe umndeni wakho, nabangani bakhi bayazi ngobudlelwane onabo nabanye besifazane?

2. Ingabe ubaba wakho noma omunye umuntu wesilisa okhona emndenini osekhule njengawe owake waibandakanya kubudlelwane nowesifazane osemncane na?
3. Ucabanga ukuthi bathini abantu emphakathini ngawe nobudlelwane onabo nabesifazane abasebancane ngeminyaka?
4. Bangaki abangani bakho abaziyo ngalobudlelwane onabo naye lona wesifazane osemnoane, kanti futhi yimiphi imibono abanayo ngalokhu na?

## ***APPENDIX G: THE KEY INFORMANT***

2 November 2015

The HSSREC  
University of KwaZulu Natal  
School of Social Science  
South Africa

Consent as Key Informant and Gatekeeper: R Jeawon 9407139

This serves to confirm that I, Mike Maphoto, has consented to assist Ms. R. Jeawon with the recruitment of participants for her research.

As the key informant I will be able to grant Ms. Jeawon 'entry' into the sample community. I am the writer of six blogs; Diary of a Zulu Girl, Confessions of a Sugar Baby, Missteps Of A Young Wife, Rumblings of a baby Mama, Memoirs of a Tired Black Man and Realities. I am also a recipient of the Bookmark Award for Best Blogger as well as a Tedex Speaker. I am well known to the men engaging in transactional sex with younger women. I have interviewed the men (and the women) for my blogs and published two of my books, entitled Diary of a Zulu Girl and Confessions of a Sugar Baby.

I have conducted (non-academic) work with 'sugar daddies' and have consented to assist by helping to recruit and grant access to the sample of participants. All participants have been informed of Ms. Jeawon's study and have agreed to assist Ms. Jeawon with her research.

This letter of consent is in agreement that I hereby act as a key informant and gatekeeper to Ms. Jeawon.

Please do not hesitate to contact me should you any further queries.

Yours sincerely

Mike Maphoto  
0835905147  
0793765767

DIARY OF A ZULU GIRL PTY LTD 2013/296172/07

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## APPENDIX H: ETHICAL CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE



19 November 2015

Ms Rosheena Jeawon 9407139  
School of Social Sciences  
Howard College Campus

Dear Ms Jeawon

Protocol Reference Number: HSS/1144/015D

Project Title: The bitter sweet reality: Sugar-daddy relationships and the construction of traditional African masculinities

### Full Approval – Committee Reviewed Protocol

With regard to your response received on 4 November 2015 to our letter 9 October 2015, the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application and the protocol have been granted **FULL APPROVAL**

Any alterations to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project; Location of the Study, Research Approach/Methods must be reviewed and approved through an amendment /modification prior to its implementation. Please quote the above reference number for all queries relating to this study. Please note: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

The ethical clearance certificate is only valid for a period of 3 years from the date of issue. Thereafter Recertification must be applied for on an annual basis.

Best wishes for the successful completion of your research protocol.

Yours faithfully

.....  
Dr Shenuka Singh (Chair)  
Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

/pm

cc Supervisor: Dr M Naidu  
cc Academic Leader Research: Professor Sabine Marschall  
cc School Administrators: Ms Nonhlanhla Radebe

---

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