Intergenerational sexual relationships in urban Botswana

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Abstract

This thesis describes the prevalence, determinants and dynamics of intergenerational sexual relationships in urban Botswana. The study was conducted in three stages, the survey, in-depth interviews and radio talk-back. The survey was conducted with schoolgirls in all four public senior secondary schools in Gaborone, Botswana. The survey was completed first before proceeding to the other two stages. However, the last two stages were done concurrently.

A quantitative survey was conducted with 600 schoolgirls (18-22-year-olds) in order to establish their sexual practices, find out the prevalence of intergenerational sexual relationships among them and find out their perceptions regarding intergenerational sexual relationships. More than three-quarters of the participants had boyfriends in their age group and about one-quarter of those who were approached by older men had older boyfriends. The results revealed the practice of multiple sexual partners both in intragenerational and intergenerational sexual relationships. The issue of multiple sexual partners has been identified to be one of the factors that fuel STI/HIV infections. Girls who were in intergenerational sexual relationships have positive perceptions and attitudes towards them. However, the majority of the girls did not perceive such relationships as good. They associated them with the danger of engaging in unprotected sex and thus a greater risk of contracting STI/HIV.

Schoolgirls who were in intergenerational sexual relationships and those who were approached by older men but declined to have sex with them were considered to be eligible for the interviews. There were 52 girls who were in current sexual relationships with older men and 178 who were approached by older men to have sex with them but declined. Interviews were conducted with 40 girls in order to explore the reasons for intergenerational sexual relationships, to identify how young women negotiated their relationships, to find out the risk and protective factors for sexual relationships among girls who were involved with older men and those who resisted intergenerational sexual relationships. The receiving of gifts and its impact on decision-making was also explored. Three groups of girls among the interviewees emerged. There were those in
intergenerational sexual relationships who enjoyed good loving, and pleasurable relationships with their older boyfriends. They reported that their relationships were characterized by love and equal partnership. They used their personal and interpersonal power effectively. Another set of girls were those in intergenerational sexual relationships but who had little or no decision-making power. They did not enjoy good and loving relationships with their older boyfriends because the relationships were characterized by coercion and manipulation. Negotiation for condom use was difficult for these girls. Some experienced coerced unprotected sex which resulted in pregnancy and STI.

The last group of girls were resisters. The findings indicate that these girls believe in themselves and know that they have the power to choose to say no if they don’t want something. Most preferred to have sexual relationships with their age mates and all refused to enter intergenerational sexual relationships. They were able to keep older men out of their sexual lives and demonstrated competency and self-efficacy in that area. Some refrained from both intra-generational and intergenerational intimate relationships. Most of these girls indicated that they have positive self-esteem, self confidence, contentment and the ability to resist peer pressure. They perceived intergenerational sex as risky and as a result they refrained from it. Most have professional ambitions in life and they did not want those personal academic ambitions to be hampered by pregnancy or HIV infection. Factors that were found to be protective against girls entering intergenerational sexual relationships included personal preference, positive self-worth, acceptance of one’s economic circumstances, knowledge of sexual risks, socio-cultural factors, support and encouragement, school connectedness and religiosity.

The fact that sexual relationships are inherently dyadic interactions required that men be included in the current study which explored the dynamics of sexual relationships. However, because it was not easy to recruit older men who engaged in sexual relationships with schoolgirls in Botswana, a radio talk-back was considered to be the only viable alternative method of reaching men who could talk freely through an anonymous medium. Two radio talk back sessions were conducted with the aim of gathering men's views on intergenerational sexual relationships. The callers were asked
whether they thought intergenerational sexual relationships were prevalent in Botswana or not and they were further asked what they thought the reasons for such relationships were. The callers were also asked if they thought intergenerational sexual relationships could contribute to the spread of HIV/AIDS in Botswana and were further requested to explain their answers. Although the location of the study for the schoolgirls was Gaborone, the public called from all parts of Botswana. They were 56 callers, 38 men and 18 women. It is important to note that the radio talk-back method was successful in eliciting the views of some men who were actually involved in intergenerational sexual relationships. Of the 38 men who called, seven reported that they were in intergenerational sexual relationships. All members of the public who called said that intergenerational sexual relationships exist in Botswana. Most of the determinants of intergenerational sexual relationships were considered by the majority of the callers to be also associated with lack of condom use which contributes to the spread of HIV infection. The findings from both radio talk-back sessions and the interviews indicated that intergenerational sexual relationships were mostly transactional and that men were not willing to use condoms after they have given their young partners some valuable gifts and services.

The findings revealed gender differences in the way callers view sexual relationships between older men and schoolgirls. On the one hand most likely because of the Botswana patriarchal society in which the socio-cultural and economic situation favours males and allows them to have many sexual partners, most male callers did not see anything wrong when older men use their socio-economic power to manipulate girls into getting in sexual relationships with them. Most of these male callers did not blame older men for engaging in sexual relationships with schoolgirls. Their argument was that these girls are not forced into these relationships as they are also willing parties. Some male callers blamed the schoolgirls for pursuing older men for their money instead of blaming the older men who use their money and power to exploit girls who are economically and socially disadvantaged.

On the other hand, most female callers considered intergenerational sexual relationships as exploitative, oppressive and abusive due to what they considered as older men’s abuse
of their social standing and financial power to entice schoolgirls into these relationships. These women regard men as irresponsible because, instead of being mentors to the girls, they coerced them into sexual encounters which sometimes spoil their futures by making them pregnant or infecting them with HIV.

From the survey, in-depth interviews and radio talk-back sessions it was found that material and financial gain was the main motivating factor for intergenerational sexual relationships. However Botswana girls did not need the money and material items for survival purposes as was the case with the girls in other studies in the sub-Saharan African region. They used the money for entertainment and ‘nonessentials’. Loss of religious beliefs, loss of cultural values, the myth of self-cleansing when having sex with a virgin and the myth of stimulation of older men’s sexual drive when they have sex with girls or young women were raised by the callers as the motivating factors for older men to seek after young girls as sexual partners.
Declaration

This certifies that

(i) this thesis comprises only my original work towards the PhD except the survey questionnaire tool which was adapted as indicated in Chapter Three

(ii) due acknowledgement has been made in the text to all other material used

(iii) this thesis has not been submitted for the award of any degree or diploma in any other tertiary institution

(iv) the thesis is less than 100,000 words in length, exclusive of tables, maps bibliographies and appendices

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Josephine Mmanchibidu Nkosana

Date: _________________________________________________________
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<table>
<thead>
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<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AIDS</td>
<td>Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AU</td>
<td>African Union</td>
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<td>ARV</td>
<td>Anti-retroviral</td>
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<tr>
<td>BIDPA</td>
<td>Botswana Institute for Development Policy Analysis</td>
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<td>BORECC</td>
<td>Botshabelo Rehab Crisis Centre</td>
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<td>BDP</td>
<td>Botswana Democratic Party</td>
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<td>CWC</td>
<td>Child welfare care</td>
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<td>CIA</td>
<td>Central Intelligence Agency</td>
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<td>CSO</td>
<td>Central Statistics Office</td>
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<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HREC</td>
<td>Human Research Ethics Committee</td>
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<td>HIV</td>
<td>Human Immuno-deficiency Virus</td>
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<td>IEC</td>
<td>Information, Education and Communication</td>
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<tr>
<td>IHS</td>
<td>Institute of Health Sciences</td>
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<td>IMF</td>
<td>International Monetary Fund</td>
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<tr>
<td>KCWHS</td>
<td>Key Centre for Women’s Health in Society</td>
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<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>Male</td>
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<tr>
<td>MCH</td>
<td>Maternal and Child Health</td>
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<td>MCH/FP</td>
<td>Maternal and Child Health and Family Planning</td>
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<td>MIFRS</td>
<td>Melbourne International Fee Remission Scholarship</td>
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<tr>
<td>MIRS</td>
<td>Melbourne International Research Scholarship</td>
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<tr>
<td>NACA</td>
<td>National AIDS Coordinating Agency</td>
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<td>NACP</td>
<td>National AIDS Control Programme</td>
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<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Full Form</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non Governmental Organisation</td>
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<tr>
<td>PLS</td>
<td>Plain Language Statement</td>
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<td>PHIRST</td>
<td>Population Health Investing in Research Students’ Training</td>
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<td>PORES</td>
<td>Postgraduate Overseas Research Experience Scholarship</td>
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<td>PNC</td>
<td>Post Natal Care</td>
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<td>PMTCT</td>
<td>Prevention of Mother to Child Transmission</td>
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<td>RB2</td>
<td>Radio Botswana Station 2</td>
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<td>SAfAIDS</td>
<td>Southern Africa AIDS Information Dissemination Service</td>
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<tr>
<td>SIAPAC</td>
<td>Social Impact Assessment and Policy Analysis Corporation</td>
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<td>SWD</td>
<td>Social Welfare Division of Botswana</td>
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<tr>
<td>SACU</td>
<td>Southern African Customs Union</td>
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<tr>
<td>SADC</td>
<td>Southern African Development Community</td>
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<tr>
<td>STI</td>
<td>Sexual Transmitted Infections</td>
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<td>TV</td>
<td>Television</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNAIDS</td>
<td>Joint UN Programme on HIV/AIDS</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Programme</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNICEF</td>
<td>United Nations Children’s Fund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US</td>
<td>United States</td>
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<tr>
<td>VCT</td>
<td>Voluntary Counselling and Testing</td>
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<tr>
<td>WHO</td>
<td>World Health Organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>WTO</td>
<td>World Trade Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YMCW</td>
<td>Young Multiethnic College Women</td>
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<td>ZAPU</td>
<td>Zimbabwe African People Union</td>
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Chapter One
The context of the study

This chapter provides the context of the study by indicating the association between intergenerational sex and HIV/AIDS and gives a synopsis of Botswana which includes the physical features of the country, its population size and its political and socioeconomic system. The unique situation of Botswana in terms of these aspects is emphasized and is considered as providing the rationale for the study. The socio-cultural relational norms and practices of the country are briefly described.

1.1 The association between intergenerational sex and HIV/AIDS

Sexual relations between adolescent girls/young women and older male partners have become a growing concern in sub-Saharan Africa because of the Human Immuno-deficiency Virus (HIV) and Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) scourge. The studies conducted in this region on intergenerational sexual relations revealed that there was a significant relationship between unsafe sexual behaviours, increased risk of HIV infection, and intergenerational sex (Luke 2003; Longfield, Glick et al. 2004; Machel, 2001; Mpangile, Leshabari et al. 1993; Rasch, Silberschmidt et al. 2000; Rivers and Aggleton 2001; Silberschmidt and Rasch 2001). These sexual relationships therefore have been implicated in the spread of HIV in sub-Saharan Africa (Amuyunzu-Nyamongo, Tendo-Wambua et al. 1999; Atilberg, Jylkas et al. 2001; DiClemente, Wingood et al. 2002; Luke and Kurz 2002; Rivers and Aggleton 2001; UNAIDS 2001; UNDP 2000; UNAIDS 2002; UNAIDS 2002a; Webb 1997).

An estimated 7.3 million young women were living with HIV/AIDS, compared to 4.5 million young men in 2002 (UNICEF, UNAIDS et al. 2002). It was also reported that in major urban areas of eastern and southern Africa, epidemiological studies have shown that 17 to 22 percent of girls aged 15 to 19 were already HIV infected compared with 3 to 7 percent of boys of similar ages. In Ethiopia, Malawi, the United Republic of Tanzania,
Zambia and Zimbabwe, for every 15- to 19-year-old boy who is infected, there are five to six girls infected in the same age group (UNICEF, UNAIDS et al. 2002). According to Mookodi, Ntshebe et al. (2004), the HIV infection rates in Botswana are now estimated to be nine times higher in females than males in the age group 15-19 years.

In 2005, 17.5 million [16.2-19.3 million] women were living with HIV globally, and that is an increase of one million more than in 2003 (UNAIDS and WHO 2005). Of this, 13.5 (77%) million live in the sub-Saharan African region (UNAIDS and WHO 2005). In several Southern African countries, more than three-quarters of all young people living with HIV are women (Reproductive Health Research Unit 2004). The overall figures in sub-Saharan Africa indicate that young women between 15-24 years old are at least three times more likely to be HIV-positive than young men (UNAIDS and WHO 2004). Among this age group, an estimated 4.6 percent [4.2-5.5%] of women and 1.7 percent [1.3-2.2%] of men were living with HIV in 2005 (UNAIDS and WHO 2005).

UNICEF, UNAIDS et al. (2002) argue that this indicated a ‘sexual mixing’ pattern whereby older men are having sex with young girls. UNAIDS (2000: 48) states,

“if the girls’ sole sex partners were boys of their age, they would run little risk of becoming infected; .... However, girls also have sex with older men—men who therefore tend to be more heavily infected than younger males”.

Poverty has been identified as one of the factors that constrained girls and young women into entering intergenerational sexual relationships. It has been reported that girls and young women living in poverty are often enticed or coerced into having sex with someone older, wealthier or in a position of authority, such as an employer, schoolteacher, in order to support themselves and their families (Bagnol and Chamo 2004; Machel 2001; UNICEF, UNAIDS et al. 2002). Societal crises such as hardships and wars have been identified as some of the factors that can compel girls and young women to exchange sex for survival more especially with older men (Collins and Toure’ 2004).
1.2 Synopsis of Botswana

This section gives a brief description of Botswana; for a detailed coverage see Appendix 1.

1.2.1 Physical features

Botswana, 582,000 square kilometres in size, is a Republic lying at the centre of the Southern African Plateau. It is at a mean altitude of 1,000 meters above sea level and is bordered by the Republic of South Africa, Namibia, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Approximately seventy-five percent of Botswana lies to the north of the Tropic of Capricorn (Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, 2003). Figure 1 below shows Botswana's location within southern Africa.

Figure 1: Botswana’s location within southern Africa.

Source: http://www.geni.org/globalenergy/
1.2.2 Population

The population of Botswana is concentrated in the southern east parts of the country, which is more suited for arable production due to relatively more favourable climatic and social conditions. The 2001 Population and Housing Census yielded a population count of 1,680,863 (Central Statistics Office (CSO), 2001). The population growth rate in Botswana has been declining over the years. While the AIDS pandemic might have contributed somewhat to the decline in recent years, it must be noted that there was a decline also during the pre-HIV/AIDS era (Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, 2003). Factors such as declining fertility rates, increased female participation in economic activities, increased literacy rates, and access to better health care are among those factors attributed to the decline in population growth (Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, 2003).

1.2.3 Political system, economy and social services

Botswana, a multi-party democracy, has held elections every five years since 1965 (Stedman 1993; Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, 2003) and has enjoyed four decades of uninterrupted civilian leadership, progressive social policies, and a significant capital investment which have created one of the most dynamic economies in Africa (Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), 2005). Botswana, with a relatively healthy economy, has been able to achieve levels of social service delivery denied to many in developing countries, particularly in Africa. Since 1966, stringent efforts have been made to see to it that everyone, however poor and wherever she/he lives, can have his/her health looked after, see their children go to school, drink clean water and in extreme situations, obtain relief from actual starvation (National AIDS Coordinating Agency (NACA), 2005). The government of Botswana provides free education and free health care services and has well established social welfare services for the poor, the elderly and orphans (De Korte, Mazonde et al., 2004; Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, 2003).
Teenage pregnancy continues to be one of the major sexual and reproductive health concerns, with 17 percent of teenage girls becoming mothers and over 85 percent of these pregnancies being unplanned. This is particularly worrying in this era of high HIV prevalence among young people. Moreover, the relatively high incidence of teenage pregnancy continues to jeopardise the future of young girls. Pregnancy among teenagers interferes with their education prospects and consequently, the potential for productive life. Lower levels of education have been associated with higher poverty levels (Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, 2003).

Adolescents in Botswana are faced with multiple sexual and reproductive health problems, including HIV/AIDS, unplanned pregnancies and unsafe abortions (Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, 2003; NACA, 2005). Between 1995 and 2000, national sentinel surveys among pregnant women have consistently recorded HIV prevalence of over 20 percent among 15-19 year-old adolescents (Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, 2003; NACA, 2005). For every one adolescent boy, there were four adolescent girls infected with HIV in Botswana. According to Mookodi, Ntsebe et al. (2004) HIV infection rates have further increased for females compared with males among 15-19-year-olds. For a country with a young age structure of 37 percent of the total population below the age of 15 years, and the population aged 65 years and over constituting only 5 percent, the disproportion in HIV risk of infection is a cause for concern (Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, 2003; NACA, 2005). It is worth mentioning that access to youth friendly reproductive health services is limited. However, with the current efforts to reorient the Maternal Child Health and Family Planning (MCH/FP) programme to the Sexual and Reproductive Health Programmes, many of these concerns are being addressed (Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, 2003).
1.3 Socio-cultural relational norms and practices

1.3.1 Interaction between the young and the old

In typical traditional Tswana culture all people of your parents’ generation are considered as your parents, and you are expected to treat them as such. They are also expected to treat you as their child. Young people are expected to give their parents great respect and honour irrespective of whether they are their biological parents or just other elderly people in the community. Schapera (1939:256) says that young men and young women during initiation ceremonies (formal Tswana education) were taught “to honour and ungrudgingly obey their parents and other elders”. This deference and veneration of older people by young people entails the young people not being able to freely disagree or argue with an older person in any interaction between the two. Young people are not even expected to answer back or comment, except when invited, if they do not agree with an older person. Alverson (1978:68), referring to traditional Tswana child rearing practices, observes that “much of child training consists in imparting the etiquette that an older individual feels should govern how a junior person acts towards a senior person”. Tabulawa (1997) also asserts that according to Tswana tradition a good child must display docility, obedience and submissiveness towards older people. This puts young people at a disadvantage when they deal with older people, since they are denied the freedom of expressing their views freely when dealing with them.

The situation described above indicates that people who live according to the Tswana culture are socialised to believe that young people should have little say when dealing with older people. Older people do not expect young people to have much input in decisions that jointly impact both parties. They have a tendency to make decisions for the young and expect them to accept those decisions without question. This state of affairs emanates from the fact that in most African cultures adults and elderly people are believed to be custodians of knowledge and wisdom (Oduaran, 2003). This has given older people social power in the society which is sometimes abused. Even though this tradition is slowly being eroded there are many people who still hold to it. Mompati and
Prinsen (2000) argue that age and gender in Botswana, remain culturally significant cleavages with the traditional veneration of the elderly.

The current situation in Botswana could be said to be a little more complex than it was in the past in the sense that it is not easy to identify the typical traditional Tswana culture. While people in the rural areas still hold to a modified form of the typical Tswana culture, in which the young venerate older people, many of those in urban areas no longer hold to this tradition. Some young people have no problems with freely expressing their views even when dealing with older people and some older people also have no problem with young people who are able to express divergent views. However some, even in urban areas, still hold to the traditional norms and do not expect their own children to openly disagree with them and are saddened by what they consider to be disrespectful young people who openly challenge their elders.

There is yet a third group who neither hold to typical traditional Tswana culture nor fully embraced the modified one. What such people do is fluctuate between the two ‘cultures’ by appealing to one which favours them at that particular point in time. Therefore it is not uncommon in Botswana to meet a person who at one point supports his/her actions by appealing to the traditional Tswana culture and at another disregarding cultural expectations or requirements. In other words they exploit the fluid nature of the present Botswana culture.

1.3 2 Intimate relationships

In the typical traditional Tswana culture, like in most African countries, girls and women are socialised to be submissive to men in general and to their sexual male partners in particular (Goosen and Klugman, 1996; Machel 2001; Manzini 2001; Mgalla, Schapink et al. 2001; Molokomme, 1990; Schapera, 1939; Schapera and Comaroff, 1991; Rivers and Aggleton, 2001). They are not even expected to question their partners’ behaviour (Ministry of Labour and HomeAffairs, 1999). There is a Tswana proverb which says “monna ga a botswe kwa a tswang teng” which means that ‘a man should not be asked about his where abouts’. This implies that even if a man comes home late or spends the night out his wife is not expected to question him about that. This is a common cultural
practice. The Gender Links and the Women’s NGO Coalition (Botswana), (2002:16) has this to say on this issue; “when a woman gets married she is counselled. The counselling is centred around telling the new wife not to offend her husband by asking him where he has been when he comes home late or when he spends the night out she is supposed to be eternally grateful that he has come back to her.”

According to typical traditional Tswana culture women are expected to be younger than their sexual partners and this tends to further disempower them in a culture where the younger are expected to honour the older. In the olden days when polygamy was practiced, the younger wives of a man could be as young as his older children from his first wife. However, since the disappearance of polygamy except in very isolated cases, marital infidelity in many African marriages has increased. According to Schapera (1970) where polygamy is no longer common the consequences has been the spread of concubinage. Many men now have mistresses whom formerly they might have married.

The tendency by older men to marry or have extra-marital relationships with girls and women who are much younger than themselves is connected to the belief among Batswana traditional men that girls or young women can cleanse and/or rekindle or revitalise the sexual life of an older man who is no longer sexually vibrant. Mandevu (1995) states that there is a belief among traditional Batswana men that sex with young girls will cleanse or rejuvenate an older man. It is believed that when the older man sees the beautifully formed body and firm breasts of the girl his sluggish sexual life would be recharged. However the traditional practice of men marrying women who are much younger than themselves is slowly fading away, though the tendency of men to have extra-marital relationships with girls or women who are much younger than themselves persists. Nevertheless, even though sexual relationships across generations are generally accepted, sexual relationships between older men and schoolgirls are not accepted by both the government and the general public. The public believes that if you are still a pupil at primary or secondary school you are still a minor. Students in primary and secondary school are not allowed to get married while they are still at school by the government of Botswana even if they are old enough to do so.
The above situation clearly indicates not only the disadvantaged position of the young but gender inequality against women and in favour of men. Women, according to typical traditional Tswana culture, were considered as minors and the men, either their fathers if they were not married or husbands if married, made decisions on their behalf (Schapera, 1939, 1970; Molokomme, 1984, 1988). That was why men could marry other women and the first wife did not have any power to refuse even if she did not want. Even after independence the laws of the country still discriminated against women in that a married woman could not do certain things without her husband giving her permission. She could not, for instance, obtain a loan from the bank without her husband giving her permission as she was treated as a minor who was under the care of her husband (Molokomme, 1988). The husband was required to sign the loan documents for the loan application to be considered. Molokomme (1988:10) argued that “such a woman may not obtain credit from financial institutions without the assistance or consent of her husband”. Molokomme (1990) further asserts that under customary law, women are subjected to male guardianship all their lives.

There are, however, women's groups that are challenging this cultural and economic exploitation of women (e.g. Women's NGO Coalition: Emang Basadi Women Association, Methaetsile, Women in law and development, and DITSHWANELO-The Botswana Centre for Human Rights). The Botswana government through its Women Affairs Department (WAD) is supporting this movement (Ministry of Labour and Home Affairs, 1998, 1999, 2000). These groups are fighting hard to bring about gender equity and equality. They are working hard to empower women to be more assertive when it comes to decision-making (Botswana National Council of Women, 2001; Emang Basadi Women's Association, 1998, 1999; Ministry of Labour and Home Affairs, 1999; UNAIDS, 1999).

The efforts of these women’s groups are bearing significant fruit as ‘marital power’ (the power that a husband possess over his wife as the legal head of the family) was abolished in common law marriages in late 2004, making men and women joint heads of households (Lee, 2006; DITSHWANELO-The Botswana Centre for Human Rights, 2005). Because of this law women married under the common law can now act on their
own behalf without having to ask their husbands to give them permission. They are now equal partners in marriages. McIlwane and Datta, (2004) study revealed that some of their female participants acknowledged that women’s position in Botswana’s society had improved and they identified the government and some NGOs as being responsible for promoting this change. However, it is unfortunate that the bulk of the population of Botswana is not aware of gender disparities within our society. To this traditional group what is termed gender disparities is what they have been socialised to know to be part of the Tswana culture and therefore something to be honoured and respected without being questioned. It is only a relatively small group of mostly educated people who are aware of this. Therefore even though the government has made laws that are aimed at alleviating some aspects of gender inequalities, this is not enough as a lot of education is needed to change long held cultural values and practices that are ingrained in the minds and lives of the people. Therefore mere legislation cannot instantly change values and practices, especially when they have been developed over a long time.

1.4 The unique situation of Botswana

Botswana, having negotiated its independence from Britain in 1966, has enjoyed relative peace and harmony amidst neighbouring countries that had to take up arms to fight for their freedom, which has tended to breed a culture of violence in those countries. For instance, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Angola, Mozambique and South Africa, all of which are Botswana neighbours that gained their freedom through violent armed struggles, have been plagued by violence since their independence. In Zimbabwe, for example, the government had to violently crush the so-called dissidents of the late leader of Zimbabwe African People Union (ZAPU), Joshua Nkomo, and more recently the government is facing the backlash of eviction of white farmers from their farms which has virtually destroyed the economy of that country. Botswana has experienced peace and political stability unparalleled anywhere in the region and a stable economy.

Socially, the country has not experienced many social upheavals, which expose people to exploitation, like population displacements as has happened in many of its neighbouring countries where they have been wars and economic hardships. This makes it difficult in
the case of Botswana to draw conclusions from other sub-Saharan African experiences. Furthermore, it has been argued that the contextual variables governing intergenerational sexual relationships (in regard to HIV epidemic) do not behave consistently across time and space (UNDP, 2000). However, UNDP (2000:26) continues, “when clear trends are visible elsewhere in the region, it is suggested that they be regarded as tenable assumptions in Botswana until disproved by Botswana-specific research” Published (UNDP, 2000) and unpublished (Pitso, Edmondson et al. 2000) research call for specific and systematic research in the dynamics of intergenerational sex in Botswana.

1.5 Why this research project is important

1.5.1 Rationale of the study

In light of Botswana’s unique status in relation to political stability, a relatively strong economy, free education, free health care services, free access to land ownership by both men and women and well established social welfare systems (UNDP 2000; Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, 2003; UNICEF, 2000; UNAIDS, 2003) the researcher wondered what the determinants of intergenerational sexual relationships in Botswana could be. Hitherto, trends on studies conducted on intergenerational sexual relationships drawn from elsewhere in the sub-Saharan region were applied to Botswana because there were no specific studies conducted in the country. This study fills that gap by conducting the first systematic and specific study on intergenerational sexual relationships in Botswana. It also included the community’s perspective, as well as the factors that enable some girls to resist intergenerational sex, something that is lacking in most of the studies conducted on this topic in the region.
1.5.2 Aim

To describe the prevalence, determinants and dynamics of intergenerational sexual relationships in urban Botswana

1.5.3 Objectives

1. To ascertain the prevalence of intergenerational sexual relationships among girls aged 18 years and above attending school in urban Botswana.

2. To describe the participants’ perceptions of intergenerational sexual relationships

3. To identify social, cultural and economic factors for intergenerational sexual relationships

4. To identify factors that contribute to unsafe sex practices.

5. To identify factors that help girls to resist intergenerational sexual relationships

6. To examine how and if the difference in power in sexual relationships can affect decision making of partners.

7. To ascertain community views regarding intergenerational sexual relationships.

1.5.4 Significance of the study

The findings of this study will contribute to knowledge on the prevalence, determinants and dynamics of intergenerational sex as well as on the protective factors against intergenerational sexual relationships among girls aged 18-21 years attending school in urban Botswana. A number of health-education campaigns, behavioural and community programmes have been designed in several African countries—including Uganda, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Nigeria, Ghana and Gambia warning young girls against the dangers of intergenerational sexual relationships (Nyanzi and Nyanzi-Wakholi, 2004). These programmes were informed by the findings of studies conducted in those countries on ‘sugar-daddies’. Such findings enabled policy makers and programme designers to
design relevant programmes for their young women. The findings of this study will inform health promotion policy and health care planners to design appropriate Information, Education and Communication (IEC) materials targeting young women to practice safe sex in Botswana, particularly in relation to intergenerational sex. The research findings will also enable planners to design programs which assist young girls resist intergenerational sexual relationships.

1.6 Chapter outline

The thesis consists of eight chapters. Chapter one has discussed the context of the study and has briefly described Botswana’s physical features and population, its economy and political system, education system, health care and social welfare services. It has also provided the cultural context and in particular the cultural norms and practices that affect social relationships in Botswana.

Chapter two reviews the literature and spells out the theoretical framework of the study. Specifically it gives an overview of the global HIV/AIDS situation; a brief summary on the HIV/AIDS situation in Sub-Saharan Africa and the HIV/AIDS situation in Botswana is given. It describes women’s and girls’ vulnerability to HIV infection and relates this to biological and anatomical factors, cultural factors and economic factors. Studies conducted on intergenerational sex are examined in this chapter. The power dynamics and empowerment theory is also described and related to intergenerational sexual relationships. Chapter three describes the research design and procedures employed in this project. It explains how the methods were selected, how the data collection instruments were developed and pilot tested. It also describes the sampling, recruitment, administration of questionnaires, how the interviews were conducted and how the radio talk back sessions were conducted. Data management and analysis is also discussed.

Chapter four reports quantitative research results. It describes the characteristics of the participants, their perceptions of intergenerational sexual relationships, their sexual relationships experiences, and intergenerational sexual relationships in particular. The results are discussed and conclusions are drawn. Chapter five deals with qualitative
research findings for schoolgirls who were in intergenerational sexual relationships and the findings are reported and interpreted according to themes. They are discussed in detail and conclusions are made. Chapter six discusses qualitative research findings for 25 schoolgirls who were approached but declined to have sex with older men. The factors which made them resist are reported and discussed according to themes. Chapter seven discusses the views of the community members regarding the prevalence, determinants and general dynamics of intergenerational sexual relationships. They are also discussed in themes and some comparisons are made across the results. The final chapter integrates the findings and provides some recommendations for policy and practice.
Chapter Two

Intergenerational sexual relationships: Fuel for the HIV/AIDS Epidemic?

This chapter reviews the literature and spells out the theoretical framework of the study. It first discusses the concern about intergenerational sexual relationships between adolescent girls and older men which are believed to contribute to the spread of HIV infection across generations. It provides an overview of the global HIV/AIDS situation, a brief summary on the HIV/AIDS situation in Sub-Saharan Africa, and the HIV/AIDS situation in Botswana. It describes women’s and girls’ vulnerability to HIV infection and relates this to biological and anatomical factors, cultural factors and economic factors. It examines the HIV risk behaviour of young people globally, regionally and in Botswana. Selected studies on intergenerational sex are examined. It briefly examines adolescent risk and protective factors in the context of adolescent sexual behaviour. Finally, the empowerment theory and the dynamics of intergenerational sexual relationships are described.

There is a growing concern in sub-Saharan Africa about sexual relations between adolescent girls and older male partners. Although sexual relationships between young women/girls and older men are not a new phenomenon globally and in the sub-Saharan region in particular, they have now become a concern because of the HIV/AIDS scourge. Intergenerational sexual relationships have been implicated in the spread of HIV in sub-Saharan Africa. While, in itself, the phenomenon of ‘sugar daddies’ does not automatically lead to HIV, the unequal power relations inherent in those sexual relationships make it difficult for young women and girls to negotiate with older men the use of condoms, thus predisposing them to HIV infection (Jewkes, Vundule et al., 2001; Kambou, Shah et al., 1998).

To appreciate the seriousness of the HIV/AIDS epidemic, in which it is argued that intergenerational sex plays a significant part, a brief overview of the epidemic in the world, sub-Saharan Africa, and Botswana is given.
2.1 HIV/AIDS

2.1.1 Brief overview of HIV/AIDS

In 2003 it was estimated that 46 million people in the world were infected with HIV (UNAIDS and WHO, 2003). It is now reported that 40.3 million [36.7-45.3 million] people are living with HIV worldwide (UNAIDS and WHO, 2005). The increase in the proportion of women being affected by the epidemic continues. In 2005, 17.5 million [16.2-19.3 million] women were living with HIV globally, and that was an increase of one million more than in 2003 (UNAIDS and WHO, 2005). Most young women had acquired the virus through heterosexual intercourse (UNAIDS and WHO, 2002, 2005).

2.1.2 Sub-Saharan Africa

Sub-Saharan Africa remains by far the region most affected by the HIV/AIDS epidemic (UNAIDS and WHO, 2003, 2005). In 2003, an estimated 26.6 million people were living with HIV, including the 3.2 million who became infected during the past year. UNAIDS and WHO (2005) reported that now the region is home for 25.8 million [23.8-28.9 million] people living with HIV. Two-thirds of all people living with HIV are in sub-Saharan Africa. Of 17.5 million HIV positive women, 13.5 (77%) million live in this region (UNAIDS and WHO, 2005). HIV prevalence varies considerably across the continent. In Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia and Swaziland, HIV prevalence has reached extremely high levels, often exceeding 30 percent among pregnant women. In several Southern African countries, more than three-quarters of all young people living with HIV are women (UNAIDS/WHO: Reproductive Health Research Unit, 2004). In 2002 it was estimated that 10 million young people (aged 15-24) and almost 3 million children under 15 years were living with HIV (UNAIDS, 2002). The overall figures in sub-Saharan Africa indicate that young women between 15-24 years old are at least three times more likely to be HIV-positive than young men (UNAIDS and WHO 2004). Among this age group, an estimated 4.6% [4.2-5.5%] of women and 1.7% [1.3-2.2%] of men were living with HIV in 2005 (UNAIDS and WHO, 2005).
Figure 2 below shows HIV prevalence among 15-24 year-old men and women, from selected countries in sub-Saharan Africa, between 2001 and 2005.

**Figure 2:** HIV prevalence among 15-24 year-old men and women, selected countries in sub-Saharan Africa, between 2001 and 2005.


The above figure indicates the disproportionate HIV prevalence among boys and girls (15-24 years old) in most of the countries in sub-Saharan Africa. These disparities have been attributed to ‘sexual mixing’ pattern whereby older men are having sex with young girls (Laga, Schwartlander et al., 2001; Gregson, Nyamukapa et al., 2002; Kelly, Gray et al., 2003; MacPhail, Williams et al., 2002; UNDP, 2000; UNICEF, 2002). This has made girls and young women in particular an essential focus of HIV prevention efforts (UNAIDS and WHO, 2002, 2005)
Uganda continues to provide evidence that the epidemic does yield to human intervention. HIV infections appear to be on the decline in several parts of the country—as shown by the steady drop in HIV prevalence among 15–19-year-old pregnant women. Trends in behavioural indicators are in line with this apparent decline in HIV incidence. Condom use by single women aged 15–24 almost doubled between 1995 and 2000/2001, and more women in that age group delayed sexual intercourse or abstained entirely (Mbulaiteye, Mahe et al., 2002; UNAIDS, 2002; Whitworth, Mahe et al., 2002). The declines observed in Uganda and more recently in Kenya and Zimbabwe confirm that the epidemic in Africa can respond to specific HIV-related intervention (UNAIDS and WHO, 2005).

2.1.3 HIV/AIDS in Botswana

HIV prevalence in Botswana’s 1.7 million population (CSO, 2001) remains among the highest in the world. In 1997, the median HIV prevalence among pregnant women in urban areas was 38.5 percent and in 2001 it rose to 44.9 percent (UNAIDS, 2002a). A trend analysis of antenatal clinic sites in Botswana between 1997 and 2002 found that HIV prevalence among pregnant women was levelling at almost 40% in Gaborone (UNAIDS, 2003). An estimated 37.4 percent HIV prevalence was reported in 2003 for pregnant women aged 15-49 years seeking antenatal care (NACA, 2003). AIDS Epidemic Updates estimated national HIV prevalence in Botswana to be almost 40 percent (UNAIDS and WHO, 2003). The HIV prevalence in Botswana has been estimated using figures derived from ante-natal clinic data. Data from a new household survey have given hope that the country’s epidemic might be smaller than previously indicated (NACA, 2005). The survey estimated that 25 percent of 15-49 year-olds were living with HIV which is considerably lower than the 37 percent estimate derived from sentinel surveillance data (UNAIDS and WHO 2004).

However, the national HIV prevalence among pregnant women has stayed between 35 percent and 37 percent since 2001. UNAIDS and WHO (2003, 2005) states that Botswana data do not show any signs of decline in HIV prevalence among young pregnant women aged 15-24. Although HIV prevalence among this group neither
decreases nor increases, there is an emerging HIV prevalence pattern among the 25 year olds and older. HIV prevalence has been rising constantly since 1992 and reached 43 percent in 2003 when last measured (UNAIDS and WHO, 2005). The NACA (2005) household survey revealed high infection levels among older men and women. HIV prevalence among the 45-49 years old was estimated at 29 percent, and 21 percent for those in their early 50s. Botswana is one of the worst HIV/AIDS affected countries in the sub-Saharan region and in the world at large. Botswana data on HIV and AIDS suggest that, as in other countries in the region, girls are more susceptible to HIV infections than boys (UNDP, 2000; UNICEF, 2000; NACA, 2001, 2003).

According to Macdonald (1996) the rapid transmission of HIV in Botswana has been due to three main factors: the position of women in society, particularly their lack of power in negotiating sexual relationships; cultural attitudes to fertility; and social migration patterns. Macdonald further argues that this has resulted in a constellation of factors unique to Botswana which accounts for the current high seroprevalence rate in the country (Macdonald, 1996). Culture, gender inequality, poverty, stigma, denial, population mobility and urbanisation have been identified as some of the factors related to the spread of HIV infection in Botswana (UNDP 2000, 2001).

The primary HIV/AIDS prevention strategies in Botswana include Information, Education and Communication (IEC), Prevention of Mother To Child Transmission (PMTCT) and safe sex practices. The emphasis in the last is placed on condom use. Voluntary Counselling and Testing (VCT) is encouraged. Since 2004 the government of Botswana has introduced Routine HIV Testing (RHT) in prenatal and other health-care settings (Seipone and Ntumy, et al., 2004) as a measure to increase the number of people who know their status at early stages and to increase the utilization of available programmes and services. Anti-retroviral (ARV) treatment is available free of charge to all Botswana citizens who need it (UNAIDS and WHO, 2002, 2003). However, according to UNAIDS and WHO (2005) only one-third of the people in need of ARV therapy are receiving it in Botswana.
National surveys and reports have shown that although people in Botswana are knowledgeable about the importance of condom use in relation to HIV/AIDS prevention, use of condoms is low in spite of the fact that they are distributed free of charge in the whole country (Meekers, Ahmed et al., 2001; Mugabe, 1997; National AIDS Control Programme (NACP), 1992; NACP 1993; NACP, 1994; NACP, 1997; Olukoya, 1999; Seboni, 1995; Social Impact Assessment and Policy Analysis Corporation (SIAPAC) 2001); SIAPAC-Africa, 1993; Yousir, 1999).

If factors that contribute to the lack of condom use are not explored and dealt with, men and boys, women and girls will not effectively protect themselves from contracting HIV/AIDS. Wingood and DiClemente (1998) have argued persuasively that the power dynamics between men and women represents an important but one of the neglected aspect of HIV/AIDS prevention for women. Pitso, Edmondson et al. (2000) also assert that gender and sexuality issues concerning the use of condom need to be thoroughly explored. For condoms to be successfully utilized, behavioural barriers must be understood in the context of real life situations and types of relationships. This notion is supported by UNAIDS and WHO’s (2005) assertion that it is important to address underlying socioeconomic and socio-cultural dynamics that create situations of vulnerability in order to initiate and/or achieve HIV declines more especially in high prevalence settings.

2.2 Factors that increase women and girls vulnerability to HIV infection

An increasing number of women are being infected with HIV worldwide (UNAIDS and WHO, 2005). Young people are also more vulnerable to HIV infection because of their risky sexual behaviour, substance abuse, and their lack of access to HIV information and prevention services (UNAIDS, 2001). In sub-Saharan Africa, adolescent girls are six times more likely to be infected than boys of the same age (UNAIDS, 2001). Ainsworth and Over, (1997) and UNAIDS (2002a) maintain that young women are several times more likely than young men to be infected with HIV. This has been attributed to the fact that sexual activity starts earlier for women and that young women have a tendency for
engaging in sex with much older partners (UNAIDS and WHO, 2003; UNDP 2000). Wide spread inequalities including political, social, cultural and human security factors are reported to exacerbate the situation for women and girls (UNAIDS and WHO, 2005). Young women and girls are also more vulnerable than young men and boys, because of anatomical and biological factors (Iversen, Fugger et al., 1998; Laurence, 1999; UNAIDS and WHO, 2003; UNAIDS, 2002a). The situation of women and girls in Africa is exacerbated by their socio-cultural and economic factors (Petchesky and Judd, 1998; Amuyunzu-Nyamongo, Tendo-Wambua et al., 1999; Manzini, 2001; DiClemente, Wingood et al., 2002; Rasch, Silberschmidt et al., 2000; Rivers and Aggleton, 2001; SAfAIDS, 1999).

2.2.1 Biological and anatomical factors

Male-to-female HIV transmission is more likely because during vaginal intercourse a woman has a larger surface area of her genital tract exposed to her partner’s sexual secretions than does a man (Laurence, 1999; UNAIDS and WHO, 2003; Watstein and Laurich, 1991). Besides, HIV concentration is generally higher in man’s semen than in a woman’s sexual secretions (Laurence, 1999; Watstein and Laurich, 1991). Adolescent women are said to be at an even greater risk than adult women because the vagina and cervix of young women are less mature and less resistant to HIV and other STIs. Changes in the reproductive tract during puberty also make the tissue more susceptible to penetration by HIV. Moreover, hormonal changes associated with the menstrual cycle are often accompanied by a thinning of the mucus plug—the protective sealant covering the cervix and such thinning allows HIV to pass more easily. Young women produce only scant vaginal secretions, providing little barrier to HIV transmission (Berman, 1999; Iversen, 1999; Plourde, Pepin et al., 1994; Iversen, Fugger et al., 1998; Moscicki, MA et al., 2001; UNAIDS and WHO, 2002).

2.2.2. Cultural factors

In many societies, particularly in Africa, women are expected and taught to subordinate their own interests to those of their male partners (Goosen and Klugman, 1996; Machel,
With such expectations, young women often feel powerless to protect themselves against HIV infection and unintended pregnancies (Amuyunzu-Nyamongo, Tendo-Wambua et al., 1999; Machel, 2001; DiClemente, Wingood et al., 2002; SAFAIDS, 1999; Petchesky and Judd, 1998; Rasch, Silberschmidt et al., 2000). Botswana culture, like many others in the sub-Saharan region, also socialises women not to talk about sex openly and they are expected to be submissive to men (Schapera, 1939, 1970; Schapera and Comaroff, 1991). Women are also expected to play a passive role in sexual matters; they can neither initiate sexual action nor can they even talk about it with their partners. Such a culture results in a group of women who lack assertiveness, communication and/or negotiation skills and who have little control over how, when and where sex takes place (Rivers and Aggleton, 2001).

2.2.3 Economic factors

Women and girls in most African countries are generally discriminated against in terms of access to education, employment, credit, health care, land and inheritance (UNAIDS and WHO, 2003; UNAIDS and WHO, 2002; UNDP, 2000). With the economic downward trend in many African countries more relationships with wealthy men (casual or formalized through marriage) can serve as a vital opportunity for financial and social security. Generally, older men are more likely to be able to offer such security. But in areas where HIV/AIDS is widespread they are also more likely to be infected with HIV. The combination of dependence and subordination can make it very difficult for girls and women to demand safer sex (even from their husbands) or to end relationships that carry the threat of infection (UNAIDS and WHO, 2003; UNAIDS and WHO, 2002; UNDP, 2000). Unequal socio-economic development has been identified as one of the factors that fuels the spread of HIV particularly in Africa (Lindsey, 2000; Macdonald, 1996; Selolwane, Rakola et al., 1999; UNAIDS and WHO, 2002; UNDP, 2000).

Poverty acts in several ways as an important co-factor in the transmission of HIV. It forces the poor, especially women, to engage in behaviour that exposes them to higher risks of HIV infection (UNDP, 2000). Studies from across the developing world indicate
that poverty is overwhelmingly the root cause of women bartering sex for economic gain or survival (Weiss and Whelan, 2000). UNAIDS (2003) maintains that poverty can encourage risky livelihood measures, such as enduring an abusive relationship or engaging in unsafe sex in exchange for money, housing and/or education. In Haiti, faced with trying to balance the multiple demands of family and economic survival, single mothers often enter into a series of sexual relationships in order to obtain food and housing for themselves and their children. Research has shown that women in this setting who entered a sexual relationship out of economic necessity had increased odds of having syphilis and HIV infection (Fitzgerald, Behets et al., 2000).

Despite its impressive human development gains, Botswana has people who live in poverty (UNDP, 2000). UNAIDS (2003) has shown the same concern in their assertion that although Botswana is economically successful in the African continent, the country has a high proportion of its population living in poverty. The risk and vulnerability of young women and girls in Botswana is of a particular concern because of the HIV pandemic.

2.3 Young people and STI/HIV risk behaviours

Before examining the HIV risk behaviours of young people it is important to define what is meant by an ‘adolescent’ in the context of this study. WHO (2005) defines adolescents as young people who are aged between 10 and 19 years. O’Toole (1997) defines adolescence as the period between the onset of puberty and the cessation of physical growth, roughly from 11 to 19 years of age. Savage (1998: 77) asserts that “adolescence generally refers to the period between post-childhood and adulthood”. It is worth noting that definitions of adolescence vary across cultures. Nonetheless, the concept of adolescence as a time beyond childhood but before full adulthood seems to be virtually universal in traditional and modern cultures (Schlegel and Barry, 1991).

In Africa, as a result of improved and higher levels of educational attainment and of factors associated with modernization and urbanization, there has been a lengthening of the adolescent period. While at 18 years a rural girl is perceived ready for marriage, her
urban counterpart would be perceived as being unready and marriage and/or pregnancy would be perceived as a barrier for achieving her optimum social and economic potentials. Rwenge (2000) divided adolescence in the African context into four overlapping stages: sexual awakening (12-15), first sexual intercourse (14-17), gender role definition (16-19) and social role definition (18-25). A definition of adolescent that is based on social rather than physical or chronological maturity has been adopted in this study whereby the age limit extends to early adulthood, 23 years (Savage, 1998). Therefore this study focused on adolescents who were aged between 18 and 23 years of age.

Risky sexual behaviour entails early sexual debut, unprotected sex and multiple sexual partners (Lugoe, Klepp et al., 1996; Moore and Rosenthal, 1993; Rivers and Aggleton, 2001; UNAIDS, 2002). Young people are at more risk than adults and young women and girls are more vulnerable than young men or boys.

2.3.1 Multiple sexual partners and condom use

The high number of unwanted pregnancies and unsafe abortions in many parts of the world and the steep rise in HIV infection among adolescents girls are all evidence that, despite taboos or cultural disapproval, sexual activity in adolescents is reported to be common (WHO 2002). Adolescents are disproportionately involved in risky behaviours that are associated with early and unprotected sex. World Health Organization (2002:11) further states “many young people become sexually active without planning the sexual relationships or thinking about the consequences. In many cases early sexual experience is unwanted but is the result of coercion or pressure”. Adolescents live in increasingly sexualized societies, exposed to mass media that challenge cultural values.

Because many adolescents and young adults fail to use condoms correctly and consistently, the number of sexual partners they have is an important risk factor for sexually transmitted infections, including HIV (Santelli, Brener et al., 1998). The probability of encountering a partner infected with the HIV and other STIs increases as young people combine multiple partnerships with inconsistent condom use and this makes them highly vulnerable to infection (Binson, Dolcini et al., 1993).
What follows is a brief account of the behaviours of young people that place them at sexual risk globally, in the sub-Saharan African region and Botswana.

### 2.3.1.1 Global overview

There is an abundance of literature on young people’s behaviours that place them at sexual risk in Western countries. Selected samples of such studies, among the many that have been carried out, are presented in this section, particularly those which deal with early sexual debut, multiple sexual partners and condom use.

With reference to early sexual debut, population-based sex surveys conducted in some Western countries, Britain (Johnson, Wadsworth et al., 1994) New Zealand (Davis and Lay-Yee, 1999), Norway (Sundet, Magnus et al., 1992), Sweden (Giesecke, Scalia-Tomba et al., 1992) and United States of America (Laumann, Gagnon et al., 1994) revealed a trend towards first experience of sex at a younger age. Boyle, Dunne et al. (2003) in their Australian population-based study also report a shift to earlier onset of sexual activity. Most studies conducted in Australia among high school students suggest that at the end of high school an increasing number of teenagers are non-virgins (Lindsay, Smith et al., 1997; Rosenthal, Moore et al., 1990; Smith, Agius et al., 2003). Early sexual debut is associated with unplanned and unprotected sex (WHO, 2002) thereby predisposing young people to STIs including HIV infection.

Santelli, Brener et al. (1998) conducted a study among 8450 males and females aged 14-22 on multiple sexual partners among US adolescents and young adults. They found that 63 percent of females and 64 percent of males were sexually experienced. They reported that among those who had had sex during the three months before the survey, 15 percent of female and 35 percent of males had had two or more sexual partners during that period. They also reported that alcohol use, illicit drug use, and young age at first coitus were associated with increased odds that females had had two or more sexual partners in the previous three months. As the number of reported alcohol-related behaviours increased, the adjusted proportion of respondents who had recently had multiple partners rose from 8 percent to 48 percent among females and from 23 percent to 61 percent among young men. They concluded that the strong association between alcohol use and
having multiple sexual partners underscores the need to educate young people about the
effects of alcohol on partner choice and risk of STIs including HIV.

Friedman, Flom et al. (2001) conducted a study in the Bushwick neighbourhood of New
York City—United States on a sample of 279 young adults, aged 18-24, who had never
injected drugs and who had not used heroin, cocaine or crack in the previous year. Their
sexual relationships and self-reported consistent condom use was examined. They found
that 32 percent reported consistent condom use. They concluded that consistent condom
use remain uncommon among youth they studied. This was consistent with what
Bankole, Darroch et al. (1999) found when they examined determinants of trends in
condom use in the Untied States, 1988-1995. They found that condom use overall was
substantially less than needed to protect women especially adolescents and men against
sexually transmitted infections including HIV. The same trend was reported in earlier
studies conducted in US, whereby among 403 sexually active junior high school students,
25 percent reported two sexual partners and 43 percent reported three or more sexual
partners. Durbin, DiClemente et al. (1993) concluded that a significant proportion of
school-based middle adolescents were sexually active and most of them were at risk for
contracting HIV because of behaviours such as multiple sexual partners.

Current studies in US still reflect the same sexual risk behaviours of multiple sexual
partners and inconsistent condom use among young people. Kelley, Borawski et al.
(2003) utilized the Wave 1, in-home interview of the National Longitudinal Study of
Adolescent Health (Add Health), a nationally representative study of health related
behaviours of adolescents in grades 7 through 12. Because some main questions were
limited to respondents aged 15 years and older only those aged 15 years and older were
included in their study. They reported that 35 percent of sexually active teens had more
than one sexual partner in the past 18 months, and 40 percent of multiple partnerships
were overlapping or concurrent in time. Their study results also indicate that teens in
sequential and concurrent sexual relationships reported lower condom use and a higher
degree of regret of having sex owing to alcohol use than those in single relationships.
They concluded that adolescents who engaged in sequential or concurrent sexual
relationships were at risk of contracting STIs. Dove, Rosengard et al. (2006) explored,
through interviews, the reasons for not using condoms among sexually active adolescents who have sex more frequently or less frequently and found that of all 21 participants (12 females, 9 males; average age=16.29, SD=1.01; 52.4 percent Hispanic, 14.3 percent Non-Hispanic White, 33.3 percent Non-Hispanic Black), 85 percent of teens who reported frequent sex compared with 43 percent of teens who had less frequent sex did not use a condom the last time they had sex. Roberts and Kenney (2006) recruited 100 young multiethnic college women (YMCW) aged 18-24 years at a state university in Southern California—US and investigated why young college women were not using condoms. They found that many participants had multiple sexual partners, and 64 percent were inconsistent condom users. Matson, Chung et al. (2006) in their longitudinal study demonstrated that condom use declines over time within adolescent girls. Condom use at last sex was reported by 45 percent of girls (mean age of 17.6 years) at baseline compared to 38 percent at 36 months.

Bonomo, Coffey et al. (2001) conducted a study in secondary schools across the state of Victoria, Australia. A cross-sectional survey was administered by laptop computers to 16-17-year-olds to determine associated risk factors for the different behaviours. The participation rate was 79 percent. They found that 70 percent of the participants drank alcohol, and 15 percent of drinkers reported problems relating to sex under the influence of alcohol which included unplanned and unprotected sex. Bonomo, Coffey et al. (2001) concluded that high risk sexual behaviour under the influence of alcohol is common in teenagers.

de Visser, Smith et al. (2003) in their computer-assisted telephone interviews of Australians (16-59 years) reported that multiple opposite-sex partners among other things was significantly associated with being younger. They also indicated that the condom use rate was one in five and concluded that there may be a need for intervention targeted at people with multiple sexual partners to promote safer sexual behaviour and to reduce the likelihood of the transmission of HIV and other STIs. Earlier studies among samples of sexually active young Australians at university, had repeatedly found low and inconsistent condom use (Rosenthal, Smith et al., 1996). Moore and Rosenthal (1998) assert that many adolescents and young adults experience multiple partnering as a result
of their falling in love at the beginning of the relationship and out of love again at the end and starting a new relationship relatively within short periods of time. They argue that this can predispose the young people to STIs because although studies of condom use show that there has been considerable increase in young people’s acceptance of condoms many use them inconsistently or not at all. Moore and Rosenthal (1998) have found that the more young people perceive their sexual relationship to be based on love and trust, the less they feel the need to use condoms.

In New Zealand, 1136 students (16-18 years), half of whom were sexually active were studied by Abel and Brunton (2005). They found that less than half of the sexually active participants (44.6%) used condoms consistently and the rest did not. Of those who did not use condoms consistently one-quarter indicated that they did not use condoms because they did not think that neither they nor their sexual partners had infections, and another quarter said they did not use them because they used other contraceptive measures.

A population-based survey of sexual life in Sweden among men and women aged between 18-74 years (2810) revealed that overall use of condom was 12 percent in the whole sample and 15 percent in the age group 18-49 years (Wulff and Lalos, 2004). Using a condom as a method of contraception, as opposed to other methods was found to be less frequent among those who had had many sexual partners and those having a risky behaviour.

Buchanan-Aruwafu (2002) conducted a study in Auki in Solomon Islands with 300 participants the majority of which were (257, 87%) aged 15-24 years. She found that out of 150 young people 57 percent who had sex had more than one regular sexual partner and 10 percent reported having more than 10 sexual partners in the last 12 months. The findings also revealed that only one percent of those who had had more than one sexual partners over the last 12 months had always used a condom, while 25 percent said they used it sometimes and 71 percent reported that they never used a condom despite having multiple partners. Buchanan-Aruwafu (2002) also found that 21 percent of sexually
active participants said that they had been times that they had not used a condom, not because they did not have one but because they were too drunk.

Lee (2002) asserts that some men and boys in Filipino desire to have more than one girlfriend concurrently because it tests and confirms their prowess in persuading women, thus validating their masculinity and heterosexuality. In light of this view she further argues, Filipino society is tolerant of men having multiple girlfriends, as long as they are able to manage their relationships to avoid undue harm and neglect of responsibilities to their girlfriends.

The studies reviewed above have consistently demonstrated that although young people are diverse, inconsistent condom use is common across countries. The studies have also revealed that young people engage in multiple sexual partnerships. This practice combined with alcohol use and inconsistent condom use constitutes risk factors for STIs including HIV.

2.3.1.2 Sub-Saharan Africa

UNAIDS and WHO (2005) reported that young people in sub-Saharan Africa tend to know very little about STIs. Those who suspect they might be infected are often reluctant to seek treatment due to embarrassment, fear that their confidentiality would not be respected, anticipation of a reproaching and judgmental response from health care providers and, occasionally, high costs of treatment. According to UNAIDS and WHO (2005) the factors that predispose young people to risky sexual behaviour in developing countries include lack of information, lack of access to reproductive health services, and lack of self-perceived risk and some cultural beliefs and practices.

In this section selected studies conducted in sub-Saharan African countries are reported. These studies deal with multiple sexual partners and lack of condom use among young people, some of which reveal cultural beliefs and practices that promote the tendency to have multiple sexual partners.

The tendency of African men to have multiple sexual partners is influenced by cultural traditions in which sexual conquest is a status marker and the fact that masculine
discourses often place a high value on multiple sexual partners (Hallman, 2004). Hallman argues that in a number of settings, males having multiple sexual partners is accepted by both genders and may be encouraged by male peers or elders. In Nigeria, a father may encourage a 16-or 13-year-old son who is still a virgin to approach a commercial sex worker to obtain the experience of sexual intercourse (Beauchemin, 2001; Oduaran, 2003). Beauchemin (2001) and Oduaran (2003) argue that this sometimes is the beginning of sexual practices that include multiple sexual partners. Beauchemin (2001) further reports that in Nigeria it is common to have more than one sexual partner and that in the Muslim Northern part of the country, men have three or four wives as allowed by the Islamic religion. He reported that it is culturally acceptable for a man who has four wives to go out with a 13-year-old and go to bed with her in the pretence that he will make her his fifth wife. And there is no law stopping men from doing this. Edet (1997) study, conducted in Nigeria, found that young women have concurrent sexual partners in order to fulfil their economic and emotional needs simultaneously.

Karim, Magnani et al. (2003) conducted a nationally representative study on 3739 (2294 males, 445 females) unmarried 12-24-year-olds in Ghana. They found that 41 percent of female and 36 percent of male youth were sexually experienced. Four percent of females and 11 percent of males had had more than one sexual partner in the three months before the survey. They report that although Ghanaian youth were knowledgeable about condoms, only 24 percent of sexually experienced males and 20 percent of females reported consistent condom use with their current or most recent partner.

Rwenge (2000) conducted a study in Bamenda, Cameroon—Africa among 671 young people aged 12-25 years. He used multivariate techniques to analyse the effects of social, demographic and economic characteristics on early initiation of intercourse, sex with multiple partners, casual sex and non-use of condoms. Family composition and household standard of living were the factors mostly consistently associated with sexual risk behaviours. He found that out of the 50 percent who were sexually active, 27 percent had multiple sexual partners at the time of the survey. He also reported that condom use among those who had multiple sexual partners was low.
Research among young people in South Africa has revealed that condom use is a difficult topic to introduce in conversation, with females reporting a fear that it could lead to negative emotional, physical, or economic consequences (Varga and Makubalo, 1996; Wood and Jewkes, 1997, reported in Hallman, 2004).

MacPhail, Williams et al. (2002) reported data on a part of a broader study of the biological, psychological, behavioural and social determinants of HIV transmission in the mining district of Carletonville, South Africa. The sample of the study was 507 young people between 13 and 24 years old. Participants were tested for HIV as well as other STIs and answered a behavioural questionnaire. They found that the risk of infection per partnership was substantially higher among women than among men. Regarding the number of sexual partners, among women who report having had one sexual partner, 24 percent were infected; for those with two or more sexual partners the figure rose to 45 percent. A South African national survey of 15-24-year-olds on HIV and sexual behaviour conducted by Pettifor, Rees et al., (2004) found that 12 percent of females and 44 percent of males had more than one sexual partner. This was a higher prevalence compared to 9 percent of young females and 23 percent of young males reported in the Mandela Foundation-HSRC national survey of 2002 (Shisana and Simbayi, 2002). Peltzer and Promtussananon (2005) conducted a study with 3150, 13-24-year-olds from 150 schools in South Africa and found that 46 percent of the 16-year old males and 20 percent of the 15.5 year-old females were already sexually active. Of those almost half (44%) had not used a condom at last sex and some had more than one sexual partner.

Gregson, Nyamukapa et al. (2002) in their Zimbabwean study found that young women (15-24) have two types of partners: “one, an older boyfriend, who has accumulated assets and is able to provide money and gifts; the other, slightly younger, being cultivated as a potential husband” (p.1900). The onset of sexual relations and the number of sexual partners were found to affect the risk of being infected with HIV among young men and women. Mataure, McFarland et al. (2002) conducted a study of alcohol use and high-risk sexual behaviour among adolescents and young adults of age 15-21 years in Harare, Zimbabwe and found a cycle of HIV transmission that involves older men, younger women, and ultimately the steady partners of both.
Gender norms that dictate that men and boys prove their manhood by having sex with multiple partners are still prevalent and influential in Africa even in this HIV/AIDS era. These cultural practices expose men and boys as well as their female sexual partners to the risks of STI and HIV infection. While commonly males engage in multiple partnering as a status marker, females do so for economic and psychological reasons. The above studies reveal that having multiple sexual partners is highly associated with HIV infection. Some have demonstrated that even if young people have access to information and are knowledgeable about condoms and their use they do not use condoms consistently.

2.3.1.3 Botswana

Several studies and national surveys on youth sexual behaviours (Botswana Institute for Development Policy Analysis (BIDPA), 2003; McIlwane and Datta, 2004; Meekers, Ahmed et al., 2001; NACP, 1992; NACP, 1993; NACP, 1994; NACP, 1997; Seboni, 1997; SIAPAC, 2001; SIAPAC-Africa, 1993; UNDP, 2005; Yousir, 1999) have been conducted in Botswana and examples dealing with condom use and multiple sexual partners are presented below.

Meekers, Ahmed et al. (2001) conducted eight focus group discussions with adolescents (14 to 20 years) in Lobatse and Francistown in order to understand constraints on adolescents’ access to condom. They found that only 51 percent of female participants and 56 percent of male participants had obtained condoms from health facilities, even though they are provided free of charge. They stated that shyness was a problem particularly for girls because they did not wish to disclose that they were sexually active, and they feared that being seen obtaining condoms may ruin their reputations or may cause them to be stigmatized. Their study also revealed that adolescents’ access to condom is affected by perceptions of the quality of the condoms. Some participants registered a concern about the quality of free condoms. They indicated that, as adolescents, they observe that condoms in their neighbouring countries were mostly sold and not given out for free they therefore tended to query the quality of those which are distributed free.
BIDPA (2003) conducted a baseline study on knowledge, attitudes and practices of teachers and students on HIV and AIDS. A total of 6000 students completed the baseline survey and the largest proportion of the sample was composed of students from primary and secondary (12-23-year-olds). One of the findings was that the majority of these students had multiple sexual partners. According to BIDPA (2003) it is not uncommon for students to have multiple partners both inside and outside of their schools. This type of behaviour was attributed to the fact that boys take pride in having as many girl friends as they can, while a girl may find it opportune to have an extra boyfriend just in case the main one abandons her. BIDPA (2003) study also found that in spite of knowing the dangers of unprotected sex, students at secondary and tertiary levels in Botswana still engaged in unprotected sex.

McIlwane and Datta (2004) explored constructions of sexualities among urban youth (12-27–year-olds) in Botswana. They used participatory diagramming with a total of 29 focus groups in Gaborone, 27 of which were undertaken in schools and two were carried out with out-of-school-youth. In total, 154 participants (70 females and 84 males) were included in the focus groups. Among other things they found that substance abuse of both drugs and alcohol and sexual abuse were seen to contribute to the practice of unsafe sex and promiscuity. The participants reported that both genders were less likely to control themselves sexually or to use a contraceptive when under the influence of drugs or alcohol. Peer pressure was another major factor identified by the focus group as contributing to young people engaging in early and unprotected sexual liaisons.

A study by UNDP (2005) found that of 1170 students (10-24-year-olds) who participated in the study, 23 percent were sexually active. Among those, 19 percent reported having had sex with two partners during the last 12 months and 45 percent reported having had sex with three to 12 partners during that period. It is not clear as to whether they had these sexual partners sequentially or concurrently. What causes concern is the fact that about 63 percent reported that they did not use condoms consistently (UNDP, 2005). The tendency of engaging in unprotected sex with multiple partners has implications for contracting and spreading STIs, including HIV, especially in a country like Botswana where the HIV prevalence is high.
The selected studies conducted in Botswana on youth sexual behaviour reveal that young people engage in multiple sexual partnerships and condom use is low in spite of their knowledge of the dangers of unprotected sex. Peer pressure and substance abuse (drugs and alcohol) were reported to be contributing to young people’s risky sexual behaviour.

Studies on behaviours of young people that place them at sexual risk selected from some Western countries, the sub-Saharan African region and Botswana have demonstrated that, although young people are different as individuals and their behaviours are influenced by different factors, worldwide they share common traits such as early sexual debut, having multiple sexual partners and inconsistent condom use. It has also been established globally that the decisions made by young people under the influence of alcohol and narcotic substances in sexual related matters can have adverse outcomes, in particular unplanned and unprotected sex, thereby predisposing themselves to STIs, including HIV infection (Bonomo et al., 2001; Buchanan-Aruwafu, 2002; Santelli, Brener et al., 1998).

### 2.4 The link between intergenerational sex and HIV/AIDS

Intergenerational sexual relationships have been implicated in the spread of HIV in sub-Saharan Africa. Several studies conducted in this region have revealed significant relationships between unsafe sexual behaviours, HIV risk, and intergenerational sex (Gregson, Nyamukapa et al., 2002; Longfield, Glick et al. 2004; Luke, 2003; Machel, 2001; Mataure, McFarland et al., 2002 Mpangile, Leshabari et al., 1993; Rasch, Silberschmidt et al., 2000; Rivers and Aggleton, 2001; Silberschmidt and Rasch, 2001). Some of these studies found that greater age difference between partners was characterized by non-use of condoms and non-discussion of HIV with a partner (Mpangile, Leshabari et al., 1993; Silberschmidt and Rasch 2001).

Studies conducted in sub-Sahara Africa suggest that African men feel it is their right to have multiple sexual partners and they prefer younger women, often students, as nonmarital partners (Barker and Rich, 1992; Longfield, Glick et al., 2002; Orubuloye, Caldwell et al., 1992). It is reported that most of the older men who engage in
intergenerational sexual relationships were married (Bagnol and Chamo, 2004; Calves, Cornwell et al., 1996; Rasch, Silberschmidt et al., 2000; Silberschmidt and Rasch, 2001). Several studies reported in Luke and Kurz's (2002) review indicated that girls have older sexual partners for material and financial gain and simultaneously have other sexual partners in their age group who they love and who represent more serious relationships that may lead to marriage (Gregson, Nyamukapa et al., 2002; Meekers and Calves, 1997a). This sexual mixing between older men and girls is said to account for differences in prevalence rates of HIV in the region between girls and young women and boys and young men (Gregson, Nyamukapa et al., 2002; Kelly, 2001; Laga, Schwartlander et al., 2001; MacPhail, Williams et al., 2002; UNDP, 2000; UNICEF, UNAIDS et al., 2002).

The above assertions only confirm the link made by UNAIDS (2000) when they contended that if the girls in sub-Saharan African countries only had their age mates as their sexual partners, they would run less risk of becoming HIV infected but since they also have older men who tend to be more heavily infected than boys as their sexual partners they have a higher HIV prevalence than boys of their age. UNDP (2000) asserts that the disproportionate HIV prevalence figures between girls and young women and boys and young men in most of the sub-Saharan countries suggest that for many girls the first experience in penetrative sex, and therefore exposure to STIs/HIV, is shared with an older and experienced man. They further argue that these patterns of HIV prevalence suggest strongly that HIV is being transmitted from older males to young females, who in turn might infect boys of their age and this provides the medium through which the virus moves from one generation to another.

### 2.5 Intergenerational sexual relationships

Atilberg, Jylkas et al. (2001) argue that there is sexual exploitation of young girls in the so-called “sugar-daddy” phenomenon, a relationship in which young girls are enticed by wealthy older men to exchange sex for money and material gifts. A review by Luke and Kurz (2002) of studies from sub-Saharan Africa indicates that most researchers use ten years as a cut off point between generations.
2.5.1 Global overview

Sexual relationships between girls/young women and older men in the sub-Saharan region in particular are not a new phenomenon. These relationships have been in existence in many parts of the world since antiquity. The pattern of male sexual partners being slightly older than their female partners fits within the norms of many societies (Lindberg, Sonenstein et al., 1997). For instance, most Western European, North American, and Australian men usually search for a sexual partner who is less than two years younger while many men in Nigeria, Zambia, Colombia, and Iran all prefer women at least four years younger (Mackay, 2000).

There is limited research on sexual relationships between girls/young women and men who are much older than their female partners in Western and Eastern Asian countries. This could be that research on these relationships is usually conducted when there is an association between them and social and/or health problems.

While sexual relationships between couples in which the men are slightly older than women have not been of much concern to society, those in which the men are much older than the women have been of concern because of their potential for abuse and exploitation. Lindberg, Sonenstein et al. (1997) assert that in United States of America “while a 25-year-old man fathering a child with a 15-year-old would probably meet with social disapproval, the same might not be true for a couple consisting of a 21-year-old and an 18-year-old, particularly if they were married’ (p.61). Elstein and Davis (1997) argue that when adolescents younger than 18 years are sexually involved with men who are substantially older than they are, the differences between the partners in such factors as maturity, life experience, social position, financial resources and physical size may make such relationships inherently unequal, and the young women may therefore be vulnerable to abuse and exploitation by their partners (reported in Darroch, Landry et al., 1999). For instance, Miller, Clark et al. (1997) and Marin, Coyle et al. (2000) found that adolescents who have older sexual partners are more likely to engage in sexual intercourse at a younger age and Amba, Driscoll et al. (1998) report that women whose
first sexual partner was significantly older indicated that their first sexual encounter was unwanted.

In United States of America, public concern about relationships between young women and older men has grown in response to research showing that the high proportion of babies born by teenage mothers were fathered by adult men (Donovan, 1997; Landry and Forrest, 1995; Lindberg, Sonenstein et al., 1997; Males and Chew, 1996; Young and d'Arcy, 2005). Darroch, Landry et al. (1999) used data from the 1995 National Survey of Family Growth to examine age differences between sexual partners in the United States. They found that compared with the pregnancy rate among women aged 15-17 whose partner is no more than two years older, the pregnancy rate among those whose partner is six or more years older was 3.7 times as high and the rate for those whose partner was 3-5 years older was 1.4 times as high. They concluded that although the proportion of 15-17-year-old women who have a much older partner was small, adolescents who belong to that group were a source of concern because of their low rate of contraception use and their relatively high rates of pregnancy and birth. Darroch and her colleagues recommended that research be conducted to determine why some young women have relationships with older man, and how their partner’s characteristics affect their reproductive behaviour.

Sturdevant, Belzer et al. (2001) conducted a study from 15 sites in 13 US cities with the aim of comparing the characteristics of sexual relationships in HIV-infected and HIV-uninfected female adolescents and their association with condom use. Baseline data on demographic information, substance use, sexual behaviour, partner information and condom use were collected from currently sexually active females aged 13-19 years. Data from 153 HIV infected and 90 HIV uninfected females showed, on average, that current sexual partners were 4-6years older. Mean partner age difference was greater among HIV-infected than for HIV-uninfected and this greater age difference for HIV-infected was associated with less protection. Sturdevant, Belzer et al. (2001: 68) argued that “the age difference between an adolescent female and adult male, and the power differential it implies, may exacerbate the adolescent’s lack of skill, capacity, or authority to insist on condom use. The older the partner, the more likely condom use will be
ignored”. Other studies also found that having an older partner among adolescent girls has been associated with decreased condom use and increased rates of pregnancies and sexually transmitted diseases (Darroch, 2002; Greenberg, Magder et al., 1992; Miller, Clark et al., 1997). Sturdevant, Belzer et al. (2001) concluded that more qualitative research is needed to investigate the dynamics of sexual relationships between female adolescents and adult males and recommended that prevention efforts must address partners, particularly older ones.

2.5.2 Sub-Saharan Africa

Sexual relations between adolescent girls and older male partners in sub-Saharan Africa have also become a concern because of HIV/AIDS. Intergenerational sex is one of the factors associated with high HIV infection among girls and young women (15-24 years) in this region. Most studies in this region found that a sizeable proportion of the girls’ partners were more than 10 years older (Mpangile, Leshabari et al., 1993; Rasch, Silberschmidt et al., 2000; Silberschmidt and Rasch, 2001). It has been argued that the greater the age difference between the partners, the greater the risk of HIV infection of adolescent girls, because there is evidence that unsafe behaviours such as non-use of condoms and non-discussion of HIV with a partner are linked to wide age differences between sexual partners (Glynn, Auvert et al., 2001; Gregson, Nyamukapa et al., 2002; Kelly, Gray et al., 2003). Luke and Kurz (2002) argue that because of the limited negotiating power of adolescent girls with regard to sexuality and reproduction, sexual partnerships between adolescent girls and older men are fundamentally imbalanced, with men having more power.

Kelly, Gray et al. (2003) conducted a study in rural Uganda among sexually active women (6177) aged 15 to 29 years. The participants completed a sociodemographic and sexual behaviour questionnaire and provided at least one blood sample for HIV-1 serology. The age difference between partners was categorized as men 0 to 4 years older, 5 to 9 years older and 10 or more years older. HIV prevalence and incidence were assessed, and the researchers found that the risk of HIV-1 increased as the age difference widened. Their findings revealed that HIV risk associated with the age difference
between partners was greatest among women aged 15 to 19 years with male partners 10 or more years and women aged 20 to 24 years with partners 10 or more years older. Kelly’s (2003) findings suggest that high HIV prevalence in younger women is caused, in part, by transmission from older male partners.

Gregson, Nyamukapa et al. (2002) conducted a study in rural Manicaland and explored sexual mixing patterns and sex differentials in teenage (15-19) exposure to HIV infection in rural Zimbabwe. They found that some young women form partnerships with men 5-10 years older than themselves. They reported that the substantial age difference between female and male sexual partners in Manicaland is the major behavioural determinant of the more rapid rise in HIV prevalence in young women than men.

Furthermore, studies conducted in several sub-Saharan African countries on intergenerational sexual relationships have established that the lack of access to education, health services, employment and a weak economy associated with poverty often forces women and girls into sexual relationships with potential economic benefits (Amuyunzu-Nyamongo, Tendo-Wambua et al., 1999; Atilberg, 2001; Luke 2003; Rivers and Aggleton, 2001; UNAIDS, 2001; DiClemente, Wingood et al., 2002; UNAIDS 2002a).

The danger of HIV infection is highest among the poorest and least powerful. Young girls living in poverty are often enticed or coerced into having sex with someone older, wealthier or in a position of authority, such as an employer, schoolteacher or older ‘sugar daddy’ in order to stay in school or support themselves and their families (Bagnol and Chamo, 2004; UNICEF, UNAIDS et al., 2002). Bagnol and Chamo’s (2004) study on intergenerational sexual relationships in Mozambique also revealed that the money obtained helped the schoolgirls to pay for their education (fees, notebooks and uniforms), and part of the money was used for ‘luxuries’, especially clothes. Collins and Toure (2004) found that poverty and war, among other forms of societal crisis, forced increasing numbers of girls and young women to exchange sex for survival. They argue that relatively well-off, usually married men, known as ‘sugar daddies’ support girls and young women in return for sex.
In the light of the prevailing circumstances, young people in developing countries are vulnerable to sexual exploitation, as evidenced by the two-thirds of 168 sexually active young women interviewed in Malawi who reported having exchanged sex for money or gifts with older men, and 18 percent of 274 sexually active female Nigerian University students who reported that they exchanged sex for favours, money, or gifts (Rivers and Aggleton 2001). Edet’s (1997) study conducted in Nigeria found that a young woman may end up having as many as three simultaneous sexual relationships to make her way through university—her teacher (to ensure good marks), a ‘sugar daddy’ or ‘sponsor’ (to pay her living expenses or school fees), and her boyfriend (reported in Hallman, 2004). Results of a study conducted in Mozambique showed that 63 percent of 100 schoolgirls in Lhanguene confirmed that they received material help from their older male partners. The support consisted of money, perfume, school fees and clothes (Machel, 2001). These types of sexual encounters were mainly characterized by unprotected sex.

It is apparent from the literature that men who provide gifts and various services tend to be older, working and to have accumulated some wealth. This is supported by the various nicknames for older partners, which often illustrate the link between experience and wealth (Luke and Kurz, 2002). In Uganda, older sexual partners are called ‘big bellied’, indicating wealth, or ‘bald headed’, indicating experience (Nyanzi, Pool et al., 2000). In Cameroon, older partners are often referred to as ‘folded necks’ because they are overweight, reflecting wealth (Meekers and Calves, 1997a). In Cameroon and Swaziland, wealthy partners are also called ‘sponsors’, meaning that they can take you to different functions at their own expense (McLean, 1995; Meekers and Calves, 1997a). In Tanzania sugar daddies who are rich are called ‘buzi’ meaning ‘a goat to milk’ (Silberschmidt and Rasch, 2001) and they are also called ‘Mshefas’ (those who provide) (Rivers and Aggleton, 2001). In South Africa, wealthy men who date young women are called ‘ministers’ (Kaufman and Stavrou, 2002).

It has been argued that older partners help girls to achieve the goal of increasing their status among peers. This is important in the present competitive consumer society where girls want to keep up with modern trends. Therefore older men can provide girls with money and luxury gifts such as nice clothes, soap, make-up, perfume, jewellery, and
modern hairstyles. These are items that parents are unable or unwilling to pay for (Akuffo, 1987; Calves, Cornwell et al., 1996; Gorgen, Maier et al., 1993; Longfield, Glick et al., 2002; Machel, 2001; Meekers and Calves, 1997a; Nyanzi, Pool et al., 2000; Rasch, Silberschmidt et al., 2000; Silberschmidt and Rasch, 2001). However, Luke (2003) argues that the literature that suggests wide occurrences of transactional sexual relationships for the purposes of fulfilling adolescent desires for status and gifts than for securing basic needs due to extreme poverty might be misleading. The reason she advanced for this view was that most of the participants in the studies reviewed were schoolgirls who were likely not to come from low socio-economic status families but from middle to high income groups who could afford to pay school fees for them.

A qualitative study conducted in South Africa among adolescents aged 14-22 examined the economic context of gift giving or receiving and its relationship to patterns of risky sexual behaviour such as unsafe sex practices and reports of sexual coercion or force (Kaufman and Stavrou, 2002). The study considered the impact of gifts on sexual relations among adolescents in Durban, and included both boys and girls from three dominant race groups in the region: Africans, Asians, and Whites. While the focus of this study was not on intergenerational sexual relationships the findings indicated that some girls were involved with older men. Kaufman and Stavrou found that there was a practice called ‘transfer systems’, where men would ‘swap’ sex partners at informal trading sessions. Girls could either ‘trade’ or ‘lend’ sexual partners depending on what they themselves sought at a given moment. Depending on the economic status of the men in question, they provided the girls with transport, school fees, accommodation and clothes. These men were called ‘ministers’. Exchange of sex for such ‘favours’ is seen as being quite common and is not restricted to a particular age or socio-economic group. It is important to note that the various ‘ministers’ tended to be mature and older men who had accumulated a bit of wealth and property and could therefore afford to pay for the services of the girls.

Kaufman and Stavrou (2002) found that girls do accept and appreciate gifts from their sexual partners. However, gift acceptance makes them feel obligated to return the ‘favour’ by having sex with the gift giver. They therefore argue that the evidence
suggests that gifts are likely to reduce the ability of girls to demand condom use. The incidence of ‘partner swapping’ referred to in the study therefore, is a serious concern with regard to the spread of HIV and other STIs. Still in South Africa, Ferrari (2004) reported that Dr. Ayesha Khorsany attributes high prevalence HIV among girls under 24 years to the ‘sugar-daddy’ effect. He further states that older men offer girls the 3 Cs: credit cards, a car and cell phone.

In a review of research conducted in seven countries including Nigeria, Egypt, Mexico and Philippines, Petchesky and Judd (1998) concluded that even where sexually active young women are aware of HIV/AIDS and measures to protect against infection, they rarely have power to ensure that condoms are used. This lack of power was mainly associated with the gifts they get from their older sexual partners. Machel (2001) documented that some girls are unable to insist on condom use for fear of losing the relationship as well as gifts. It is argued that most of the time gifts given to young women erode their power. It is worth noting though that some of the girls in Machel’s study could not insist on condom use for fear of being subjected to violence.

Several studies on male sexual behaviour conducted in sub-Sahara Africa showed there is a large proportion of men whose sexual partners are under 20 years of age (Glynn, Auvert et al., 2001; Luke, 2002; Luke, 2005; Morris, Wawer et al., 2000; Orubuloye, Caldwell et al., 1992, 1993). Specifically, high risk men such as travellers and ‘sugar-daddies’ comprised 50 percent of all nonmarital sexual partners (Luke, 2002; Morris, Wawer et al., 2000). It was reported that older men engage in sexual partnerships with adolescent girls and young women for various reasons such as to have regular access to sex, enhancement of prestige, domestic help (for the unmarried and for those who do not stay with their spouses) and maintenance of health. It should be noted that this maintenance of health comes from the African belief (especially southern Africa) that having sex with a young woman or a girl when you are older ‘cleanses the blood’ of an older man and makes him fit and healthy. Because of this belief it is difficult for most of the older men who engage in sex with girls for cleansing purposes to use condoms; they prefer what they call ‘flesh to flesh’ sex. This leads to unprotected sex which may lead to STIs including HIV. Some studies have also reported that men’s ability to attract young
sexual partners boosts their ego and self-esteem (Fuglesang, 1997; Preston-Whyte, 1994; Haram, 1995; Silberschmidt and Rasch, 2001).

There are limited studies conducted in sub-Saharan Africa on intergenerational sexual relationships which included men as participants. Although men in this region engage in such sexual relationships it is not easy to access them. Bagnol and Chamo’s (2004) study which was conducted in two cities in Mozambique included older men (at least ten years older than girls) who were said to be involved in non-occasional sexual relationships involving the exchange of money or goods. Like most of the studies conducted in the region, their study has shown that sex between older men and adolescents girls in exchange of financial and material gain was very common. The study revealed that the motivating factor for men to have sex with girls was sexual satisfaction. Men indicated that a young woman who does not have much sexual experience gives them more sexual satisfaction. Men’s fear of carrying the responsibility of supporting someone with more expenses, like a mature woman, was also identified as a determining factor (Bagnol and Chamo, 2004; Selolwane, Rakola et al., 1999). It was reported that older men prefer young girls because they are not expensive compared to women of their own age who are likely to have children who need to be supported as well. Men also preferred sexual relationships with young females because it is more socially accepted than involvement with sex workers (Bagnol and Chamo, 2004).

Longfield, Glick et al. (2004) conducted a study with sexually active adolescents girls aged 15-19 (both in and out of school) and men aged 30 years and above in Kenya. They conducted eight focus group discussions with adolescent girls and interviewed 28 men in four Kenyan towns. Most of the participants were quick to point out that they have friends or know other girls who engage in such relationships. Like in the findings of other studies conducted in the region the girls’ primary incentive for engaging in such relationships was financial and material gain and the men sought sexual gratification. Male participants were recruited at venues that female participants in focus groups identified as popular among men seeking young female partners. The inclusion criteria for male participants were not explicit in the report. Although the majority of men interviewed had had a sexual relationship outside marriage at some point, almost all
denied ever having sexual relationships with teenagers but admitted that they had been involved with women in their early twenties. Of the 28 men interviewed, only one respondent admitted that he was in a sexual relationship with a teenage girl at the time of the interview (Longfield, Glick et al., 2004).

2.5.3 Botswana

In Botswana, no specific and systematic studies on intergenerational sex have been conducted, though intergenerational sex has been mentioned in various studies including Selolwane, Rakola et al. (1999) and Pitso (1997) studies which revealed that some of their participants were sexually involved with older men. A baseline study on knowledge, attitudes, behaviours and practices of adolescents and youth on sexual and reproductive health conducted in Botswana by SIAPAC-Africa (2001) found that 5 percent of more than 4000 young people (10-24 year-olds) had sex with someone ten years or more older than them. Almost 10 percent of young girls who were sexually active admitted that they had exchanged sex for gifts or money with older men. A study on construction of sexualities among urban youth in Botswana (McIlwane and Datta, 2004) revealed the existence of transactional sex. The authors reported that discussions relating to transactional sex mainly revolved around how some young women had sexual relations with older men and usually rich men in exchange for gifts and money as part of the ‘sugar-daddy’ phenomenon. McIlwane and Datta (2004) found that all the groups that identified sexual relationships between older rich men and girls indicated that these relationships gave girls access to non-essential consumer items such as mobile phones and Nike shoes (popular brand of shoes) which they felt were necessary to cement their identity as young people who were part of a global culture. BIDPA (2003) and UNDP (2005) also found that some of their participants were in sexual relationships with older men.

The review of the literature on intergenerational sexual relationships has established that intergenerational sex is a risky sexual behaviour for adolescent girls as it may lead to HIV infection and teenage pregnancy.
2.6 Risk and protective factors during adolescence

It is important to note that not all adolescents enter into intergenerational sexual relationships even though their social and/or economic circumstances may be similar. In other words some adolescents are able to resist the temptation to enter these relationships while others are not. The question then is why do some adolescents avoid and/or resist intergenerational sex while others do not? Furthermore, it is also worth noting that not all adolescents girls involved in intergenerational sexual relationships engage in risky sexual practices. While there are adolescent girls who engage in unprotected sex with older men, there are others who are able to insist on protected sex. In the light of these behavioural configurations it became necessary to explore what has been established in the literature regarding the factors that predispose adolescents to risky sexual behaviour and those that protect them from engaging in such behaviour.

The risk and protective factors that are in the literature relate to adolescent sexual behaviour in general and not specifically to intergenerational sexual relationships. However, there are certain commonalities between the risk and protective factors relating to adolescent sexual behaviour and intergenerational sexual relationships.

2.6.1 Risky sexual factors

There are factors that influence young people to engage in risky behaviour. Kazdin (1997) describes risk factors as factors leading to problematic functioning and Deković (1999) as those conditions that are associated with a higher likelihood of negative outcome (problem behaviour). The factors that predispose young people to risky sexual behaviour include substance abuse, lack of access to reproductive health services, lack of self-perceived risk, peer pressure, and lack of parental support (Farrell and White, 1998; Karim, Magnani et al., 2003). Adolescents who engage in other risk behaviours, such as using alcohol and drugs, are more likely to initiate sexual intercourse early (WHO, 2002). Family composition and poor standard of living are the factors most consistently associated with sexual risk behaviours in Africa (Rwenge, 2000). Exposure to a sex-orientating environment (TV, Magazines, the internet and Books) is also mentioned as a
factor which can lead to risk sexual behaviours (Moore and Rosenthal, 1993; Ministry of Health—Botswana, 1999; WHO 2002).

Patterson, Reid et al. (1992) argue that deviant peers provide opportunities to engage in problem behaviour and also provide considerable social pressure and positive reinforcement for deviant behaviour and supply the adolescent with attitudes, motivations and rationalizations to support antisocial behaviour. The World Health Organization (2002) asserts that adolescents who believe that their friends are using substances and/or associate with peers who have poor prosocial attitudes and behaviours are more likely to use substances themselves and the same thing applies if they believe that their friends are sexually active. Karim, Magnani et al. (2003:20) assert that “youth who perceived that their friends were sexually active were more likely to be sexually experienced than youth who thought that their friends had not yet initiated intercourse; the effect was larger for females than for males. Females who perceived that their friends were sexually experienced also had elevated odds of having had multiple partners in the past three months”.

Some of the social factors that predispose young people to early onset of sexual intercourse which have been reported by some researchers include poverty, violence, family marital disruption, lack of family connectedness, and parents’ lack of education, lack of parental supervision, lack of religious affiliation, sexual abuse, poor academic performance, and low education expectations (Brewster, Billy et al., 1993; Billy, Brewster et al., 1994; Jessor, 1991; Marx, Aral et al., 1991; Miller, 1995; Moore, Sugland et al., 1995; Moore, Miller et al., 1995; Mott, Fondell et al., 1996; Ohamesian and Crokett, 1993; Paikoff, 1995; Porter, Oakley et al., 1996; Rosebaum and Kandel, 1990; Santelli and Beilenson, 1992).

Jessor, Bos et al. (1995) have identified low educational aspiration and low self-esteem as individual risk factors. A low degree of commitment to education also appears to be related to drug use in adolescence (Hawkins, Catalono, et al. 1992) and early sexual activity (Small and Luster, 1994). Jessor, Bos et al. (1995) have suggested further that
engaging in problem behaviour might be a way to cope with a low sense of self-worth, dissatisfaction and low confidence in own abilities.

2.6.2 Protective factors

While risk factors are associated with elevated risks of problem behaviour, it is also true that not all adolescents growing up in adverse circumstances develop these problems. There is a group of adolescents that make satisfactory adjustment despite exposure to adversity. Rutter (1990) asserts that responses to stress and adversity vary according to individuals, some succumb and some escape damage or danger. He contends that the phenomenon of maintaining adaptive functioning in spite of serious risk hazards has been termed ‘resilience’. Rutter (1990:181) describes ‘resilience’ as the “positive pole of the ubiquitous phenomenon of individual differences in people’s responses to stress and adversity”. Resilience is concerned with individual variations in response to risk factors and therefore cannot be seen as a fixed attribute of the individual. According to Glantz and Sloboda (1999) resilience is not useful merely as a statement of a positive status or outcome. Individuals who faced no particularly severe problems or development disruptions and had ample support and opportunities would not usually be considered to be resilient no matter how positive their status (Rutter, 1990; Glantz and Sloboda, 1999). Resilience denotes that a person has faced and overcome severe problems or resisted strongly negative circumstances (Glantz and Sloboda, 1999). Any attempt to understand resilience must include a determination of that to which the individual is being resilient.

Rutter (1985) provided a set of resilience-related qualities which involve a sense of self-esteem and self-confidence, a belief in one’s own self-efficacy and ability to deal with a change and adaptation and repertoire of social problem solving approaches. The concept of resilience has stimulated an interest in the identification of protective factors in the lives of young people—factors that, if present, diminish the likelihood of negative health and social outcomes (Garmezy, 1991; Hawkins and Catalano, 1992; Kelder and Komro, 1993; Luthar and Ziegler, 1991; Perry, Kelder et al., 1993; Resnick, Harris et al., 1993; Rutter, 1993; Werner and Smith, 1992). According to Kazdin (1997) protective factors are strengths within the child and within the child-rearing context. Rutter (1985:600)
asserts that “protective factors refer to influences that modify, ameliorate, or alter a person’s response to some environmental hazard that predisposes to a maladaptive outcome”. Kaplan (1999:46) describes protective factors as “variables that mitigate the effects of risk factors or strengthen ameliorative effects”. Conrad and Hammen (1993) state that a protective factor is one that moderate against the effects of a stressful or risk situation so that the individual is able to adapt more successfully than they would have had, had the protective factor been not present (reported in Kaplan, 1999). Broadly defined, protective factors could be seen “as those personal, social, and institutional resources that foster competence, promote successful development and, thus, decrease the likelihood of engaging in problem behaviour” (Dekovic 1999:670). Rutter (1987) argues that protective factors show their effects under conditions of risk, but provide no advantage under low-risk conditions. Although the factors have been less well-studied than those that increase risks research has identified several factors that operate in each of the conceptual domains (individual, family, extrafamilial relations) that may either promote positive development or protect against or mitigate the effects of risk (Dekovic, 1999).

At the individual level, one of the significant personal characteristics that functions as a protection is the possession of coping skills that permit the adolescent to deal with typical life challenges and problems in a constructive manner (Dekovic, 1999). It has been found that adolescent academic competence and high school performance function as a buffer against risk for substance abuse (Wills, Vaccaro et al., 1992) and is associated with the delayed onset of sexual activity, frequency of sex, pregnancy and childbearing (Billy, Brewster et al., 1994; Brewster, Cooksey et al., 1998; Manlove, 1998; Lammers, Ireland et al., 2000; Karim, Magnani et al., 2003; Raine, Jenkins et al., 1999). Buzzini, Gold DO et al. (2006) found that school connection appears to be protective against risky sexual behaviour among juvenile detainees who participated in their study in US. Steinberg (1996) contends that the engagement with school as a critical protective factor against a variety of risk behaviours is mostly influenced by perceived caring from teachers and high expectations for students’ performance. Regarding school connectedness as a protective factor, WHO (2002) argue that adolescents who have a positive relationship with teachers, who attend school regularly and who do well in school are less likely to
initiate sexual intercourse early. Resnick, Bearman et al. (1997) stated that greater religiosity, and better grades were associated with delay of sexual intercourse.

Rostosky, Wilcox et al. (2004) reviewed ten longitudinal studies published between 1980 and 2001 for evidence that the religiosity of adolescents is causally related to their sexual behaviours and found that religiosity delays the sexual debut for adolescent females. A number of studies have found that more religious adolescents tend to engage in sexual activities later than their less religious counterparts (Miller, 1998; Bearman and Bruckner, 1999; Ohene, Ireland et al., 2003; Rostosky, Regnerus et al., 2003). Bearman and Bruckner (2001) suggest that it is not religious prescriptions against sex per se that are salient for delaying intercourse, but the effect of increased connectivity to others arising from participation in church and community groups.

Lammers, Ireland et al. (2000) conducted a study on adolescents’ decision to postpone the onset of sexual intercourse among youths aged between 13 and 18 years (in grades 7-12) in Minnesota public schools—United States of America. They found that protective factors significantly associated with delayed onset of sexual activity for both males and females were: dual-parent families, higher socio-economic status, residing in rural areas, high school performance, concerns about the community and high religiosity.

A virginity or abstinence pledge has been mentioned as protective against early sexual initiation. However there are divergent views with regard to its effectiveness. Some studies have indicated that adolescents who pledge are much less likely to have intercourse than adolescents who do not pledge, some reported that the delay effect was substantial although the pledge does not work for all adolescents at all ages. It has also been asserted that a private virginal pledge is more effective than a formal one in delaying sexual debut. Other studies were not conclusive that a virginal pledge is protective and some reported that adolescents who had signed a virginity pledge were significantly more likely to debut than those who had not signed a pledge (Altman, 2004; Bearman and Bruckner, 2001; Bersamin, Walker et al., 2005; Brueckner and Bearman, 2005; Colvin 2005; Connolly, 2005; Doniger, Riley et al., 2001; Fortenberry, 2005;
Kirby, 2002; Pinkerton, 2001; Resnick, Bearman et al., 1997; Rostosky, Regnerus et al., 2003).

Another factor that may function as a protective factor is the quality of the relationship within the family—the presence of a warm, nurturing, and supportive relationship with at least one parent (Bradley, Whiteside et al., 1994; Buzzini, Gold DO et al., 2006; Fergusson and Lynskey, 1996). Because parents provide support for conventional behaviour and sanctions against conduct problems, positive bonding to parents seems to function as a protection against antisocial behaviour and delinquency (Farrell and White, 1998; Hawkins, Catalono et al., 1992; Kazdin, 1997; Nada Raja, McGee et al., 1992). Parents who have a healthy relationship with their children provide structure, regulation, boundaries and restraints in their children’s lives that help them respect themselves and others (Flowers, 2006). According to Resnick, Bearman et al. (1997) significant family factors associated with delaying sexual debut included high levels of parent-family connectedness, parental disapproval of their adolescent being sexually active, and parental disapproval of their adolescent’s using contraception. WHO (2002) also reported that adolescents who have a positive relationship with their parents are less likely to initiate sexual intercourse early.

Borowsky, Hogan et al. (1997) also found that among students in the 9th and 12th grades emotional health and school connectedness with friends and adults in the community were protective factors for male adolescents against sexually aggressive behaviour, and academic achievement was a protective factor for female adolescents. Living with grandparents was another aspect reported by Rwenge (2000) in the Cameroon, African study as having a protective effect against sexual risk behaviours.

Stone, Rosenthal et al. (2006) examined the associations of family and peer social support with protective sexual behaviours, psychological functioning (self-esteem, depression, anxiety) and psychological functioning with protective sexual behaviours among African-American adolescent girls (14-21 years). They found that neither family nor peer social support was associated significantly with protective sexual behaviours. However, both family support and peer support were associated with self-esteem and self

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esteem was associated with safe sexual behaviours. They concluded that while social support was not associated directly with sexual behaviours, it was associated with protective psychological factors (e.g. higher self-esteem) which in turn were associated with protective sexual behaviours.

Another possible source of resilience is the nature and quality of peer relations. Although negative peer influence is often seen as fostering undesirable behaviour, such as early involvement in sexual relations, drug use and delinquency (Deković 1999), good peer relationships may provide sources of support and positive role models that may mitigate the effects of adverse circumstances (Quinton, Pickles et al., 1993). According to Berndt (1990) and Hartup (1993), peers offer support, emotional reassurance, a safe setting for experimenting with different roles, for intimate sharing and self-disclosure.

A longitudinal study of adolescents in grades 7 through 12 from most high schools in the United States (Resnick, Bearman et al., 1997) found that among nearly 88 percent (nearly 10,000) of the population who reported having a religion, the perceived importance of religion and prayer was protective. Those who ascribed importance of religion and prayer tended to have a later age of sexual debut and were also less likely to use all substances. Some risk and protective factors studies also link religiosity, spirituality and religious identity with ‘conventional’ behaviour (Jessor and Jessor, 1977; Resnick, Harris et al., 1993). WHO (2002) also asserts that adolescents who have spiritual beliefs are less likely to initiate sexual intercourse early.

Another factor that is reported to increase resiliency is positive self-worth (Farrell and White, 1998; McCord 1992). Pyszczynski, Greenberg et al. (2004) argue that people want to believe that they are worthy and valuable human beings, and this desire drives their behaviour. Crocker and Knight (2005:200) describe contingencies of self-worth as “what people believe they need to be or do to have value and worth as a person”. They also suggest that contingencies of self-worth regulate behaviour. Some studies have found that contingencies of self-worth shape students’ emotions, thoughts, and behaviour (Crocker, Karpinski et al., 2003; Crocker, Luhtanen et al., 2003; Crocker and Wolfe, 2001; Crocker, 2002). It has also been indicated that how an individual evaluates the self
in certain relationships is critical to his or her overall sense of worth as a person (Harter, Waters et al., 1998) and positive self-worth is associated with safe sexual behaviours (Stone, Rosenthal et al., 2006).

Risk factors are of interest because this study involves girls who engage in intergenerational sex which is associated with high HIV infection among girls/young women in sub-Saharan Africa. Protective factors or factors that give young people resilience against certain risk behaviour, in this case intergenerational sex, are of interest because the study also involved girls who were able to resist intergenerational sex even though they were approached by older men to have sex with them. Since World Health Organization (2002) has asserted that health risk behaviours share the same risk and protective factors across cultures, the concepts derived from the literature assisted the researcher to analyse, interpret and present the findings of this study that relate to risk and protective factors regarding intergenerational sex.

2.7 Power dynamics and empowerment

Apart from being a risky sexual behaviour that contributes to the spread of HIV across generations, intergenerational sexual relationships are relationships in which there is inherent power imbalance between adolescent girls, who have little experience and social and economic power, and older men who have more experience and social and economic power. In view of this, power dynamics and empowerment theory was employed to understand how adolescent girls in this study who engaged in intergenerational sexual relationships negotiated their sexual encounters. The framework was also used to describe the experiences of the girls who resisted intergenerational sex.

Current efforts towards HIV prevention have focused primarily on individual-level factors as a means of encouraging behaviour change (Gutierrez, Oh et al. 2000). Fishbein’s theory of reasoned action (Fishbein and Ajzen, 1975), Bandura’s social cognitive theory (Bandura, 1982) and Rosenstock’s Health Belief Model (Rosenstock, Strecher et al., 1994) have been used as the basis for identifying factors related to sexual behaviours that place persons at risk of contracting HIV (Gutierrez, Oh et al., 2000).
These theories are based on the common assumption that individuals have control over the behaviours they perform and that these behaviours are the result of a rational cost/benefit analysis (Gutierrez, Oh et al., 2000). Gutierrez, Oh et al. (2000) argue that although these theories clearly aid our understanding of intraindividual factors related to HIV prevention, they fail to take into account the fact that sexual behaviour is an inherently dyadic interaction.

A gendered understanding of HIV prevention calls for a contextualized perspective in considering how women and adolescent girls protect themselves from infection. Empowerment theory is used to explain how perceptions of power affect behaviours (Gutierrez, 1990; Kelly, 1993). This theory has emerged as a way of explaining how individuals can increase their power through social interaction (Rappaport, 1987; Gutierrez, 1990). Empowerment, therefore, has become a major framework for social work research and practice (Speer and Peterson, 2000).

2.7.1 Description of empowerment theory

Gutierrez (1990:149) has defined empowerment as “a process of increasing personal, interpersonal, or political power so that individuals can take action to improve their life situations”. Gutierrez, Oh et al. (2000) assert that empowerment can be considered at the macro level, which attends to the political and objective change and at the micro level, which focuses on individual or personal change. Zimmerman (1995) describes empowerment in the context of citizen participation as involving intrapersonal, interactional and behavioural components. Gutierrez and Zimmerman’s descriptions of power and empowerment complement each other.

The nature of the current study impels the researcher to focus on the personal and interpersonal aspects (micro level) of power in intergenerational sexual relationships where senior secondary schoolgirls are concerned, rather than the political aspect of power. Empowerment theory, as far as it relates to personal and interpersonal power (and not political power), has been used to explain how perceptions of power among senior secondary schoolgirls in Botswana might be affecting their behaviour as far as negotiating safe sex practices are concerned. This theory is considered particularly
relevant in the Botswana context where women are generally expected to be submissive to men, especially when it comes to sexual relations.

2.7.1.1 Personal/intrapersonal power

Personal power involves experiencing oneself as an effective and capable person (Gutierrez, 1990). According to Malhotra (2003) it entails the current capability or degree of control of an individual with regard to taking action. One means of increasing personal power is by identifying and understanding the power one already has (Gutierrez, 1990, 2000). Intrapersonal empowerment addresses the confidence and worth individuals feel they have about acting for themselves and includes concepts of perceived control, self-efficacy, motivation to control and perceived competence (Zimmerman, 1995). According to Malhotra (2003), it is embodied in the idea of self-efficacy and the significance given to individual girls’ and women’s own realization that they can be the agents of change in their own lives.

In relation to intergenerational sex and HIV prevention for schoolgirls, personal power would involve analysing and understanding ways in which they can take charge of their own sexual encounters through determining when and where to have sex and engaging in safe sex behaviours (Gutierrez, Oh et al., 2000). Girls should be able to analyse their own situations, decide for themselves and take individual and/or collective action to improve various aspects of their lives (Khanna, 1992).

2.7.1.2 Interpersonal/interactional power

Interpersonal power refers to the ability to influence others with social power. Social power derives from such things as one’s social position, role, interpersonal skills, credibility or attractiveness (Gutierrez, Oh et al., 2000). Some of these bases of power are ascribed, based on race, gender or class, but others can be achieved as one develops social skills or attains new social positions (Gutierrez, Oh et al., 2000). According to Zimmerman (1995), interactional empowerment describes how an individual feels about herself in relation to others, groups and communities. It reflects critical understanding of the forces that shape an environment and the knowledge of resources and methods to produce social change. This area emphasizes the critical thinking that individuals apply
to the contexts in which they live (Zimmerman 1995). This aspect of empowerment encompasses the ability to formulate strategic choices, and to control resources and decisions that affect important life outcomes (Malhotra, Schuler et al., 2002; Malhotra, 2003).

In the context of this study where girls and women are generally expected to be submissive to their sexual male partners (gender inequality), the status should change through expanding girls’ and women’s ability to make strategic life choices; they should be enabled to exercise freedom of choice and action to shape their sexual lives (Malhotra, 2003). They should have equal influence in their sexual relationship and should be able to influence their sexual partners. In other words girls and young women should be able to negotiate with their sexual partners with regard to when and where to have sex and to what contraception to use in order to prevent pregnancy and HIV infection and other STIs.

2.7.2 Power dynamics

Generally, many African men do not want to take the responsibility for condom use (Machel, 2001; Manzini, 2001; Harrison, Xaba et al., 2001) yet, without gender equity, women are not in a position to initiate protection. Young women’s relationships do not occur in a vacuum but in a context where norms, values and sexual practices that regard women as subordinate to men already exist (Machel, 2001). Amaro (1995:440) points out “for women… sexual behaviour occurs in the context of unequal power and in a context that socializes women to be passive sexually and in other ways”. Safer sex practices, especially condom use, are not under young women’s control, but have to be negotiated with partners who are often, as in intergenerational sexual relationships, older and with whom they feel unequal in terms of decision-making and self-assertiveness (Harrison, Xaba et al., 2001; Jewkes, Vundule et al., 2001; Jewkes, Levin et al., 2003; Machel, 2001; Manzini, 2001). Further, the matter is complicated because of economic imperatives, which reduce women’s negotiation ability (Kaufman and Stavrou, 2002; Luke, 2003; Machel 2001). According to power-dependence theory two variables govern dependence: the value of the resource received and the availability of this resource from
alternative sources (Gutierrez, Oh et al., 2000). Power is thus an inverse function of dependence: the more dependent one person is on the other, the less power that person has in that relationship (Gutierrez, Oh et al., 2000).

The power dynamics between men and women and the fact that sexual behaviour is an inherently dyadic interaction need to be thoroughly explored in relation to condom use (Amaro, 1995; Gutierrez, Oh et al., 2000; O'Leary, 1995; Wingood and DiClemente, 1998). Pitso, Edmondson et al. (2000) assert that gender and sexuality issues concerning use of condom need to be thoroughly explored. For condoms to be successful, behavioural barriers must be understood in the context of real life situations and the types of relationships. Rishyasringa (2000) asserts that girls’ and women’s control over their reproductive role requires them to make informed decisions on fertility, gynaecological health and sexual activity. This calls for gender equality and empowerment for women to control their bodies and make decisions to protect their reproductive and sexual health. It is important to note that for the successful empowerment of women, men, too, have to adopt responsible behaviours.

2.8 The gap this study aims to fill

Studies conducted in other parts of sub-Saharan Africa indicate that young women and girls enter into intergenerational sexual relationships for the purposes of getting money, goods and services which can help them to meet their basic social needs. Some need the money to pay for their school fees, buy school uniform and books, and pay for their health services, while others need the money for food. Hardships and wars prevailing in some of these countries have exacerbated women’s and girls’ poverty, which in turn forces them to engage in intergenerational sexual relationships that expose them to higher risks of sexually transmitted infections including HIV (UNDP, 2000).

In contrast to other sub-Saharan African countries, Botswana has a relatively strong economy with free education, free health care services, free access to land ownership by both men and women and well established social welfare systems (Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, 2003; UNAIDS, 2003; UNDP; 2000; UNICEF, 2000).
Furthermore, Botswana is different in terms of its politics, economic development, and social organization, from all the other countries in the sub-Saharan region where studies on intergenerational sex have been conducted. Further details about Botswana’s uniqueness with regards to other sub-Saharan African countries have already been discussed in 1.4 of chapter one. The country also has a relatively small population of approximately 1.7 million people (CSO, 2001) and has a relatively high per capita GDP of $10,100 in 2005 (CIA, 2005).

This uniqueness of Botswana makes it difficult to draw conclusions from other sub-Saharan African experiences. It has also been argued that the contextual variables governing intergenerational sexual relationships (in regard to HIV epidemic) do not behave consistently across time and space (UNDP, 2000). UNDP (2000) however, recommended that when they are clear trends with regards to intergenerational sex elsewhere in the region, they be regarded as applicable to Botswana until disproved by Botswana-specific studies. Published (UNDP, 2000) and unpublished (Pitso, 2000) reports call for specific and systematic research in the dynamics of intergenerational sex in Botswana.

Furthermore, the studies conducted on intergenerational sexual relationships in the sub-Saharan region have been mainly on the challenges and difficulties faced by girls and young women who are in those relationships and on factors that motivate girls to enter into them. There is a paucity of information on girls who resist getting in intergenerational sexual relationships. Little is known about what makes them to resist. In view of this gap, this study included girls who were approached by older men to have sex with them but declined in order to find out the factors that helped them to resist intergenerational sexual relationships. It also includes the views of some members of the public (male and female), views that are lacking in most of the studies conducted on this topic in the region.
Chapter Three
Research Design

3.1 Selection of methods

This chapter describes the research design and procedures employed in this project. It explains how the methods were selected, how the data collection instruments were developed and pilot tested. It also describes the sampling, recruitment, administration of questionnaires, how the interviews and the radio talk back sessions were conducted. Data management and analysis is also discussed.

3.1.1 Quantitative and Qualitative research methods

An extensive review of the literature was conducted to get a comprehensive understanding of the topic. The limited data on intergenerational sexual relationships in Botswana and the sensitive nature and the complexity of this topic called for the use of mixed methods. The strategy employed in this study was the Concurrent Triangulation Strategy. This was done in an attempt to confirm, cross-validate and corroborate findings within a single study (Creswell, 2003). Quantitative and qualitative methods were used as they are considered to supplement and complement each other, that is, off-setting the weaknesses inherent within one method with the strengths of the other method (Creswell, 2003; Silverman, 2004). Normally quantitative data give numbers which form patterns and tell a story (Balnaves and Caputi, 2001; Chambers, 1983) and qualitative research provides researchers with the opportunity to listen to people tell their life stories (Warr, 2004). In qualitative research the participants express their feelings and experiences in their own words and the method yields rich and complex data (Campbell, 2002; Liamputtong and Ezzy, 2005; McKie and Gregory, 1996; Silverman, 2004; Warr, 2004)).

Silverman (2000) points out that the selection of a research method should depend upon what the researcher is trying to find out. Since this research established the prevalence and determinants of intergenerational sexual relationships, it needed quantitative methods such as a survey questionnaire to provide statistical data which are useful in explaining
public health issues, especially the cause and extent of phenomenon under discussion. Furthermore, intergenerational sex is a complex topic calling for in-depth interviews. Through in-depth interviews the schoolgirls were able to tell their stories. In-depth interviews enabled the researcher to collect data with full identities and bring to understanding behavioural abilities and barriers in the context of the real life situations of the girls and the types of sexual relationships they engage in. The men and women who participated in this study through a radio talk back had an opportunity to communicate their views.

Some researchers suggest that the in-depth interview is a successful method in collecting sensitive data on experiences and feelings of sexual desire among girls (Tolman, 1994); collecting data on boys’ and girls’ sexuality and how they experience their worlds (Lee, 1993); and collecting data on girls expressions of sexuality, love and romance (Thompson, 1995). Eder and Fingerson (2002) argue that there is not any single method which can capture the richness of human experience. In realisation of the above assertions and claims from these different researchers the Concurrent Triangulation Strategy was employed in order to get comprehensive data which was demanded by this sensitive and complex topic.

3.2 Ethical considerations

In view of the fact that the problem under investigation is sensitive and complex, ethical considerations were addressed in the methods of recruitment and data collection as indicated later on in this chapter. The project was also approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC) of the University of Melbourne. The Botswana Government through the Ministry of Health Research Unit and Ministry of Education gave the researcher permission to conduct the study in Botswana.

3.3 Study site

Gaborone, the capital city of Botswana, was selected as the study site. As one of the fastest growing cities in the world (Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, 2003) it is where most of the modern developments are taking place. There are various
entertainment activities and high electronic luxurious items and fashionable clothes which are first seen in this city before they can spread country wide. This introduction of consumer a society through television, videos, the internet and magazines in the capital city of Botswana has increased young women’s needs and aspirations. This challenging environment finds young people more especially girls with limited knowledge on how to define their priorities and find ways to satisfy these new desires independently from men and their sexuality (Bagnol and Chamo, 2004). Therefore the city of Gaborone was chosen because of the possible higher concentrations of sexual relationships in which young girls are enticed by wealthy older men to exchange sex for money and material gifts.

Gaborone was also an ideal site because it is the only city with four public senior secondary schools. Furthermore, males and females living in cities constitute the highest proportion of the HIV positive population (17.1%) than those living in rural places (14.1%) (NACA, 2005). Moreover, young women (15-24 years) in Botswana have a higher rate of HIV infection (34%) as compared to young men and boys (16%) (NACA, 2001; UNICEF, UNAIDS et al. 2002).

3.4 Study design

The study was conducted in three stages.

1. Survey

The survey was conducted with schoolgirls in public senior secondary schools in Gaborone. The girls completed a questionnaire. The survey was completed first before proceeding to the other two stages. However, the last two stages were run concurrently.

2. In-depth interviews

The in-depth interviews were conducted with schoolgirls who were involved in sexual relationships with older men and with girls who were approached by older men but declined to have sex with them.
3. Radio Talk Back (RTB)

The two radio talk back sessions were conducted with the aim of gathering men's views on intergenerational sexual relationships although the views of other members of the public were also accepted.

3.5 Stage 1: The Survey

3.5.1 Sample

All four public senior secondary schools in Gaborone were included in the study

Senior secondary schoolgirls

Senior secondary schools, equivalent to the last two years of the Victorian secondary school system of years 11 and 12 in Australia, were used. Schoolgirls were chosen because they are more vulnerable due to the school environment, where students easily influence each other, and there is a lot of peer pressure. There is anecdotal evidence that girls compete with each other regarding the types of mobile phones they have, the type of clothes they can afford to buy and even the amount of cash they have. This has led to a demand of what is commonly referred to, among the girls, as triple C. Triple C is an acronym for Cash, Cell (local name for a mobile phone), and Clothes. This type of environment was seen as putting pressure on schoolgirls to enter into sexual relationships that could provide them with such things. Schoolgirls also experience pressure from the school community in general, for example, boys/teachers/drivers/administrators that make some sexual advances. In fact, a number of male teachers have in the past been dismissed from their jobs because of engaging in sexual relationships with schoolgirls.

3.5.2 Sample size

In total, 600 schoolgirls participated in the study. This large sample size was required to enable an estimate of the prevalence of intergenerational sex (which is likely to be low as indicated by some Knowledge Attitudes Practices (KAP) studies (SIAPAC-Africa, 2001;

The total number of girls in the four senior secondary schools who were 18 years and above was 1348. Basing on the eligible total number of girls the researcher recruited 600 girls in the four schools. Twelve classes were randomly sampled in each school. All girls 18 years and older from the sampled classes were requested to go to the student hall during their study period. They were not informed about the research topic and they first learned about it when they were already in the hall. The 12 sampled classes gave different total number of participants per school as shown in Table 1 below.

**Table 1: Sample size per school**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Senior secondary schools</th>
<th>No. of girls per school</th>
<th>Target population (18yrs+ per school)</th>
<th>Sample size per school (Participation rate is in brackets)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Senior secondary school 1</td>
<td>774</td>
<td>405</td>
<td>193 (47.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior secondary school 2</td>
<td>799</td>
<td>253</td>
<td>117 (46.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior secondary school 3</td>
<td>589</td>
<td>288</td>
<td>149 (51.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior secondary school 4</td>
<td>743</td>
<td>402</td>
<td>141 (35.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2905</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The average participation rate was approximately 45 percent. Since the desired number was reached the recruitment was not continued.

**3.5.3 Questionnaire design**

The survey questionnaire designed by Cleland (1998-1999) was adapted. The data collection instrument was adapted because it has been used in different countries and has been proven to be appropriate for collecting data on partner selection, sexual behaviour and risk taking among the youth. However, the researcher had to develop some new questions in order to gather some specific and relevant information for this project which were not covered by the adapted instrument. Three questions were adopted, while 12 were adapted and 30 new ones were developed by the researcher (see appendix 2). A triple asterisk (***), against a question is an indication that the question was adopted, a
double (**) one indicates that it was adapted and a single (*) one that it was formulated by the researcher.

The quantitative survey was conducted in order to establish the prevalence of intergenerational sexual relationships, to find out the perceptions of schoolgirls regarding intergenerational sexual relationships and to establish their sexual practices. The questionnaire had four sections. The first section consisted of 12 questions which elicited demographic data, what respondents discuss with their parents/guardian, what their leisure activities were and their social habits. The participants were asked about their age, their residence, and about whom they live with. The possible responses relating to whom they live with could be any of the following; parent(s), guardian, grand parent(s), sister(s)/brother(s), uncle/aunt and other (specify) and they were asked to circle all that apply. They were asked whether they ever discuss sex-related matters with their mothers/guardians and the responses could be any of the following; never, occasionally and often. There were further questions asked about the type of leisure activities they engage in and how often they drink alcohol and the frequency of cigarette smoking. The responses for alcohol in-take and cigarette smoking could be any of the following; never, once only, daily, weekly, monthly, and yearly.

Section two established the perceptions of the participants on sexual relationships with a particular focus on intergenerational sexual relationships. An intergenerational sexual relationship for this project is described as a sexual relationship between an adolescent girl and older man where there is an age difference of ten (10) or more years. ‘Boyfriend’ in Botswana is used exclusively to refer to intimate relationships and it includes both situations—whether the partners have sex or not. In spite of the common understanding of the word boyfriend among the surveyed group it was defined and made clear what it meant in the survey instructions. In this thesis a boyfriend refers to an intimate partner and same-age boyfriend refers to an intimate male partner in ones age group whether one has had sexual intercourse with him or not. An older boyfriend refers to an intimate male partner who is ten years and above whether one has had sexual intercourse with him or not. Sexual partner refers to either same-age boyfriend or older boyfriend with whom one has sex.
The participants were given 12 statements and they were requested to indicate whether they strongly agree, or just agree, strongly disagree or just disagree with that statement. Some of the statements were; in sexual relationships, men should always be older; it is difficult to talk about safe sex (e.g. condom use) when your boyfriend is older (≥ 10years older); it is OK to have a same-age boyfriend and an older one (≥ 10years older) at the same time; there is a greater risk of getting sexual transmitted diseases including HIV when engaging in sexual intercourse with older men (≥ 10years older) than boys; and both sexual partners should have equal influence on what happens in a relationship.

Section three consisted of 12 questions. The participants were asked if they have or have had a same-age boyfriend/sexual partner or not. They were expected to give yes or no responses. They were also asked if they had ever had an older boyfriend/sexual partner (≥ 10years older) and they were expected to respond by indicating yes or no. They were asked to indicate the number of sexual partners they have and they were to indicate the number of their same-age sexual partners and older sexual partners separately. They were further asked to indicate by yes or no whether they have had vaginal sexual intercourse with their sexual partners. With regards to sexual intercourse experience, the first question was aimed at eliciting whether their current sexual partners were the first people they have had sex with. They were asked whether they could say they were persuaded to have sexual intercourse or forced or they were willing and were also requested to indicate if the sexual intercourse was planned or unexpected. They were asked if they did anything to prevent or if their partner did anything to prevent HIV and other STIs and if they did they were asked to specify what was done.

The last section addressed intergenerational sexual relationships. It consisted of eight questions. The participants were asked questions such as the following. Have you ever been approached by an older man (≥ 10years older) to have sex with him? If yes, did you agree to have sex with him? Are you currently in a sexual relationship with an older man (≥ 10years older)? If yes, how old is he? They were also asked to circle all the reasons they thought cause schoolgirls to engage in sexual relationships with older men. The list from which they were to choose consisted of money, cell phone, clothes, better
grades/marks, accommodation, transport, fun (go ijesa monate) and they also were given an open option and asked to specify an alternative response if needed.

The survey questionnaire tool used to collect data for this study underwent scrutiny by some lecturers in the Key Centre for Women’s Health in Society (KCWHS) who looked at it critically and gave constructive and helpful comments which made it clear and self explanatory.

3.5.4 Pilot-test

Participants for the pilot study were recruited from one of the senior secondary school in Botswana. This was done in the month of June 2004. The logistics of meeting with the girls were arranged with one of the pastoral teachers in the chosen school. The researcher talked to the girls who were 18-years-old and above in their class and invited them to participate in the pilot study. The schoolgirls were informed that the main purpose of their involvement was to test the clarity of the questionnaire, its appropriateness for the study and to find out the time it took to complete it. They were told that participation was completely voluntary. They were further informed that their responses were not going to be included in the research report. Then they were given a verbal summary of the study’s aims and objectives and told what they were required to do. The participants were also given a Plain Language Statement (PLS) and requested to consider it. They were given twenty minutes. All of the 15 girls expressed interest in participating in the pilot study and were given a consent form to sign. They were given the same PLS and consent forms that were given to participants in the main study. as per HREC agreement. They were also informed that they were free to withdraw from the pilot study without any explanation.

Pilot test questionnaire administration

After they had signed consent forms they were given survey questionnaires to complete. They were requested to time themselves and record the time that they took to complete the questionnaire. Completed questionnaires were returned. As the questionnaires were being handed in a quick scan through each of them was done to check if the participant had attempted all relevant sections. Participants were then asked about the questions and
most said the questionnaire was clear and straightforward. They were thanked and we parted. After reviewing their responses one question required modification.

It became clear that the time it took to complete the survey questionnaire was influenced by a number of factors such as the respondents’ sexual experience, whether the respondent had a boyfriend even though she was not sexually active and whether the person had never dated anyone. Therefore, the times it took the respondents to complete the questionnaire ranged between 30 to 50 minutes depending on each respondents’ situation.

3.5.5 Recruitment for the survey

At the first meeting with each of the schools a timetable was worked out to facilitate the recruitment process. In all four schools girls were grouped together and addressed in a student hall. The teachers assisted in arranging a meeting with the girls who were 18 years and above from the sampled classes. The boys and those who were under 18 remained in their respective classes studying. On arrival, I was taken to the school hall to meet students who were already gathered there. The teacher’s role was to introduce the researcher to the girls as a student researcher from the University of Melbourne in Australia. The students were then told that their help was needed and that it would be explained to them by the researcher what exactly was requested of them. After that the teacher would leave the researcher with the students. As preliminaries the students were first asked about their well being and about how they were doing in their studies and encouraged to work hard. This was done to put them at ease. They were then given a verbal summary of the aims and objectives and it was also explained to them what kind of help they were being requested to offer. The participants were given the Plain Language Statement and were requested to consider it. They were given twenty minutes to read and ask questions. Because of the tight afternoon schedule in all the senior secondary schools the recruitment and administration of questionnaires had to be done all in two afternoons in each school. In each afternoon the first thirty minutes was devoted to recruitment and the remaining one hour being for questionnaire administration. That arrangement worked well in the four schools.
The girls were informed that participation was voluntary and that those who did not want to participate in the study were free to go. As indicated earlier on they first heard about the research topic and the purpose of the study in the hall. Those who expressed interest in participating in the study were given a consent form to sign. It was interesting that in spite of the sensitive nature of the topic most of girls were eager to participate. In all the four schools, all the girls who came to the student hall consented. The girls were requested to write their names and contact details on the consent form. It was made clear to them that their names were not going to be linked with their responses in the report as this was only done to facilitate subsequent communication. The steps of recruitment outlined above were followed in all the four schools and were repeated in different sessions.

3.5.6 Survey questionnaire administration

After they had consented they were given the survey questionnaires and code numbers and were requested to write their code numbers on both the survey questionnaires and on the consent forms. All those who consented completed a self-administered structured questionnaire, which was administered in a group. The sitting arrangement was modelled after the sitting of candidates when they write their final examinations whereby the space between individuals makes it difficult for candidates to consult or cheat during writing. This was done for privacy and to encourage the girls to put down their views and experiences without any fear that the other student was able to see what they write. The questionnaire was administered in English because the students at this level are conversant in the English language. It was administered by the researcher and collected by her at the end of the exercise. It took an average of 45 minutes to be completed. The recruitment and questionnaire administration took about four months, from August to November 2004.

3.6 Data analysis

The data processing and analysis was carried out using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) program (Version 11.0) Data were entered manually in SPSS and were
cleaned; out-of-range values were identified and corrected and data were verified before analysis and descriptive outputs were produced for the report. Frequency tables were produced to have a general picture of the findings before interviews were conducted. This was done in order to confirm, cross-validate and corroborate findings during the interviews.

In addition to the actual results for the study, the survey results were also used to identify potential participants in in-depth interviews since involvement with older men was the inclusion criterion. The results of questions number 26, 27, and 28 in section 3 of the survey questionnaire and questions 38 to 41 in section 5 (See appendix 2) were used to select the eligible participants for the in-depth interviews.

### 3.7 Stage 2: The in-depth interview

#### 3.7.1 Sample

As was indicated earlier on under the recruitment for the survey, arrangements for subsequent communication were made by listing the respondents’ actual names and their particulars which could then be linked to their code numbers in the consent forms. This process resulted in a computerised password protected list. I was the only one who had access to their real identity and their code numbers and this promoted confidentiality and privacy. It was easy therefore to trace respondents who met the inclusion criterion for in-depth interviews. The eligible participants for the interviews were schoolgirls who were in intergenerational sexual relationships and those who were approached by older men but declined to have sex with them. There were 52 girls who were in current sexual relationship with older men and 178 who were approached by older men to have sex with them but declined. Out of 52 girls 20 girls (5 from each school) were invited for interview. There was no special criterion of choosing the 20 apart from the fact that they were the first five from the school list of girls who were involved in sexual relationships with older men. The same process was followed when selecting those who had declined to have sex with older men.
3.7.2 Interview guide

The interview guide ensures that all relevant issues are discussed (Liampittong and Ezzy, 2005). Individual interviews are ideally suited to obtaining relevant data on the meaning, identities and contexts associated with sexual behaviour among young people (Ingham, Vanwesenbeeck et al., 1999). The interviews in this study allowed for an exploration of the challenges and difficulties facing girls in their sexual relationships which ultimately affect their sexual and reproductive health. It also allowed for examination of the girls’ ability to handle such relationships.

The themes of the interview guide (see appendixes 3 and 4) were derived from the overall aim and objectives of the study. Some of the themes included were family type, social world, sexual relationships, condom use, gifts in sexual relationships, decision making and reasons why schoolgirls go out with older men. During the implementation phase the interviewer took into considerations the preliminary results of the survey questionnaire. The interview guide was slightly modified after looking at the questionnaire preliminary results and some new themes like difficulty in talking about safe sex, and equality in conducting intimate relationships were included. In addition to that after conducting about six interviews certain themes like respect and obedience in intergenerational sexual relationships emerged and these were explored in the subsequent interviews.

3.7.3 Recruitment for the interview

The recruitment of participants for the interviews started in the month of November 2004. The researcher phoned the girls and identified herself as the researcher who administered a questionnaire in their school. Then the participant was invited for an interview after being reminded that participation was voluntary. For the year 11 girls the interviews were convenient for them after school or during the weekends at an agreed time. Year 12 girls came any time during the day when they were free.

Recruiting the girls for interviews was a challenge. Although they agreed to participate in the interview over the phone 16 did not keep the appointments. Those who did not turn
up were phoned to find out what the problem was. Four declined, they were thanked and deleted from the list. Those who said they were held up were offered another time. Of these, seven came for interview and five did not. In total, 13 schoolgirls who were in intergenerational sexual relationships, two who were currently dating older men and 25 girls who were approached by older men but declined to have sex with them were recruited. The researcher stopped recruiting as data saturation was reached. This was evidenced by interviewees bringing up the same responses over and over again.

3.7.4 Interviewing session

The interviews were conducted by the researcher and they were conducted in Setswana, the local language. They were conducted in a private office at the Institute of Health Sciences (IHS)-Gaborone and all the participants were comfortable with the place. The participants were interviewed one by one. When participants arrived in the office they were made comfortable. Then the aim of the study was briefly explained. They were asked if the discussion could be audio taped and permission to take notes was sought. They were assured that their names or any other identifying details would not be linked to what would be recorded in the tapes. In all the proceedings code-numbers were used. Some of the interview discussions were tape recorded with the interviewees’ permission. Others were not because the participants were not comfortable with the recording exercise. All the participants allowed me to take notes during the discussions. The participants were informed that if they did not want the interview to continue they were free to ask that the interview be stopped without any explanation. They were further informed that they were free to decline to answer any particular question if they felt uncomfortable. It was reiterated that participation was completely voluntary. The schoolgirls were also told that there were some possible risks that they might experience by participating in the interviews (distress, fear, and anxiety). They were reminded that special arrangements were in place with Botshabelo Rehab Crisis Centre (BORECC) to assist them in the event they needed help. After all this the participants were asked to indicate verbally that they wanted to participate, at which point if they answered in the affirmative, they were given a consent form to sign.
A semi-structured interview guide was used during the interviews. However, the interview was participant-led with minimal interruptions. Interjections were only necessary where probes and prompts were required. Although the interview guide was used the discussions were allowed to flow naturally as Rapley (2004) stresses that researchers should follow the interviewee’s talk to follow up on and work with them and not strictly delimit the talk to their predetermined agenda. Sometimes a question would be asked and the interviewee would provide most of the information without any further probes being made. The interviews were conducted with considerable flexibility to allow the interviewees the freedom to explore issues under discussion. However, all the key points were covered. Each in-depth interview took about an hour.

The interviews were conducted in order to explore the reasons for intergenerational sexual relationships, to identify how young women negotiated their relationships, to find out the risk and protective factors for sexual relationships among girls who were involved with older men and those who were approached by older men but declined to have sex with them respectively. The concept of gifts receiving and their impact on decision making was also explored. These types of data were pursued in order to fully identify and understand behavioural abilities and barriers in the context of the real life situations of the girls and the types of the sexual relationships they engaged in. The interviews were conducted from the month of November 2004 up to February 2005.

3.8 Data analysis

For the non-taped discussions extended notes were written a short period after the interview. With regard to the audio taped discussions, the tapes were listened to and the gaps were filled after which the whole script was written in full. This exercise assisted in discovering new themes and they were followed up in the subsequent interviews. At a later stage the 40 scripts were translated into English and typed. As data were being examined, emerging common themes were identified. The scripts were read over and over again in order to make sure that most of the major themes had been identified. A qualitative database for all the 40 girls who were interviewed was created and themes were further generated from the database using Microsoft Word. Themes identified
through reading and re-reading of the transcripts and through Microsoft word led to a final code list. The researcher was guided by La Pelle (2004) article titled ‘Simplifying Qualitative Data Analysis Using General Purpose Software Tools’ in developing the code list. Coding qualitative data and retrieving it was done using Microsoft Word macros (Ryan, 2004)

3.9 Stage 3: Radio talk back

3.9.1 Rationale for using radio talk-back programs

Since radio talk back is not a usual data collection method in research the rationale for using it in this study is vital. It was not easy to recruit older men who engaged in sexual relationships with schoolgirls for a number of reasons. The first problem was that such relationships are not condoned in Botswana, and therefore it would not be easy for men to acknowledge the fact that they were engaging in sexual relationships with schoolgirls. The second was that some of the men who engage in these illicit relationships are married and therefore would not like their wives to know about them. Thirdly, some of these men hold high and responsible positions in society (Dow, 2002) and being discovered or admitting to be in sexual relationships with schoolgirls would constitute a scandal that would seriously tarnish their reputations. Therefore, to overcome these problems a radio talk back was employed to gather views from the public which might possibly include these men. It was hoped that men who date young girls would also call and share their views and perceptions about such relationships. While this is an unusual data collection method in research as indicated earlier on it was considered to be the only viable alternative method of reaching men who could talk freely through an anonymous medium without any fear under the circumstances.

3.9.2 Background of radio talk back programs in Botswana

Radio talk backs are familiar means of discussing issues of public concern in Botswana. They are open fora where people call to discuss specific topics over the radio. Normally callers do not give their real names; they are allowed to give pseudonyms to facilitate smooth communication on first name terms. However, they are encouraged to give their
location. Although the studio is in Gaborone people call from all parts of Botswana. The presenter manages the calls; participants or callers are informed about liable behaviours.

Some radio talk back programs are run weekly like Maokaneng and some are conducted daily from Monday to Friday like Radio Botswana Station 2 (RB2). The public is informed about the coming topic in advance although sometimes they are informed a few minutes before the program starts. Some topics are suggested by the public while some are suggested by the government and non-governmental organisations. Some topics that have previously been discussed on radio talk back sessions include sexual assault, incest, abortion, rape, and some socio economic and cultural issues.

### 3.9.3 Radio talk-back programs for this study

After permission to use the radio talk back programs was granted the timetable was worked out to facilitate the advertisement (recruitment) process. The researcher met with Maokaneng principal broadcasting officer and the RB2 manager and the logistics of running the two radio talk back sessions were arranged.

The presenters were informed that the talk back specifically sought the following information from callers:

- Whether they think intergenerational sexual relationships were prevalent in Botswana
- The reasons for intergenerational sexual relationships in Botswana
- Effects on decision-making of wide age differences in sexual relationships
- Whether they think intergenerational sexual relationships could contribute to the spread of HIV/AIDS in Botswana (If yes, how?).
- The suggestions they have regarding how the issue of intergenerational sexual relationships could be addressed

We went over the questions together and agreed that in addition to the above questions responses from the participants/callers would also direct further questions. In these
particular programs the researcher was allowed to be in the studio and was allowed to ask for some clarifications from the callers through the presenter.

Radio talk back sessions were held at different days with two different programs; one with Maokaneng and the other with RB2. Maokaneng was used because most of its callers are adults and the majority of them are men. That trend was also confirmed during this study. Out of the 30 callers, 27 were men and 3 were women. The Maokaneng program ran for one and half hours from 4:30pm to 6pm. RB2 usually targets a mixed group in terms of both gender and age. There were 26 people who called among which 15 were women and 11 were men. RB2 program ran for one hour from 8am to 9am.

3.9.4 Sample

During the first program 30 people called and in the second program 26 people called. They were 56 callers, 38 men and 18 women. They called from all parts of Botswana.

3.9.5 Recruitment for the radio talk-back sessions

The public was informed through the radio that for the coming Maokaneng and RB2 radio talk back sessions the topic for discussion was intergenerational sexual relationships (older men who engage in sexual relations with schoolgirls). For this particular topic, the advertisement specifically informed the public that there was a researcher who was interested in gathering men's views on the subject matter although the views of other members of the public would also be welcome. They were also informed that they were not going to be linked in any way to their opinions and views. They were further informed that the results of the radio talk back discussions would be reported in the study in an aggregate form.

3.9.6 The calling in

The presenters started by introducing the topic in order to remind the callers and indicated how that day’s show was slightly different from the previous ones. The public was further informed that since the advertisement had clearly stated that the topic under discussion on that day was for research purposes, those who called the radio station were
considered to have understood the advertisement and to have agreed to participate in the study. The radio talk back presenters asked the callers whether they thought intergenerational sexual relationships were prevalent in Botswana or not and they further asked them what they thought the reasons for such relationships were. The public was also asked if they thought intergenerational sexual relationships could contribute to the spread of HIV/AIDS in Botswana and were further requested to explain their answers. Finally they were requested to give some suggestions regarding how the issue of intergenerational sexual relationships could be addressed. All the discussions were tape recorded and notes were taken by the researcher.

All the key points were covered. Some callers were brief and to the point while others were elaborate. Some callers were emotional and wanted to mention some older men who dated schoolgirls by names in the air but the presenter did not allow them because that is unethical. Maokaneng was conducted in Setswana while RB2 used both Setswana and English. The callers called from all over the country

### 3.10 Data analysis

Notes were taken by the researcher and the discussions were also tape recorded. These were then compared and extended notes were written shortly after the radio talk back session. At a later stage, the 56 scripts of the callers were translated into English and typed. As data were being examined emerging common themes were identified. The transcriptions were read over and over again till more themes were identified. A database for all 56 callers was created in Microsoft Word. The themes that were identified through reading and re-reading of the transcripts and confirmed through Microsoft Word led to a final code list.
Chapter Four
Intergenerational sexual relationships

This chapter presents the results from 600 schoolgirls who were surveyed. First the demographic characteristics of the respondents and their older partners are presented followed by their sexual practices. Then the reasons why girls engage in intergenerational sexual relationships are addressed, and the participants’ perceptions of such relationships are also covered. Finally, the results are discussed.

4.1 Demographic characteristics of respondents and their older partners

The age of the respondents ranged between 18 and 22 years with an average age of 20 years. The majority 499 (83.2%) were 18 years old, 83 (13.8%) participants were 19 years old, 12 (2%) were aged 20 years while just four were aged 21 and only two were aged 22 years. The majority of the participants 394 (65.7%) were in Form 4 (Year 11) and 206 (34.3%) were in Form 5 (Year 12).

Three-quarters (437, 72.8%) of the schoolgirls resided in Gaborone and 163 (27.2%) were from the surrounding villages. The four surrounding villages are very close (maximum of 15km) to Gaborone. The majority (431, 71.8%) of the participants lived with their immediate families (parents and other siblings) and 44 (7.3%) lived with guardians. Of those who lived with their parents, four also lived with grandparents.

The participants who were in intergenerational sexual relationships were asked about the age and marital status of their sexual partners. Partners’ ages ranged from 28 to 50 years with an average age of 39 years. Over half (30, 57.9%) of the participants’ partners were married, one-third (19, 36.5%) were single, and a small number were divorced or separated (1, 1.9% and 2, 3.8% respectively).
4.2 Sexual practices

In order to estimate the prevalence of intergenerational sexual relationships the participants’ sexual relationship profiles were ascertained. It was made clear in the survey instructions that having a boyfriend meant an intimate relationship which may or may not involve sex. First girls were asked if they have ever had a boyfriend in their age group and data revealed that 457 (76.2%) have or have had boyfriends in their age group. Of these, 162 (35.4%) had had vaginal sexual intercourse and 293 (64.1%) had not. They were asked if they have friends/relatives who have older boyfriends. Nearly two-thirds (362, 60.3%) reported that they have friends/relatives who have older boyfriends. The participants were also asked if they had ever been approached by older men (≥ 10 years older) to have sexual relationships with them. Of the 600 girls, 232 (38.7%) indicated that they were asked by older men to have sex with them, 45 percent reported that they were not asked and 16.3 percent did not respond to the question.

In order to estimate the prevalence of intergenerational sex among the approached group they were further asked if they agreed to have sex with the older men. Of those, about one-quarter (54, 23.3%) consented to have sex and three-quarters (178, 76.7%) did not. Therefore, of 162 girls who had sex, 54 (33.3%) had sex with older men and 108 (66.7%) had sex with age mates. Of the 54 who had sex with older men, 48 (88.9%) had also had sex with age mates.

To address factors that might contribute to unsafe sex practices, the girls were asked if a condom was used during their first sexual experience with their current partner. Half (27, 50%) of the 54 girls who had sex with older men reported that a condom was used, three (5.6%) reported to have used another method and 16 (29.6%) indicated that nothing was done to prevent STIs/HIV and pregnancy. The number of the respondents who did nothing to prevent STI/HIV is worrying considering the fact that Botswana has one of the highest HIV prevalence in the whole world (NACA, 2005). Therefore, failure to engage in protected sex in Botswana might put one in a high risk of contracting the HIV virus more especially when having sex with older men. On the other hand, of 108 girls who had sex with their age mates, 79 (73%) reported that a condom was used, 10 (9.3%)
reported that another method was used and 19 (17.6%) indicated that nothing was done to prevent STI/HIV and pregnancy. The emerging pattern of high condom use during intra-generational sex might be a reflection of girls’ greater ability to negotiate condom use with a boyfriend of their age group than with an older boyfriend.

Some of the activities mentioned by the girls who reported that other methods of preventing HIV and other STIs were used included: ‘we tested for HIV and we were both negative (n=5)’; ‘we made sure that our body fluids did not come in contact with any of us’ (n=3); ‘we were using different towels and not tongue kissing’ (n=3) and ‘we were very careful’ (n=2). The above responses indicate that there is some lack of knowledge among some respondents with regard to HIV infection and prevention.

In pursuing factors that can contribute to unsafe sex, participants were asked if they would say they were persuaded, forced to have sex or they were both equally willing. Their responses are shown in Figure 3 below.

**Figure 3: Persuaded, forced or both equally willing to have sexual intercourse**
Of the 54 girls who had sexual intercourse with older men 32 (59.3%) reported that they were willing to have sex, about one-quarter (12, 22.2%) indicated that they were forced into sex and 10 (18.5%) reported that they were persuaded to have sex. Of the 22 who were either forced or persuaded, 13 (59%) indicated that nothing was done to prevent STIs/HIV and pregnancy during their first sexual encounter. More than half (32, 59.3%) reported that sexual intercourse was unexpected, 15 (27.8%) reported that sexual activity was planned and 7 (12.9%) did not respond to this question.

Three-quarters (75%) of those who had sex with their age mates indicated that they were both equally willing to have sex, 13 percent reported that they were forced into sex and 12 percent indicated that they were persuaded. Of the 108 girls who had sex with boys in their age group, 64 (59.3%) indicated that the sexual encounter was planned and 44 (40.7%) reported that it was unexpected. Of the 19 who indicated that nothing was done to prevent STIs/HIV and pregnancy, 12 (63%) did not plan their sexual encounters.

Unplanned sex was reported more often by girls who had sex with older men (59.3%), than girls who have sex with boys of their own age (40.7%). The pattern shown by these results is that the majority of the respondents who engaged in unprotected sex were those who did not plan for their sexual encounters and that they were either forced into having sex or persuaded into it.

The girls engaging in intergenerational sex were asked about the number of sexual partners they have in both intergenerational and intra-generational sexual relationships. The results are presented in Table 2 below.

**Table 2: Number and type of sexual partners for girls involved with older men**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No of same-age boyfriend (s)</th>
<th>No. of older boyfriend (s)</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>≥ 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(n=29)</td>
<td>(n=15)</td>
<td>(n=1)</td>
<td>(n=9)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>≥ 4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

79
According to Table 2 there are nine girls who had no boyfriends in their age group, of whom six reported to be in a monogamous sexual relationship with older boyfriends while three had two older boyfriends. Nine girls reported to have more than four sexual partners in same-age group and four among older men. Since the survey question which elicited the number of sexual partners was aimed at finding out the number of sexual partners the respondents have (How many sexual partners do you have? Number of same-age boyfriends_____ , Number of older boyfriends (≥ 10yrs older) _____), it is assumed that the sexual relationships were concurrent. The results have revealed that some girls have sexual relationships across generations, as well as multiple partners within intra-generational and intergenerational circles.

4.3 Reasons for intergenerational sexual relationships

To elicit socio-economic reasons for intergenerational sexual relationships all 600 respondents were asked to choose from a pre-selected list (which was based on the reviewed literature) that included both economic (money, mobile phone, clothes) and social (fun, popularity) reasons. They were asked to choose as many categories as were applicable. They were also asked to give any other reason that was not in the list. The reasons selected by the participants are presented in a bar chart below.
Material gain seems to be the main motivation why girls have sexual relationships with older men. Figure 4 shows that money is the reason most commonly thought to be influencing schoolgirls to go out with older men, reported by 514 (85.7%) of the participants. This is followed by mobile phone which was mentioned by 408 (68%) of the participants and clothes (383, 63.8%). About two-thirds (361, 60.2%) stated that having fun is one of the reasons why girls enter into sexual relationships with older men. Obtaining better grades/marks was mentioned by a small number (42, 7%). The other reasons recorded by 61 (10.2%) respondents included more social reasons than economic ones such as sexual satisfaction (n=8), love (n=4), peer pressure (n=7), the desire to have
a mature, responsible and experienced partner (n=8), and having status among the peers (n=5).

### 4.4 Perceptions of intergenerational sexual relationships

Data relating to the attitudes and perceptions towards intergenerational sexual relationships were obtained by asking all 600 participants to indicate whether they agreed or disagreed with the statements indicated in Table 3 below.

#### Table 3: Beliefs about intergenerational sexual relationships

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statements</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Don’t Know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Freq.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Freq.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1). Men should always be older in sexual relationships</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2). Older men (≥ 10 years older) are good boyfriends</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>475</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3). The reason girls go out with older men (≥ 10 years older) is that they</td>
<td>509</td>
<td>84.8</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>are able to provide gifts and money</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4). There is pressure on girls to date older men who can give gifts to</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>58.3</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>them</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5). Would you consider going out with an older man if you have the</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>524</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>opportunity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6). It is difficult to talk about safe sex (e.g. condom use) when your</td>
<td>235</td>
<td>39.2</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boyfriend is older (≥ 10 years older)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7). It is easier for girls to talk about safe sex, e.g. condom use when</td>
<td>484</td>
<td>80.7</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they have a boyfriend of their own age group than when they have an</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>older boyfriend (≥ 10 years older)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8). There is greater risk of getting STD/HIV when having sex with older</td>
<td>409</td>
<td>68.2</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>men</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9). Young girls who date older men are considered to be lucky</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>471</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10). It is OK to have a regular boyfriend and an older one at the same</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>525</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>time</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Key:** the highest percentages are in **bold**
More than half disagreed with the general proposition that men should always be older in sexual relationships. However, almost one-third believed that men should always be older in sexual relationships. More than three-quarters agreed that it was easier for girls to talk about safe sex with a boyfriend of their age than one who is older and about one-third reported that it is difficult to talk about safe sex (e.g. condom use) when your boyfriend is older (≥ 10 years older). About two-thirds agreed that there was greater risk of getting STIs/HIV when having sex with older men.

More than three-quarters of the participants did not perceive older men as good boyfriends, consider young girls who date older men as lucky, or think that it is OK to have a regular boyfriend and an older one at the same time. Furthermore, most would not consider dating older men if they have an opportunity. Gifts and money were considered as motivating factors for going out with older men by more than three-quarters of the participants and more than half believe that there is pressure on girls to date older men who can give gifts to them. The results show that most of the respondents did not see intergenerational sexual relationships as a good practice. They associated it with the risk of getting HIV and other sexual transmitted infections.
Further analysis was done to find out if there were statistically significant association between being in a sexual relationship with an older man and one’s perceptions of such relationships. The results are presented in Table 4 below.

**Table 4: The perceptions of those in sexual relationships with older men**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statements</th>
<th>Are you currently in a sexual relationship with an older man?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1). Men should always be older in sexual relationships*</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2). Older men (≥10 years older) are good boyfriends</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3). The reason girls go out with older men (≥10 years older) is that they are able to provide gifts and money</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4). There is pressure on girls to date older men who can give gifts to them</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5). Would you consider going out with an older man if you had the opportunity**</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6). It is difficult to talk about safe sex (e.g. condom use) when your boyfriend is older (≥10 years older)**</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7). It is easier for girls to talk about safe sex, e.g condom use when they have a boyfriend of their own age group than when they have an older boyfriend (≥10 years older)</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8). There is greater risk of getting STD/HIV when having sex with older men</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9). Young girls who date older men are considered to be lucky*</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10). It is OK to have a regular boyfriend and an older one at the same time</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* p < .01; ** p < .001

Of the 10 statements in Table 4, four demonstrated significant effects. There were statistically significant association between being in a sexual relationship with an older man and believing that men should always be older in sexual relationships ($\chi^2 = 7.963; p<$
.005) and in considering themselves lucky ($\chi^2 = 7.879; p < .005$). Those who were not in a relationship with an older man were more likely to think it was difficult to talk about safe sex when the sexual partner is older ($\chi^2 = 10.226; p < .001$) and less likely to consider such sexual relationships even if they have the opportunity ($\chi^2 = 85.459; p < .000$). The fact that there were statistically significant associations between being in a sexual relationship with an older man and some pertinent issues such as age difference, easy communication, being considered lucky and the likelihood of continuing in such relationships shows that the girls involved in intergenerational sexual relationships have positive perceptions and attitudes towards such relations.

### 4.5 Cultural beliefs

Empowerment theory (personal and interpersonal power) has been used to explain how perceptions of power among senior secondary schoolgirls in Botswana might affect their behaviour as far as negotiating safe sex practices are concerned. This theory is considered particularly relevant in the Botswana context where women are generally expected to be submissive to men, especially when it comes to sexual relations.

In the light of this, respondents were asked to indicate whether they agreed or disagreed with the statements ‘sexual partners should have equal influence in a relationship’ and ‘in Tswana culture, girls are often not expected to take the lead in sex’

The majority of the participants, 532 (88.7%) believe that girls should have equal influence in a relationship with men and a small number (28, 4.7%) disagreed. This is an indication that most of the girls believe in gender equality in the conduct of sexual relationships. The findings also show that almost two-thirds (385, 64.2%) of these young women agree with the statement that the Tswana culture does not expect girls to take the lead in sex. This reflects the girls’ knowledge about Tswana culture that men should always take the initiative in sexual matters. However, it is clear from their responses to the question relating to gender equality that though they have this knowledge they do not necessarily believe in it themselves.
4.7 Discussion

4.7.1 The participants’ sexual relationships’ profile

More than three-quarters of the participants had boyfriends in their age group and about one-quarter had older boyfriends. The same trend was found by BIDPA (2003) and UNDP (2005). This study has revealed the practice of multiple sexual partners both in intra-generational and intergenerational sexual relationships. Among those who reported being in current intergenerational sexual relationships, more than three-quarters also have sexual partners in their own age group. Of those, more than one-third had their first penetrative sexual experience with older men. The issue of multiple sexual partners has been identified to be one of the factors that fuels STI/HIV infections. UNDP (2000) reported the sex link of intergenerational transmission of HIV and argued that many girls in the sub-Saharan region have their first penetrative sex with older men who have had exposure to STIs including HIV. It further states that subsequent sexual involvement of these girls with the boys of their age provides the medium through which the virus moves from one generation to another.

More than one-third of the respondents of this study who had boyfriends reported that they had vaginal sexual intercourse with them. About two-thirds of the sexually active participants reported that it was their first sexual encounter. The average age of first sexual intercourse for this group was 16.5 years. Three-quarters of those who were in intra-generational sexual relationships stated that they were not forced into sex during their first sexual encounter, they were equally willing. It is interesting that many reported that the sex was unexpected and was not planned. More than half of those who were in intergenerational sexual relationships indicated that they were willing to have sex with older men, and only a few reported that they were forced. However, about two-thirds stated that the sex with older men was not planned and was unexpected.

Condom use among intra-generational sex and intergenerational sex was reported to be high during the first sexual contact with the current or most recent partner by the participants of this study, consistent with other studies in Botswana (BIDPA, 2003;
NACA, 2005; UNDP, 2005). Some sexually active participants in this study indicated that they did not use condoms during their first sexual intercourse with their current sexual partners. The number of those who had sex with older men who did not use a condom causes concern because the HIV prevalence is high in Botswana. Engaging in unprotected sex especially with older men who may have had exposure to HIV and other STIs is risky (UNDP, 2000). The sexual encounters of some of these girls were characterized by the lack of planning, persuasion and sometimes force. This study has found that there is still a lack of knowledge regarding HIV/AIDS infection and prevention. This was indicated by HIV preventive measures that some participants reported using during sexual intercourse, such as ‘we made sure that our body fluids did not come in contact with any of us’, ‘we were using different towels and not tongue kissing’ and ‘we were very careful’. These types of responses indicate that knowledge of how HIV infection takes place and how it is prevented is still poor among some secondary schoolgirls.

4.7.2 The prevalence of intergenerational sex

Among the participants who were approached by older men, almost one-quarter consented to have sex with them. The high prevalence of intergenerational sexual relationships reported in studies conducted in other sub-Saharan African countries (Bangol and Chamo, 2004; Machel, 2001; Luke, 2003; Luke and Kurz, 2002) seems not to have been confirmed by this study. There are several possible reasons why intergenerational sex prevalence among the participants was relatively low. The first possibility is that the prevalence of intergenerational sex in Botswana is actually relatively low. The prevalence might be low because studies conducted in sub-Saharan Africa on intergenerational sexual relationships have established that lack of access to education, health services, employment and a weak economy associated with poverty often forces women and girls into sexual relationships with potential economic benefits. Collins and Toure (2004) found that poverty and war, among other forms of societal crisis, forced increasing numbers of girls and young women to exchange sex for survival.
Because, as discussed in Chapter One, Botswana has a relatively strong economy with free education, free health care services, free access to land ownership by both men and women and well established social welfare systems schoolgirls in Botswana may be less likely to engage in sexual relationships with older men as a matter of survival as do those in less fortunate sub-Saharan African countries. The reasons given by the participants in this study have to do with their quest for luxury goods and services such as money, mobile phone, fashionable clothes, being driven in a posh car and having fun. Bagnol and Chamo (2004:10) suggest a possible reason for the quest for luxuries by asserting that:

The introduction of consumer society through television, videos and magazines has increased young women’s needs and aspirations, without educating them on how to define their priorities and find ways to satisfy these new desires independently from men and their sexuality.

The second possible reason for the relatively low levels of intergenerational sexual relationships could be the very narrow age range (between 18 and 22 years) of girls in this study. In fact a large majority of the participants were 18 year olds and only a small number were between 19 and 22 years old. It is possible that a wider age range could have produced different results. The common age range of the participants in other similar studies is 15-24 years. In Botswana, age at first sex is estimated between 11 and 15 for primary, junior and senior secondary school students (BIDPA, 2003). Therefore including only 18 year olds and above ran the risk of missing out the high risk group. However, the researcher was compelled to sample participants who were 18 years or older because of privacy concerns about this sensitive topic and the ethics requirements that researching younger girls where the consent of parents or guardians would be needed would compromise the privacy consideration.

Moreover, senior secondary school girls constitute a select group that has demonstrated, through passing a very competitive examination, that they are disciplined and serious about school work so many may be likely to avoid behaviours that might endanger their progress. Several studies have found that adolescent academic competence, high school
performance and having high ambition of becoming someone in life is associated with
the delayed onset of sexual activity, frequency of sex, pregnancy and childbearing (Billy,
Brewster et al., 1994; Blum, Beuhring et al., 2000; Borowsky, Hogan et al., 1997;
Brewster, Cooksey et al., 1998; Manlove, 1998; Lammers, Ireland et al., 2000; Karim,
Magnani et al., 2003; Raine, Jenkins et al., 1999; Resnick, Bearman et al., 1997; WHO,
2002).

There might also be a third possibility for the lower prevalence of intergenerational
sexual relationships. There is a likelihood of under-reporting among the participants
which reported to be common when doing research on sensitive topics (Lee, 1993;
Lessler and O'Reilly, 1997; Smith, 1992; Willis, 1997) especially when survey questions
eliciting the sensitive behaviour are not open-ended. The possibility of under-reporting in
this study might also come from the fact that girls who engage in intergenerational sexual
relationships in Botswana are not compelled by the fact that they lack basic needs such as
food, school fees, and money for health care and they might be uncomfortable to admit
that they are in such relations. Moreover, most of the participants did not consider such
relationships as a good practice. It was also interesting to note that nearly two-thirds
reported that they have friends/relatives who are in sexual relationships with older men
but less than one-quarter stated that they, themselves, were involved with older men.
When asked about their friends/relatives, these girls seem to be comfortable to
acknowledge that they did have friends and relatives in such relationships. It is quite
possible that they may be too embarrassed to divulge that they, too, go out with older
men, especially as intergenerational sexual relationships are perceived negatively.
Support for this argument comes from a Kenyan study. Most of the participants in Kenya
were said to be quick to point out that they have friends or know other girls who engage
in sexual relationships with older men (Longfield, Glick et al., 2004).

After critically examining all the possibilities of why the prevalence of intergenerational
sex is lower among these participants than that reported in studies done in other countries
in sub-Saharan Africa, it is concluded that the results are likely to reflect a true picture of
prevalence among this group. The fact that this is a select group of participants who have
high educational ambitions might be a contributory factor.
4.7.3 Reasons for intergenerational sexual relationships

Money was perceived to be a motivating factor for schoolgirls to enter into sexual relationships with older men by the girls in this study. This is similar to other studies in sub-Saharan Africa and elsewhere. Most of the studies conducted in this region revealed that although the reasons that adolescent girls engage in sexual relationships with older men are varied, receipt of financial benefits is a major motivation. Most of the studies discovered that girls use the money for survival (buying basic needs) in case of poverty, some girls pay for their education (fees, notebooks and uniforms), and part of the money was reported to be used for ‘luxuries’, especially clothes (Bagnol and Chamo 2004; Collins and Toure 2004; Longfield, Glick et al. 2004; Luke 2003; Machel 2001; Manzini 2001; UNICEF/UNAIDS/WHO 2002).

In light of Botswana’s more favourable conditions one would like to address the issue of why money is perceived to be so important to schoolgirls. These questions will be fully answered in the next chapter where qualitative results will be presented and discussed. Nevertheless, it is important to point out that Gaborone, as the capital city of Botswana, is where most of the modern developments are taking place. It is also where many different kinds of entertainment take place, many electronic luxury goods and fashionable clothes are found, all of which require one to have money if one is to enjoy or acquire them. This introduction of consumer society is being fuelled by television, the internet, videos, and magazines in the capital city of Botswana, and has increased young women’s needs and aspirations. This challenging environment finds young people, especially girls, with limited knowledge on how to define their priorities and find ways to satisfy these new desires independently from men and their sexuality (Bagnol and Chamo, 2004).

Nyanzi and Nyanzi-Wakholi (2004) made an observation which seems to describe the situation in Botswana when they said that in an era where modern lifestyle is measured by having a mobile phone, eating out and wearing trendy clothes, girls seem to enjoy ripping off their sugar daddies. The top five reasons for dating older men provided by the participants of this study included: money, mobile phone, clothes, fun and transport.
Since having a good time and enjoyment is foremost to these girls, it is not surprising that about two-thirds of respondents mentioned having fun as one of the reasons of intergenerational sex in Botswana, one of the few studies in this area which has brought this to light.

4.7.4 Perceptions of intergenerational sexual relationships

The majority of respondents do not perceive intergenerational sexual relationships as a good practice. They are aware of the possible risks associated with these relationships. The results of this study indicated that girls who are in sexual relationships with older men might be exposed to danger of engaging in unsafe sex as more than one-third agreed with the statement which says that it is difficult to talk about safe sex when your boyfriend is older, and the majority agreed that it is easier for girls to talk about safe sex with a boyfriend of their age. More than two-thirds of the participants believed that there was a greater risk of getting STIs/HIV when having sex with older men. Furthermore, the majority of the respondents disagreed with the statement which says ‘older men are good boyfriends’. More than three-quarters indicated that young girls who are involved in sexual relationships with older men were not considered as lucky or fortunate. However further statistical analysis revealed that girls who engaged in intergenerational sexual relationships viewed these relationships differently. They considered themselves lucky and most did not think that it was difficult to talk about safe sex with an older sexual partner. These girls have relative positive perception of intergenerational sexual relationships.

Most of the studies on intergenerational sexual relationships conducted in sub-Saharan Africa associated such sexual relations with unsafe sexual behaviours and increased risk of HIV infection. This is primarily linked with unequal gender relations which make young women vulnerable to coercive sex and affords them little space to negotiate the nature of sexual relations especially in terms of condom use (Rivers and Aggleton, 1999). The prevailing gender roles and relations in Botswana usually mean that young women have less control than men over sexual relations. Men usually retain control of decisions relating to sexual activity in most African societies including the frequency and
use of contraception (McIlwaine and Datta, 2004). Thus unequal power relations between older men and young women may place youth at a particular sexual risk more especially in intergenerational sexual relations, because young women have very little control over sexual encounters in such contexts. The results of this study further indicated that girls believe they have more power to negotiate safe sex with boys of their own age group than with older men. This might be the influence of the typical Tswana culture in which the young are not expected to express their feelings and views freely before older people. The culture expects the young to listen to what the older person is saying and to take orders without questioning anything.

Another finding regarding participants’ perceptions relates to power relations between partners. The respondents believe that sexual partners should have equal influence in a relationship. But Botswana culture socialises women not to talk about sex openly and they are expected to be submissive to men (Schapera, 1939; Schapera and Comaroff, 1991). Female sexual agency is often denied in that young women are not expected to initiate or actively participate in sex but rather to let it happen to them (Rivers and Aggleton, 1999). This means that even if the girls may hold positive and laudable views that sexual partners should have equal influence in a relationship, it might not be easy for them to practice what they believe because of cultural expectations. Amaro (1995) also asserts that the sexual behaviour of girls and women occurs in a context that socializes females to be passive sexually and in other ways. Young women’s relationships do not occur in a vacuum, but in a context where norms, values and sexual practices that regard women as subordinate to men already exists (Machel, 2001). A favourable socio-cultural environment needs to be created in order for young women to be assertive and make decisions which affect their well being.
Chapter Five

Dynamics of intergenerational sexual relationships

We both have equal influence on when to see each other. ... Although most of the time he initiates that we should have sex, but we have equal influence whether to use a condom. ... I have decided that in this HIV/AIDS era I will not have sex without using a condom, and that is how we are operating right now. I am 18, he is 35 and married. (Thobo)

He forced me to have sex with him and I was 16 years by then. He pressurized me and I felt obliged to obey, I just respected him and gave in. He was big enough to be my dad. What can you do? He did not use a condom. Although I did not fall pregnant I contracted STD from him. (Rato)

The above quotes indicate two contrasting experiences of girls in intergenerational sexual relationships. This chapter will demonstrate that while some girls have a role in decision-making others do not.

The quantitative part of this research presented in the previous chapter provided statistical data which helped in explaining the cause and estimated the extent of intergenerational sexual relationships among senior secondary schools in Gaborone, Botswana. The survey elicited respondents’ perceptions of intergenerational sexual relationships, the motivating factors for these relationships and the number of girls who were approached by older men to have sex with them but declined. However the ‘why’ questions, the rationale for the relationships and the factors that enabled some girls to resist intergenerational sex were not fully answered. In order to explore these, the study also employed qualitative methodology which provides researchers with the opportunity to listen to people tell their stories, enabling them to explain why they do certain things.
Furthermore, there were some survey responses which needed to be further explored and that was done through qualitative data. For example, the results of the survey suggested that the majority of the participants (89%) reported that girls should have equal influence in sexual relationships with men. During the interviews the researcher explored this further by asking questions that helped her find out if the girls practised what they seemed to believe. The survey results were also used to identify potential interview participants: being in a sexual relationship with an older man and having declined to engage in intergenerational sex were the two criteria of inclusion.

Interviews were conducted with 40 schoolgirls. Of these, 13 were in intergenerational sexual relationships, two were just dating older men and had not yet engaged in sexual intercourse with them and 25 had declined to have sex with older men. The interviews with 15 girls focused on the dynamics of intergenerational sexual relationships, particularly differences in power and how those differences in power can affect the decision making of partners. The interviewees’ views and their sexual practices regarding factors that contribute to unsafe sex practices were elicited. Data on the social, cultural and economic factors for intergenerational sexual relationships were also collected (see Chapter three, section 3.7.2 and 3.7.4). This chapter presents the results of those interviews. Data collected from the 25 girls who declined to have sex with older men will be presented in the next chapter. All the names that are used are pseudonyms.

The chapter has six sections covering: the reasons for engaging in intergenerational sexual relationships; the differences between having older men as sexual partners and boys; the dynamics of intergenerational sexual relationships; dating older men though not having had sex with them; the effects of gifts on decision-making and discussion.

5.1 Demographic characteristics of interviewees

The age of the respondents ranged between 18 and 21 years with an average age of 19.5 years. Nine lived with their immediate families (parents and other siblings) and six lived with their parents and other relatives like cousins, grandparents, aunts and uncles.
5.2 Reasons for engaging in intergenerational sexual relationships

The girls were asked an open-ended question about the reasons why schoolgirls go out with older men. They enumerated the following reasons: being picked up at school; being brought lunch at school; competition among girls; envying your peers/ peer pressure; show off; being taken to restaurant and hotels, for fun, getting a free ride in public transport (date public transport drivers), the influence of media and the love of high standard life. Most of them also mentioned material things: money, clothes, cell-phone, and being driven around in high-class cars.

5.2.1 Material and financial gain

Material and financial gain were mentioned by most (12) of the girls. These are some of their comments:

- We are pushed into these relationships by material things (money, clothes, cell-phone, show off, posh cars and comfort). We are after a luxurious life. (Rona)

- These men have supernatural buying power. They have money. They give us whatever we want. They buy us special watches, necklaces, earrings, cell-phones and clothes. (Popo)

Some of these girls have sexual relationship with public transport drivers in order to have a free ride in public transport so that they can use the money for transport for something else.

- If you don’t want to pay public transport, it is simple, what you have to do is to enter a sexual relationship with a public transport driver, and then you can use the money that was meant for transport to buy things like pizza, and pies in order to eat something special during lunch time like your well-off friends. (Rotlhe)
You can boost your pocket money by getting a free ride in public transport and you can then divert the transport money to something else. We do that by dating public transport drivers or bus conductors. Now you can manage to cope with the competition among girls which is in high schools. (Thata)

Girls use various strategies to have cash as shown by the above narratives. It seems to be the case that for these girls having some pocket money in order to be able to buy dainties like pies and slices of pizza, like the other girls from wealthier families is important. In order to emulate their wealthier friends girls entered into sexual relationships with bus/combi drivers so that they would not have to pay, and therefore use the money meant for transport to buy what they want.

Some mentioned that envy and peer pressure push them in intergenerational sexual relationships.

The other motivating factor is envy; we are envious if we see one of the girls living a luxurious life, so we end up also joining the game of dating older people. (Rato)

What happens is that girls usually discuss their affairs with older man with other girls at school, as they do that the other girls start to envy them (otswa pelo) and then they would dump boys of their own age and look for an older man who can supply. (Thero)

Peer pressure, we compete with the type of cell phones we have, hair styles, type of vehicles our older boyfriends use and the amount of money we are given. (Batho)

Envy and peer pressure according to the above narratives are related to the desire for material gain because girls want to have material things that their peers have, they want to enjoy the services which are enjoyed by their peers.

The reasons given by these girls largely have to do with the desire for material goods, an affluent life style consistent with urban residence. The reasons also show that the
motivation for intergenerational sexual relationships in urban Botswana is different from those found in other studies in the rest of sub-Saharan Africa where the motivation was found to be mainly for survival purposes (Amuyunzu-Nyamongo et al., 1999; Bagnol and Chamo, 2004; Collins and Toure 2004). From the above narratives the motivation of the girls is more to do with having a good time and/or having luxury goods such as mobile phones, than for survival purposes. There is also a tendency for girls to compete with each other.

5.2.2 Having fun

Most of the girls in this group (10) said that one of the reasons they engaged in intergenerational sexual relationships was just to have fun. Having fun was described by the girls as the ability to go wherever and getting whatever one wants. They associated having fun with glamour and enjoyment of good things.

We want to have fun and enjoy ourselves. Older men are able to provide financially and can take you wherever you want to go. They make you to feel that you are really the girl of the moment. There is fun in these relationships. (Kopo)

…we also have fun when going out with older men. They can make you special and be someone and you can enjoy yourself. Just to be driven around in posh cars and to be taken to expensive restaurants is fulfilling. I enjoy that. (Popo)

These girls report that they have a good time in these relationships; the fun appears to be real. Most of the girls in sub-Saharan Africa got involved in sexual relationships with older men in order to get money to buy basic necessities like food and/or pay school fees. Entering into intergenerational sexual relationships just to have fun is more driven by the desire for pleasure than for economic necessity. An urban lifestyle, where there are many attractive restaurants and entertainment places, seems to be tempting these girls into finding ways of enjoying these places or ways of raising money to be able to afford the enjoyment offered by these places.
5.2.3 The influence of media

Four of the participants felt that the media also influences and motivates girls into entering into sexual relationships with older men.

The modern life styles depicted in the newspapers, magazines and on television (TV) also influences us. We tend to envy people on TV, in magazines and we end up getting in relationship with older people in order to get what we have seen on TV or read in magazines. Sometimes you want to be taken to hair salons weekly to make different styles similar to those of the actresses that you see in the TV and the internet. (Rato)

Sometimes you call yourself by the name of an international celebrity and for you to fit the personality of that celebrity you need to be a girl of the moment, by behaving and dressing like that individual. You have to own the most recent mobile, shoes, and the like. We see these things in the media. So if your parents cannot afford to buy you the celebrity’s attire, you feel pressurized to get involved with these big guys because they can provide. So I believe the media also contributes to some extent. (Kopo)

Our choices are influenced by what we want, eat, see, hear, and think. This is particularly the case with young people as their lives are characterized by limited resources, limited life experiences and blurred vision of their perceived risks. The environment exerts pressure on them to make some choices and as a result they might resort to risk behaviours, such as engaging in sexual relationships with older men for financial gain so that they can satisfy their material needs, as the above narratives suggest.
5.3 Comparison between older men and boys as sexual partners

The participants were asked their views regarding the differences between having older men as sexual partners and boys of their age group. The responses were in the form of advantages and disadvantages of intergenerational and intra-generational sexual relationships. Seven respondents said that older men have resources so they can give you most of the things you want. Four girls indicated that boys have limited resources and therefore they can not give their girlfriends valuable gifts.

A young boy has limited resources, so he cannot fully meet the needs of his partner… He (older man) is able to give the girl what she wants—transport, money, so these guys stand a higher chance of being accepted by girls than boys of our age. (Thobo)

Older men were said to be preferred for their sexual experience as compared to boys who had less experience in sexual intercourse.

A young boy has less experience in sexual intercourse issues. An older man is more experienced in sexual related matters. (Thero)

…we want people who are sexually more experienced. (Thuto)

Some girls (5) felt that older men were mature and stable and can give them more useful advice than boys.

I personally, do not see going out with age mates as a wise thing, because he does not have any experience, and therefore he cannot give you useful advice, he is still playful, you are just the same. Older men can provide. Life starts at 40 so really I don’t consider these guys as being old. (Rato)

Some girls (4) reported that there was privacy when you are in a sexual relationship with an older man, which was said to be lacking in intra-generational sexual relationships.
They said that the older men did not go about telling other people as was the case with boys who usually discuss their sexual activities with other boys.

The school boys have a tendency to discuss what is happening in their relationships with other boys in school to the point of telling them that you had sex with him. This is not good because sometimes the other boys make nasty comments about you when you pass by and that is why we prefer to have boyfriends/partners who are not students. (Tiro)

The advantages of engaging in sexual relationships with older men mainly had to do with the men’s ability to give material things such as money and other gifts. Older men were also preferred for their experience in sexual related matters and were considered to be more mature and stable lovers who were also able to give the girls more useful advice than boys of the girls’ age. Other girls said that it was more disadvantageous to date boys of their own age than older men because boys have fewer resources to afford valuable gifts than older men. Also girls felt that with boys there is no privacy in that they discuss their sexual activities with other boys.

However, the girls brought up more disadvantages of dating older men than advantages. Ten girls reported that the older men controlled them. Of these, seven indicated that there was lack of freedom to express their wishes and dislikes.

These big guys they give you whatever you want materially but you don’t have freedom of speech, you fear him, you cannot reject or refuse to do things that you don’t want, and they put you under pressure. (Popo)

When you go out with an older man you are not always free to express your views. … Again as a young girl you think the older man has a wealth of experience and they take advantage and use that experience against young girls. (Pono)
Nine girls felt that older men use them as their sexual objects and that they do not love them. Of these, five indicated that older men buy sex with their expensive gifts.

Older people most of the times are after sex and use expensive gifts, money and presents to get it. (Thero)

Ten respondents reported that older men force or put them under pressure and they end up compromising condom use. This was associated with the risk of contracting HIV infection because it is not easy to negotiate condom use.

When you enter into a relationship with an older man you should know that you have put yourself in a prison; because an older man likes control, and he wins most if not all the arguments and reasoning. You find yourself forced to follow. They are very difficult to deal with, what they want from you is sex. You are not free to talk, refuse, and disagree or to make your own decision. We end up compromising lot of things including condom use and this put us in danger of being HIV infected. (Batho)

Seven girls felt that an intergenerational sexual relationship is more like a father/daughter relationship in which you feel obliged to obey. They indicated that they felt obliged to respect these older men because some of them were as old as their parents.

…the relationship is like that of father and child relationship, so you cannot just say what you think in the way you want as you have to respect that person as you would respect your own dad. (Rato)

He takes you as a daughter or younger sister, while you also take him as your father hence you see the need to respect him. (Thona)

Some girls felt that intergenerational sexual relationships reduced the girls’ chances of getting married because most of these men are married and therefore they could not marry them.
Older boyfriends waste our time because they keep us busy while we could be dating people who can marry us in future. They just want to use us because first of all they cannot marry us, they have their own wives, and they just want to keep us busy so that when we come to our senses people who could marry us would be all fully booked. (Kopo)

The disadvantages of intergenerational sexual relationships mainly had to do with the fact that older men have more social resources like experience with life and adulthood which, according to Tswana culture engenders respect by the young, and economic power in terms of money and other resources, which put the girls at a relative disadvantage. In other words older men have more social and economic power than girls.

Some girls indicated that dating boys of their own age had more advantages than dating older men. Their reasons had to do mainly with equity and mutual respect for each other, including the freedom to express their likes, wishes, and dislikes without feeling intimidated by their partners.

...your age mate will understand you better and he is also ready to give in when you reason with him. He respects you as a person and respects your views. (Kopo)

It is easy to discuss things with your age mate without being intimidated than with an older person. You can easily influence him on where and when to have sex without being ashamed. (Rona)

The above accounts show that girls believe they have more freedom to express their likes, wishes and dislikes when they date boys of their age group. They further stated that boys listen to them and respect their views and understand them better. They said it was easy to discuss things and reach a compromise including when and where to have sex, and that it was also easier to negotiate condom use with boy of their own age than with their older sexual partners.
One important question to address then is why these girls have sexual relationship with older men if they say negotiations are easy with their age-mates. This might be an indication that the pressure they get from their environment and the material things that they need exert stronger influences on the girls than the ability to negotiate for safe sex. The girls in this group had created for themselves a high lifestyle which they could only maintain by receiving resources from their older boyfriends. This dependency trapped them in intergenerational sexual relationships from which it was hard to free themselves even if they experienced some discomfort. The following response illustrates this point:

Gifts affect decision making. We compromise safer sex so that we can maintain the supply of gifts, we know that if we talk a lot and insist on condom use we might lose the man and that means losing the gifts as well. (Tiro)

5.4 Intergenerational sexual relationships

This section presents data on dynamics of intergenerational sexual relationships from the 13 girls who have had sexual intercourse.

5.4.1 How relationships start

In order to identify socio-cultural factors surrounding intergenerational sexual relationships the participants were asked how the relationship started. The majority (10) reported that the men approached them. Girls reported that men used different strategies like befriending the girl first by buying them gifts and after a while initiating the relationship.

I met him last year August (2003) at river walk shopping centre. We exchanged phone numbers and we started to communicate on a regular basis. We started going to different entertainment places together and finally he told me that he wanted us to have a love affair and that is how our relationship started. (Thuto)
I first met this man at one of my relative’s funeral; we chatted for sometime and he wanted us to exchange some phone numbers. I did not have a mobile phone and he asked me if he could buy me one and I agreed. That was on Saturday and we made an appointment so that I can pick up the phone on Monday. Thereafter we communicated regularly. One day we met and we went to a restaurant for dinner. Thereafter I went with him to his house and that is how our intimate relationship started. (Thero)

Some would tell the girl straight away that they wanted to have a sexual relationship with them.

I met this older man at a party; we started to talk and he made some advances and we agreed to date and exchanged contact numbers. That was on Saturday and on Wednesday we met and we made an appointment to meet again at a park which we did. (Batho)

We met him on the way when I took my friend half way who had visited me and he joined us. After that he came back with me and started to express his interests in me and so on. I did not accept him that day but after some days I did. (Thobo)

Some sent another man to the girl to negotiate on their behalf.

This man used to visit our place; he is a friend to my cousin. So my cousin is the one who introduced us to each other. He did not approach me himself, he sent my cousin. (Rona)

I have a friend who is going out with an older man. It happened that sometimes he picked both of us from school. One day he informed me that he wanted to see me privately and that is when he told me that a friend of his is interested in me. I told him that his friend should talk to me himself and he arranged that we meet. Well, to cut a long story short I got involved. He is married with two kids. (Tiro)
One man sent his friend’s girlfriend.

My female friend was the one who told me that one of her older boyfriend’s friend wanted to have a love affair with me. Initially I thought that may be she was making it up but one day this older guy phoned me in my friend’s mobile phone and said he was making a follow-up. Since we were friends and they (older men) were friends that made things easier for both parties. I agreed to enter into a relationship with this man some weeks later. (Thobo)

The trend that emerges here reflects the common cultural practice where it is the man who approaches the woman and not vice versa. The observation made from the narratives above in which some men sent another person to the girl to negotiate on their behalf is also common. In Botswana it is common among teenagers maybe because they have limited negotiation skills and have less experience in the art of courtship. However, some adults use this strategy though men who use it are regarded as not being brave. This practice might be an indication that some older men are ashamed to face young girls and ask them to enter into sexual relationships. The embarrassment might arise from their knowledge that they are doing something that is shunned by society. However, the majority (10) of the men approached schoolgirls themselves.

5.4.2 What influences some girls?

The girls were asked to indicate what or who influenced them to accept older men as their sexual partners.

I was not influenced by anyone I just made the decision on my own.
(Thapelo)

No, I was not influenced by anyone or anything. The only factor which influenced me to go out with him was love. (Rato)

No, it was my own decision. (Popo)
Six respondents indicated that they were not influenced by anyone to engage in intergenerational sexual relationships. It was their personal choice and preference. These findings show that some girls voluntarily go into these relationships without any pressure.

Seven girls indicated that they were influenced to enter into these relationships. Of these, four were influenced by their peers and friends, two were influenced by material aspirations and one was influenced by her male cousin.

Yes, I was influenced by my peers; I wanted to have what other peers have. (Tiro)

My friend encouraged me to go out with him. He used to drop me at my friend’s place. So I was influenced by my best friend. (Rotlhe)

Yes, my best friend influenced me to some extent but I loved the man as well. (Thobo)

Two had pressure from peers and also had material aspirations.

To tell you the truth I was interested in his material possessions. He drives a posh car and it attracted me. I also got pressure from other girls. Even though I knew he is a “playboy” because he has a child and many other girls but I just went ahead and agreed to date him. (Pono)

I was attracted to this man because he had a very good job and drove a nice car. I was also influenced by my friend to accept his advances. (Thero)

One was influenced by her male cousin.

I was influenced to some extent by my cousin because he was the one who broke the news to me in the first place. Although my older boyfriend later continued with the negotiations himself but my heart
was already soften by the recommendations and commendations made about him by his friend. (Rona)

These findings indicate that friends, peers, material aspirations and relatives played an important role in influencing schoolgirls who participated in this study to engage in sexual relationships with older men. This is an indication that close friends and relatives and some valued material items in our surroundings can provide ‘considerable social pressure and positive reinforcement’ (Patterson et al., 1989) for certain actions. Such social pressure according to the above accounts might have supplied the girls with the attitudes, motivations and rationalizations to enter into intergenerational sexual relationships.

5.5 Decision-making and power

The decision-making power of these girls concerning how they planned their first and subsequent sexual intercourse with their older partners was elicited. Risk factors which contribute to unsafe sex practices were identified as well as the girls’ power to negotiate condom use. Although girls had different first and subsequent sexual intercourse experiences, there were also a lot of similarities in their experiences. The similarities were used to categorize the girls’ experiences in relation to decision making using two major themes: sexual experience and condom use, and negotiation for condom use in subsequent sexual encounters.

5.5.1 First sexual experience and condom use

Thirteen girls who had penetrative vaginal sex with their older boyfriends can be categorized into two main groups: those girls who had planned to have sex and were therefore relatively in control of their sexual encounters and those who did not plan to have sex. Within the second group, some were forced into having sex.
a) Planned sex

Of the five girls in this group three reported that they were actively involved in deciding to use contraception to prevent pregnancy and STI including HIV. There was joint decision-making.

It happened on the 4th December 2003 at his house. It was planned, we did talk about family planning and HIV protection before sex and we agreed that we would use the condom. (Thuto)

It happened in August 2003 during the school holidays and we were at his home. He did not force me, it was planned. I was 17 by then. We talked about pregnancy and HIV prevention. We agreed to use condom to prevent pregnancy and STDs and HIV. (Thapelo)

It happened this year (2004) when we were at his place. He did not force me, it was planned. We talked about contraception and we resorted to condom use to prevent both pregnancy and HIV. (Thobo)

The girls were also asked to elaborate on how they conduct their relationships regarding who has more influence on various aspects of their relationships (when to see each other, whether to have sex and so forth).

I am free to articulate my views and preferences with him and he listens and values my opinion. I usually say what I really think and want without any fear. I am also not afraid to differ with him, although he can easily win an argument with me he knows that I always stay committed to the goals I set for myself. For example, the issue of condom use, he sometimes feels that since we trust each other we can now have sex without a condom, I have told him that no condom, no sex and he would just laugh and knows that I mean what I say. I do trust him yes, but these days one has to be extra careful. So far so good, things are fine. Both of us have a say on when to see each other, we have equal influence on whether to have
sex and whether to use contraceptives including condom. He is 29 years and single. (Thapelo)

The above account depicts a situation where more than ten years difference between sexual partners (man being older) was not a barrier to communication more especially on the side of the younger partner. The relationship as reflected by the above narrative is characterized by freedom of expression, mutual understanding and joint decision-making. The sexual partners seem to have equal influence on how the relationship is conducted.

A girl who was in a sexual relationship with a married older man enjoyed freedom of expression and played an active role in her love affair.

We both have equal influence on when to see each other, and I have more influence on what to do when we go out. I usually select the places that we should go to and even suggest activities that we should engage in and most of the time he agrees with me. Although most of the time he initiates that we should have sex, but we have equal influence whether to use a condom. I even feel comfortable to bring condoms when we have agreed that we are going to have sex. He is a married person so I have to make sure that I take double protection. I am also on pill. I have a conviction that I should direct my life, and I ensure that I live according to my personal values and convictions. I have decided that in this HIV/AIDS era I will not have sex without using a condom, and that is how we are operating right now. In addition, I make sure that I am not bribed by big and expensive gifts because I do not want to lose my decision making power. I am free to express my views, dislikes and preferences and I am not even afraid to differ with him. I don’t allow him to get what he wants from me always, for example, if I don’t feel like having sex, I just tell him point blank that I am sorry not this weekend and that is it. He is 35 and married. (Thobo)
One of the girls who were motivated by love to engage in intergenerational sexual relationship and who actually derived pleasure, enjoyment and love and equal partnership from the relationship sums it up this way:

I can say that I have more influence when it comes to the issue of seeing each other because if he wants us to meet and it happens that I have other commitments I just tell him that we cannot meet, he knows that very well, he cannot pull me by nose; ‘ke a ipuelela’ (directly translated ‘I talk for myself’ meaning that I assert myself). We have equal influence with regards to whether to have sex or not and with regards to what to use as a protective device, and as I have already stated we have agreed to use condoms …. I am not afraid to differ with him; he does not always get what he wants from me. I say no if I don’t want something. I am also free to say what I really think or want without mincing my words and without any hesitation. We are so transparent to each other in our dealings. I would be correct to say we have a good time together because both of us are in control. I have to admit that we love each other. He is 30 years and single. (Thuto)

The above quote indicates that a sexual relationship which is founded on love is characterized by mutual decision-making. One does not observe the influence of the Tswana culture in which girls and women are expected to be submissive to their male sexual partners and to be passive in sexual issues in the above scenario. One sees a relationship which is conducted in a manner that is atypical of the traditional Tswana culture.

Assertiveness and equality in decision making can be a protective factor against unprotected sexual intercourse. Furthermore, sexual activities which were planned were usually characterized by positive outcomes like protective sex. These three girls exercised their decision making power fully. Age differences and cultural influences such as women docility in sexual matters seemed not to be a barrier to them. The girls seemed willing to challenge gender norms and were more assertive than their peers, and this
placed them at an advantage with regard to sexual negotiation. Their narratives seem to indicate that they did not accept gender power differentials and as a result they used their interpersonal power. Interestingly their older sexual partners seemed to have accommodated the atypical relational conduct of the girls positively and cooperated with them.

However, two girls played a passive role in the decision to use or not to use contraception.

It happened in 2003 when I was 17-years-old and we were at his house. He did not force me, it was a planned activity. I visited him because we agreed that we will do it at his house. Although we did not talk about contraceptives, he used a condom to prevent pregnancy and HIV. (Thero)

We had sexual intercourse at his home, and it was planned, he did not force me into it, I was 17 years then. No, we did not discuss anything about contraception but he used a condom to prevent pregnancy, and STI/HIV. (Tiro)

After jointly deciding with their partners where and when to have sex, these two girls left it to the men to make the decisions regarding pregnancy and STI/HIV prevention. These girls did not exercise their decision making powers with regards to the use of contraception. The young women and girls’ silence around issues of contraceptives and prevention of HIV portrayed in the above narratives is a common practice in most African cultures, including Botswana. This is associated with the custom of little or no parent-child communication regarding sexuality and issues related to it, which is perceived as a taboo topic. Most of the young people grow up with little knowledge and with limited communication and negotiation skills on sexual matters. The situation is further exacerbated by the patriarchal cultural beliefs and mores that girls should not take the lead in sexual matters. The limited degree of sexual decision making that was shown by these two girls might indicate an acceptance of this cultural expectation and this has placed these girls at a disadvantage in sexual negotiation as evidenced by less
assertiveness and dependency on their older sexual partners to control their sexual encounters. However, both men used condoms during this first sexual encounter.

b) Unplanned sex

This group consisted of eight girls. Four reported that they were forced into having sex. One of the risk factors which contributed to unsafe sexual practices among the participants was forced sex. One of the girls indicated that she was forced by the circumstances of being in a dependent relationship with the man.

I had several sexual encounters with my brother in-law when I was 17-years-old. The sexual encounters were not planned and I was forced into them. This happened after my sister, his wife had gone for further education in one of the towns in the country. My sister had persuaded me to stay with her husband so that I could help him with the household work and I found myself staying with this man alone. At night this man would come to my bedroom to have sex with me claiming that this was the arrangement they had made with my sister. Because I was confused and afraid I went along with this as I thought I had no choice. This continued on a daily basis and I fell pregnant. He did not use anything to prevent pregnancy and STIs/HIV so I fell pregnant. The pregnancy brought to light what had been happening but unfortunately most of the family members including my sister blamed me for the whole affair, alleging that I enticed the man into sleeping with me. (Thata)

One girl reported that she felt obliged because she had been given valuable gifts and she also feared violence and passion killing. Passion killing is a prevalent current phenomenon in Botswana (Letlhogile, 2006; Mabiletsa, 2003; Pfötenhauer, 2004; Dingake, 2006). This is a crime where a man kills his lover and then commits suicide, if a girl decides to terminate a sexual relationship.
He forced me to sleep with him, he gave me a lot of pressure and I gave in. I felt obliged because he had been giving me valuable gifts and I therefore feared violence and passion killing. So the act was not planned for at all. I regretted so much after sex and I felt bad and I felt that I was cheap and I have been used. Yes, he used condom to prevent pregnancy and STI including HIV. (Kopo)

As already indicated, ‘passion killings’ refer to a spate of incidents within Botswana in which men have been murdering their girlfriends or their wives. A total of 58 people were murdered in ‘passion killings’ between January and November 15, 2003 (Mabiletsa, 2003) and Letlhogile (2006) a reporter for a local newspaper called Mmegi reports that more than 70 such killings took place in Botswana in 2005 alone. Dingake (2006) also reporting in Mmegi argued that “statistics of so-called 'passion-killings' may not be available for comparative scientific analysis, but from regular media reports, there can be no doubt that Botswana is the front runner in this new wave of ghastly crime” (Vol.23 No.6). This is a frightening situation which further silences girls and women and disempowers them with regards to decision-making concerning their sexual lives.

The last two girls indicated that they gave in to the sexual demands of their older partners because they respected them.

He forced me to have sex with him and I was 16 years by then. He pressurized me and I felt obliged to obey, I just respected him and gave in. He was big enough to be my dad. What can you do? He did not use a condom. Although I did not fall pregnant I contracted STD from him. (Rato)

It happened one day when I visited him at his house. The sexual activity was not planned for, he forced me into it. These big guys are tricky, they give you whatever you want but you don’t have freedom of speech, you fear him, you cannot refuse to do things that you don’t want, and they put you under pressure. I look at him as my dad, so I feel obliged to show respect to him. Although we did not
talk about contraceptives he voluntarily used a condom to prevent pregnancy and STI/HIV. (Popo)

In the four cases described above the men were entirely in control of deciding when and where sex should take place and whether condoms should be used or not. The girls did not have any part in making the decision on how, where and when sex should take place. With two of the girls no contraception and/or condom was used resulting in one falling pregnant and the other contracting STI. Although these four girls did not take these sexual experiences as rape it was clear that they did not give their consent. If there was any it was a coerced consent. The girls felt powerless and helpless as evidenced by the following statements:

I went along with this as I thought I had no choice. (Thata)
I just respected him and gave in, what can you do? (Rato)
I regretted so much after sex and I felt bad and I felt that I was cheap and I have been used. (Kopo)
You fear him; you cannot refuse to do things that you don’t want. (Popo)

In order to understand the behaviour of the men in the dynamics of intergenerational sexual relationships portrayed above it is important to take into consideration the influence of the typical traditional Tswana patriarchal beliefs and mores in which men have control of their sexual encounters with women and women are not expected to take the lead in these matters. These girls also seemed to accept these gender power differentials as evidenced by their lack of assertiveness and allowing their older partners to make all the decisions.
On the other hand four girls reported that although sex was not planned they were not forced into it.

The sexual activity was not planned but I did not regret. I just visited him and we did not talk about sex, protective devices or anything. I realized later that he had a mission and I gave in. He used a condom. It was just his choice as we had not talked about it. (Rona)

Girls in this group indicated that the men talked them into sex by arousing them and when they were sexually aroused they couldn’t resist.

The sex was not planned but I can not say he forced me into it either. No, we did not plan anything regarding whether we are going to have sex and we did not even discuss where. If he planned he did the planning alone, I was not involved at all. After he had worked on me I was also sexually aroused and I consented. He just decided to use a condom to prevent pregnancy and HIV. (Rotlhe)

We were at his house, it was not a planned sex but I cannot also say he forced me. These things are tricky; even if you did not plan to do it you end up in the mood for it also. We didn’t talk about family planning but he used a condom to prevent both pregnancy and STIs. (Pono)

It might be the case that the girls felt that they were not forced because they also enjoyed the sex as implied by the statements above. It is apparent from the narratives that their older sexual partners took all the decisions regarding when and where to have sex and the decision to use contraceptives. Two of these men were married and two were not. It seems that the men in this group used their sexual experience to work on the girls and aroused them sexually to the extent that the girls could not resist sex. Thus the men achieved their objectives of having sex with these girls with a clear conscience that they did not force them.
c) Condom use

Of the 13 girls who had penetrative sex, 11 reported that their partners used a condom during the first sexual encounter. However, only three girls took an active decision about condom use and most did not have any input on whether condom should be used or not. It was the men’s decision to see to it that protection was employed. It is important to find out if condoms were used consistently in subsequent sexual encounters because it has been found in other studies that even if condom use is high in initial sexual encounters, it is not the case in subsequent ones (Asiimwe-Okiror, Opio et al., 1997; BIDPA, 2003; Hearst and Chen, 2004; Macaluso, Demand et al. 2000; Matson, Chung et al., 2006; Moore and Rosenthal, 1998; NACA, 2005; UNDP, 2005; Van Rossem, Meekers et al., 2001).

5.5.2 Negotiation for condom use in subsequent sexual encounters

All 13 girls had subsequent sexual intercourse with their older partners. The participants were asked if it was easy to negotiate for condom use. They were further asked if a condom was used every time they had sex. Three girls indicated that it was easy to negotiate for condom use.

Oh!! Yes it is easy to talk about condom with him and we have been using it throughout. (Thapelo)

Yes, it is easy and we have been using condom throughout. (Thuto)

I have been able to negotiate condom use in both relationships (older man and age mate boyfriend) without any problem. We have been using condoms throughout. (Thobo)

These three girls indicated that they effectively used their decision making power in their sexual encounters. They reported that they had a say on how to protect themselves from STIs including HIV. As a result condoms have been used consistently.

Ten girls reported that it was not easy to negotiate condom use and they stated that condoms were not used regularly. Girls advanced several reasons associated with the
difficulty they faced in negotiating the use of condoms. Some girls indicated that they feared their partners and said that they were not free with them. The findings revealed that gifts had a big influence on the decisions made by girls.

No, no, no, it is not easy to negotiate condom use. I fear him and he is full of threats. I also feel shy. We do not always use condoms when we have sex, in fact most of the time we do not use them. It depends entirely on him whether he wants to use a condom or not. (Rona)

When Rona was asked to explain the fear and threats she responded this way:

The older man ‘buys you’ (gives you gifts in exchange for sex). If he gives you more and expensive gifts he doesn’t want to use a condom. You also as a gift recipient feel obliged to comply with his demands, because you tell yourself that he is saying in his heart ‘I clothe her, I buy her this and that but next time she refuses to sleep with me so I will fix her’. (Rona)

The same experience was reported by some of the other girls.

It is not easy to negotiate condom use and there were some instances when condom was not used. When the man does not feel like using it, he just does the act without a condom, more especially when he knows that he has given you a very nice, valuable and expensive gift. You also feel guilty to insist on condom use. (Tiro)

Talking about fear and being not free with one’s sexual partner, one of the girls reported:

I am not free with regards to discussing some issues like condom and unfaithfulness. Right now I suspect that he is going out with another girl but I am not free to ask him about it because I fear him. He is bully and oppressive and he sometimes threatens me. He says
he will beat me or leave me. We do not use condoms regularly. (Thero)

When asked if she does not insist on condom use because she fears that she will be beaten up she said:

Sometimes because of the threats and also because you don’t want to lose that partner, so you give in so that he should not also stop giving you more gifts. (Thero)

One participant mentioned that a wide age difference between partners is a barrier for negotiating condom use. She was 18 years old and her older boyfriend was 35 years.

Big age difference has an impact; I am not free to talk with him. Older men overpower you with words, they have more experience than you and they have a tendency to say they are not loved if you try to stand for your rights. With my regular boyfriend who is 21 yrs old, he does not want to use condom either but I am free to reason with him without being intimidated. (Rotlhe)

These interviews have revealed that some girls who had sex with older men were subjected to various abuses such as threats and blackmail which were associated with the gifts received from them. This made it difficult for the girls to negotiate their sexual encounters including the use of condoms.

5.5.3 Lack of condom use

Of the 13 girls who had penetrative sex, two reported that a condom was not used either during their first sexual encounters or in the subsequent ones resulting in one falling pregnant and the other contracting an STI. These girls were asked why they think the men who had sex with them did not use condoms.

My brother in-law knew me very well because I stayed with them for a long time. He knew that I was not yet in intimate relationships
with boys, so he took advantage of me. He knew that he was safe when it comes to sexually transmitted diseases, and I think that is why he did not use a condom. He did not think of making me pregnant, he just thought of himself. (Thata)

Eight girls also reported that condoms were not used regularly in their subsequent sexual encounters although initially they were used. When asked why they think their older boyfriends did not use condoms regularly they responded this way:

You cannot understand what they are up to, seriously, because one day he is in a mood to use a condom another day he is not. I believe older men do not use condoms because they have an attitude of buying sex from us by their expensive gifts and lot of money. So they prefer flesh to flesh. The first time you meet him he doesn’t know you much, so he protects himself not you, when he thinks he now knows you, thinking that you are a well behaved girl so to speak, he becomes free and he does not use it. (Rona)

My older boyfriend told me that there was no need for us to use condoms at all because he trusted me and he believes that I don’t have AIDS. He said he has been using it as he wanted to know if I was a trustworthy person. I did not agree with him but still sometimes he does not use it. (Tiro)

Older men are tricky; they start using condoms and as you become comfortable in the relationship they then show their true colours. They have this claim that they now know girls, how can you know a person. Right now he is not aware that I have a boyfriend and he claims that he knows me and he trusts me. There is no trust, there is nothing like ‘I now know you’; these guys are crooks they give you money, mobile phone and other things and you pay for those by sex without a condom. (Batho)
The accounts above show that the decision to use or not to use the condom mostly depended on the men and that they generally took advantage of that. They used condoms for their own protection. According to the above narratives if men are not familiar with the girls they tend to use condoms and when they reach a stage where they think they now know the girls they did not use it regularly. It might be the case that when they want maximum sexual gratification they do not use it. Girls seem to associate lack of condom use among these men with the gifts and money the men gave them.

Older men lure you and entice you with their money so that you become their property and they use you as they want. They will make you think that they love you while in actual sense they are buying you. That is why it is very difficult for them to use condoms. He is always giving excuses that he is not used to it; I don’t think that is true. Older men want full sexual satisfaction for what they have given you. (Popo)

The accounts under this sub-section show that both socio-economic factors and patriarchal beliefs and practices played a role in lack and/or inconsistent use of condoms. Men tended to use their social and economic power to decide when, where and how sexual encounters are conducted. Since most of the men did not like to use a condom, in some instances it was not used at all and in some it was not consistently used. On the other hand girls were less assertive and tended to be dependent on their sexual partners for material and financial gains, which served to weaken their bargaining power in relation to safe sex.

**5.6 Girls who were dating older men but did not have sex with them**

There were two girls who, though having intimate relationship with older men, did not have sexual intercourse with them. They were asked how the relationship started in order to find out if there was any difference between them and their counterparts who had sex with older men.
5.6.1 How the relationships start

I met this man one day after school and he gave me a ride (lift) and dropped me not far from my home. He is a married man. He is 39 years old. He regularly gives me a ride. Then he started giving me gifts like money, chocolates and cards. We went out together about two months then he demanded sex. I refused and he became angry with me. He stopped giving me money yet he knew I had put some clothes on layby. I did not have sex with him and I am planning to separate with him because I have realized what he is up to. I have maintained my position of refusing to sleep with him because I don’t want to betray my regular boyfriend. I also fear sexual transmitted diseases. This man is married so what if I fall pregnant? (Thona)

After I fell pregnant I dropped out of school. One day I met this 40 year old man who showed interest in me. It was kind of funny because he could see that I was pregnant but anyway we ended up dating. I used to visit him before I delivered, and would help him with house chores—cooking, cleaning; doing laundry and ironing. He was so helpful because he gave me gifts, bought the child nappies, milk and clothes. (Thothi)

The same strategies like befriending the girl first by buying them gifts and after a while initiating the relationship or telling the girl straight away that they wanted to have relationship with them were seen in this group.

5.6.2 No penetrative vaginal sex

These girls did not experience penetrative vaginal sex with their older boyfriends. One girl, an 18-year-old, was dating a 39-year-old man and she refused to have sex with him because she thought the relationship was still too new. Although the girl’s primary reason
for refraining from sex with this older man was the duration of their relationship, more factors emerged in her account below.

I just had three months dating this man. He then invited me to his house. During my visit to his house he fondled me in spite of the fact that I had told him that our relationship was still new and I was not ready to have sex with him. He wanted to force himself on me but he did not manage. I threatened him that if he slept with me by force I was going to tell my mother and we will report him to the police; he then stopped. It was clear that if I didn’t do something he was going to rape me. I did not have much power against him and that is why I had to threaten him I just have this strong personal conviction that it is not safe to sleep with someone when you have just been dating for such a short time. Three months to me was short. You have to check someone’s movements first and be sure what he is up to. You have to be familiar with someone’s sexual history more especially that our friends do not want to use condoms.

(Thona)

Although she said that it was not easy to resist this man, she managed to stand firm. She managed to use her personal and interpersonal power. Her account shows that she stood for her personal values and convictions. The girl’s stance of not engaging in sexual intercourse because the relationship was still new was rather uncommon because the common practice is that when the partners are in a new or casual intimate relationship they use a condom rather than refrain from sex altogether (Asiimwe-Okiror, Opio et al., 1997; BIDPA, 2003; Hearst and Chen, 2004; Macaluso, Demand et al. 2000; Matson, Chung et al., 2006; Moore and Rosenthal, 1998; NACA, 2005; UNDP, 2005; Van Rossem, Meekers et al., 2001). To this girl the man was still more of a stranger than a friend and she still wanted to get more acquainted with him before she could be sexually intimate with him. She said it was not safe to have sexual intercourse with someone before knowing what kind of sexual life the individual had been leading.
The other girl’s reason for refusing to have sex with her older boyfriend was cultural. While some Tswana cultural beliefs can erode girls’ power like the one which says girls and women should be submissive to their male sexual partners and should not take the lead in sex matters, others can enable girls to refuse to have sex. Some cultural beliefs in other words can act as protective factors. Thothi, a 21-year-old young woman, had this experience to share;

This older man (40 years) wanted to have sex with me but I refused because I was expecting a child who was not his and in our culture you cannot sleep with another man while you are pregnant with someone else’s child, it is believed that, that particular man can die and the child might also be affected…. He said he no longer believed in that culture any more. One day I had to cry loudly because he was just too close to doing it and thanks God my cry scared him away. (Thothi)

It is worth noting that this girl did not want to protect herself; she wanted more particularly to protect the man. Even if he claimed to no longer believe in that practice, the girl’s conscience could not allow her to risk someone’s life as well as the health of the unborn child. This indicates that some young women in their sexual relationships are not always self-centred; they also have the wellbeing of their sexual partners in mind.

It is apparent from these two instances that if the girls had not stood firm these men would have got what they wanted. But because the girls were adamant, they managed to stand by their personal values and cultural beliefs. These two instances provide just a glimpse of the challenges that young women face in their sexual lives. These girls showed considerable strength and stood for their rights and for what they believe without wavering. This is an indication that if girls can purpose in their hearts that their ‘no’ would be ‘no’ older men could give in and respect the girls’ stance.

It is encouraging that five girls out of fifteen managed to have an influence in the way their relationships with their older partners were run. They did not allow the older men to always have their way. This is a significant number and this should provide
encouragement that other girls in Botswana and sub-Saharan African countries who face similar challenges within intergenerational sexual relationships could be empowered to stand for their rights.

5.7 Effects of gifts on decision-making

Prior to eliciting information about the effects of gifts on decision-making the participants were asked if they expected to be given gifts in a sexual relationship. Out of the 15 girls who were in relationships with older men, two stated that they did not expect any gifts from their partners. One indicated that she didn’t want any gifts because she had everything she wanted. Although the other responded by saying she did not expect to be given gifts because she wanted love not gifts, she mentioned that when she asked for something on special occasions she expected the boyfriend to provide this.

No, I need love not gifts. But when I ask on special occasions I do expect him to respond, I generally hate gifts because they play an evil role; older men lure you and entice you with their money so that you become their property and they use you as they want. They make you think that they love you while in actual sense they are buying you. (Popo)

Thirteen girls stated that they expected to get gifts from their sexual partners. Most of the things mentioned were walkman, roses, chocolate, airtime, cards (love, birthday, valentine, x-mass), watches, money, bras, night-dresses, mobile phones, clothes, necklaces, and jewellery. Some mentioned services like being taken out to eat in a restaurant. The reasons advanced by the girls for expecting gifts were that gifts spice up the relationship; they are a sign of care and love and they strengthen love between the two.

The girls were asked if gifts have any effect on decision-making regarding how the sexual relationship should be conducted in terms of when to have sex and whether to use condoms. Three girls stated unequivocally that gifts do not affect their decision-making but 12 indicated that gifts do affect one’s decision-making. Those who said gifts do not affect decision making had this to say:
I don’t think so. I believe that I should stand for my rights despite what the man has bought for me or has done for me. It is my life, if I just give in, it is not wise. But I am aware that it happens to most of the girls where they compromise condom use because of the gifts they have been given. (Thuto)

No. I do not believe I can compromise my principles for the sake of gifts. It is possible though for one to compromise, for example, if a girl fears that she will lose that partner. I think my problem was more on age difference than on effects of gifts. I was not comfortable to start such topics with him. But I am free with my younger boyfriend. (Rato)

There were several reasons advanced by the girls who indicated that gifts can affect one’s decision-making. Some girls indicated that one cannot insist on condom use if one wants to get more gifts. Another group said that one feels obliged to comply with the man’s demands because he has given you a lot of material things. Some of the reasons advanced by girls were that gifts are given in return for sex, they rob you of your freedom and most of them reported that the fear of losing your partner and the gifts make you give in to the man’s demands.

The respondents seemed to face more challenges when it came to the issue of deciding their sexual encounters. Girls found themselves not in a position to insist on condom use in order to maintain the supply of gifts. Gifts appeared to be one of the factors that contributed to unsafe sex practices. Gifts tend to further disempower the girls and consolidate their older partners’ control over them as indicated by what the girls said below.

Some girls could not insist on condom use because they wanted to get more gifts and so they feared to lose that partner.

Of course yes, gifts influence your decisions. If you do not want to lose the man you usually compromise and give in to his demands so
that you can also get more gifts. So the men end up running the whole show. (Popo)

Some felt obliged to comply with the man’s demands because he has given them a lot of material things.

Yes, gifts do have an effect on decision-making, as I have already said that if he has given you a very nice, valuable and expensive gift you feel guilty to insist on condom use. You just feel obliged to agree to his demands. (Kopo)

Some felt that gifts robbed them of their freedom because they were given in return for sex.

Yes, it does. The value of gifts he gives out call for a return favour. Therefore if you want to maintain your freedom and decision making power you should not allow him to give you expensive gifts. Because it will be difficult for you to insist on condom use or to refuse to have sex with him when you have been given expensive gifts. They rob us of our power. (Batho)

Oh!!!! Yes, they do affect someone’s decision making. These older men buy us with their gifts so if you want more or you want him to continue giving something, you just agree to have sex with them against your own will. Like in my case if I could have given in and had sex with him, he was going to continue to give me money which I needed so desperately in order to go and pay for my clothes. But because I refused he stopped giving me money and other gifts. So gifts can take away your power to decide. (Pono)

Gifts seem to soften and bribe girls and make them feel obliged to comply with their partners’ sexual demands. They feel the pressure to return the favour and as a result agree with anything the man says. The findings reveal that gifts reduce or take away the girls’ decision-making power. Girls become submissive instead of being assertive. Gifts make
some girls abdicate their rights to negotiate the terms of the sexual relationships. They diminish or take away their ability to request their partners to use condoms.

These interviews have demonstrated the skewed nature of intergenerational sexual relationships in terms of power, material possessions and experience. It was apparent that in this situation the person (in this case the girl) with less power, money and experience is in a dependent relationship to the one possessing more power, money and experience, and therefore her autonomy and decision-making ability is compromised. The platform for these types of sexual relationships is highly conducive for exploitation in favour of those who have social and economic power versus those who have not, the experienced versus the inexperienced, and the older versus the younger. Furthermore, men appear to control the conditions of sexual encounters, including condom and contraceptive use. They use condoms if they feel like it and they use gifts to silence the girls. A statement by one of the participants makes this point clear:

Older men will give you all the material things you want but he will also control you. Like in my case my older boyfriend has all the say on when to see each other, when to go out, when to have sex, and when to use contraceptives including condom. Older boyfriends want to be obeyed and they are full of threats, they frustrate us. It is just a one-sided relationship. (Thero)

5.8 Discussion

The trend that emerged from interviews reflects the common cultural practice where it is the man who approaches the woman. This ‘leadership’ role of the man in initiating the relationship is continued right through the duration of the relationship according to Tswana culture. Therefore the man is expected to always take the lead on how the relationship is conducted. For example, he is expected to decide when, where and how often they meet. This cultural expectation gives the man, whether old or the same age as the woman, power and control over the woman. The situation is exacerbated if the man is much older than the woman because the cultural requirement of respect for older people
further disempowers the girl who does not only have to show deference to the partner as a man but also as a person who is older than herself. Age and gender in Botswana, remain culturally significant cleavages with the traditional veneration of the older people (Mompati and Prinsen, 2000).

It seems that even if there were many factors surrounding the issue of decision-making in intergenerational sexual relationships, respect for adults as a cultural norm might be playing a significant role for the girls’ submissiveness and silence. Many of them asserted that they suppressed their feelings and allowed their older partners to make all the decisions regarding their sexual encounter as a sign of respect for them. This combination of female subordination and respect make it difficult for girls to insist on safe sex. As other studies have shown (Kaufman and Stavrou, 2002; Rivers and Aggleton, 2001) this study revealed that most of the girls did not think that they have power to refuse to have sex they did not want; they perceived themselves as powerless. They felt unequal to their older sexual partners in terms of decision-making and self-assertiveness. Most of the girls did not have control over their sexual encounters. Some experienced coerced unprotected sex which resulted in pregnancy and STIs.

However, there were three girls in this study who were effective decision-makers with regard to their sexual intercourse encounters. These girls managed to have a say on how, where and when to have sex with their older boyfriends because they entered into these relationships for love rather than for money or material gain as the others. They utilized their personal power fully. According to Gutierrez (1990) they may have experienced themselves as effective and capable persons. They may have identified and understood the power they already had (Gutierrez, 1990; 2000). They exercised that power and made a significant contribution and directed jointly with their older boyfriends how their sexual relationships were to be conducted. They took charge of their own sexual lives through engaging in safe sex behaviour. These girls also employed their interpersonal power, because they were able to influence their sexual partners. For instance, they did not always fit into the plans of their sexual partners concerning when and where to meet and when to have sex. Rather, they would negotiate with them till they agreed with each other on what to do.
These three girls understood the forces, resources and methods that might shape their environment (Zimmerman, 1995) which can bring some changes in their sexual relationships. For example, they seemed to understand the importance for standing up for their rights and did not allow their older boyfriends to always get what they wanted from them; they said no if they did not want something. They stayed committed to the goals they had set for themselves and they were not afraid to differ with their partners. Furthermore, they did not entertain the idea of being given expensive gifts. They purposely maintained a ‘safe zone’ (this is keeping to relationships in which the girls are able to make decisions without being intimidated by their partners and in which they are able to freely express their feelings and opinions without any fear) which enabled them to fully make decisions which affected their sexual lives. Therefore their sexual relationships with their older boyfriends were not characterized by the receipt of many and expensive gifts which made them feel indebted and therefore obliged to return the favour by unprotected sex. They maintained love as the centre of their sexual relationships. Genuine love gives room for individuals to make choices.

Furthermore, there were two girls who showed considerable strength and resisted sexual intercourse with their older boyfriends, one for cultural reasons already mentioned earlier and another one was not ready to have sex. One-third of the interviewees therefore have demonstrated that challenging the gender norms of women as passive and submissive to their sexual male partners placed them at an advantage by enabling them to be more assertive than their counterparts who seemed to accept gender power differentials. Their accounts revealed that their older sexual partners accepted how the relationships were conducted and they valued the views and input of their young lovers. These findings show that even in a patriarchal society like that of Botswana, intergenerational sexual relationships can be relationally fulfilling if the two partners decide to conduct their sexual relationship as equal partners.

Almost half of the interviewed girls mentioned pressure either from their best friends or their peers as a significant motivating factor for engaging in intergenerational sexual relationships. This indicates that acceptance by and/or pleasing friends and peers was one of the important social rewards for dating older men in this group. The girls also
expressed pressure from the older men themselves and one girl reported that she was influenced by a relative. This is consistent with Longfield, Glick et al. (2004) who found that girls got pressure to engage in sexual relationships with older men from their peers, from older men and some from relatives.

This study, like other studies carried out in sub-Saharan Africa, has found that financial and material gain were the main motivating factors for girls to engage in intergenerational sexual relationships. However, the findings of this study indicated that the participants’ need for money and material items was not to satisfy basic survival needs as was the case with girls in other studies in the region. The girls who participated in this study used money for non-essentials while most girls in other sub-Sahara countries were reported to be using the money for basic needs like buying basic food for the whole family (UNICEF/UNAIDS/WHO, 2002; Bagnol and Chamo, 2004; Collins and Toure 2004) and buying uniform, books and paying school fees (Bagnol and Chamo, 2004; Machel, 2001). As has already been said in chapters one and four the economic situation in Botswana, is such that it largely precludes engaging in intergenerational sexual relationships for survival purposes.

The other reason reported by the respondents of Botswana study why they entered into these relationships was for the services that the older men could offer them. The commonly mentioned services included being picked up at school; being brought lunch at school; being given a free ride in public transport, being driven around in posh cars and being taken out to restaurants and hotels. These girls reported that they liked the other girls in their school to see them being offered these services by their older boyfriends because they enjoyed showing off to them.

The media was mentioned by some of the girls as a major influence on girls entering intergenerational sexual relationships. Urban dwellers such as the girls in this study are heavily influenced by the media in the form of TV, the internet, magazines and newspapers in as far as their life style and tastes are concerned. The girls identify themselves with other girls in the global village that this world has become. They want to be like other girls in the other side of the globe, especially those in developed Western
countries. They access this other worlds through TV, the internet, and other available technology. Bagnol and Chamo (2004) have suggested that the media has increased young women’s needs and aspirations, and that it is not easy for them to satisfy these new desires independently from men and their sexuality.

The reasons for engaging in intergenerational sexual relationships as revealed by the findings of this study largely have to do with the desire for a lifestyle that is consistent with the modern urban life. It seems that some girls have set themselves lifestyle parameters which they could only maintain if they engaged in intergenerational sexual relationships. As a result the girls ended up in a dependent sexual relationship. According to power-dependence theory two variables govern dependence: the value of the resource received and the availability of this resource from alternative sources (Gutierrez, Oh et al., 2000). The interview findings revealed that two-thirds of the girls valued the resources they received from their older boyfriends and it also emerged that they have limited alternative sources for these resources. As a result they were compelled to be dependent on their older sexual partners for these resources, which served to weaken their bargaining power with regard to safe sexual behaviour.

This state of affair seems to give the older men who engage in sexual relationships with schoolgirls, power over them while further disempowering the girls and setting them up for sexual exploitation. Furthermore, it emerged in this study that even if the participants are aware of the disadvantages of entering into such relationships they still enter and stay in those relationships. The girls seem to be trapped in those relationships and feel obliged to continue in them. Some said that they could not insist on condom use because they wanted to get more gifts and they feared losing their older sexual partners. The gifts therefore made the girls feel obliged to give in to the sexual demands of their older men. It seems that the girls were intent on maintaining a lifestyle that is beyond their means in spite of all the disadvantages and exploitation they had enumerated which occurred in those relationships. This might either be an indication that their self-perceived risk of being involved in intergenerational sexual relationships is low or that the benefits they get from intergenerational sexual relationships outweigh the risks.
Negotiation for condom use for most of the participants was difficult. The findings show that gifts reduce girls’ negotiation power for condom use. This was consistent with what other researchers have established. Kaufman and Stavrou (2002) found that girls do accept and appreciate gifts from their sexual partners and they felt the pressure to return the “favour” by having sex which was mostly characterized by lack of condom use. Longfield, Glick et al. (2004) also found the same trend. It is worth noting that the use of condoms during the first sexual intercourse in this study was high, and this might be due to the fact that the older men, who voluntarily took the initiative to use the condom, were using them for their own protection. Subsequent sexual encounters show that condom was not consistently used and the findings indicated that this was because after the men thought that they knew the girls’ sexual lives better they did not see the need of using the condom. The trend of inconsistent use of condoms in subsequent sexual encounters on the ground that partners are now acquainted to each other and they are on a stable sexual relationship was also found in other studies (BIDPA, 2003; Hearst and Chen 2004; Longfield, Glick et al. 2004; Luke, 2003; Matson, Chung et al., 2006; Moore and Rosenthal, 1998).
Chapter Six
Saying no to intergenerational sex

*I don’t want to be bought because I believe my self-worth is priceless. I am content with who I am; I don’t want a fancy hair style every week so that other students can make a comment when I pass by.* (S’thando)

The focus of researchers on intergenerational sexual relationships in sub-Saharan Africa has been mainly on challenges and difficulties faced by girls and young women who are in those relationships and on the factors that motivate girls to enter into them. There is a paucity of information on girls who resist intergenerational sexual relationships and little is known about what enables them to resist. Thus this study included girls who were approached by older men to have sex with them but refused.

This chapter presents the findings from 25 girls who were approached by older men to have sex with them but declined. First the respondents’ sexual profiles are given, followed by a discussion of factors that may increase resistance, and thus function as protective factors.

6.1 Sexual relationships profile

The age of the respondents ranged between 18 and 22 years. There were two sub-groups among this set of respondents. The first consisted of ten girls who had sexual relationships with boys in their age group. All had experienced penetrative vaginal intercourse. Five reported that their first sexual encounter was not planned and five said it was planned. However, all used condoms during that first encounter and in subsequent sexual intercourse with their boyfriends. The girls reported that it was easy for them to negotiate for condom use. Three reported that their boyfriends do not like to use condoms though thus far they had managed to convince them to use them in order to prevent pregnancy. Although condoms were used consistently in this group, other studies from Botswana show that it is not always the case that having sex with an age mate is
characterized by consistent condom use (BIPA, 2003; NACA, 2005; UNDP, 2005). With regard to these girls the findings of this study showed that they are the type of girls who are convinced about living according to their values and principles regarding safe sex.

The second group consisted of 11 girls who had boyfriends of their own age (18-23 years) but had never had sex with them and four girls who had never had boyfriends. These 15 girls were still virgins. Five of those who had boyfriends reported that it was not a problem to convince their boyfriends that they were not yet ready to have sex and they were not sure when they would start. Six indicated that their boyfriends were giving them a lot of pressure and they said they planned to have sex after they finished their Form five (Year 12).

6.2 Protective factors

In general the factors that protect young people from entering into risk behaviours have been less well-studied than those that tend to motivate them to enter into risk behaviours. However, research (Bradley, Whiteside et al., 1994; Deković, 1999; Fergusson and Lynskey, 1996; Quinton, Pickles et al., 1993; Lammers, Ireland et al., 2000; Resnick, Bearman et al., 1997; Steinberg, 1996) has identified several factors that may either promote positive development or protect against or mitigate the effects of risk. If these factors are present, they diminish the likelihood of negative health and social outcomes. They are strengths within the child and within the child-rearing context. Broadly defined, protective factors could be seen “as those personal, social, and institutional resources that foster competence, promote successful development and, thus, decrease the likelihood of engaging in problem behaviour” (Dekovic’, 1999:670). It is worth noting that the protective factors that have been studied relate to risk behaviours in general and not specifically to those associated with intergenerational sex. However, there are certain commonalities between the two, especially those relating to sexual matters.

In order to identify protective factors surrounding intergenerational sexual relationships the participants were asked why they did not want to have sex with older men. They were further asked to say what enabled them to resist intergenerational sex. The findings
presented in this section address factors reported by the 25 girls. These were classified under three major themes: personal, social and institutional. However, the girls’ narratives show that these themes are interrelated and most of the girls reported being influenced by multiple factors.

6.2.1 Personal factors

Personal factors consisted of the following: personal preference, self-worth, acceptance of economic circumstances and individual’s knowledge of sexual risks.

6.2.1.1 Personal preference

Most of the girls (20) who declined to have sex with older men were motivated by their personal preferences. Girls advanced various reasons why they did not wish to engage in intergenerational sexual relationships and preferred to date their age mates. Some indicated that they wanted to retain their decision-making power without being intimidated by someone who is much older than them and they also wanted to maintain their freedom of speech.

a) “I want to have a say”

I prefer to date my age mates. It is safer that way and I can retain my decision-making power. If you date an older man, I do not see how you can feel free to say your opinion, or to say some things. …Our age mates are better for us because we understand each other in a way. We speak the same language. I know that if I ignore boys of our age and have sexual relationships with older men I will not have any influence in how to run our relationship, I will lose control and this is what I don’t want. The safest thing is to stick with the age mates. (Neo)
Some girls wanted to maintain their freedom of speech and conscience

I prefer to date my age mate so that I can maintain my freedom of speech, and freedom of conscience. Young guys understand us better and we understand them too, we communicate freely with them. They listen to us and we both have a say in a relationship. They respect us as well as our decisions. We can easily influence them and most of the time you make joint decisions. Right now I am having a sexual relationship with a 19-year-old boy, and we have equal say on when to see each other, when to have sex and whether to use a condom or not. (Tsebe)

Older men control other people, they insist on having their way because they are much older than you. They force you to do things against your conscience. I don’t want to lose my freedom and I associate with girls who do not want to lose their say as well. (Lela)

Some felt that a wide age difference can be a barrier to communication and can intimidate the younger person. They wanted to have peace of mind and be able to express their feelings without any intimidation.

I prefer a young chap because we can reason together without any age barrier. I want to maintain my freedom and peace of mind. If I date an older man I would feel shy and intimidated and I cannot express my feelings. He is capable of telling me that when I say no I say no, but if I date someone who belongs to my age group I would feel free to express my views and dislikes without any fear. Right now, I am free to differ with my boyfriend and I don’t allow him to get what he wants from me always. If I am not in the mood to have sex, I tell him and he understands. You cannot do that with an older man. (Tebogo)
Some associated the lack of freedom of self-expression with the possibility of falling pregnant and/or contracting HIV due to the difficulty to insist on condom use in such relationships. They felt that older men were oppressive.

They oppress girls and there is no freedom of speech for the girls in such sexual relationships. I do not want to lose my freedom. There is a high possibility of getting pregnant and be infected with HIV when you don’t have freedom of speech because you cannot stand your ground when it comes to condom use. I know that I can stand my grounds regarding condom use with someone of my age, but I am not sure if I can do that effectively with someone older. These guys know how to lure you into doing things you are not prepared for. They always go away with what they want. I have decided to stick to my age mates and forget about older people and I have successfully exercised my power to refuse to let them into my sexual life. They cannot force me if I don’t want. (Bona)

Some girls indicated that they did not want to be passive in a sexual relationship. They wanted to have a say and be active decision-makers in their intimate relationships. They said they enjoy the mutual understanding they experience in a sexual relationship with their age mates.

I don’t want to be a passive observer in a relationship that I am supposed to be one of the players. When you are in intergenerational sexual relationship you are taken as a child even when you try to reason with him he does not listen to you. I have not been in such relationships but I am aware of what our peers are going through. The young folks listen and if you reason with them they understand. We have common interests with our age mates, we have the same experience and we are all still learning about life together. These are the people I am comfortable with because I can also have some influence. I know that I am responsible for my sexual life, and I
believe I am capable of making decisions related to that. I don’t want to be treated like a child; I want to have the experience of deciding when, how and where we meet and how we run the whole game. Because of all the above reasons, I prefer my age mates and I avoid dating older men. (Tseo)

The reasons why these participants preferred to have sexual relationships with their age mates had to do with the freedom of self-expression without any fear, the fact that the boys listen to and respect girls’ views, and the mutual understanding associated with common interests. The findings further reveal that girls were more comfortable and reported to be capable of negotiating condom use when they engage in sexual relationships with boys of their age. It is clear that the girls in this group perceived themselves as people who have the power to control their sexual lives.

Their stories show that they have concluded that they can only take charge of their lives and maintain a healthy sexual lifestyle of engaging in safe sex behaviours if they engage in sex with their age mates. Some girls indicated that although they know that they can influence their age mates on how to manage their sexual relationships they were not sure if they could do that effectively if they were in a sexual relationship with older men. The girls in this group chose to go into sexual relationships in which they could easily negotiate condom use and assert themselves without any fear and the intimidation of age and other factors surrounding intergenerational sexual relationships.

b) “I want to be somebody”

Some of the reasons for the girls’ personal choices or preferences were related to the desire of becoming someone in life. Some girls were ambitious and wanted to continue studying so that they can be professionals and work for themselves. They indicated that dating older men can spoil their future plans by giving them fatherless children and HIV.

I prefer my age mates for many reasons. I fear pregnancy and STIs/HIV and I don’t think it is easy to stand for your convictions when you go out with an older man. I do not want to risk my future.
I want to be somebody in life, a professional. I want to be independent economically and in other respects. I am studying hard to achieve my goal, so I don’t want any disturbance; I need to focus. (Montle)

I get the basic needs from my cousin and I have told myself that I should work hard in my studies so that I can work for myself and meet my economic needs. I want to pass my exams well so that I can go to university. Sleeping with an older man means getting a fatherless child and sometimes even AIDS and I am not going to risk my future by being involved in such relationships. (Matlho)

… I want to be a lawyer and for me to achieve that I have to pass my form five very well in order to be admitted at the university. I don’t have time for older men. I can date my age mate because we both understand that we need time to study. Our age mates are not so demanding like the old folks. (Marato)

These girls want to achieve academic advancement or career development and think that engaging in intergenerational sex might frustrate its achievement. It has been found that adolescent academic competence and high school performance function as buffers against sexual risks in the lives of young people (Lammers, Ireland et al., 2000; Wills, Vaccaro et al., 1992). Furthermore, plans to attend tertiary education were found to be related to delay in the initiation of sex (Blum, Beuhring et al., 2000; Halpern, Joyner et al., 2000; Manlove, 1998; Moore, Manlove et al., 1998). The narratives show that the girls have set high performance goals for themselves because they want to go to college and university and this acted as a protective factor against intergenerational sex.

6.2.1.2 Self-worth

The respondents indicated that they do not want to engage in intergenerational sexual relationships because they consider themselves to be of great worth. The fact that these types of relationships were regulated by material things and appear transactional made some girls in this group shun them.
I don’t usually envy the girls who go out with older men. I take myself better than them because I am not a commodity that can be purchased. I value myself so much and I believe there is no one who can attach any price to me. I feel strong as a person, and I live according to my personal values and conviction. I don’t look down upon myself, I believe I am special and that’s what I am. It frustrates me to see my peers considering themselves as something which can be bought. Even though I don’t have what they have materially at least I have my freedom and peace of mind and I am happy with that. (Montle)

I don’t want to be bought because I believe my self-worth is priceless. I am content with who I am; I don’t want a fancy hair style every week so that other students can make a comment when I pass by. I am happy and comfortable with my natural hair. I know I am still attractive as I am. Yes, I believe in myself. I believe that I will make a wonderful wife sometimes in the future. I want to enjoy sex with someone I love. I don’t want to reduce myself to an item which can be bought. (S’thando)

Some hated the practice of exchanging gifts with sex and they consider that as an abuse of some sort. They preferred sex which is based on love not on bribery.

I hate the idea of exchanging their gifts with sex, I personally I would feel abused. I value myself so much that I cannot enter into such transactional sexual relationships. I prefer to have sex with someone I love and that will boost my moral rather than having sex because I have been bribed by gifts that sound like a business transaction. (Hisa)
Some felt that they were not articles of trade and they valued themselves as special beings created by God.

Older men use young people so I don’t want to be used; they buy young people with money and cell phones (mobile phones) and I hate the idea of being bought. I am not an article of trade, I am a human being, fearfully and wonderfully made by God, how can I allow myself to be a commodity, no ways. I am priceless. I usually tell them off (older men) that I am not interested in their business deal, they should go and cheat and deceive those who don’t understand how important and valuable they are, not me. (Nono)

Personal value and self-confidence were some of the characteristics of self-worth mentioned by some respondents. They believe that people should be controlled by moral values and principles not money.

I also believe that as an individual you have to value yourself and have self-confidence and stand for your principles rather than be controlled by money. And I live according to my personal values and beliefs. I am not going to engage in a sexual relationship which involves the exchange of sex with gifts and money. I just hate the idea. It is a business, and the sad part is that girls are being bought. I believe that sexual relationships should be founded on love. (Dineo)

It is clear from these narratives that having a high sense of self-worth protects these girls from sexual exploitation by older men. The girls believe that there is no amount of money that can induce them to have sex with older men. The fact that these girls viewed themselves as priceless, valuable and important made them to make the wise decision of not engaging in intergenerational sex, which predisposes someone to dangers like STIs/HIV infection and unwanted pregnancies.
A positive self-worth seems to affect one’s motivation both to perform and to defend oneself against any danger or risk as reflected by the above narratives. It enhanced girls’ ability to cope with situations and to express themselves. It made them secure. Some girls understand that their self-worth was not dependent on how their peers assessed them but believed in their inherent self-worth. By believing in this these girls resisted peer pressure and avoided intergenerational sexual relationships.

6.2.1.3 Acceptance of economic circumstances

Fifteen girls indicated that although their parents’ financial and material support did not always meet their expectations, they were content with what they have. Therefore they did not feel any pressure to have sex with older men for material gain.

I have accepted my economic situation, and I don’t want to lose my freedom by depending on an older boyfriend’s money. To tell you the truth I do not feel any pressure because I have told myself that I am still a child and when I am old and working I can buy myself whatever I want. For now I need to concentrate on my studies. (Tsebe)

Although my parents cannot afford to give me all the financial support I want I am content with what I have. Most of the girls like to compare themselves with other girls in terms of the kind of watches, mobiles, shoes and hair styles they have, and if they do not match the standard they feel demoralized and because of this some girls have left their boyfriends and gone for older men, I am not that type. I am satisfied with the little I have more so that I know that my parents cannot afford some of these fancy stuff. Because of my attitude I do not have any pressure of dating older men so that I can have what other girls have. My life is not controlled by material things. (Masa)
I am content with what my parents give me though sometimes they are unable to meet all my needs. Nevertheless, I have accepted the situation and I am comfortable with it and I also make sure that I avoid the company of girls who are materialistic. I hang around with girls who share the same values with me. So we are all satisfied with what we have and life is going on without the stresses of being controlled by these rich men. (Tebogo)

These girls have accepted their economic and life situation and are content with what their parents can afford to give them. They do not attempt to acquire some of the luxuries that other girls have. They know that they will have those things once they start to work for themselves. Contentment generally militates against selfishness and envy, ills which probably motivate girls to engage in intergenerational sex. On the other hand contentment promotes satisfaction, happiness and acceptance of one’s situation. This attitude of contentment functioned as a protective factor against intergenerational sexual relationships for these girls.

6.2.1.4 Knowledge of sexual risks

Twenty-two girls reported that they avoided having sex with older men because of fear of contracting STIs/HIV and being dumped after falling pregnant.

I am afraid of getting HIV/AIDS. Older men usually dump you after they have made you pregnant. They can make you pregnant and give you AIDS because they don’t want to use condom. (Lala)

Older men are play-boys and that is why they approach many other girls beside you. So I don’t want to get HIV/AIDS, and teenage pregnancy. I want to continue with my education and go to the university. (Tseo)

The possibility of getting STDs/HIV and teenage pregnancy is high because it is difficult to abstain from sexual intercourse and even harder to talk about condom use when you go out with someone
older. If you want to be on the safe side you have to stay away from these folks. (Tsela)

Some indicated that they feared passion killing which is common in Botswana.

These days, men have a tendency of killing their girlfriends who break-up with them if they feel they have spent a lot of money on them, so I don’t want to risk my life. One student in our school was killed by her older boyfriend. If you don’t want to die prematurely refrain from intergenerational sex. I have made a decision that I will not agree to date an older man, they can be dangerous. (Muka)

When you get gifts/presents from these people they want something in return. If you refuse you are in trouble. So I am afraid of passion killings. They kill these days, almost every week it is reported that a young woman or a girl has been killed by a boyfriend and these are older men who have spent a lot of money on these girls and young women. (Matlho)

Girls in this group are aware of the dangers of intergenerational sex including the possibility of getting STI/HIV and pregnancy. Being knowledgeable of these possible dangers and being fearful of them have acted as protective factors against intergenerational sex for these girls. Although decisions which are made out of fear do not normally last, for some of these girls the fear of passion killing, STI/HIV and pregnancy functioned as protective factors. Considering the fact that most of the girls were protected by more than one factor the fear might be working with other factors to produce long term protection. For example, Matlho in the above quotation was also protected by her personal preference and school connectedness (see page 146).

The narratives under personal factors showed that the respondents exercised their power of choice effectively. They preferred their age mates as sexual partners to older men and they practiced that. They made good use of the knowledge they have about sexual risks and disadvantages of engaging in intergenerational sex by making wise choices. The findings also revealed that these girls have positive self-worth and some have accepted
their financial conditions. They lived by their personal values and convictions. It was evident that a number of personal protective factors functioned together to influence the girls to avoid getting involved in intergenerational sexual relationships.

6.2.2 Social factors

Two sub-themes were identified in this group: socio-cultural factors and support and encouragement.

6.2.2.1 Socio-cultural factors

The majority (20) of the participants gave various social and cultural reasons why they declined to have sex with older men. The socio-cultural sub-themes that emerged included the following: marriage, older people as parents, social morals, close relatives’ experiences, and virginity.

a) Marriage

Seven girls stated that these men are old and most of them are already married. The girls reasoned that since they want to be married it was not advisable for them to waste their time with someone who cannot marry them.

I want to get married, so if you bring an older man in your sexual life you reduce your chances of getting married as he cannot marry you because he is likely to be married already, so it’s likely that he just wants to use you. On the contrary when you date a boy of your age group…you can reason with him and your chances of getting married to him are high. (Nono)

I tell them point blank that they are old, they are married… I also tell them that I want to have my own family like them. I don’t want to be involved with someone who will waste my time and reduce my chances of being in love with a person who can marry me. (Sara)
I personally want to be married and I have decided to be involved in a sexual relationship which can lead to marriage. (Bontle)

From the above narratives it seems that the marriage institution is highly valued by some girls and they do not want to be involved in relationships that have no possibilities of leading to marriage.

b) Older people as parents

Six girls indicated that it was not proper to have sex with a man of the same age as one’s father because such a man is considered to be one’s parent according to Tswana culture. In light of this, some of the girls said there was no way they could engage in intergenerational sex.

When I see them, I think of my own dad and I know that it is not good to take someone like my father and sleep with him. That is taken as a shameful thing culturally and I strongly believe in that culture. Therefore, this has made me to shun intergenerational sex. I regard it as a filthy practice. (Phala)

I hate those sexual relationships. I just tell them that I am a child and they are even bigger than my elder brother. Some are even old enough to be my father. Just imagine dating or sleeping with your own dad, it is a dirty thing to do. It is a cultural disgrace. (Muka)

I usually tell them to their face by asking them if it is proper to sleep with their own children, and those who respond they usually say it is not right. Then I reminded them that I am supposed to take them as my parents and they are supposed to treat me as their own child. (Dineo)

In Tswana culture all adults of your parents’ generation are regarded as your parents and they are expected to treat you as their own child. The young person is also expected to treat them as their own parents. Girls who accept this cultural norm will find it difficult to engage in intergenerational sex. The narratives that are reported above indicate that
some cultural beliefs can act as protective factors to those who have accepted them. To these girls this socio-cultural norm acts as a protective factor against intergenerational sex.

c) Social morals

Six girls indicated that intergenerational sexual relationships are evil because they can bring some social problems like divorce. They indicated that it is not good to contribute to the breakage of other people’s families.

These relationships can bring some tension between husband and wife and you can contribute to family breakdown, including divorce and that is not good. (Monei)

I know a certain girl who was going out with this married man. His wife was at school overseas. This girl was treated as a wife. Guess what, when the wife came back, the man divorced her and I was told he intends to get married to this girl immediately she finishes her senior secondary school. That is bad, it is not a proper thing to get between husband and wife and to make things worse and even cause them to divorce each other. Think of their children. I have decided to stay away from these older men; I don’t want to break other people’s home. (Montle)

It is not good to separate someone from his wife and the children. I would hate anyone who does that to my family. So I don’t want to be party to a situation where I cause people to divorce. I just want to date my age mate so that we can grow together and get married to each other if we want. (Tebogo)

The above accounts show that girls who believe in maintaining family relationships find it difficult to engage in intergenerational sex, especially where it involves married men.
d) Close relatives’ experiences

Four girls learned from the experiences of close relatives who had sexual relationships with older men and decided that they would not want to go through the same experience.

I learned from my sisters’ (two) experiences; they (older men) made them pregnant and then dumped them. So when I see older men I see babies. I don’t want to fall pregnant and then being dumped. In fact I hate such relationships… Condoms are out of the equation because they refuse to use them. (Kopi)

My elder sister has made a lot of mistakes regarding sexual relationships so she encourages me not to follow her footsteps. She went through terrible experiences in her sexual relationships with older men. One older man abused her physically and at one point she was nearly killed. (Neo)

My sister went out with a certain married man who was also much older than her. Initially she looked happy as this man would provide her with what ever she wanted. Little did I know that a lot of bad things were happening…. Then she fell pregnant and the man denied responsibility for the pregnancy and dumped my sister. The day she related her story to me I made up my mind that I would avoid being involved with these men. They are dangerous and insensitive. (Tsebe)

The bitter experiences of close relatives can act as protective factors because as people consider the trauma others suffered as a result of certain choices they decide not to follow the same course. Traumas suffered by close relatives tend to affect the whole family and therefore might influence their attitudes and decisions with regard to what caused the trauma, in this case intergenerational sex.
e) Virginity

One of the social reasons mentioned as a motivating factor for refraining from intergenerational sex was virginity.

My boyfriend used to demand sex but I refused because I didn’t want to lose my virginity while I am young and I ended up separating from him because he was putting me under pressure to have sex while I was not ready. Because of this experience I could not dare date an older man because there is a high possibility that he can make me to lose my virginity which I value so much. I want to be free from the stress of sexual relationships. My mother has played a major role in assisting me to value my virginity. She told me well in advance that I would meet a lot of pressure to break my virginity and I would be ridiculed for being a virgin and advised me not to take any offence for this. (S’thando)

I have always believed that virginity is like a marriage cake and it is the best present you can reserve for your husband. I got these values from my parents. My view and position has motivated me not to have any interest in dating older men because I am not sure if I can manage to stand firm for what I believe… these guys have all the power to get what they want. (Phala)

I am not yet ready to have sex and I don’t trust myself that I can manage to stand my grounds and say no to sex when I date an older man. I know that there is a high possibility that an older person can overpower me as it happens to most of our peers so I have told myself that the best thing to do is to avoid such sexual relationships. …I am proud of the fact that I am still a virgin and I hope to get married to someone who will value my virginity as well. (Tebogo)

Although virginity is no longer considered as an important commodity by many cultures including that of Botswana, some girls in this study indicated that they would not go out
with older men in order to maintain their virginity. Their value for virginity acts as a protective factor against pre-marital sexual relationships including intergenerational sex.

As shown in Chapter five older men pose more danger to the virginity of the respondents than their age mates because it is not easy to abstain from sex when dealing with someone older. This is why the girls in the narratives above indicated that there is a possibility that older men can make them lose their virginity because it is more difficult to resist their sexual demands than that of boys.

6.2.2.2 Support and encouragement

Support and encouragement emerged as a sub-theme associated with social factors. Eighteen girls reported that they obtained different kinds of support and encouragement from parents, siblings, friends, and some peers. Because of this the girls managed to refrain from engaging in intergenerational sex.

a) Parent /guardian support

Material support and counselling from parents/guardian were mentioned by four of the girls in this group.

I personally am economically stable because my sister provides for me. I get all the financial, social and emotional support from my sister. I am satisfied with what she provides. I strongly believe that if girls could have stable sources of income or financial support like I do this might reduce their motivation to go out with older men. (Nono)

My parents give me what I want and they meet all of my needs, therefore, I am not pressurized by the material things the intergenerational sexual relationships offer. (Kopi)

My parents provide me with what I want. They have also taught me the skills of resisting peer pressure. I have confidence in myself and
don’t usually trust and emulate what other girls say or do. I also avoid associating with girls who go out with older men. (Hisa)

For some of the girls, parental support in the form of providing them with what they need, and counselling them on how to resist peer pressure acted as protective factors against intergenerational sex. High socio-economic status has been identified as one of the protective factors that are significantly associated with delayed onset of sexual activity for both males and females. These girls are protected by the fact that they have alternative material sources other than from older men.

b) Support from friends

Most of the girls (11) in this group reported that they got support to stay away from intergenerational sexual relationships from their best friends.

My friends share the same views as me regarding such relationships so we encourage each other. (Hisa)

My best friend is also against dating older men so we support and encourage each other not to do it. I have to admit that the temptation is very great. (Muka)

I have positive support from my friends; I associate with girls who also do not like sexual relationship with older men. (Nono)

Even though, generally, peer pressure encourages girls to engage in intergenerational sexual relationships, support from close friends who also shun these relationships helped some girls to resist this pressure. Thirteen girls reported that they had a lot of pressure from most of their peers but had managed to resist this.

I usually get pressure from most of my peers rather than support but I have managed to resist so far because I get support from my best friends who think like me and we support each other and hang around together. (Lala)
Most of our peers encourage us to date older men so that we could receive gifts. They tease us and tell us that we should stop going out with ‘share your pencil with me’. This is a nickname given to schoolboys and it means that schoolboys can only share a pencil with you because they have very little resources apart from a pencil or pen. But I and the friends I hang around with have told ourselves that we will stick to our position of not engaging in intergenerational sex and we are doing well so far. (Tebogo)

The above accounts show that some girls associate with those who share the same views regarding intergenerational sexual relationships and take deliberate efforts to avoid the company of those who are involved in such relationships. They talk about such relationships and encourage each other not to engage in them. Resisting peer pressure by getting support from friends and keeping good company acted as protective factors against intergenerational sexual relationships for this group of girls.

The accounts under social factors demonstrated that marriage as a social institution is highly valued. Some participants wanted to have their own families and they also wanted the already established families to remain intact. The traumatic experiences caused by intergenerational sexual relationships suffered by their close relatives such as siblings influenced them to have negative attitudes towards such relationships. The fact that some girls believed in Tswana culture which treat every older person as a parent increased resiliency against intergenerational sexual relationships. Another source of resilience was the nature and quality of parental/guardian and peer support and encouragement.

**6.2.3 Institutional factors**

Institutional factors consisted of the following sub-themes: school connectedness and religious beliefs
6.2.3.1 School connectedness

Support from guidance and counselling teachers

Five girls indicated that they were influenced by the information they were taught by their guidance teacher. This point is made clear in the following narratives:

I was influenced to a large extent by my guidance teacher. I would like to thank her for her efforts, she taught us a lot of things, and she used to tell us that we should aim high and set ourselves goals. She informed us that when older men come to us to propose love they only want to use us so we should tell them that we want to achieve our life goals like them. I have cherished this information so much that every time I am approached by an older man it comes to my mind and most of the time I tell them off. Definitely I want to be somebody with a profession in life and I am not going to allow older men to spoil my dreams. (Neo)

Girls were also warned about the dangers of contracting HIV and falling pregnant which are common when one engages in sexual relationships with older men. They were also sensitized about their personal rights.

We were informed by our guidance teacher that HIV/AIDS and other STIs, as well as pregnancy are common among girls who date older men. I personally took her at her word and when I look back I realize that most of our peers who dropped out of school because of pregnancy were going out with older men. The same teacher convinced me to believe that I have the right to say no. I then decided that I will not date older men in my life. I know that I have the power to say no, I have developed confidence in myself so I have been saying no to older men’s sexual advances and I will continue to say no. I am convinced that I should take charge of my sexual life. (Tseo)
We are usually taught about the dangers of such sexual relationships (intergenerational) at school…we know that we can fall pregnant and/or contract STIs including HIV. This information has influenced my decision one way or the other to refuse to have sex with older men. I am aware of one thing, that I can say no and maintain my position, there is no one who can push me around including older men themselves. (Masa)

The pastoral, guidance and counselling departments in secondary schools are making an impact with some girls. The narratives above show that counselling by teachers has played a crucial role in shaping the girls’ attitudes and decision-making regarding intergenerational sex. This kind of support has instilled some insights in them and they have made personal resolutions to refrain from intergenerational sex.

6.2.3.2 Religious beliefs

Six girls stated that they would not go out with older men because they have been influenced by their religion. All of them were Christians.

My Christian faith has contributed a lot to my abstinence from sex and from even just dating my age mates. I believe that you cannot have a boyfriend and be free from sexual pressure from him. So if I am not even ready to date my age mates there is no way I can date an older person. (Bontle)

As a Bible believer I know that sex is for married people. Therefore I cannot even have sex with my boyfriend before we get married. There is no way I can have sex with an older man. I strongly believe in the word of God, I am 19 and by God’s grace I am still a virgin. I just say no to older men’s sexual advances without mincing my words and without any hesitation because I know what I want in life. (Monei)
Some associated intergenerational sexual relationships with having a child and since they believe that it is a shame for a Christian girl to have a child out of wedlock they refrained from such relationships.

It is a shame for a Christian girl to have a child out of wedlock. I consider having sex with an older man as inviting pregnancy in your life and I have decided that I don’t want to bring disgrace to my family and our Christian community. That is why I refuse to go out with older men. Older men are capable of forcing you to do things that you don’t want. I have a boyfriend and we go to the same church so we do not have sex, both of us are virgins. God’s willing we are planning to get married when we have reached the right ages. (Sara)

At church we are taught not to date at a young age and I have noticed that those who heed this advice are able to avoid the pitfalls other young people fall into such as teenage pregnancy. This has strengthened me to resist older men’s love and sexual advances…. because when I think of having sex with an older man I think of pregnancy and that alone puts me off. (Malebo)

When religious principles are valued and obeyed, they can influence one’s lifestyle, including sexual life. These girls refrain from sex altogether because of their belief that sex should be practised within marriage. Their faith and religion therefore has worked as a protective factor for them.

The accounts presented under institutional factors revealed that the perceived importance of religion was protective against intergenerational sexual relationships. Connectedness with school is another protective factor in the lives of young people (Resnick, Harris et al., 1993). This is mostly influenced by caring from teachers and high expectations for students’ performance (Steinberg, 1996). The respondents indicated that the teaching and counselling support they got from their guidance teachers and their ambition to do well in their exams functioned as buffers against intergenerational sexual relationships.
6.3 Discussion

The factors that protected girls from engaging in intergenerational sex were not the same for all the interviewees. Some were protected by personal factors while others were protected by religious beliefs. However, it emerged from the findings that most of the girls were protected by many factors. There was no one who was protected by just one factor. For instance, one respondent would be protected by her personal preference, support and encouragement she gets from her family and a positive self-worth, another by acceptance of her economic situation and school connectedness.

Most of the girls who declined to have sex with older men seem to recognize that they have personal power. Personal power is described as experiencing oneself as an effective and capable person (Gutierrez, 1990). It addresses the confidence and worth individuals feel they have about acting for themselves and includes concepts of perceived control, self-efficacy, motivation to control and perceived competence (Gutierrez, 1990; Zimmerman, 1995). The findings from this study indicate that most of these girls believe in themselves and know that they have the power to choose to say no if they don’t want something. Most preferred to have sexual relationships with their age mates and all refused to enter intergenerational sexual relationships; moreover they managed to stand by that conviction. They have managed to keep older men out of their sexual lives and have shown competency and self-efficacy in that area. Some refrained from both intra-generational and intergenerational sexual relationships. Most of these girls were characterized by a positive self-esteem, self confidence, contentment and the ability to resist peer pressure. They perceived intergenerational sex as risky and as a result they refrained from it. Most have professional ambitions in life and they did not want those personal academic ambitions to be hampered by pregnancy or HIV infection. Plans to attend tertiary education have been related to delayed initiation of sex (Blum, Beuhring et al., 2000; Halpern, Joyner et al., 2000; Manlove, 1998; Moore, Manlove et al., 1998).

One aspect that these girls demonstrated was the knowledge that their ability to exercise personal power was not a guarantee that they could also effectively exercise interpersonal power when dealing with an older man. They were aware of their limited ability to
influence others, especially someone older than themselves. Therefore those who had decided to start intimate relationships chose to enter those in which they could exercise their personal and interpersonal powers effectively (Gutierrez, 1990; Zimmerman, 1995). These types of relationships appear to be ‘safe zone’ relationships. These are relationships in which the girls are able to make decisions without being intimidated by their partners and in which they are able to freely express their feelings and opinions. In this study, girls who declined to have sex with older men reported that it was safer to date their age mates than older men. They advanced reasons such as they could maintain their freedom of expression and negotiate for condom use more effectively in intra-generational sexual relationships than in intergenerational sexual relationships.

Self-worth was another factor that gave increased protection against intergenerational sexual relationships to some girls who participated in this study. They viewed intergenerational sexual relationships as transactional, and therefore said that they did not want to engage in these relationships because there was no price or type of gift that could induce them to have sex with older men. These girls regarded their self-worth highly and as important, and this perception helped them resist intergenerational sex. This is consistent with Crocker, Karpinski et al. (2003) who found that contingencies of self-worth shape students’ emotions, thoughts, and behaviour. Crocker and Knight (2005:200) described contingencies of self-worth as “what people believe they need to be or do to have value and worth as a person”.

Some respondents accepted their economic situations and that acted as a buffer against engaging in sexual relationships with older men. To be content with our circumstances substantially influences the way we conduct our lives. These girls accepted the financial and material situation of their parents and realized that there was little they could do themselves at that stage of their lives. Once people have accepted the absence of things that more privileged people have and do not consider the lack of those things as a problem this generally works against envy. It is notable that in this study envy of others was identified as one of the motivating factors to engage in intergenerational sexual relationships.
Knowledge gives someone the power to make informed decisions. Sometimes people make good use of the knowledge they have by using it to make wise choices but at other times they do not. It is heartening to realize that with regard to the girls who declined to have sex with older men the knowledge of the disadvantages and risks of intergenerational sexual relationships influenced them to be against these relationships.

Another important protective factor is the quality of the relationship within the family, the presence of a warm, nurturing, and supportive relationship with at least one parent (Bradley, Whiteside et al., 1994; Fergusson and Lynskey, 1996). The findings of this study revealed that parental support in the form of providing the girls with what they need, giving them emotional support and counselling on how to resist peer pressure acted as protective factors against intergenerational sex.

This study also revealed that the desire to have a family in the future can act as a protective factor against intergenerational sex, especially when the older men are married. Some girls refrained from intergenerational sex because they had plans to be married in the future and they did not want to waste their time with men who cannot marry them. The family seemed to play important various roles as a protective factor because some girls did not want to bring conflicts between husbands and wives by engaging in sex with married older men. Some girls learned from the experiences of their sisters and this influenced them to resist the pressure of intergenerational sex.

Lammers, Ireland et al. (2000) also found concerns about the community as one of the protective factors that was significantly associated with delayed onset of sexual activity for both males and females. In the present study, concern about the community was found to act as a protective factor against intergenerational sex. Some girls indicated that it was not proper to have sex with a man of the same age as one’s father, because such a man is considered to be one’s parent according to Tswana culture. They were aware that is taken as a shameful thing culturally. In light of this, some of the girls said there was no way they could engage in intergenerational sex. Another concern relating to the community entails the notion that intergenerational sexual relationships are evil because they can contribute to some social problems like divorce. The girls indicated that it was
not good to contribute to the breakdown of families. They seemed to be considerate, unselfish and other people-centred. This attitude of thinking about others and the community at large acted as a buffer against intergenerational sex. Interpersonal power in the form of awareness and respect for social good morals functioned as protective factors against engaging in intergenerational sexual relationships for these girls.

The nature and quality of peer relations also play a role. Although negative peer influence has often been found to be fostering undesirable behaviour, such as early involvement in sexual relations, drug use and delinquency (Dekovic, 1999), good peer relationships may provide sources of support and positive role models that may mitigate the effects of adverse circumstances (Quinton, Pickles et al., 1993). While, in general, peers in this study as in other studies tended to influence respondents to engage in intergenerational sexual relationships, keeping company with a friend or a group of friends who shunned intergenerational sexual relationships functioned as a protective factor against intergenerational sex. Some of the girls not only kept the company of friends who avoided intergenerational sexual relationships they avoided the company of those who were in such relationships. This practice facilitated their ability to resist peer pressure. The influence of best friends seemed to be important to these girls and helped them to resist intergenerational sex.

Although some studies on protective factors have conflicting results with regard to virginal pledge as a protective factor against early sexual debut (Bearman and Bruckner, 2001; Rostosky, Regnerus et al., 2003; Bersamin, Walker et al., 2005; Brueckner and Bearman, 2005), more than one-third of the girls in this study mentioned the desire to retain their virginity as a motivating factor for refraining from intergenerational sex. Other studies also found that having taken a virginal pledge was associated with the delay of sexual intercourse (Bearman and Bruckner, 2001; Resnick, Bearman et al., 1997; Bersamin, Walker et al., 2005; Brueckner and Bearman, 2005). It is worth noting that girls who take such a pledge live under constant pressure. In most of African countries, including Botswana remaining a virgin could be misinterpreted as a sign of being uneducated, uncivilized, not moving with the times and being traditional or “bushy” (Savage, 1998). Therefore, if as stated, virginity functions as a protective factor
for some girls in this study, that is an indication of a strong personality and/or strong convictions.

This study found that when religious principles are valued, they can influence one’s lifestyle including sexual life. Some girls did not engage in intergenerational sexual relationships or any sexual relationships at all because they were Christians. For others, even though they had boyfriends, they refrained from sexual intercourse because of their Christian principles which regarded sex before marriage as against God’s will. Resnick, Bearman et al. (1997) study also found that the perceived importance of religion and prayer was protective. Their study further revealed that participants who ascribed to the importance of religion and prayer tended to have a later age of sexual debut and were also less likely to use all substances. Lammers, Ireland et al. (2000) also found high religiosity as one of the protective factors that was significantly associated with delayed onset of sexual activity for both males and females. The findings of this study are consistent with those of the above studies because six girls who mentioned religiosity as a protective factor reported to be still virgins and this implies that their religious principles have protected them from having sex with both their age-mates and older men.

Connectedness with school is another protective institutional factor in the lives of young people (Resnick, Harris et al., 1993). Some respondents wanted to continue with their education and do well in their exams so that they can become professionals and work for themselves. They indicated that getting sexually involved with older men might cause them to drop out of school due to unwanted pregnancy thus spoiling their future plans. The important role of educational aspirations and better employment opportunities is consistent with what was found by Kuate-Defo (1998). Several studies have found that high school performance was one of the factors that protect young people from engaging in early sexual activity (Billy, Brewster et al., 1994; Borowsky, Hogan et al., 1997; Brewster, Cooksey et al., 1998; Manlove, 1998; Lammers, Ireland et al., 2000; Karim, Magnani et al., 2003; Raine, Jenkins et al., 1999; Resnick, Bearman et al., 1997; WHO, 2002) and this is consistent with the findings of the current study because the desire for high performance in school has not only delayed girls sexual debut but has also protected them from intergenerational sex.
Some girls in this study considered their guidance teachers as caring and as a result they took their advice, support and information seriously which acted as empowerment tools and buffers against intergenerational sex. Steinberg (1996) also found that school engagement as a critical protective factor against a variety of risk behaviours is mostly influenced in good measure by perceived caring from teachers and high expectations for students’ performance.
Chapter Seven
Intergenerational sexual relationships: The voices of the public

In our culture a woman is never considered to be too young. I did not force her into our relationship. I proposed and she agreed.

(Monei, M)

In view of the fact that sexual relationships are an inherently dyadic interaction the researcher felt that excluding men when studying the dynamics of sexual relationships would result in an unbalanced data set. However, because it was not easy to recruit older men who engaged in sexual relationships with schoolgirls in Botswana for reasons outlined in Chapter three, radio talk-back was employed as an alternative approach. The third stage of this study consisted of two radio talk-back sessions which were conducted with the aim of gathering men's views on intergenerational sexual relationships. However, the views of other members of the public were also welcomed. It was hoped that men who date young girls would also call and share their views about such relationships because the method used offered them an opportunity where they could talk freely through an anonymous medium without fear of exposure.

Although the location of the study for the schoolgirls was Gaborone, the capital city of Botswana, the public called from all parts of Botswana. The different areas have been classified into two main groups, north and south and within each group there were callers from urban and rural areas. Most of the callers were from the south (urban south: 31; rural south: 8). Only eight called from urban north and nine from rural north. The majority (38) of the callers were men and 18 callers were women. The views of all 56 callers are reported in this chapter. It is important to note that the radio talk-back method was successful in eliciting the views of some men who were actually involved in intergenerational sexual relationships. Of the 38 men who called, seven reported that they were in intergenerational sexual relationships.
7.1 Prevalence of intergenerational sexual relationships

Callers were asked whether they thought intergenerational sexual relationships were prevalent in Botswana or not. All callers said that these relationships exist in Botswana.

Yes, such relationships do exist. (Kgabo, M)

Sexual relationships between older men and schoolgirls do exist. (Nkwe, M)

Intergenerational sexual relationships are prevalent. (Boi, F)

Oh yes, these relationships are real. (Kemo, F)

These findings indicate that sexual relationships between older men and schoolgirls are acknowledged to be existing in Botswana. This is consistent with the perceptions of the surveyed schoolgirls because when asked whether they had friends/relatives who were involved in intergenerational sexual relationships, almost two-thirds said that they had. However, only one-quarter stated they were involved in such sexual relationships themselves. The same trend emerges with the older men. All the men who called said that intergenerational sexual relationships exist in Botswana but only seven admitted that they were in such relationships themselves. The self-report regarding intergenerational sexual relationships may be an underestimate because such sexual relationships are not condoned in Botswana, and some of the men who engage in these relationships are married and may not have been willing to disclose their infidelity. Furthermore, many male callers may not have been willing to admit that they were involved in intergenerational sexual relationships even when they could do so anonymously. The same trend emerged in Longfield, Glick et al. (2004) study in which out of 28 men who participated in their study, only one man reported that he was in a sexual relationship with a teenage girl. There is some support for this view that under-reporting among the participants occurs in research on sexually related and sensitive topics (Lee 1993; Lessler and O'Reilly, 1997; Smith, 1992; Willis 1997).
7.2 Public perceptions of intergenerational sexual relationships

While the majority (45, 80.4%), including two-thirds of the men and all the women callers considered intergenerational sexual relationships as a problem, 11 men did not consider them as such within the Botswana context. Some of those who considered the relationships as a problem expressed themselves in the following words:

- This is a major problem in our country. I have always been made to believe that it is a crime in Botswana for an older man to have sexual intercourse with a young girl, yet these things are happening and no action is taken. (Morwa, M)

- We cannot turn a deaf ear to what is happening. This is happening and we cannot bury our heads into the sand. We should mention these people by names. Our school children are in trouble—they don’t have freedom of movement because of these men. (Sego, F)

Some members of the public were concerned with what they considered to be the high prevalence of intergenerational sexual relationships and they wished the men involved could be prosecuted. There was no difference in opinions between rural and urban callers and from the various regions of the country such as south or north.

Those who did not consider intergenerational sexual relationships as a problem supported their position by saying that in Tswana culture a woman is never considered to be too young. The statements below reflect their views:

- There is nothing wrong with these relationships because in our culture a woman is never considered to be too young…, at 70 you can still marry a 21-year-old woman. To my understanding I see these relationships as normal; therefore I cannot say we have a problem. (Monei, M)
I have a problem if it is put as if the girls are forced into these relationships. I know that they consent to it as well. If two people have agreed to have a sexual relationship, should some people come in and say what they are doing is not proper? I don’t think so. In our culture it is a common thing to have a girlfriend who is much younger than oneself. (Bokete, M)

While it is true that when polygamy was still practiced in Botswana subsequent wives used to be much younger than their husbands, polygamy is no longer a common practice. In the past, polygamy was tolerated under the customary law but was supposed to be done after consultation between the concerned families. The first wife was usually also consulted although it is doubtful whether she had the power to stop her husband from marrying another woman (Molokomme, 1988). The position of these 11 men therefore could be influenced by this old practice, because as Schapera (1939:19) puts it “practices discarded by some continue to be observed by others”. Six of these men called from the rural areas and five from urban, the rural and urban callers seem to hold the same view. The common practice in Botswana now is that the couples’ age difference is narrow and some men even marry women who are older than themselves, something which was unheard of in the older generations when it was regarded a taboo for a man to marry a woman who was older than him.

7.3 Motivating factors

Callers were asked to give reasons why schoolgirls go out with older men. They provided both new reasons and some that were similar to those of the girls in the survey and those in intergenerational sexual relationships.

7.3.1 Similar reasons

Similar reasons were: provision of money (30 callers), clothes (10 callers) and/or cell-phones (mobile phones) (12 callers); being driven around in expensive cars (19 callers); being taken to distant places (5 callers); having fun (5 callers); and love and sexual satisfaction for both parties (11 callers).
a) Financial and material gain

Financial and material gain was reported as the main motivating factor for these relationships.

They entice young girls with their expensive cars and money.
(Dingalo, M)

The girls want money, clothes, cell-phones and other gifts just for fun and enjoyment. (Mogapi M)

The above statements were common among the callers and are consistent with those reported in Chapters four and five.

b) Services

Some of the callers indicated that the girls were motivated by some services they got from older men, like being driven around and taken for holidays to distant places.

These girls like to be driven around and taken to distant places like Capetown or Durban and have fun. (Tshego, F)

These services help girls enjoy an upscale lifestyle and look ‘modern’, as was also found by Meekers and Calves (1997a) as well as by Gage (1998) in relation to material gain.

c) Love and sexual satisfaction

Love and sexual satisfaction for both parties were mentioned by some of the community members as a driving force for these relationships.

Love and sexual satisfaction motivate these older men. Girls also enjoy sleeping with them, and so these are mutual beneficial relationships. (Bokete, M)
Some older men know how to handle these young girls and they satisfy them sexually. They know these things so they perform better than boys. (Same, F)

Love and sexual satisfaction for both girls and older men have been mentioned as motivating factors for these sexual relationships. Although intergenerational sexual relationships have been found to be multifaceted and the reasons or motivations for them complex, we cannot dismiss love as a motivation in these relationships. However, information on love as a motivating factor for intergenerational sexual relationships is limited in the available literature. The findings of this study relating to girls who were involved in intergenerational sexual relationships reported in Chapter five revealed that some girls engaged in such relationships for love and sexual satisfaction because they believe that older men have more sexual experience.

7.3.2 New Reasons

The new motivating factors which callers reported were: the myth of self-cleansing when you have sex with a virgin (11 callers); stimulating sexual drive (older man) (10 callers); the influence of alcohol (8 callers); the loss of religious beliefs (9 callers); and the loss of cultural values (7callers).

a) Stimulating sexual drive (older man)

Those who reported that older men enter into sexual relationships with girls because they wanted to stimulate or rekindle their sexual drive had this to say:

These girls help older men to stimulate their sexual drives because sometimes when you get old you lose your sexual bearings so you need these young ones to wake you up. (Monei, M)

These young girls have not been in this game for a long time, they are still good so they are able to recharge these old folks sexually. (Tlou, M)
There is a belief among some African men that young girls have the power to make older men become aroused sexually even just by looking at their bodies.

The older folks want to be stimulated at the sight of a young body as it now takes time for them to be sexually aroused. They believe the beauty and firmness of breasts of young girls might recharge their sexual lives. They also know that some of these young girls are still virgins so they believe that will revitalize their ‘weapons’. (Molora, M)

The above narrative indicates that some older men may seek girls and young women in the hope of regaining the sexual virility. This belief of being sexually rekindled or stimulated by a young woman was one of the factors which were behind polygamous marriages and now it is behind the tolerance of sexual infidelity among men (Molokomme, 1988; Schapera, 1970) which has become a common feature of married life in Botswana. Interestingly there was no female caller who mentioned the myth of stimulating sexual drive as a motivating factor.

b) The myth of self-cleansing

The myth of self-cleansing when you have sex with a virgin was mentioned as a factor which motivates older men to have sex with schoolgirls.

There are some irresponsible older men who believe in this myth of self-cleansing when one sleeps with a virgin and they want these young girls because they believe that one can get a virgin among them and by doing this they spread HIV around. (Phuti, M)

The myth of self-cleansing has contributed towards sexual relationships between older men and young girls. Some older men after discovering that they are infected with the HIV virus, they go to young people thinking that by sleeping with a virgin they would get cured. (Mpho, F)
The myth of cleansing oneself by having sex with a virgin was also reported in Leclerc-Madlala (2002) research among the Zulu people in South-Africa and also by Upton (2002) in Botswana. The belief in this myth has been associated with child sexual assault and rape in Southern Africa. The myth is that if a man who is infected with HIV has sex with a virgin, he will be cured of HIV/AIDS (Ferris and Kebaabetswe, 2002; Leclerc-Madlala, 2002). This myth is considered by some callers, to be a motivation for some older men to engage in intergenerational sexual relationships. Since some men’s purpose of having sex with girls and young women is to cleanse themselves, condoms are not usually used. This tendency for having unprotected sex can and does lead to unplanned pregnancies or sexual transmitted infections, including HIV.

c) They give girls alcohol

Some considered the use of alcohol as one of the factors that contribute to these relationships.

They [older men] give them [girls] alcohol so that they can take advantage of them when they are not in their right minds and this is mostly done by rich people. (Boi, F)

Older men know how to get what they want, they make these girls drunk and thereafter they get what they want. (Ngaka, M)

From the above accounts it is clear that some callers believe that older men use alcohol as a means of getting what they want from the girls. This observation is consistent with findings of other studies. For example, Abbey (2002) found that many men who have committed sexual assault realize that it is harder for women to resist sexual advances when intoxicated; thus they try to get their female companion drunk as a way of obtaining sex. Three-quarters of the college date rapists interviewed by Kanin (1985), reported in Abbey (2002) indicated that they purposely got a girl intoxicated to have sexual intercourse with her. Even though the girls did not report that their older boyfriends got them drunk in order to have sex with them, the fact that they reported that their older boyfriends took them out to restaurants and hotels indicates that the possibility of the girls being made drunk and then taken advantage of cannot be discounted. More
especially that Abbey (2002) argues that alcohol makes it even easier for men to feel comfortable forcing sex because alcohol myopia helps them focus solely on their desire to have sex rather than on the woman’s signs of refusal and pain.

d) Loss of religious beliefs

Lack of fear of God was mentioned as contributing to intergenerational sexual relationships.

People have left God so we have lost our moral values. More and more people are leaving God with the view of becoming more modernized. If we older people and our children can fear God there is no way we could be sleeping around with our ‘children’ and our ‘fathers’. (Mokgalo, M)

We should go back to God. Without God we will behave like this because we don’t understand our roles as mentors. (Molapo, M)

There are some people in Botswana who have strong Christian beliefs and who associate what they perceive as the loss of moral values to the progressive secularization of the society. The narratives above indicate that these callers view sexual relationships between girls and older men as a sign that people have lost their moral values because they have become secular. Believe in God was also seen as a possible solution to this problem as it was believed by some that this would restore peoples’ moral values.

Until we go back to God and ask him to change our attitudes and behaviour we will continue to lose our morals. (Naledi, M)

If people do not know God it will be very difficult for them to obey another person. Let us go back to God otherwise our nation will perish. (Motswere, M)
e) Loss of cultural values

Some callers felt that the lack of respect for adults by young girls, which they saw as a reflection of the loss of moral values, was contributing to sexual relationships between older men and girls.

We have lost our culture and moral values. We have adopted the western culture and allowed our children to date how and who they like. (Mosetlha, M)

We have lost our morals, self-control is gone and even the cultural values that used to protect the society are considered backward and old fashioned and because of that we accept anything from the west and our children are no longer controllable. Nowadays young girls call men of their parents’ age by their first names, something that is unheard of according to Tswana culture. No wonder they are not ashamed to have sexual relationships with men who are as old as their own parents. (Kabo, M)

Some male callers felt that young people take older people as their age mates and that is why girls don’t see anything wrong with engaging in sexual relationships with older men.

Our children are no longer controllable. They can argue with an older person without any remorse. They treat us as their age mates. These days young people answer back when they do not agree with you, we couldn’t do that during our youth. They call this type of attitude ‘civilisation’. Things have gone loose and there are no more boundaries. That is the reason why they go out with older men of their parents’ age. (Nkwe, M)

The callers in this group have a perception that Tswana cultural values which they believed were protective have been eroded and replaced by new ones. They associate the current behaviour of young people with the adoption of western norms and cultural values. Since Botswana was colonised by Britain, some Batswana think that a section of
the society especially the young are adopting western culture which they learn from school which they consider to be influenced by British western ideas. Callers who hold the views that are reflected in the previous two narratives imply that girls are to blame for intergenerational sexual relationships. It is therefore worth exploring who the callers blame for these relationships in the next section.

Callers suggested the same motivating factors as schoolgirls, some of which were economic, religious and socio-cultural. They also reported additional motivating factors that the girls did not. These included the myth of self-cleansing by having sex with a virgin and the idea of older men rekindling their sexual life, concepts which are embedded in the Tswana culture. These findings from the public have shed more light on the complexity of the factors surrounding intergenerational sexual relationships.

7.4 Who is to blame for intergenerational sexual relationships?

Of the 18 female callers none blamed the girls for engaging in intergenerational sexual relationships. There was only one female caller who felt that both parties (older man and schoolgirl) were to blame.

Knowing my husband’s positive HIV status I tried to warn this little girl and she did not heed my warning but instead she used to insult me over the phone….I also phoned my husband and cautioned him that he is putting that girl in danger, but he did not listen. I encouraged the girl to insist on condom use but she did not listen because she fell pregnant. Both are responsible for what happened. *(Tsholo, F)*

Ten male callers blamed the girls for being involved in sexual relationships with older men and they gave the following reasons:

They want money but sexual life which is controlled by money is so dangerous. The money will kill them. Selfishness and lack of self-
appreciation and self-worth drive these girls into these dangerous sexual relationships. (Tuelo, M)

The love of money and lack of respect or awe for elders in our children is the main problem. (Nare, M)

The above accounts did not take into consideration that these relationships are dyadic interactions. Furthermore, in these relationships men are older than the girls and are more powerful. Callers who blame the young girls in such relationships ignore the fact that young women’s sexual relationships do not occur in a vacuum, but in a context where norms, values and sexual practices that regard women as subordinate to men already exist (Machel, 2001). Studies conducted in sub-Saharan Africa suggest that African men feel it is their right to have multiple sexual partners, and they prefer younger women, often students, as nonmarital partners (Barker and Rich, 1992; Orubuloye et al., 1992; Longfield et al., 2002). Such beliefs make it difficult for men to see anything wrong in older men having sexual relationships with girls. Some men do not want to take responsibility for their sexual behaviours; they would rather blame girls and women.

Six male callers blamed both the girls and the older men.

This is lack of discipline from both older men and girls. (Madi, M)

Older men and young girls are all responsible for these sexual relationships because girls consent as well; they are not forced into them. (Kgomo, M)

The fact that girls do consent to enter into sexual relationships with older men was raised as a reason that makes them responsible and accountable for their actions. They were seen as playing a part in these relationships. These accounts show a self-centred and self-serving belief system that ‘excuses’ the men because as already reported in Chapter five girls do not always consent. Some were forced into having sex with older men.
Eight male callers blamed older men for engaging in sexual relationships with schoolgirls.

These sexual relationships are happening and they are done by ‘big people’, you know what I mean. [‘Big people’ here refers to people who hold high posts in the government and/or who run successful businesses]. They give the girls what they want (money, drives them around). (Dingalo, M)

I agree that some older men do have sexual relationships with schoolgirls. I personally do not support men who do that but not all men are like that, we see only those who are big-bellied and rich, the ones with fat salaries and who drive posh cars being involved in such things. They are rich so they are able to attract these girls. (Koko, M)

In all the eight accounts none mentioned the issue of power and decision-making in these relationships. They talked only of young girls being attracted by money, cars and other services that these men can offer. The callers in this group did not explicitly consider the assets possessed by these men as a vehicle of manipulation. Female callers had a more nuanced view, as is shown below.

Eight female callers blamed older men for having schoolgirls as their sexual partners.

Older men who have sexual relationships with schoolgirls are irresponsible people. I am saying this because these older men use their money and their expensive cars to entice the girls. The fact that they are older enables them to control the girls. (Chomi, F)

Older men force girls into these sexual relationships by offering them a lot of money. Thereafter they make them their slaves and abuse them. I entirely blame older men for such relationships because they take advantage of these girls. (Kemo, F)
Women callers raised the concept of power, something that was lacking in their male counterparts’ reports. They felt that the older men manipulate and forced girls to get into these sexual relationships by using their resources and social power. The men used their money and material gifts to control and abuse the girls. The girls in intergenerational sexual relationships share the same sentiment with the female callers. As reported in Chapter five the girls indicated that older men were deceitful in the sense that they gave them the impression that they were giving them money and gifts or offered them some services out of love while in actual sense they purchased sex from them. The same concern was raised by most of the girls who declined to have sex with older men (see Chapter six). Their concern was that the older men use their social and economic power to control their younger sexual partners.

7.5 Intergenerational sexual relationships and HIV/AIDS

Callers were also asked if they thought intergenerational sexual relationships could contribute to the spread of HIV/AIDS in Botswana. The majority (47) indicated that they could. The callers indicated that the main reason why these sexual relationships could contribute to the spread of HIV is lack of condom use. Their narratives associate lack of condom use with most of the motives that drive older men and girls to engage in these sexual relationships. Some men gave the reasons below:

- It is a give and take type of a thing, so if I give much I will demand full sexual enjoyment, and that is sex without a condom. (Mogapi, M)

- No ways, we cannot pay or give for nothing, we have to enjoy what we have paid for, and so condom is out of the question because of the type of relationship. (Kagelo, M)

- We spent a lot of money, time and energy on these girls so we cannot budge; we want raw and plain sex without barriers, flesh to flesh is first class. (Thiba, M)
Some men who were involved in intergenerational sexual relationships considered these relationships to be transactional. Because they had paid for the services, they expected to get full enjoyment of that service, which they considered to be sex without a condom. Condoms were viewed as hindering the full enjoyment of something they had paid for.

To further explain how intergenerational sexual relationships could contribute to the spread of HIV some callers had this to say:

Older men and young girls are all the same when it comes to condom use. Older men say they do not have HIV/AIDS and girls do not assert themselves. (Kgomo, M)

It is hard to believe that condoms are used in these relationships because I believe it is difficult for these young women to stand for their rights if an older man insists on unprotected sex. (Tau M)

Some female callers associated girls’ lack of assertiveness with the wide age difference between the partners in this type of relationship.

If there is such a wide age difference how do the partners negotiate their things without making the young one suffer. She is obliged to obey and to comply as well as to respect this older person. (Lesedi, F)

This group of callers associated the lack of condom use in intergenerational sexual relationships with the lack of assertiveness on the part of girls. Some acknowledged that it might be difficult for the girls to stand for their rights with regard to protected sex due to a wide age difference which demands the young person to respect and obey the adult. Gender inequality and cultural expectations were also shown to be a major challenge for the girls who are involved in intergenerational sexual relationships, as reported in the findings of the previous chapter. The social power that men have as shown by the results put the young women and girls at a disadvantage and renders them powerless in making-decisions concerning their sexual encounters.
Some callers felt that condoms were not used in these relationships because both parties involved chose not to use them.

I don’t think they are forced into sex without condom, I believe it is an agreement between the two parties. (Bokete, M)

Both parties choose not to use condoms because they believe that the condom interferes with their sexual pleasure and the chance of reaching maximum satisfaction. (Nkwe, M)

These male callers justify the lack of condom use by claiming that the decision not to use a condom is a choice made by the partners involved when in fact the decision to use or not to use a condom is taken by the male partner alone as reported by most of the girls in Chapter five. This dominance of men when it comes to sexual matters is rooted in African culture that has already been discussed. The fact that no woman made this claim is indicative that this might be a cover-up. It seems that by saying that older men and young girls jointly choose not to use a condom is men’s self-serving mechanism for easing their own consciences.

Some callers reported that older men do not use condoms because they are not used to them.

Older people don’t use condom, we are not used to it. (Kwena, M)

I am an older person myself, we don’t use condom because we adults are faithful. Condom is for young people because they are still sexually active and have many sexual partners. (Kgabo, M)

Older men do not use the condom as they say they cannot eat a sweet while it is covered by plastic wrap. They are used to their old practice of having unprotected sex. (Bogale, M)

Another reason raised by callers for lack of condom use is that condom promotion in Botswana targeted young people. Older people have therefore not only remained ignorant of how to use the condom but also of the purposes of its use.
I think the condom promotion strategy has serious shortcomings, as it only targets young people and leaves the older people out. So they know that the condom is for young people and not for them. They were not sensitized to the fact that we are living in an era where the condom should be used by everyone who is involved in casual sex. (Lesego, F)

Condom is not used. Talking from older people’s perspective we don’t know how to use these things. They only teach young people about how to use condoms so how are we expected to use them as the older generations. (Mokgalo, M)

The lack of knowledge on how to use a condom can pose a major challenge to a man and this might lead to the avoidance of its use as a way of circumventing embarrassment before a young girl.

Some of the callers associated lack of condom use in these sexual relationships with the use of alcohol.

Do you think that they can use condoms when they are so drunk?

Forget it. I don’t think so. (Pudi, M)

They sleep together being drunk and so there is no way condoms can be used. (Ngaka, M)

Sometimes they [older men] give them alcohol so that they [older men] have sex with them when they [the girls] cannot make sound decisions and they [older men] get away with what they [older men] want. (Morwalo M)

It has been established that decisions made by people under the influence of alcohol in sexual-related matters can have adverse outcomes. There is a significant association between alcohol consumption and high-risk sexual behaviour {Buchanan-Aruwafu, 2002; Fritz, Woelk et al., 2002; Mataure, McFarland et al., 2002; Morojele, Kachieng’a et al., 2004; Mnyika, Klepp et al., 1997). For example people may sleep with strangers
under the influence of alcohol without realizing it and engage in unprotected sex—
thereby predisposing themselves to STIs, including HIV infection (Morojele, Kachieng’a et al., 2004).

Some callers reported that condom use in intergenerational sex is limited because these men have their own agendas. The hidden agenda was said to be three-fold. The first, as reported earlier, have to do with the myth of self-cleansing by having sexual intercourse with a young girl. Some callers had this to say concerning this issue:

They cannot use condoms as the purpose of sex is self-cleansing and condom use would stop that from occurring according to the beliefs of these old folks. (Mpho, F)

Older people do not protect themselves because the main aim of sleeping with the young girls is to cleanse themselves, they cleanse their blood. It won’t make sense to do the cleansing while ‘you are covered’. (Molora, M)

A condom is unlikely to be used if the aim is to cleanse oneself as culturally it is believed that during sexual intercourse the blood of the partners mix and that is how the blood of the sick person is thought to be cleansed by the blood of the person who is not sick. This belief is strongly embedded in Tswana culture as reflected in the words of an older man in a study by Upton (2002:110) which was conducted in Botswana.

“HIV is something that is not a traditional Tswana disease, so when a woman contracts it, a man must seek certain methods to cure himself so that he will not become ill as well. This is why it is so important to be careful, to not rely upon condoms, because it will (weaken) your (immune) system…the only way then for a man to have a stronger blood, to be able to reproduce again and not be sick is to sleep with a young woman...someone who has not had sexual intercourse is the best” (emphasis supplied).
The concern of some male and female callers was that there might be men who still believe in this self-cleansing myth.

Another hidden agenda relates to the belief, discussed earlier, that older men could be invigorated sexually by a young girl.

Condom will mess up everything because you want to be stirred up so if there is a barrier it won’t work. (Monei, M)

We don’t want to use condoms because as I have already stated earlier we have different agendas so the condom will prevent us from achieving our goals. Just imagine, if I want to be revitalised sexually condom will disturb, things would work better if it is flesh to flesh. (Madi, M)

Thirdly, and disturbingly, one male and two female callers believed that some of the older men want to spread HIV to others intentionally.

Some older men don’t use condoms because they have their own hidden agenda. I believe that they purposely want to spread HIV so that they should not die alone. (Tsholo, F)

Some older men want to infect young women with HIV that is their main purpose of refusing to use a condom. Like in my case, even though I insisted on condom use, my older boyfriend achieved his agenda of infecting me by breaking the condom. It is scary how some people can be so cruel, but it happens, it happened to me and I believe it is happening to some other young people. (Kidi, F)

In exploring further how older men could purposely aim at spreading HIV the two female callers shared their stories to support their views.

Intergenerational sexual relationships exist and they are very dangerous. I would like to share with young people my personal experience. I am 24 years old and I dated an older man who was
more than 70 years. He told me how he loved me and promised to do for me what ever I wanted. Indeed he was a man of his word; he kept his promise and helped me in all spheres of my life. The only problem was that he did not want to use a condom. I told him plainly that I cannot have sex with him without a condom because we did not know our HIV status. In fact I knew that I was negative but I did not know his and I did not have the guts to ask him about his status let alone asking him to go for screening. Knowing my status I insisted on condom use. Finally he compromised and we had sex and we used a condom. As I was the one who discarded the used condom in the morning, I was shocked to notice that it was snipped at the end and I suspected that he had purposely snipped the condom. I talked to him about it and he was very cross with me. (Kidi, F)

When she was asked if she got infected she responded this way:

Yes, I discovered later that the old man was HIV positive and it was clear that he purposely wanted to infect me. Indeed he infected me because I later tested positive. Older people do things which can shock you as a person. (Kidi, F)

A second female caller told this story:

I am 38 years old and my husband is 47 years old. He is HIV positive and I am negative. My husband dated a 20 year-old girl and, knowing my husband’s status, I tried to warn this little girl and she did not heed my warning but instead she used to insult me over the phone. My husband was not staying home by then. I also phoned my husband and cautioned him that he is putting that girl in danger, but he did not listen. I encouraged the girl to insist on condom use but she did not listen because she fell pregnant. Both are responsible for what happened. (Tsholo, F)
When she was asked what she thought her husband was up to, she said:

These older men don’t use condoms because they have their own hidden agenda. Right now the poor girl has remained with a child and is likely to be HIV positive and I believe my husband wanted to infect her. Why this is so I cannot tell. (Tsholo, F)

There seems to have been no sense of responsibility or accountability among the men who were involved with the girls in the above accounts.

Some cultural believes can promote unprotected intergenerational sex. When such beliefs are practiced in a country which has one of the highest HIV prevalence in the world they are likely to fuel the spread of HIV. Furthermore, the situation can be exacerbated if some men set out to intentionally infect other people.

### 7.6 Discussion

All members of the public who called said that intergenerational sexual relationships exist in Botswana. This is consistent with other research which found that engaging in sexual relations with older partners was the norm for adolescent girls and young women in other parts of sub-Saharan region (Bagnol and Chamo, 2004; Kaufman and Stavrou, 2002; Luke, 2003; Machel, 2001; Nyanzi, Pool et al., 2000; McLean, 1995; Meekers and Calves, 1997a; Silberschmidt and Rasch, 2001; Rivers and Aggleton, 2001).

Some men who participated in this study considered intergenerational sexual relationships as normal. In their view no woman in the context of Botswana and most sub-Sahara African cultures can be considered too young for any man. In the past men used to marry many women (Schapera, 1970) and the youngest wife could be the same age as her husband’s older children. The findings of this study revealed that there are some Batswana men who still hold to this tradition. However, since polygamy is no longer common, intergenerational sexual relationships occur outside marriage and are mostly engaged in by married men. It is worth noting that in this study both married and unmarried men were involved in these sexual relationships.
Most of the determinants of intergenerational sexual relationships were considered by the majority of the callers to be also associated with lack of condom use which contributes to the spread of HIV infection. Financial and material gain was found to be the motivating factor for engaging in these sexual relationships and this was not different from what other researchers in the region found. The findings from the radio talk-back sessions have shown that men were not willing to use condoms after they have given their young partners money, some valuable gifts and services. Those who were involved in intergenerational sexual relationships considered these sexual relationships as transactional, and therefore expected and demanded sexual satisfaction without the interference of a condom. The lack of condom use in intergenerational sex was also reported in most of the studies conducted in this region (Longfield, Glick et al., 2004; Luke and Kurz, 2002; Nyanzi, Pool et al., 2000; Rivers and Aggleton, 2001, Silberschmidt and Rasch, 2001). This has been associated with high HIV infection and unwanted pregnancies among the adolescents in the region (UNDP, 2000; UNAIDS, 2000, 2001).

The findings also reveal gender differences in the way callers view sexual relationships between older men and schoolgirls. On the one hand because of the Botswana socio-cultural and economic situation of gender inequality that favours males and allow them to have many sexual partners (Schapera, 1970; Molokomme, 1984,1988), most male callers did not see anything wrong when older men use their socio-economic power to manipulate girls into getting into sexual relationships with them. Most of these male callers did not blame older men for engaging in sexual relationships with schoolgirls. Their argument was that these girls are not forced into these relationships as they are also willing parties. However, for men to pretend that intergenerational sexual relationships are relationships in which both partners have equal power of choice when they have much more power than the girls indicates a ‘self-serving’ attitude. Men generally take advantage of their privileged positions in society to exploit women and girls without any regret. Thus some male callers blame the schoolgirls for pursuing older men for their money instead of blaming the older men who use their money and power to exploit girls who are economically and socially disadvantaged.
On the other hand, most female callers considered intergenerational sexual relationships as exploitative, oppressive and abusive due to the fact that older men use their social standing and financial power to entice schoolgirls into these relationships. These women regard men as irresponsible because, instead of being mentors to the girls, they coerced them into sexual encounters which sometimes spoil their futures by making them pregnant or infecting them with HIV.

Comments from two female callers shed light on the complex of the determinants of these sexual relationships. Although one of the ‘victims’ believed that her older boyfriend intentionally infected her with HIV it is hard to know the real intention of the man because he was not asked. There are two possible reasons why the two men acted as they did. The first one could be that indeed they were intentionally trying to infect the young women. The second one could be that the men believed in the myth of cleansing and were trying to cure themselves of HIV/AIDS. In both possibilities condom use is excluded and therefore the possibility of HIV infection is high. In fact one of the ‘victims’ who called reported that she was HIV infected. The other one was reported to have been made pregnant by the HIV positive older boyfriend and is therefore likely to have been infected too.

There is limited research in sub-Saharan Africa on people with HIV intentionally infecting others. What has been reported in the region was the myth of getting cured if one has sexual intercourse with a virgin (Ferrari, 2004; Ferris and Kebaabetswe, 2002; Leclerc-Madlala, 1996, 2002; Meel, 2003; Shell and Zeitlin, 2000; Upton, 2002). The myth was not associated with intentionally infecting another person but with getting cured. It is not clear if people who believe in this myth and act according to it are aware that in the process they might infect their victims. The findings have also revealed that men wanted to be sexually rejuvenated and condom use was not consistent with such an objective.

Alcohol drinking was mentioned as a means used by older men to get what they want from the girls. It was reported that some older men make girls drunk and then have sex with them. This was consistent with what was reported by Kanin (1985) and Abbey (2002). In these sexual relationships condoms were rarely used. The lack of condom use
in such relationships further fuels STI/HIV infections across generations. For instance, other studies in Africa also suggest that there is a link between alcohol use and the risk of contracting HIV infection. Studies conducted in Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Kenya, Zambia, South Africa, Central African Republic and Nigeria have found significant associations between alcohol consumption and high-risk sexual behaviour (Fritz, Woelk et al., 2002; Lawal, 2002; Mataure, McFarland et al., 2002; Mnyika, Klepp et al., 1997; Morojele, Kachieng'a et al., 2004; Ndinya-Achola, Ghee et al., 1997; Somse, Chapko et al., 1993; Woelk, 2001).

Some male callers indicated that they were not used to condoms because these were never part of their sexual lives. They also mentioned that they did not know how to use a condom because the campaign for safe sex was directed towards the youth and not to them.

The loss of religious beliefs and loss of cultural values were some of the new dimensions revealed by this study. Botswana is largely a Christian country and there are some Batswana Christians who strongly believe that if God’s laws, as outlined in the Bible, are adhered to the moral values of Batswana would be good. That is why some callers asserted that intergenerational sexual relationships were caused by the fact that people have drifted away from God and that older people have therefore lost their responsibilities as teachers of moral values. As we have already established, intergenerational sexual relationships are viewed differently by members of the community; one group considers it as normal and the other as a problem. Those who thought these relationships were due to the loss of religious beliefs and the loss of cultural values accompanied by the lack of respect for adults viewed the relationships as a problem and they suggested that going back to God and keeping His commandments might be a solution to it.

The aspect of respect raised by some of the callers in this context is complex because it was clear from the community members that they associated lack of respect for adults with the fact that some young people were able to freely articulate their feelings and to respond if they do not share the same view with adults and that according to the older
generation is lack of proper manners. It emerges that some callers are still holding to
typical traditional Tswana cultural norms in which older people are venerated while
young people are encouraged to assert themselves in all social and educational spheres.
This situation reflects a clash of cultures; that of the traditionalists where veneration of
older people by the young is an important virtue and that of the young where the alibility
to assert oneself is paramount.

Some members of the community associate what they consider to be young girls’ lack of
respect with the fact that some older men treat them as their sexual partners and not as
children or schoolgirls.

This is an embarrassing situation, we see our children in school
uniform with big men under trees, and being driven around in posh
cars. It is very hard for such girls to respect us as their parents or as
adults in the community as they consider us as potential sex
partners. (Mosu, M)

This quote reflects the views of some callers to how they think intergenerational sexual
relationships may breed lack of respect for adults on the part of the girls, which in turn
further encourages intergenerational sexual relationships.

The findings in this chapter depict the current complex situation in Botswana where it is
not easy to identify the typical traditional Tswana culture. On the one hand some callers
appeal to the typical Tswana culture, in which marriage between older men and girls or
young women was accepted and used to justify sexual relationships between older men
and girls. For instance, some male callers felt that there was nothing wrong with
intergenerational sexual relationships because in typical traditional Tswana culture a
woman was never considered to be too young. On the other hand some callers felt that
the loss of typical Tswana culture and values contributes to intergenerational sexual
relationships because the young no longer venerate the old. The situation is so complex
that some people tend to exploit this fluid cultural state of affairs. It is not uncommon in
Botswana to meet a person who at one point supports his/her actions by appealing to the
typical traditional Tswana culture and at another disregarding the same cultural
expectations or requirements. There is always this mix between reliance on old cultural beliefs and the modern way of doing things.

It is important to indicate that there were some gender differences with regard to how the callers perceived intergenerational sexual relationships. All the female callers perceived such relationships as a problem and blamed men for their occurrences. They consider such sexual relationships to be exploitative and oppressive and associated them with men’s abuse of social and economic power. Although not all male callers supported intergenerational sexual relationships they did not bring up the concepts of power and decision-making into contextual perspective. Some of their views showed that they have ‘self-serving’ attitudes as indicated by their claim that girls choose to enter those relationships, and that girls also have the choice of opting for condom use. There was no difference in views between urban and rural callers nor was there any between south and north. The possible reason why urban and rural callers share the same views about intergenerational sex might be due to the fact that in Botswana there is close interaction between urban and rural dwellers. Most urban dwellers have an urban and a rural home and move between the two homes. Therefore these contacts make urban dwellers to value cultural practices and beliefs and might account for the similar views of the callers.
Chapter Eight
Concluding thoughts

8.1 Summary of the findings

8.1.1 Prevalence and participants’ perceptions of intergenerational sexual relationships

Intergenerational sexual relationships were found to exist in Botswana. It is interesting to note that the girls who were in such relationships have positive perceptions and attitudes towards them. Also those male callers who were involved in sexual relationships with schoolgirls did not view such relationships as a problem and said that in Tswana culture a woman is never considered to be too young. However, the majority of the girls and callers did not perceive such relationships as good. They associated them with the danger of engaging in unsafe sex and thus a greater risk of contracting STI/HIV. Some female and male callers are concerned with what they consider to be the high prevalence of intergenerational sexual relationships and they wish the men involved could be prosecuted.

Other male callers are of the view that Tswana cultural values which they believed were protective have been eroded and replaced by new ones. All female callers perceived these relationships as a problem and blame men for their existence while some male callers blame both men and girls. Men who were involved in intergenerational sexual relationships considered these sexual relationships as transactional, and expected and demanded sexual satisfaction without the interference of a condom. Although all female callers and some males were not supportive of this view they made the same observation that men are not willing to use condoms after they have given their younger sexual partners money, valuable gifts and/or services. The girls in these sexual relationships perceived the attitude of their older sexual partners as deceitful because they make them think that the gifts and services are offered out of love while in reality older men are buying sex from them. The fact that these types of relationships were regulated by money
and material things and appear transactional made some girls among the resisters shun
them.

8.1.2 Dynamics of intergenerational sexual relationships

Because of the influence of the media many adolescents know what sex is and how it is
enacted at increasingly earlier ages (Moore and Rosenthal, 1993). Since the media has
managed to turn this world into a global village, even adolescents in Africa where issues
of sex and sexuality are not discussed openly have knowledge about sex at an early age.
There is a shift, therefore, towards openness and acceptance of being sexually active
among girls in African countries. There is a global culture of sex which impacts on the
sexual values of young people. For example, in this study girls readily admitted to having
concurrent multiple sexual partners in both intra-generational and intergenerational
sexual relationships and were comfortable with such practices.

Although condom use was reported to be high during the first sexual intercourse with
same-age boyfriend and older boyfriend, subsequent condom use was low, especially in
intergenerational sex. Negotiation for condom use for most of the participants who
engaged in intergenerational sex was difficult. Most girls believed they did not have
power to refuse to have unprotected sex. They felt unequal to their older sexual partners
in terms of decision-making ability and self-assertiveness and did not have control over
their sexual encounters. Some experienced coerced unprotected sex (though they did not
interpret this as rape) which resulted in pregnancy and STIs. Although there were many
factors surrounding the issue of assertiveness and decision-making, respect for adults as a
Tswana cultural norm played a significant role in the girls’ submissiveness and silence.
The findings have also revealed that gifts compromised the girls’ resolve to negotiate
condom use. Female callers considered intergenerational sexual relationships as
exploitative, oppressive, manipulative and abusive due to the fact that older men use their
social standing and financial power to entice schoolgirls into these relationships.

Male callers who did not support intergenerational sexual relationships did not bring up
the concepts of power and decision-making as playing significant roles in these
relationships. Most male callers did not see anything wrong when older men use their
socio-economic power to entice girls into getting into sexual relationships with them. Their argument was that these girls are not forced into these relationships because they are willing parties in them. They further asserted that the decision to enter intergenerational sexual relationships and to use or not to use a condom was a joint one made by the men and the girls involved, while data from the girls revealed that in the majority of cases the decision was made by the men alone.

Not all girls were passive and controlled by their older sexual partners. Some derived pleasure, enjoyment, love and equal partnership in these sexual relationships. One-third of the girls showed that they were effective decision-makers with regard to their sexual intercourse encounters. The way that they related to their older sexual partners indicated that they had a sense of self-esteem and self-confidence, a belief in one’s own self-efficacy and the ability to deal with change. They displayed capability and a degree of control with regard to taking action and as a result they took charge of their own sexual lives by insisting on and engaging in safe sex behaviours. These girls used both their personal and interpersonal power effectively. Furthermore, some in intimate relationships with older men resisted the men’s sexual advances because they felt they were not ready to have sex with them. The fact that these girls stood their ground and influenced their older partners to give up their sexual intentions is an indication of their ability to exercise their power.

8.1.3 Determinants of intergenerational sexual relationships

There is concordance between the reasons raised by girls in intergenerational sexual relationships and those advanced by the callers. For instance both groups mentioned material and financial gain as a motivating factor for intergenerational sexual relationships. Studies carried out in sub-Saharan Africa have also found financial and material gain as the main motivating factors for girls to engage in intergenerational sexual relationships. However, the Botswana girls’ need for money and material items was not to satisfy basic survival needs as was the case with girls in other studies in the region. With regard to money, the girls who participated in the current study used it for entertainment and ‘nonessentials’. They also entered intergenerational sexual
relationships for fun and for the services older men provided which are also related to entertainment and having a good time. These girls appeared to be driven by self-gratification and the need for self-enjoyment.

Young people in developing countries, including Botswana, are living in an era where they measure modern lifestyle by having a mobile phone, eating out and wearing trendy clothes. The introduction of materialistic attitudes is being fuelled by the television, videos, the internet, and magazines especially in the cities and has increased young women’s needs and aspirations as they strive to match the standard of living of their peers in the global village this world has become.

It seems as if some girls in this study had set themselves life styles that were beyond their means and which they could maintain if they engaged in intergenerational sexual relationships. As a result these girls ended up in a dependent sexual relationship. According to power-dependence theory two variables govern dependence: the value of the resource received and the availability of this resource from alternative sources. The interview findings revealed that the girls valued the resources they received from their older boyfriends and unfortunately they had limited alternative sources for these resources. As a result they were compelled to be dependent on their older sexual partners and this rendered them powerless. This set the girls up for sexual exploitation.

It should be noted that since these girls did not need the money they got from older men for survival purposes their needs can be described as of their own creation. These girls have the option to leave these sexual relationships if they choose to. Therefore it is important to note that most of the girls in Botswana study are not just victims who are at the mercy of their partners like most of their counterparts in the region; they are, to some extent, accomplices in these relationships.

In addition to the reasons advanced above the callers brought up some dimensions that one could not get from studying the girls alone. The loss of religious beliefs, the loss of cultural values, the myth of self-cleansing when having sex with a virgin, and the myth of stimulation of older men’s sexual drive when they have sex with girls or young
women, emerged as motivating factors for older men to seek young girls as sexual partners.

Some male callers felt that the lack of respect for adults by young girls, which they saw as a reflection of the loss of moral values, was contributing to sexual relationships between older men and girls. The aspect of respect raised by these callers in this context is complex because it was clear that they associated lack of respect for adults with the fact that some young people are able to freely articulate their feelings and to freely express discordant view with adults and that according to some traditional people is lack of proper manners. They also argued that girls see them as their potential sexual partners and not as parents and therefore they behave inappropriately towards them. However the findings indicated that most of the girls who were interviewed still hold to the typical traditional Tswana culture where the young venerate the old and as a result they still perceived themselves as powerless and did not assert themselves. As a result, some resisted entering into intergenerational sexual relationships and most of those who were in those relationships did not have any control over their sexual encounters with older men. They felt obliged to respect and obey their older sexual partners as they would do to their own parents. Most of them indicated that they suppressed their feelings and reserved their comments just because of the wide age difference between them and their older partners.

Male callers indicated that some older men seek girls and young women in the hope of regaining their sexual virility. Interestingly there was no female caller or any girl who mentioned stimulating sexual drive as a motivating factor. The myth of self-cleansing when you have sex with a virgin was mentioned as a factor which motivates older men to have sex with schoolgirls. The belief in this myth has been associated with child sexual assault and rape in Southern Africa and in the current study it is associated with lack of condom use. Both female and male callers believe that the myth motivates older men to have sex with girls. There was no girl who mentioned this myth. Some female callers believed that some older men want to spread HIV to others intentionally. One believed that her older boyfriend intentionally infected her with HIV and another one thought her husband infected a schoolgirl purposely. Girls did not say anything about men
intentionally spreading HIV to others. Factors which are culturally rooted seemed not to be familiar to the girls since they did not make any reference to them.

8.1.4 Protective factors

Most girls who participated in the survey were subjected to pressure to engage in intergenerational sexual relationships, from their peers, the media, the desire for a higher lifestyle, relatives, and inadequate resources, and from the older men themselves. In spite of this environment it was encouraging to find that some girls were able to resist. Three major themes emerged under the factors that helped some girls to resist intergenerational sexual relationships and these were personal, social and institutional. Under personal factors, personal preference, positive self-worth, acceptance of one’s economic circumstances and knowledge of sexual risks acted as buffers against intergenerational sexual relationships. Most of the girls who declined to have sex with older men recognized that they have personal power. The findings show that they experienced themselves as effective and capable persons as evidenced by their sense of confidence and high self-worth, concepts of perceived control, self-efficacy, motivation to control their own affairs and perceived competence. These girls believed in themselves and knew that they have the power to choose to say no if they do not want something. They managed to keep older men out of their sexual lives and displayed competency and self-efficacy in that regard. In recognition of their limited interpersonal power they decided to enter ‘safe zone’ sexual relationships where they were able to make decisions without being intimidated by their sexual partners and in which they were able to freely express their feelings and opinions without any fear. These personal protective factors enabled the respondents to exercise their power of choice effectively and they managed to deal with the issue of intergenerational sex constructively.

Assertiveness and self-confidence were found to be protective even among those who were in intergenerational sexual relationships. For instance, five girls out of fifteen who were in intergenerational intimate relationships managed to influence the way their relationships were run. Equality in decision making acted as a protective factor against unprotected sexual intercourse. These girls did not accept gender power differentials and
as a result they used their interpersonal power and their relationships were characterized by freedom of expression, mutual understanding and joint decision-making. Moreover, personal values and convictions and some cultural beliefs were found to enable some girls to resist the sexual advances of their older boyfriends.

The family played various important roles as a protective factor. Firstly, the family provided the girls with the basic needs and gave them emotional support and counselling on how to resist peer pressure. Secondly, some girls refrained from intergenerational sex because they had plans to be married in the future and they did not want to waste their time with men who could not marry them. Thirdly, some did not want to bring conflicts between husbands and wives by engaging in sex with married older men. Lastly, some learned from the experiences of their sisters and this influenced them to resist the pressure to enter intergenerational sex.

School connectness was one of the protective factors under institutional factors. Some respondents wanted to continue with their education and do well in their exams so that they can become professionals and work for themselves. They indicated that getting sexually involved with older men might cause them to drop out of school due to unwanted pregnancy thus spoiling their future plans. Another protective factor was religious beliefs. When religious principles are valued and obeyed, they can influence one’s lifestyle including sexual life. For example, perceived importance of religion and prayer was found to be one of the protective factors that was associated with delayed onset of sexual activity and this protected the girls even from intergenerational sex.

No caller suggested how girls could resist intergenerational sexual relationships.

8.2 Conclusions

Most girls did not derive pleasure and enjoyment from intergenerational sex because it was not conducive for developing and maintaining intimacy and a loving relationship as it was characterized by coercion and manipulation. The relationships were not fulfilling psychologically for the girls. They were also potentially dangerous. There was inconsistent condom use which is a dangerous practice in a setting such as that of
Botswana where HIV prevalence is high and transmission is widespread. Clearly, the responses of many older men showed that they are not adequately reached by safe sex education such as condom use messages and campaigns.

Some girls, however, were found to be able to assert themselves and were able to jointly make decisions about their sexual encounters with their older sexual partners without being intimidated by them. Interventions such as sex education programs can be developed from the strategies they used to empower other girls. Another group of girls was able to resist intergenerational sexual relationships in spite of the fact that they were subjected to pressure to do so. This group of resisters revealed that personal preference, positive self-worth, acceptance of one’s economic circumstances, knowledge of sexual risks, socio-cultural factors, support and encouragement, school connectedness and religiosity are protective factors against intergenerational sex.

8.2.1 Limitations

This study used a limited adolescent age range of 18-22 years for reasons noted earlier, and was conducted in the capital city due to time and financial constraints, excluding other urban centres in Botswana and rural areas. Therefore, the generalizability of this study is limited to the group from which the surveyed group was sampled. It cannot, for instance, be extended to junior secondary schoolgirls and may have only a limited generalizability to senior secondary schoolgirls in rural areas.

Another limitation of this study concerns the possibility of under-reporting, in spite of anonymity. This might come from the fact that intergenerational sexual relationships are not considered a good practice by the Botswana society and by most of the participants themselves. Therefore some participants might not have been free to admit that they are involved in something that the general public condemns and that they themselves do not consider as good.

Although the public called from all parts of Botswana their views cannot be taken as representing the views of the community at large because it was a self-selected sample. It is not possible to control variables which can bias the findings in such a sample.
Therefore the possibility of under-reporting and the nature of the sample limit the generalizability of these findings.

8.2.2 Future Research

While it is important to determine the prevalence and dynamics of intergenerational sex among senior secondary school students in rural areas, junior secondary school students and out-of school adolescent girls in Botswana, priority for further research should be given to the community. Since family support is protective against intergenerational sex, a study on parents’ communication with their children about intergenerational sexual relationships need to be conducted.

This study has demonstrated that there is a group of young women who resist intergenerational sex and while the study has shown factors that enabled them to resist, there might be more factors, therefore, studies targeting this group of young women in other sub-Saharan African countries might provide more information.

8.3 Recommendations

8.3.1 Policy and Practice

It is important that the national multi-sectoral policy approach which is already in place in Botswana be strengthened to reach more people and the available government policies which apply to girls and women be implemented and reinforced. Policies aimed at promoting women’s and girls’ rights should be given more attention and programs that are intended to empower girls in all spheres of life need to be expanded. Programs that aim at instructing girls and women in gender equality and women empowerment should be strengthened by involving men so that their attitudes and behaviour with regards to sexuality can be transformed. Men should be involved both as individuals and as groups. Access to information, education and skills are fundamental sources of power for individuals in any society. Girls and women, boys and men should be given basic information about their bodies, sexuality, disease, and reproduction. Acess to information
is vital if individuals are to protect themselves against the HIV pandemic and, more importantly it is a basic human right.

Girls and women should be equipped with negotiation skills so that they can resist unprotected sex in intergenerational sexual relationships. Traditional concepts and discourses that promote female passive submission to males should be addressed through social programs presenting an alternative to female docility and traditional gender roles. Young people need serious and sustained efforts to help them build their knowledge, negotiation and communication skills.

The fact that it has been found that intergenerational sexual relationships in this study are mostly characterised by unprotected sex resulting in pregnancies and STIs give credibility to the long suspected transmission of HIV through intergenerational sex in Botswana, and suggest where prevention efforts should be focused. New policies and programs should be developed and should move beyond information provision towards putting in place programs that promote changes in gender, cultural and sexual practices. For example, comprehensive programs combining various strategies and aiming at different groups of young females and older men should be put in place to deal with the dynamics of intergenerational sexual relationships. Youth-friendly support structures at the police or village administration offices, where young females can report incidents of forced sex by older men should be established. The centres should also provide information on girls’ rights and give them support. Girls should be empowered to know that they have the choice to refuse to have sex with older men. In the event they are forced into it, they should be taught the channels to follow in reporting such incidents.

Adolescents need youth-friendly services and service providers who are able to communicate with them in a manner they can understand, and who respect them as unique individuals. Youth service providers should be objective and non-judgemental when dealing with youth. The success of youth-friendly services is often dependent on the energy and responsiveness of the service provider.

The programs designed to empower girls and young women need to strike a balance, addressing both risk and protective factors. By identifying the risk factors for
intergenerational sex and protective factors for it, the results of this study should assist health and social service providers, educators, and NGOs to diminish intergenerational sex risk factors and enhance protective factors for young people in Botswana. The protective factors that have been identified in this study could be used to develop strategies that can empower girls to resist intergenerational sexual relationships. Furthermore, programs in which volunteer resisters are involved as peer counsellors and allowed to share the strategies they use to resist the sexual advances of older men could be institutionalised.

The Masedi Abstinence and Empowerment Project which aims to support youth between 8 and 18 years to delay their sexual debut should be strengthened. Full and accurate information about the protection afforded by condoms and other contraceptives accompanied by messages of abstinence and delay of sexual onset are appropriate for young adolescents, both boys and girls, who are not yet sexually active.

Since the results show that family support is protective against intergenerational sex, both policies and programs that support families of adolescents need great attention. The association between resisting intergenerational sexual relationships and school performance revealed by this study should encourage the Ministries of Health and Education to evaluate situations of risk and protective factors for schoolgirls in urban Botswana, and to work with all schools to create programs that fit the needs of youth. Young people have the right to be involved in part of the solution for issues affecting their lives. They should be given a chance to speak, and be active agents of change. The findings of this research can also serve as an advocacy tool both for directing the limited resources of Ministries of Health and Education and for requesting donor funding.

Since the results have also revealed that older men lack knowledge on how to use condoms as well as on the purposes of their use, it is important that the national information, education and communication program be strengthened to reach more people, including older men. Specific condom use campaigns should target older men and demonstrations on how to use a condom should be conducted by an older health care provider.
The fact that aspects of the typical Tswana culture such as veneration of the elderly has silenced girls with regard to negotiation for condom use in intergenerational sex calls for intergenerational approaches or programs in which all generations come together to work out solutions to problems brought about by cross-generational relationships, such as lack of safe sex in intergenerational sex. This kind of program will promote communication and dialogue between the young and the old, something which is needed in a dominantly Tswana culture which values and expects obedience and discipline in young people. In this forum the young and the old will share wisdom, knowledge, experiences and this might result in some insights on how to deal with HIV prevention. It might also bridge the communication gap between the generations. In these programs, myths of self-cleansing and sexual rejuvenation should be addressed in order to assist the older generation to abandon them and prevent the younger generation from internalising such beliefs.

Since the radio talk back method was found to be successful in eliciting the views of some older men who were actually involved in intergenerational sexual relationships, it is recommended that it be used in educational programs to reach more people including older men.

This is one of the few studies to have investigated intergenerational sexual relationships in Botswana. It is the first that has drawn attention to young women who resist intergenerational sex and the factors that enable them to do so in the sub-Saharan Africa. It is also the first to use radio talk-back to collect data about intergenerational sexual relationships. It is hoped that policy and practice can be informed by the findings leading to a reduction in HIV transmission as a result of intergenerational sexual relationships.
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Appendices

Appendix 1: The context of the study

Synopsis of Botswana

Physical features

Botswana, 582,000 square kilometres in size, is a Republic lying at the centre of Southern Africa Plateau. It is at a mean altitude of 1,000 meters above sea level and is bordered by the Republic of South Africa, Namibia, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Approximately seventy-five percent of Botswana lies to the north of the Tropic of Capricorn (Ministry of Finance and Development Planning 2003).

Map 1 below shows Botswana’s location within southern Africa.

Source: http://www.geni.org/globalenergy/
Climate

The average climate of Botswana is described as semi-arid. Temperatures are very high in summer and low in winter, often reaching sub-zero levels in Kgalagadi desert and Southern part of the country. The rainfall is unreliable, highly erratic and seasonal. The distribution of rainfall is uneven throughout the country both in time and space (Ministry of Finance and Development Planning 2003). The low rainfalls and high temperatures are associated with the fact that the country is located in the sub-tropical high pressure belt of the southern hemisphere in the interior of southern Africa and away from oceanic influence. Drought is a recurring element of Botswana’s climate and that affects the already fragile food situation negatively thus seriously impairing the rural economy and socio-cultural structures (Ministry of Finance and Development Planning 2003).

Population

Botswana’s physical environment of dry and poor soils accounts for its varied population distribution. The population is concentrated in the southern east parts of the country suited for arable production due to relatively more favourable climatic and social conditions. The 2001 Population and Housing Census yielded a population count of 1,680,863. Botswana’s population grew at an average annual rate of 2.4 percent from 1991 to 2001. The population growth rate in Botswana has been declining over the years. Total fertility rate (births per woman) was 3.3 in 2001. While the AIDS pandemic might have contributed somewhat to the decline in recent years, it must be noted that there was a decline also during the pre-HIV/AIDS era (Ministry of Finance and Development Planning 2003). Factors such as declining fertility rates, increased female participation in economic activities, increased literacy rates, and access to better health care are among those factors attributed to the decline in population growth (Ministry of Finance and Development Planning 2003).

The main features of Botswana’s population are: declining fertility rate, increasing mortality rate and the declining average life expectancy. There has been a notable decline in the total fertility rate from 6.6 in 1981 to 3.3 in 2001 as well as evidence of increasing mortality rate (Ministry of Finance and Development Planning 2003). The crude rate rose
from 11.5 to 13.5 between 1991 and 2001, reversing the decreasing trend recorded between 1981 and 1991 (Ministry of Finance and Development Planning 2003). The increase in mortality rates, impacted adversely on the life expectancy at birth, which was estimated at 55.7 years in 2001 (Ministry of Finance and Development Planning 2003)and now estimated at 30.76 years (Central Intelligence Agency 2005). This is largely attributed to the HIV/AIDS pandemic.

**Political system**

Botswana became independent on the 30\textsuperscript{th} September 1966, after 80 years as a British Protectorate. Gaborone became the capital city of Botswana at independence and it is one of the fastest growing cities in the world (Ministry of Finance and Development Planning 2003). Botswana is a non-racial country and maintains freedom of speech, freedom of press, and freedom of association, and affords all citizens equal rights (Ministry of Finance and Development Planning 2003) (Stedman 1993). According to Stedman (1993) Botswana has the best record of human rights in the continent. These rights are enshrined in the Constitution of Botswana, which also provides for a unicameral legislature. Botswana has no political prisoners. It is regarded as a transparent and well-governed country (De Korte, Mazonde et al. 2004).

Stedman (1993) asserts that Botswana stands out as an example of economic development, functioning governance and multiparty, liberal democracy. Botswana has been a haven for political refugees from neighbouring states. The wars for independence in Angola, Zimbabwe, and Namibia and the struggle for freedom by the black majority in South Africa have kept open warfare near Botswana’s borders for virtually the entire period since independence and have brought repeated armed incursions into Botswana’s territory. However, having negotiated its independence from Britain, Botswana has enjoyed relative peace and harmony amidst neighbouring countries that had to take up arms to fight for their freedom. Furthermore, the country did not have the major tribal differences of other countries in Africa, since a substantial majority (78%) of the people (Batibo 2005) come from Tswana-speaking tribes (Stedman 1993).
Botswana, a multi-party democracy, has held elections every five years since 1965
(Ministry of Finance and Development Planning 2003; Stedman, 1993) and has enjoyed
four decades of uninterrupted civilian leadership, progressive social policies, and
significant capital investment which have created one of the most dynamic economies in
Africa (Central Intelligence Agency 2005). The ruling Botswana Democratic Party
(BDP) has large majorities in rural areas, in part due to the attention it paid to the priority
demands of those areas for government spending (Stedman 1993).

International links

Botswana does not exist in isolation; it has intricate economic, political, and social links
to the international community of nations (Molutsi 1993). Botswana is a member of
various international organizations including the United Nations (UN), the Non-Aligned
Movement, the Commonwealth, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund
(IMF), the World Trade Organization (WTO), the African Union (AU), the Southern
African Customs Union (SACU) and the Southern African Development Community
(SADC) (Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, 2003; Molutsi, 1993). The
headquarters of SADC is in Gaborone, the capital city of Botswana.

Economy

Botswana has maintained one of the world’s highest economic growth rates since
independence in 1966. Through fiscal discipline and sound management, Botswana has
transformed itself from one of the poorest countries in the world to a middle-income
country with a per capita GDP of $10,100 in 2005 (Central Intelligence Agency 2005).
At independence Botswana was dependent mainly on agriculture for livelihood. The
economy relied heavily on beef production in terms of output and export earnings.
Prospects for rapid development of the economy seemed bleak and the government
depended on foreign aid not only for investment projects, but also to finance most of its
recurrent expenditures (Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, 2003). Since
then, the country recorded remarkable social and economic transformation, with the
discovery and production of minerals, resulting in both growth and change in the
structure of the economy (Greig and Koopman 2003). Mineral extraction, principally diamond mining, dominates economic activity, though tourism is a growing sector due to the country’s conservation practice and extensive nature preserves (Central Intelligence Agency, 2005). This type of economy has enabled the Government of Botswana to increase its social sector spending. These development efforts have increased access to clean water, roads, health services and education (Lewis 1993; Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, 2003; NACA, 2004).

Lewis (1993), in trying to explain Botswana’s extraordinary economic performance, especially in comparison with the rest of sub-Saharan Africa concluded that “while good fortune plays an important role, unusually good economic policy choices were essential to achieving outstanding economic results” (pg.11). Botswana’s debt service is modest and its foreign exchange reserves are the highest on the continent. Lewis (1993) argues that Botswana has built up reserves in good years and run them down in bad, enabling its development efforts to proceed almost uninterrupted for years. Another critically important contribution to Botswana’s success according to Lewis (1993) has been its excellent negotiators and bargainers with outsiders. They have dealt successfully with the South African government, multinational companies, the European Economic Community and all the major international donors. Both Botswana’s record of success and its attitude toward the process contrast strikingly with similar negotiating experience in other developing countries. Lewis (1993) further asserts that some considerable share of Botswana’s economic success can be attributed to the government’s unwillingness to yield to pressures for ideologically based development policies that produced investment failures in so many other countries.

However, despite such economic progress, many people are poor and unemployed. Unemployment officially is 21% (Central Intelligence Agency 2005), and the percentage of the population living below the poverty datum line was estimated to be 36.7 percent in 2001 (Ministry of Finance and Development Planning 2003). This is one of the challenges faced by the government—dealing with high rates of unemployment and poverty. The goal of vision 2016 is to reduce the proportion of the population living below the poverty datum line to 23% by the year 2007 and to zero by the year 2016.
The devastating impact of the HIV/AIDS pandemic poses a big challenge and is likely to militate against this noble goal. HIV/AIDS infection rates are the highest in the world and threaten Botswana's impressive economic gains.

**Health system**

The Botswana government has expanded its health infrastructure and 88 percent of the total population are now within a maximum radius of 15 km of a health facility. In urban areas it is 98 percent of the population, and in the rural areas it is 83 percent of the population that is within the 15 km radius from a health facility (Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, 2003; NACA, 2005). It is worth noting that all of the health services provided in public health care facilities in Botswana are free of charge (De Korte, Mazonde et al. 2004). Services provided include family planning (FP), antenatal care (ANC), intra-partum care, postnatal care (PNC) and child welfare care (CWC). All maternal child health care (MCH) services are integrated and are provided from Monday to Friday from 7:30am to 4:30pm with the exception of intra-partum care services which are provided seven days a week and 24 hours a day. Batswana who suffer from chronic illnesses such as hypertension, cancer, diabetes, cardiac, epilepsy, arthritis, HIV/AIDS have special clinics from Monday to Friday. All HIV positive Batswana and all those who have developed full-blown AIDS have free access to antiretroviral (ARV) therapy. When a Botswana citizen is referred from a public health facility to a specialist either locally or outside the country the government pays for all the health expenses. Most of the health services are provided seven days a week and 24 hours a day.

There are also private health facilities and most of the people who use this sector are on health insurance for which the government and government supported organisations pay 50 percent for their employees. Health care services in Botswana therefore are accessible, affordable, acceptable and available to most Batswana. However, since the advent of HIV/AIDS in Botswana, the public health sector has been overburdened by patients with HIV/AIDS related maladies (NACA, 2005). It has been reported that 50-70 percent of hospital occupancy rates are due to HIV related illnesses. There has also been a decline
in skilled labour due to absenteeism, illness and death (Ministry of Finance and Development Planning 2003; NACA 2004).

Major achievements have been made in reproductive health. There has been a reduction in total fertility rate from 4.2 in 1991 to 3.3 in 2001. This is attributed to the availability of contraceptives the rate of which was 44 percent of all the women in 2000. There has been also a decrease in child morbidity and mortality due to the increased proportion of supervised deliveries (now 99%), and the expansion of health services and facilities throughout the country (Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, 2003). However, the HIV/AIDS pandemic has impacted negatively on some key indicators and reversed some of the achievements of the past.

Teenage pregnancy continues to be one of the major sexual and reproductive health concerns, with 17 percent of teenage girls becoming mothers and over 85 percent of these pregnancies being unplanned. This is particularly worrying in this era of high HIV prevalence among young people. Moreover, the relatively high incidence of teenage pregnancy continues to jeopardise the future of young girls. Pregnancy among teenagers interferes with their education prospects and consequently, the potential for productive life. Lower levels of education have been associated with higher poverty levels (Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, 2003).

Adolescents in Botswana are faced with multiple sexual and reproductive health problems, including HIV/AIDS, unplanned pregnancies and unsafe abortions (NACA 2004; Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, 2003). Between 1995 and 2000, national sentinel surveys among pregnant women have consistently recorded HIV prevalence of over 20 percent among 15-19 year-old adolescents (NACA 2004). For every one adolescent boy, there were four adolescent girls infected with HIV in Botswana. According to (Mookodi, Ntshebe et al. 2004) the HIV infection rates have further increased for females compared with males and are estimated to be nine times higher in females than males in the age group 15-19 years. For a country with a young age structure of 37% of total population below the age of 15 years, and the population aged 65 years and over constituting only 5%, the disproportion in HIV risk of infection is
a cause for concern (NACA 2004). It is worth mentioning that access to youth friendly reproductive health services is limited. However, with the current efforts to reorient the MCH/FP programme to the Sexual and Reproductive Health Programmes, most of these concerns are being addressed (Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, 2003).

**Education system**

High demand for education services, resulting from rapid increase in school age children and young adults, has been met by expanding the education system and introducing universal access from primary education to Form 3 (Year 10). A remarkable achievement in education is indicated by the fact that by 2000, 92 percent of children of primary school age were enrolled in primary schools (Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, 2003) and it is now reported that nearly 100 percent of the children are enrolled in primary schools (De Korte, Mazonde et al. 2004). Over 80 percent of Batswana aged 15-49 years have gone through the formal education system at some point in their lives (79% for males and 83% for females) (Population Reference Bureau, 2002; NACA, 2005). Education, like health care services, is free of charge from primary school (Grade 1) to senior secondary school (Year 12). The students are also supplied with text books, exercise books and stationary. For tertiary education, it depends on the course one wants to pursue; one can get a grant or a loan. In Botswana, if one exerts him/herself academically, that individual can study from primary to the university (locally or outside Botswana) without the parents paying anything. The students at tertiary level are given book allowances and personal allowances. The Botswana government has made it possible that every citizen of Botswana, however poor, can go to school or see his/her children go to school. There is even a special literacy programme for illiterate older people where they are taught how to read and write. Education therefore is accessible, affordable and available to most citizens of Botswana. (Jefferis 1996) argued that Botswana’s strong economy has allowed the Botswana government to develop a strong education system.
Social Welfare Services

The National Association of Social Work defines the term ‘social welfare’ as a nation’s system of programmes, benefits and services that help people meet their social, economic, educational and health needs that are fundamental for maintenance of society (Zastrow 1996). In other words, social welfare refers to programmes established by the nation to meet the basic needs of the less privileged, for example, the poor, the elderly, the disabled and those who are in poor health conditions. Zastrow (1996) further states that welfare programmes and services may include among others foster care, adoption, day care, suicide programmes, and shelter for battered spouses, food rations, protective services for child abuse and others.

In the light of the above definition, Botswana, with a healthy economy, has been able to achieve commendable levels of social service delivery denied to many in developing countries, particularly in Africa. Since 1966, stringent efforts have been made to see to it that everyone, however poor and wherever he/she lives, can have his/her health looked after, see his children go to school, drink clean water and in extreme situations, obtain relief from actual starvation (NACA, 2005).

Brief history of Botswana’s welfare system

Botswana’s welfare system could be traced back to the year 1946 when the first government welfare officer was appointed, predominantly to run the Bechuanaland Soldiers Benefit Fund that served veterans of the Second World War. During the program’s early implementation stages it was only restricted to urban centres, and at that time it covered only 3% of the entire population (Wass, 1969). The social welfare was placed under local government after 1974 and that is when its assistance expanded to the rural areas. This resulted in the birth of the National policy on destitute people in 1980. The leadership in Botswana has always had a vision of looking ahead and anticipate problems that are likely to arise in the future, and preparing ahead of time to deal with them. For example, the Botswana government began to think about drought relief measures during the wettest part of the weather cycle. The worst drought that hit Botswana during the 1980s, which made the country lose more than 80 percent of its
crops for five years in a row, found measures in place to run a major drought relief program (Lewis 1993). In contrast to drought related causes elsewhere in Africa not a single life was lost to drought-related cause during Botswana’s five year drought, and the relief programs at times fed 60 percent of the total population, a major logistical feat in Africa’s most sparsely populated country (Lewis, 1993). Even to date with its low population of 1.7 million Botswana still has the economic capacity to implement national drought relief programs during severe droughts.

**The destitute policy**

This is a policy that takes care of the needs of poor people. It classifies people as destitute if they are without assets (land, livestock, cash) or when they are incapable of working because of old age or disability, unsupported minors or people who are rendered helpless due to a national disaster or temporary hardships (Bar-On 1999). Assistance provided under this policy is of various kinds and those who are assisted under it do not pay for those services. Grocery rations include food, soap and other important household goods of which only tea, matches and firewood are enumerated. With regard to food, the policy states that each registered destitute person will receive a nutritionally balanced diet. The ration is based on the minimum calorie daily requirements of 1750 calories that an individual needs to maintain a basic healthy lifestyle (Ministry of Local Government and Lands, 2003). The daily food component consists of 400g cereals, 40g milk, 30g meat, 40g pulses. Also provided are: shelter, clothes, blankets, medical care, and exemption from service levies such as water, funeral expenses, and rehabilitation. All of the above mentioned items are primarily financed by the Ministry of Local Government and can be offered on a temporary or permanent basis, pending approval by the local council (Bar-On, 1999).

The government has many people to take care of since, for example, in 1994 close to 47 percent of Botswana’s population lived in poverty, though it is reported to have declined to 36.7 percent in 2001 (Ministry of Local Government and Housing, 2003). Whilst the government provides shelter, food, toiletries, clothing and other items to the poor, most of them remain in a state of poverty, from which they usually do not graduate and thus their lifestyle is not improved. However, the revised destitute policy asserts that all
registered destitute people will be targeted for rehabilitation. This will become a major feature of the policy as it is aimed at helping people to learn how to become independent and self-sufficient.

**The orphan care programme and welfare**

Apart from the destitute policy, the government of Botswana has a plan of action for orphaned children, most of which were orphaned because of HIV/AIDS. In this policy it was established that by the year 2000 there would be approximately 65000 orphans living in Botswana as a result of AIDS related illnesses (Ministry of Local Government and Housing 1999). Now they are estimated at 78 000 (United Nations Botswana 2004). The increase in the number of orphans has severely affected the coping mechanisms of existing safety nets, especially the traditional extended family and their capacity to deal with the problems. It further stretched the delivery of basic social welfare services and material support to the needy children including orphans by the government and other stakeholders.

The policy identified that most orphans have no access to basic human need such as food, clothing, toiletry and shelter. Their opportunities for growth and development are also limited due to household poverty. Their access to education and recreation is also limited since their caregivers, most of whom are old people, are themselves underprivileged. As problems reached new dimensions, services targeted at such problems were established. It was from this premise that the Social Welfare Division of Botswana (SWD) developed a plan of action whose main objective is to improve the socio-economic conditions of orphans (Ministry of Local Government and Housing, 1999). In this programme, immediate needs of orphans such as food, clothing, education, shelter, protection and care are taken care of. Various stakeholders are also enlightened about the orphan problem and encouraged to respond accordingly. Because most of the caregivers were themselves registered under the destitute programme and are living below the poverty datum line, the provision of food clothing, toiletry and shelter were the most urgent for orphans. Since the establishment of the policy, orphans have been put under the care of the government.
The orphan programme is also fairly comprehensive such that no registered orphan can sleep in an empty stomach in Botswana provided the food is used for the benefit of the orphan. It is also unlikely that any registered orphan would quit school due to lack of school uniform or any other school related necessities because the government provides for the orphans’ school needs. Although it is a painful thing to lose a parent, it is worth noting that, according to some social workers in Botswana, most of the orphans live much better than when their parents were alive (Personal Communication: Social Worker January 2006).

Still under the orphan care programme the government has identified the need to develop alternative care for orphans. Therefore regulations governing alternative arrangements for children in need of care have been drafted (Ministry of Local Government and Housing 1999). The guidelines are comprehensive and have identified, foster care, guardianship, children’s home and the school of industry as possible alternative care for orphans. This is meant to address the problem of child headed households which have become more common since the escalation of the HIV scourge.

**Old age pensions and welfare**

Also listed under Botswana’s welfare programmes is the old age pension scheme. This is a benefit for elderly people from the age of 65 years. Botswana pays P166.00, (about US$33) per month. The amount of the allowance is adjusted periodically according to changes in the cost of living. Deverauax (2002) commenting on old age pension for Botswana, Namibia and South Africa noted that social pensions inject some cash into poor households and communities. The social pension also lifts many households out of abject poverty because the pensioners use the money to buy basic necessities which they share with those they stay with.

**Other welfare services**

As part of promoting the welfare system, the government of Botswana is funding some of the non-governmental organisations (NGOs) such as Childline Botswana, Kagisano Women’s’ shelter, Women Against Rape and many others so that they can carry on providing their services to the people. In some of the organisations, for instance women’s
shelter, women are taught vocational skills such as weaving, knitting, painting and others. When they leave the shelter they are equipped with skills that help them start small businesses to sustain themselves and their families.

Because of the comprehensive social welfare services put in place by the Botswana government, it is rare to find any Motswana going without food; even Batswana who live in the most remote part of the country are reached by welfare services. In addition, some people assisted under this programme are old age pensioners, which mean that they get double assistance from the government. This makes it easy for them to have their basic survival needs met and thus it can be concluded that the welfare services provided by the government of Botswana are effective.

However, the main problem that the Botswana Government needs to address regarding the destitute policy is the issue of rehabilitation. It is a major concern that some people who could work become so dependent on welfare that they make no efforts to take themselves out of poverty by working. There are limited rehabilitation services provided to the poor to improve their lifestyle. Experience has shown that there is no ‘one size fits all’ solution to the issue of poverty. Welfare services provided to the elderly cannot be completely the same as one for children in need of care because they are not a homogeneous group (Devarajan and Reinikki, 2003; Osei-Hwedie, 1993). For welfare services to work they have to go beyond providing handouts to the underprivileged, they must help them get out of poverty. This is why one of the vision 2016 goals is to reduce the proportion of the population living below poverty datum line to 23% by the year 2007 and to zero by the year 2016 (Ministry of Finance and Development Planning 2003).

However, it is important to note that if it were not for the orphan care programme, the old age pensions and the destitute policy, many of the beneficiaries in these programmes would be living in severe destitution. As indicated earlier, apart from situations where the food basket is misused or sold, ideally, the orphans and the destitute in Botswana would not sleep with an empty stomach. Furthermore, they cannot go naked or without shelter;
those who are of school age cannot stay without going to school and cannot be denied health care services. For this, Botswana’s welfare system should be applauded.
Appendix 2: Survey questionnaire

Prevalence and determinants of intergenerational sexual relationships in urban Botswana

This questionnaire will ask you about your views, observations and your personal experiences of relationships in general. Please do not write your name on this questionnaire, but only write your assigned code number. Please follow the instructions under each section. If a section or a question is not applicable to you, you will be clearly guided on which section to go to. The questionnaire has 6 sections. Most of the time you will be asked to circle your answer(s) and in some areas you will be asked to write down short responses such as a number or a place.

SECTION 1
This section asks you about yourself and your personal circumstances. Please state or circle your responses as appropriate.

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1**</td>
<td>How old are you?</td>
<td>Years old</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2*</td>
<td>What form (grade) are you in?</td>
<td>Form 4 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Form 5 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3*</td>
<td>Which residential area do you live in?</td>
<td>Specify</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4*</td>
<td>Who do you live with?</td>
<td>Parent (s) 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Guardian 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Please circle all that apply)</td>
<td>Grand parent(s) 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sister (s)/brother (s) 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Uncle/aunt 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Other (specify) 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Do you find it difficult or easy to talk with your mother/guardian about things that are important to you?</td>
<td>Very easy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Easy</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Average</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Difficult</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Very difficult</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Have you ever discussed sex-related matters with your mother/guardian?</td>
<td>Never</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Occasionally</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Often</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Young people learn about relationships - that is, how boys should treat girls (men treat women) and vice versa.</strong></td>
<td>(1) Most Important</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a) What has been the most important source of information on this topic? (Circle only one in column 1)</td>
<td>School teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Other family members</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b) From whom, or where, would you prefer to receive more information on this topic? (Circle only one in column 2)</td>
<td>Friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Doctors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Books/magazines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Films/Videos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Other (Specify)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>What leisure activities do you participate in? (Please circle all that apply)</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Clubs</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Parties</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Movies</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sport</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Drama</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Other (specify)</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>How often do you drink alcohol?</td>
<td>Never</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Once only</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Daily</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Weekly</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Monthly</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yearly</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
How often do you use cigarettes?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Code</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Never</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Once only</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weekly</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monthly</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yearly</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Have you ever used reproductive health services in Gaborone?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Code</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If yes, how can you describe the services?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Code</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>User-friendly</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not sure</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SECTION 2

This section is asking you about your general views and not about your personal experiences. For each statement below, please indicate your view by circling the appropriate number.

Boyfriend refers to an intimate partner whether one has had sex with him or not.

- Older man/older boyfriend in this questionnaire means a man who is 10 years and above (≥ 10yrs older).
- Same-age boyfriend means someone in your age group with whom you have intimate relations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>Don’t Know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In sexual relationships, men should always be older</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Older men (≥ 10yrs older) are good boyfriends</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The reason girls go out with older men (≥ 10yrs older) is that they are able to provide gifts and money</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16*</td>
<td>It is difficult to talk about safe sex (e.g. condom use) when your boyfriend is older (≥ 10yrs older)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17*</td>
<td>Getting gifts from your boyfriend (same-age or older) stops you from talking about safe sex (e.g. condom use)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18*</td>
<td>Young girls who have older men (≥ 10yrs older) as boyfriends are considered to be lucky</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19*</td>
<td>It is OK to have same-age boyfriend and an older one (≥ 10yrs older) at the same time</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20*</td>
<td>In Tswana culture, girls are often not expected to take the lead in sexual matters</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21*</td>
<td>Both sexual partners should have equal influence on what happens in the relationship</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22*</td>
<td>It is easier for girls to talk about safe sex, e.g. condom use when they have a boyfriend of their own age group than when they have an older boyfriend (≥ 10yrs older)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23*</td>
<td>There is pressure on girls to go out with older man (≥ 10yrs older) who can provide gifts to them</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24*</td>
<td>There is a greater risk of getting sexual transmitted diseases including HIV when engaging in sexual intercourse with older men (≥ 10yrs older) than boys</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SECTION: 3

This section deals with sexual relationships. For questions that do not apply to you please follow the instructions indicated. The questions are focusing on your sexual relationship/experiences. Please circle your answer(s) or state the number where applicable.

- Same-age boyfriend means someone in your age group with whom you have intimate relations
- Sexual partner refers to either same-age boyfriend or older boyfriend with whom you have had sex

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>25**</th>
<th>Have you ever had a boyfriend? (in your age group)</th>
<th>Yes 1</th>
<th>No 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>26*</td>
<td>Have you ever had an older boyfriend (≥ 10yrs older)?</td>
<td>Yes 1</td>
<td>No 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27**</td>
<td>How many sexual partners do you have?</td>
<td>Number of same-age boyfriends</td>
<td>Number of older boyfriends (≥ 10yrs older)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The following questions refer to your CURRENT or MOST RECENT sexual partner (same-age boyfriend/older boyfriend). Those who never had any boyfriends in life please go to section 4 on page 6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28**</td>
<td>How old is he?</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29**</td>
<td>What is his marital status?</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>Married</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30*</td>
<td>What is his occupation?</td>
<td>Student</td>
<td>Working</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31**</td>
<td>Did you and your sexual partner have vaginal sexual intercourse?</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question</td>
<td>Response Options</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>32</strong> Is your current sexual partner the first person you have had sex with?</td>
<td>Yes 1, No 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>33</strong> How old were you the first time you had sex?</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>34</strong> Would you say;</td>
<td>(a) He persuaded me to have intercourse 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) He forced me to have intercourse 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) We were both equally willing 3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>35</strong> And would you say it was planned or unexpected?</td>
<td>Planned 1, Unexpected 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>36</strong> On that first time did you or he do anything to prevent HIV/AIDS and other sexual transmitted diseases?</td>
<td>Yes 1, No 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If yes, specify what was done</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SECTION: 4**

This section will ask you to give both your general views and personal experiences with regard to sexual relationships in general. For questions that do not apply to you please follow the instructions indicated.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Response Options</th>
<th>Additional Instructions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>37</strong> Some young people are given money or gifts before or after lovemaking. Has this ever happened to you?</td>
<td>Yes 1, No 2</td>
<td>If No, please go to no. 40 below</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>38</strong> Have you ever been approached by an older man (≥ 10yrs older) and asked you to have sex with him?</td>
<td>Yes 1, No 2</td>
<td>If No, please go to no. 40 below</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>39</strong> If Yes, did you agree to have sex with him?</td>
<td>Yes 1, No 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>40</strong> Are you currently in a sexual relationship with an older man (≥ 10yrs older)?</td>
<td>Yes 1, No 2</td>
<td>If No, please go to no. 42 below</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>41</strong> How old is he?</td>
<td>Age (if not sure estimate)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Would you consider going out with an older man (≥ 10yrs older) if you have the opportunity?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you have friends and/or relatives who go out with older men (≥ 10yrs older)?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schoolgirls enter sexual relationships with older men (≥ 10yrs older) for different reasons. Please circle all that apply</td>
<td>Money (1)</td>
<td>Cell phone (2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**THANK YOU**

Thank you very much for your time and your patience. Your valuable contributions will be helpful in better understanding the views and concerns of young women.

Adapted from John Cleland

Appendix 3: Interview guide

Girls who had or are currently in intergenerational sexual relationships

The interview will be participant-led with minimal interruptions. I will only interject with probes and prompts. The appropriate probes will be determined by the interviewee’s response.

For example:

Introduction
Welcome to this interview, my name is Josephine. We are going to discuss a number of issues on relationships. There is no right or wrong answer. We will first talk about your general observations and views about relationships. Then I will ask you to share with me your personal experience. Whatever we discuss will be between you and me. I would like you to talk freely. I will as much as possible not interrupt you when you are talking.

After establishing rapport with the interviewee, I will start the interview with general questions before moving on to specific questions. I hope this will make the interviewee more relaxed before we discuss sensitive issues.

General family circumstances:
Could you please tell me about your family?
Whom do you live with (mother/father/uncle/aunt)?
How many are you in your family?
What things do you discuss with your mother/father/uncle/aunt/sister/brother?

Could you please tell me more about the support you get from your parents/guardian?
Probe: kind of information, advice, counselling and influences

Social world:
Please can you tell me a bit about your school life, friends.
Probe: where do you hang around?; Why?

Probe: What about your older boyfriend?
How did you meet?
What he is like?
Do you like the same things?
How old is he?

Could you please tell me about how you select your sexual partner?

Probe: Did he approach you himself?
Any influences, any role models

Could you please tell me about your first sexual experience with this partner?
Probe: where, why, when, how?
  Forced
  Planned
  How old were you?

Did you talk about contraception before?
Did you use any method of contraception?
(Protection against pregnancy)
Probe: what or why

Could you please tell me what you discuss with your sexual partner?

Probe: contraception
  HIV/AIDS protection
  Money
  Future plans

Sometimes sex is associated with some risks. Could you please tell me about your understandings of risk with regard to sex?
Probe: What, How, Why

Could you please tell me if it is easy to discuss the issue of condom use with your partner?

Probe: How
  Have you used condoms throughout?
  In what instances has it been difficult?

Do you expect to receive gifts in your relationships?
Tell me about it
Probe: What, When, Why

Could you please tell me if receiving gifts from your sexual partner affect your decision making regarding your relationship
Probe: how, why

Could you please tell me your views about engaging in sexual relationships with men older than you (≥10 yrs older) and boys of your age group?

Probe: what are the differences, similarities, advantages, disadvantages?

Could you please tell me the reasons why schoolgirls enter sexual relationships with older men (≥10 yrs older)

Thank you
Appendix 4: Interview guide

Girls who were approached by older men but declined to have sex with them

The interview will be participant-led with minimal interruptions. I will only interject with probes and prompts. The appropriate probes will be determined by the interviewee’s response.

For example:

Introduction
Welcome to this interview, my name is Josephine. We are going to discuss a number of issues on relationships. There is no right or wrong answer. We will first talk about your general observations and views about relationships. Then I will ask you to share with me your personal experience. Whatever we discuss will be between you and me. I would like you to talk freely. I will as much as possible not interrupt you when you are talking.

After establishing rapport with the interviewee, I will start the interview with general questions before moving on to specific questions. I hope this will make the interviewee more relaxed before we discuss sensitive issues.

General family circumstances:
Could you please tell me about your family?
Whom do you live with (mother/father/uncle/aunt)?
How many are you in your family?
What things do you discuss with your mother/father/uncle/aunt/sister/brother?

Could you please tell me more about the support you get from your parents/guardian?
Probe: kind of information, advice, counselling
Influences

Social world:
Please can you tell me a bit about your school life, friends.
Probe: where do you hang around?
Why?
Probe: What about your best friend(s)? girl/boy
Do you have a boyfriend?
Do you like the same things?
Are they older/younger/same age?

Could you please tell me about how you select your friends?

Probe: any influences,
Any role models

Could you please tell me what you discuss with your friend(s)
Could you please tell me why you did not want to enter into a sexual relationship with an older man?
Probe:
- Socio-cultural influence
- Religious beliefs
- Personal preferences
- Economic reasons
- Sexual risk factors
- Peer support
- Parental support

Sometimes sex is associated with some risks. Could you please tell me about your understandings of risk with regard to sex?
Probe: what
  - How
  - Why

Do you expect to receive gifts from your boyfriend?
Tell me about it
Probe: what
  - When
  - Why

Do you think gift giving and receiving has an influence in decision making in a sexual relationship?
Probe: How
  - Why

Could you please tell me your views about engaging in sexual relationships with men older than you (≥10 yrs older) and boys of your age group?

Probe: what are the differences, similarities, advantages, disadvantages?

Could you please tell me the reasons why schoolgirls enter sexual relationships with older men (≥10 yrs older)

Thank you
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