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## **MULTIPLE AND CONCURRENT SEXUAL PARTNERSHIPS AMONG YOUTH IN TANZANIA**

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A research study commissioned by Femina HIP  
in preparation for a regional youth  
MCP campaign

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## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The number of sexual partners an individual has is an important factor for determining the extent of risk to sexually transmitted diseases, including HIV. In the context where consistent condom use is low, identifying factors that are associated with having multiple partners can help in the design of HIV and AIDS interventions.

The overall aim of the study was to gain insight into youth understanding, practices, feelings, beliefs, perceptions and attitudes with regard to multiple concurrent partnerships (MCP). Specifically, the study aimed to assessing youth's perception of risk with regard to multiple and concurrent partnerships and HIV/AIDS. Also, it aimed to explore youth practices and motivations around multiple and concurrent partnerships. Furthermore, the influence of culture and social norms on multiple and concurrent partnerships were delineated. Finally, the study was conducted to produce concrete recommendations for programme interventions.

This study was qualitative in nature and it employed Focus Group Discussions (FGD's) and In-Depth Interviews (IDI's). A total of 10 FGD's (5 among rural and urban females and 5 among rural and urban males) and 26 IDI's (10 among rural male and female informants and 16 among urban males and females) were conducted between March and April, 2008. The study involved one urban district and one rural district. For each district, two wards were involved in the study.

In order to achieve the above objectives, the study examined MCP in terms of the following reference points:

- Nature and context of MCP;
- Various forms of MCP;
- Practices and motivations around MCP;
- Management of MCP relations;
- Disengagement from MCP relations;
- Perceived relationship between MCP and HIV/AIDS and;
- Suggestions for reduction of HIV risk associated with MCP.

The results show that overall, societies have forms of sexual relationships which are either socially approved or disapproved. The forms of socially approved relationships range from marriages registered with the government (mostly in the urban areas) religious marriages, customary marriages and forced marriages (*ndoa ya umeme* or *ndoa ya mkeka*). These marriages may be monogamous or polygamous. Apart from the socially approved sexual partnerships, people engage in different forms of sexual partnerships which are either clandestine or condoned. Such relationships include: intergenerational sexual partnership, transactional sexual partnership, casual sex and cohabitation.

Analysis of the practices and motivations around youth indulgence in MCP shows that the factors leading to MCP vary by age (15-20 vs. 21-30), gender (male vs. female), social class (middle vs. low class), marital status (married vs. unmarried) and place of residence (rural-urban disparity) and can be summarized as: influence of sexual debut, mutual mistrust among sexual partners, desire for sexual gratification among unmarried and married youth, sexual lust for both men and women, cultural factors (sexual initiation, traditional dances and religious beliefs) and peer pressure. Other factors include desire for material things, sexual dissatisfaction in steady relationships and marriage aspirations among unmarried male and female youth. Other factors include partner separation for a long time, polygamy and influence of the visual media.

Desire for oral-genital sex by both male and female youth was mentioned as another factor that drives them to indulge in MCP especially when a partner declines from offering or receiving cunilingus from a partner. Also, it came out that men are considerate of female sexual desire and are appreciating full involvement of the female partner in the act. Where this is not guaranteed, both male and female partners resort to MCP. The findings have also shown that video shows are used as meeting points for sexual partners and that they engender involvement in unsafe sexual practices since pornographic videos do not demonstrate safe sex.

The results also show that youth who indulge in MCP apply various techniques so as to keep their socially disapproved sexual behavior under the bridge. These strategies are of two types: individual strategies and social strategies. Individual strategies in this case were taken to refer to individual initiatives that people take to handle their MCP relations. These include: cheating, establishing MCP relations at a distance and use of traditional medicine. Social strategies were referred to as social values that guide MCP relations in a given community. The list includes: social reaction to partner infidelity, expression of jealousy and treating MCP as a public secret.

Societies have ways of handling the negative outcomes of partner indulgence in MCP. At any rate, partner involvement in MCP is not supposed to lead to divorce but an adulterous partner may pay compensation.

It was one of the interests of this study to understand the types of risks that youth associate with their involvement in MCP. The results show that perceptions of risk vary among male and female participants as well as among urban and rural residents. In general, the respondents mentioned HIV infections, disruption of relationships, lack of concentration on one's duties and responsibilities and pregnancy as possible risks.

The study also explored participant's perceptions about the relationship between MCP and HIV/AIDS transmission. Generally, knowledge about HIV, how it spreads and how to avoid infections was high. However, people who were in MCP relations were treating

the two as separate entities. Their expressions of sexual desires, pleasures and emotions in such relationships were totally disconnected from the facts about HIV/AIDS. Youth treat HIV risk and sexual pleasure as if the two aspects occur independent of each other. In fact, they locate the two into mutually exclude mental faculties of their sexual lives.

The results also show that reduction of number of sexual partners is insignificant. Also, condom use in MCP relationships is rare. The reasons attributed to low condom use in MCP include *mzuka* (excessive and hasty sexual desire) and *vigonera* (sexual hunger due to prolonged sexual abstinence). Other reasons include male denunciation of condom use (which leads women to going for contraceptives other than condom), trust among partners as time lapses and absence of condoms especially in rural areas. Specifically, participants from rural areas talked about problems of access to condoms even when availability is guaranteed and how difficult it is to use condom in transactional sex or casual sex. Unlike in the rural areas, condom use in the urban areas is highly emphasized at the beginning of relationship but slows up as the relationship progresses. Some youth believe that promotion of condom use increases HIV risks in the long run since as the relationship progresses, partners decline from using it without going for HIV testing.

In order to reduce HIV risks that are associated with MCP, participants suggested that people who have multiple sexual partners should disengage from such relationships and go for HIV testing to determine their HIV sero-status. However, HIV testing in rural areas was mentioned as a problem because people who need such service have to travel to the district or regional headquarters, which are at a distance.

Despite the low level of condom use, participants listed several coping mechanisms of ensuring that engagement in MCP does not necessarily lead to HIV infections. The techniques include: having sex with women who are perceived to have large vaginal tracts (to avoid bruises) especially adult women, disengaging from sexual intercourse after first ejaculation, drying the condom in the sun before use and performing masturbation. Lactating mothers reduce postpartum sexual abstinence by using condom with partners outside permanent sexual relationship but condom use lasts shortly and they resort to unprotected sex.

Thus, the perception that people are driven to multiple partnerships by either economic desperation or wealth tells half the story behind MCP.

The study concludes that as they are, the results justify the inevitability of developing interventions to address MCP and its involved sexual risks. However, the results are relentlessly posing a challenge to HIV/AIDS program interventions, the policy makers and policy implementers. Evidence from these results leads us to a conclusion that it is improbable to come up with one message that addresses MCP because the roots leading

to it are so diverse. Since MCP relations are a product of social relations, the challenge is on how to address the reported factors leading to MCP without conflicting with the social norms and values that guide sexual relations.

The study recommends that:

- Reproductive health programs should reinforce the pattern of mutual mistrust reported in this study as basis for promoting condom use among youth.
- HIV and AIDS programs that aim at providing sexual guidance to youth be provided by or before people attain puberty.
- Premarital romantic relationships should be recognized since they are likely to reduce (both in adolescence and in adulthood) mutual mistrust and may decrease the chances for youth engagement in MCP and other sexual risks.
- Educational intervention should be established so as to help victims of MCP make informed decision on whether (or how) to continue with, or terminate, the relationship with a sexual partner who indulges in MCP.
- Efforts should be directed to clearing misconceptions about condom as well as promoting condom use where one indulges in MCP. This should go hand in with a call to reduce the number of multiple and concurrent sexual partners.
- In an effort to reduce MCP and its negative impact on HIV/AIDS interventions, it is suggested that interventions should take communication on sexuality as one of the thematic priority areas so that partners may be made to understand how the benefits accrued from MCP can equally be assured in steady relationships.
- For research, the study recommends further investigation on the nature and context of health seeking behaviour on sexual problems such as sexual dissatisfaction or sexual dysfunction that expedite involvement in MCP. Also, further study such as survey may be required so as to establish prevalence of the reported MCP practices in a relatively larger geographical area.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

This report is a collaborative product between Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Dar es Salaam and Femina HIP. The department of Sociology and Anthropology conducted the fieldwork and wrote the report while Femina HIP made a regular review of the assignment against the agreed terms of reference.

Special thanks are due to the regional and district authorities where this study was conducted. They offered the consultancy team a remarkable cooperation by facilitating the team with necessary introductions to the wards, streets and villages. Also, many thanks should be extended to the ward, street and village authorities without whom the team could not reach the target population for this assignment, that is, youth.

We owe sincere gratitude to youth who participated in this study. Their readiness to share their experiences with the consultancy team and taking their precious time to answer questions is highly treasured.

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## **1. Introduction**

At its meeting held in Maseru, Lesotho in May 2006, a SADC Think Tank group identified multiple and concurrent sexual partnership by both men and women with low consistent condom use as the key drivers of HIV infections in Southern Africa. As a follow of this meeting, the Soul City Regional Program convened a research design workshop in 2006 involving 9 country partners<sup>1</sup> where researchers brainstormed on the research strategy on multiple and concurrent partnerships. Thereafter, each country partner designed its own locally relevant qualitative research instruments on the topic. A 9 country draft report on the meta-analysis of a qualitative audience research on multiple and concurrent sexual partnership among youth and adults was released in October, 2007.

Based on the above report and the country themes identified, it was evident that despite its vitality, information on MCP in Tanzania is scanty. In order to promote local interventions on the theme, Femina HIP contacted the researchers in the Department of Sociology, University of Dar es Salaam for the purpose of working collaboratively on the above formative research.

This study was done in partnership with the Department of Sociology and Anthropology and Femina HIP.

## **2. General objective**

Like in other southern countries which have already conducted a similar study, the overall aim of this research study is to gain insight into the young and adults' understanding, attitudes and practices around multiple and concurrent relationships and male circumcision in the context of HIV prevention.

## **3. Specific objectives**

Specific objectives to be addressed are as follows:

- To explore the audience's knowledge, understanding, perceptions, attitudes and views on multiple and concurrent partnerships
- To assess audience risk perception with regard to multiple and concurrent partnerships and HIV and AIDS
- To explore audience practices and motivations around multiple and concurrent partnerships
- To explore the influence of culture and social norms on multiple and concurrent partnerships
- *To produce concrete recommendations for programme interventions*

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<sup>1</sup> The countries are Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

### **3. Study Design and Methodology**

#### ***3.1 Study design***

The study adopted a non-experimental cross-sectional design. The study was qualitative in nature employing Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) and In-Depth Interviews (IDIs). The target population is young people and adults (both males and females). The study was conducted in both urban and rural settings.

#### ***3.2 Sampling***

Purposive sampling was used to select key informants and participants for in-depth interviews and focus group discussions (FGDs). The choice of the two study sites (Iringa Urban and Morogoro Rural districts) has been done purposively to cover areas with high and medium HIV prevalence rates respectively. Iringa region has the highest HIV prevalence rate of 18.2 while that of Morogoro region is 7.2 (Tanzania Multi-Sectoral Strategic Framework: 2008-2012:8).

The consultancy team will undertake the following steps to obtain eligible FGD participants and IDI informants at the district and community/street levels.

#### ***At the district level***

Apart from paying courtesy call to the office of the District Development Officer (DED), the consultancy team will work closely with the Department of District Social Welfare<sup>2</sup> and the Department of Health<sup>3</sup> for the following purposes:

- To map out the HIV/AIDS prevalence and patterns within a purposively selected district (in this case, Iringa Urban and Morogoro Rural Districts);
- Based on the information provided, to decide on the logistics (transport, distance and seasons) of getting to the villages;
- To plan on the appropriate use of the allocated time for fieldwork.

#### ***At the village/street level***

Ideally, the study on MCP was measured at three levels:

- Community perceptions on the situation of the MCP,
- The structural framework supporting MCP in terms of the existing structures, systems and social norms and policies and,
- The quality of the MCP relationships and the perceived roles.

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<sup>2</sup> The community Development Officer is also the Council HIV/AIDS Coordinator (CHAC) and is responsible for the multisectoral HIV/AIDS issues within the council.

<sup>3</sup> The District HIV/AIDS Coordinator (DACC) who is in charge of the biomedical and epidemiological aspects of HIV/AIDS comes from this department.

At each purposively selected village/street, the consultants will hold discussions with the local government authorities at the village/street level in order to introduce the study and its objectives as well as gaining the social architecture of the village/street. The village government leaders will assist in person or appoint another person to act as the contact persons for the consultants and their research assistants. Being the contact persons, they will assist in walking along with the consultancy team within a given village and help in arranging meetings with potential participants (for focus group discussions) and informants (for in-depth interviews).

### ***3.3 Recruitment of Research Assistants***

Under the consultants' supervision, the specially trained research assistants will assist in conducting the FGDs by taking into account the gender and age differences between the research assistants and the informants.

Following the scheduled appointments, the trained research assistants will conduct the FGDs and IDIs. Issues of confidentiality and informed consent were taken care of before the interviews start. The interviewee was informed about the purpose of the assignment that it is seeking information in order to understand the situation better and be able to develop interventions and programs with the community. It is estimated that interviews will last not more than two hours.

### ***Research clearance***

It was obtained from the University of Dar es Salaam Vice Chancellor who, according to the government circular letter Ref. NO.MPEC/R/10/1 dated 4<sup>th</sup> July, 1980, the Vice Chancellor was empowered to issue research clearances to the staff and students of the University of Dar es Salaam on behalf of the government and the Tanzania Commission for Science and Technology, a successor organization to UTAFITI. This permit enabled us to introduce ourselves to Regional Administrative Secretaries of Iringa and Morogoro regions. The District Administrative Secretaries issued letters to introduce the team to the selected wards and the Ward Executive Officers appointed the contact persons to introduce us to the villages and streets and households.

### ***3.4 Data collection and Sample Size***

The consultancy team plans to conduct a total of 8 focus group discussions and a minimum of 16 In-depth interviews equally distributed in the two study sites. FGD participants were identified among young people aged between 15-30 years. Since this is a broad age range and is most likely to have non-homogenous social and sexual characteristics, the participants were categorized into two groups: participants aged 15-20 years and participants aged 21-30 years. For the case of In-Depth Interviews, only youth aged 15-30 years who are sexually active and have personal experience in MCP were interviewed. Age groups and gender were taken into account when determining the sample size. However, the consultancy team was not oblivious of the fact that the actual number of FGDs (and IDIs) may change depending on the extent to which the responses

for the theoretical concepts and the emerging categories are saturated. A summary of planned FGDs and IDIs is presented below:

## 2. Study coverage:

According to the agreed protocol, the inclusion criteria in the study for FGD and IDI location (rural-urban), age group (15-20 and 21-30 years) and gender (male-female). The additional criterion for inclusion in the IDI was that only individuals who were sexually active and had personal experience in MCP were to be interviewed. Based on these criteria, the sample size was expected to be as shown in table 1.

**Table 1: The proposed number of FGDs and In-Depth Interviews:**

	Location	Target Audience	Age group	FGD	IDI
Morogoro Rural	Ward I:	Male youth	15-20	1	2
		Female youth	15-20	1	2
	Ward II	Male youth	21-30	1	2
		Female youth	21-30	1	2
Iringa Urban	Ward I:	Male youth	15-20	1	2
		Female youth	15-20	1	2
	Ward II	Male youth	21-30	1	2
		Female youth	21-30	1	2
<b>Total</b>			<b>8</b>	<b>16</b>	

The above categorization had left out other sub-categories which have a direct influence on MCP behaviour. As data collection exercise was progressing, a few more categories which were not predetermined emerged. We noted that:

- People do not engage in MCP behaviour merely due to their ages but other factors play role as well. Age group was not as important as the social status (married or unmarried, student or out of school, and if married- wealth status and age of partner)
- Related to marital status, communities both in Iringa and Morogoro regions have clear mechanisms of managing MCP by marital status,
- It is factual that MCP behaviour differs by gender, marital status, age, wealth status, social status, etc of an individual. However, people's reactions to their partners' MCP behaviour also vary by the same variables. Also, victims of partner's MCP form a special category of MCP among youth. Both male and female youth reported differently how they suffered partners' MCP behaviour and how they were coping with such social stress. In some instances, the coping strategies subject an MCP victim to potential HIV risk.

- There were intra-differences within the urban-rural dichotomies. Specifically, the nature of MCP among the urban poor/lower was quite different from the urban middle class in terms of reasons for involvement in MCP, selection criteria for a partner, timing of sexual acts, perceptions towards protection against potential HIV infections when one indulges in MCP (use of condom) and intentions to quit or maintain MCP behaviour.
- Also, within the rural wards, MCP experiences were associated with the nature of economic activities and availability of social amenities in a given rural ward. For instance, majority of youth in Kiroka ward are both peasants and petty traders. In this ward, commercial sex is rare but transactional sex common. Also, intergenerational sex is rare but intergenerational marriages (mostly polygamous) are common and are characterized by extramarital relationships. Still, premarital sex, premarital pregnancies and premarital births are common and condoned by the community but condom availability is problematic. In Mkuyuni ward (Ward II), most of youth are engaged in petty trading and mining activities with fewer youth being involved in farming. The ward hosts several mobile markets a week, attracting people from different parts of Morogoro region. MCP behaviour cuts across all ages, marital status and gender.

Based on the above observations, it was difficult to bury our head down in order to maintain the target sample size. The actual sample size exceeded the expected sample size. The actual sample size is shown in table 2.

**Table 2: Number of FGDs and In-Depth Interviews conducted:**

	Location	Audience	Age group	FGD	IDI
Morogoro Rural	Kiroka	Male youth	15-20	2	3
		Female youth	15-20	1	2
	Mkuyuni	Male youth	21-30	1	2
		Female youth	21-30	1	3
Iringa Urban	Gangilonga	Male youth	15-20	1	4
		Female youth	15-20	1	4
	Kitanzini	Male youth	21-30	1	4
		Female youth	21-30	2	4
<b>Total</b>				<b>10</b>	<b>26</b>

In order to check if the findings from the FGDs and IDIs accurately described the situation and issues in the community, we decided to verify these findings with key stakeholders in communities visited. We were not oblivious of the most appropriate way of verifying findings (that is, presenting the findings to the stakeholders) but because of short time allocated for fieldwork, this approach could not work. Instead, we visited youth and HIV/AIDS stakeholders at the district and community levels for the same

purpose. Additional information from such stakeholders is included in the findings section. For the purpose of verification, the team visited and held discussions with the following:

- the CHACs about HIV prevalence by gender and age in their respective districts;
- at least one health facility in a ward and holding discussion with in-charges about incidences of STIs/HIV cases among youth and HIV testing in the locality;
- local kiosks and shops that were selling condoms to assess the flow of condom sales;
- a member of the village/street reconciliation committee to discuss types of sex-related problems that are brought to the committee for reconciliation and;
- Talking to a religious leader who has ever been involved in reconciliation of sexual matters relating to MCP behaviour among partners.

Initially there was a review and analysis of documentary sources that was followed by the in-depth interviews and focus group discussions with young people and adults within the selected study sites. Responses were taped-recorded and transcribed, with the transcripts serving as the dataset for analysis. The interviews and discussions were conducted in Kiswahili, (the national language) to facilitate easy communication.

### ***3.5 Instruments***

The instruments (FGD and IDI guides) to be used in this study are the modified versions of the instruments used by various country partners of the Soul City Regional Programme (see Appendix 2).

## **4. Management of data collection, processing and analysis**

***4.1 Management of Data collection:*** The data collection exercise was undertaken by nine (4) research assistants under the close supervision of the consultant. The research assistants and a consultant was holding daily feedback meetings to reflect on the planned and emerging themes and plan on the way forward. Privacy and confidentiality of information collected was maintained at all times throughout the study. Informed consent was obtained from respondents prior to their participation in the study and tape-recording of their responses.

#### ***4.2 Recruiting and Training of Research Assistants:***

Given the vital role that an interviewer plays in qualitative research process, considerable time was devoted to the duty of recruiting appropriate potential interviewers. Previous researchers underscored the involvement of both male and female assistants in sex-related studies (Schifter and Madrigal, 2000:26; Masatu, 1999: 18; Schofield, 1965: 20). All research assistants had a background in Sociology or public health at least at a bachelor degree level. They were expected to have undergone an intensive training in social science research methods (especially qualitative) as well as research ethics. Other desired qualifications were good academic progress in postgraduate studies (for those currently studying) and good performance in undergraduate studies for those who had already completed studies). Other requirements included: interest in researching HIV/AIDS and/or sexuality and time (availability for data collection).

After recruitment, the assistants attended three-day training on the study objectives, the study design, research process and research ethics and pilot testing of the instruments before commencement of the actual fieldwork. Actual data collection commenced the fourth week of March, 2008 and was completed the second week of April, 2008.

#### ***4.3. Data processing***

Qualitative data processing was an ongoing process throughout the data collection duration. Information collected from FGDs and in-depth interviews will initially be tape-recorded (with informed consent of the participants) and later transcribed. The interviews and FGDs will later be subjected to content analysis, where key themes and concepts were identified within grounded themes of interest. This process will then be followed by a systematic comparison of statements/ findings from the focus group discussions, in-depth interviews and documentary reviews. This process will involve re-examining the data to marshal evidence that supports and refutes each other.

#### ***4.4 Data Analysis***

The consultancy team includes members who are experienced in analysing both qualitative and quantitative data by use of combination of methods and software. The

recorded tapes were transcribed verbatim and all the materials were keyed in the computer. Because of the large amount of data generated, a computer-assisted program NUD\*IST (Non-numerical Unstructured Data-Indexing, Searching and Theorizing Version 6 or simply N6) was used in codifying and developing thematic patterns.

Apart from the FGDs and IDIs, the consultancy team will analyse field notes as complementary to the taped conversations and discussions. The consultancy team will spend 7 days to analyze the data.

#### ***4.5 The Consultancy Team***

The Principal Investigator (Dr. Datus Rweyemamu) was assisted by four Research assistants.

##### ***4.5.1. Duties and Responsibilities of the Principal Investigator***

- Overall in charge and answerable for the coordination, including administration of the study
- Responds to the needs related to the current MCP study activities
- Report all relevant events and major shortfalls to Femina HIP M&E Manager
- Coordinate all arrangements for the meetings and field logistics
- Liaise with other Third Parties such as the District authorities where the study will take place
- Coordinate the scientific aspects of the study.
- Designing guidelines for Interviews (both in-depth and focus group discussions)
- Designing and pilot testing of the IDI and FGD guides
- Designing data analysis plan
- Recruiting and training the research assistants
- Monitoring and supervising data collection
- Monitoring and supervising typing of qualitative data
- Conducting data analysis
- Preparing the MCP report
- Take responsibility for timely availability of findings and a report

## 5.0 FINDINGS

### 5.1 FORMS OF MCP

The study explored the types of relationships that existed in the communities involved in this study. The forms of socially approved relationships range from marriages registered with the government (mostly in the urban areas) religious marriages, customary marriages and *ndoa ya umeme* or *ndoa ya mkeka* ` (forced marriage) which may be described as “we were caught fornicating and we got married just like that”. These marriages may be monogamous or polygamous.

Apart from the socially approved sexual partnership, people engage in different forms of sexual partnerships which are either clandestine or condoned. The findings show that such relationships include: intergenerational sexual partnership, transactional sexual partnership, casual sex and cohabitation. The following subsections address these forms of relationships and how people perceive and view MCP behaviour in such relationships.

#### 5.1.1 Intergenerational sexual partnership

In this partnership, youth (both males and females) establish sexual relations with old men and old women before marriage as well as in marriage. The results show that youth engage in intergenerational sexual partnership mainly due to desire for material things which are tied to adult promises of wealth and monetary gains:

*I: Tell me about your relationship with these ladies*

*R: The first one is a bit older than me but she really loves me and she accepts me the way I am.....but this other one...yes she also loves me but she is older than the first one but I am in relationship with both of them...*

*I: Do you have any other partner apart from these two?*

*R: I can't call them my partners as such because ...as you know, you meet a woman here you seduce her and she agrees (to have sex) but only for that day. When you meet her tomorrow, you buy her some snacks and things like that, so that's but for these two, yes, they are my lovers.*

*I: Tell me about this older one.*

*R: she is twenty eight years old (the informant is 24years)*

*I: Is she married or....*

*R: She was married and divorced several times....I guess she has ever married three times but she never stays long in marriage.*

*I: Do you live in the same house?*

*R: No, I always visit her in her house....I have never found anybody else there except her daughter 7 year old*

*I: Now tell me about the younger one.*

*R: This one here is only 25 years old and she lives with her parents,,.....but she also has a kid ...*

*I: Do you know the kid's father?*

*R: It is not easy because she never likes to talk about it.....IDI/Male/Urban/24 years)*

*R: Here in our community, it is not surprising to find a young woman having an affair with an old person....it depends on your own preferences. Sometimes you may find a married man, he is not satisfying the needs of his family but when he comes to you he will give you everything you want from him.....you see? Whatever you say he brings it the next day.... (IDI/Female/Rural/18 years)*

*R: we are talking of adult women not old women.....you find sometimes they are married, sometimes divorced or widow...I mean they are of different categories*

*I: So how do they do it?*

*R: You will hear from other people saying that mama Fulani (miss or mrs X) is having an affair with a certain bloke ...and when you make a follow up you see all signs because they never hide, they regard it as a pride, (IDI/Female/Urban/22 years)*

*I: How did you get to know your woman (sugar mummy)?*

*R: I always perform (stage show) at several places during the weekend....every time I performed, she (his current sugar mummy) was being attracted to my performance and she would come forward dance with me .....bringing her thigh closer to mine.....*

*I: Then what followed next?*

*R: Afterwards she gave me a phone as a present and we started to communicate.....she always arranges everything when to meet and we do meet when her husband is not at home.....I like her the way she treats me coz, I need her money to buy expensive clothes.....ask anybody here at our street, they know the type of clothes, shoes I wear,,....not mitumba (used clothes).....*

*I: So how can you describe your relationship so far?*

*R: ....it's fine, no problem....but anyway one thing is worrying me.....somebody's wife caught my girlfriend in the guest house with her husband and that is well known for luring women by giving them money..... but maaaa (sugar mummy) knows that my girlfriend doesn't sleep around with other men except me..... I am not comfortable; I am not comfortable at all.....*

*I: Why?*

*R: things may turn sour now,...if maaaa knows about this, she (sugar mummy) may be upset and .....and I may lose her.....*

*I: Do you use condom (with sugar mummy)?*

*R: She doesn't like them*

*(IDI/Male/Urban/21 years)*

### **5.1.2 Cohabitation:**

Cohabitation, generally known as “nyumba ndogo” (small house) was reported as common sexual partnership in the communities visited. According to the participants, people in the community know that certain partners are cohabiting. Cohabitation may last for some months or years and may involve having children together. In this case the cohabiting male is called “bwana” (master) and the cohabiting woman is called “bi mdogo” (young lady). The types of values that govern such relationship vary where one of the partners is married from the relationship where all partners are not married. All in all, cohabitation does not guarantee monogamous relationship:

*I: Do we have people who are married and yet they live with women?*

*R : They are so many  
R2 : Even among us here (FGD/Male/Urban/15-30)*

*I :People decide to live with their partners without formally telling the parents as a way of bypassing the bride wealth.....you decide to live with her without telling the parents.....in a few months they hear about your story from neighbours.....(IDI/Male/Rural/28 years)*

*R: Sometimes these women have money, so you go there strategically and pretend to loving her.....she gives you everything you want, now what's wrong with that? Life is very difficult here so even getting her to love you a just luck.*

*R: Some of us would like to marry the adult women because wanatulea (they bring us up) my friend has one and he says he is missing nothing.....everything he wants he gets it.. (FGD/male/Rural/15-20 years)*

### **5.1.3 Casual sex:**

Casual sex was reported by both males and females. In trying to justify their involvement in MCP, some male respondents positively talked about casual sex since it is not accompanied by serious commitment which is always expressed in permanent relationships. Unmarried male youth stated that casual sex is cheap and easy to manage:

*R1: Most of us are afraid of commitment to one (sexual) partner.....you know our incomes are not stable and that's a big problem here.*

*R2:.....If I seduce a woman and she agrees to have sex with me, we simply plan where to meet and have sex. I don't have to spend a lot of money, maybe I can decide to give her a small amount that is enough for purchasing makeup. ....*

*I: Is it?*

*R2: Exactly, ...no one is interested in permanent relationships.....*

*R3: .....After sex, the relationship is over and you don't have to make any other commitment....  
...and when you plan to have sex another time, you enter into the new deal.....*

*FGD/Male/urban/ 15-20 years)*

*I: What kind of sexual relationships have you ever had before getting married?*

*R: You know before getting married I used to make fun (najirusha) with different women.....  
Only that I once fell sick of gonorrhoea and that's when I came to hate women. But before then I could go to a disco tech and pick a woman and if go the next day I pick another one. IDI/Married Male/Urban/28years*

*R yes. It is common....students with fellow students or students with villagers,...but with villagers the relationship last for very short time, people are afraid.....*

*R: We are afraid.....*

*I: Afraid of what?*

*R: If a student becomes pregnant you are in for it.....*

*R: ....the door to jail is wide open for you.....*

*R:..people are afraid, you get her (have sex with her) and you make sure your relationship is over after a few weeks, coz' if she becomes pregnant you can easily deny it...(FGD/Male/Urban/15-20 years)*

*I: How can you describe the type of relationship men have with women here?*

*R: In most cases, every woman has a steady partner....but this does not mean that she has to be with only one partner all the time.....you also have other partners just for passing time...may be for three days, two days.....(IDI/Female/Rural/17 years).*

*I: mmh*

*R: eeh, I can assure you, very few people have one partner in our community, maybe ...maybe those who are married I am not sure but for most of us, we don't....I mean most girls do not stick to one partner for so long.....and the other thing is that men do not want to stay with the same woman for a long time*

*I: Why?*

*R:...so many reasons sometimes they say they get tired of you or at other times they feel bad when ask them for something and they don't provide..... (FGD/Female/Urban/21-30 years)*

#### **5.1.4 Transactional sex:**

Transactional sex differs from commercial sex and casual sex in the sense that it blends sexual relations of mutual affection with overt economic exchange (Swidler and Watkins, 2006). It may in the form of long-term non- or extra-marital partnerships or simply short term relationships (Hunter; 2005). Although transactional sex involves material exchange, this exchange is not negotiated for but expected in order not to deride the sexual partner. It is simply taken for granted as a social contract that because of one's status in a relationship, he/she must act as expected. For instance, males are expected to provide material things such as gifts and prizes while females are expected to show love and offer sex. Each party does so in order to fulfil social expectations of interactions. Interestingly, there is no penalty in case one does not offer what is obviously expected. This is the feeling that is expressed by both males and females though at different levels. Although in such relationship both parties reciprocate at different time and space, neither party puts conditions to the other before sexual intercourse takes place.

The findings of this study show that both urban and rural males reported to have paid women pursuit of sexual pleasure. In most cases, female youth do not recognize themselves as commercial sex workers and do not negotiate the prices for sex. However, sexual services are offered at a fee mostly determined by the man. The amount of money or material things offered in exchange of sex influence her decision on whether to continue with relationship or terminate it. In other instances, the partners may have sex several times before a man provides her with gifts, money or other material rewards. There are cases where women who are in need decide to contact the men they know for the purpose of expressing the monetary needs without necessarily indicating that they would offer sex in exchange. With the same social understanding, men always pay sums of money to women with anticipation of having sex with them later. Eventually, both men and women end up having sex with multiple partners.

*R:I was not planning to have sex with my friend's girlfriend but circumstances made this possible....*

*I: What do you mean?*

*R: I mean that day I was walking around and suddenly I came across her. We talked for a while and then she started telling me about how she admires my styles of playing football (he is football player) and then ...and then it was like, she was imitating me with he thighs .....I started touching her and touching and touching and she was like she wanted it.....then I proposed sex and she said she must go home first and make sure*

*They will not look for when we are together.....*

*I wondered why she did that but she did not show any hesitation and she said she would come to pick me in the evening after she makes sure that her sister is busy cooking at home....she came and we made love and she insisted that I should make sure her boyfriend doesn't know about their relationship.....*

*I: Are you still together now?*

*R: Yeah, yeah, but we are always cautious, when she is with my friend, I never even make jock to her....(IDI/Male/Rural/25 years)*

*I: Now, of all these women you have told me about, what actually drives you to having all of them as your lovers?*

*R: Look, if you are talking about this younger one, I truly love her from deep heart..... but if you ask me about that maaaa (sugar mummy), she has money and she supports me financially. The money I use to seduce other women is hers but I don't really love her that much.....*

*Do you use protection, say condom?*

*R:...aaah, No, I have never tried.... (IDI/Male/Urban/22 years)*

Furthermore, locale where sexual encounter takes place characterizes the social statuses of the sexual partners. The results of this study show that in urban areas, sexual partners use the mushrooming guest houses contributes to consummation of multiple sexual relations. In typical rural areas it not guest houses which provide the privacy needed by sexual partners. Any uncompleted building or disused building will do, as do the banana groves, palm trees and other bushes are used as meeting points for partners to have sex.

*R: But you don't call someone you are not familiar with. Like in the evening you see passing by, you call her and say: I was always looking for the right time to tell you that I love you, and things like that.....if she agrees you ask her for a favour of having sex that day.....*

*I: How do you know that she won't suspect your mission?*

*R: Of course she knows what you want and these are normal things here. So you agree to each other when to meet or you simply go behind the building and make love. After sex, you give her what you have (money)*

*I: Then what follows?*

*R: That's it, there is no more.....if she meets another man on her he may approach her as well. It is upon her to accept his proposal or not.....(FGD/male/rural/15-20)*

*I: I would like to know the kind of sexual relations existing in you community*

*R: Sexual intercourse (ngono) is dominant in this area*

*I: How it is organised*

*R: You know it is like this, when a person is drunk and meets any woman...and our sisters never turn down a deal of money....never...and the great devil here is money...if you give her two thousands or one thousand that's it, she will never say no to sex..(IDI/Male/Urban/24)*

Mobile markets promote MCP provide opportunity for multiple and concurrent sexual relations. Transactional sex was also reported to take place between men who move around for mobile markets with women around the communities. They involve young

entrepreneurs (male and female) taking their commodities, including second hand clothes to these markets which are held at different locations in the district or ward during the week. The markets attract many people and as such they become places where local brew and modern alcoholic drinks, are sold, and roast meat is also consumed. As such they are venues for the meeting of many people and constitute an opportunity for the formation of sexual partnerships. Mobile markets were reported to provide opportunity to women and men develop multiple and concurrent sexual relations.

Transactional sexual partnership is not always rewarding especially to women. Cheating and failure to live to the implicit sexual contract makes it horrendous:

*R: eeh! There are many men of that type. He tells you: let's go (for sex) I will give you something afterwards. You agree to each other and you go and he keeps on showing you a wallet and you believe what he is telling you. After sex he says I wanted to give you more but you see this is not enough so I owe you I will pay you later. Afterwards if you keep on reminding him about that money, he may decide to create a story on you and start telling everybody about what you did with him.....( IDI/Female/Rural/20 years)*

*R :for my case, all men I have slept with have never denied me some cash but I hear stories, my friends tell me about such types of men,...yes that's true such men are there in our community (IDI/Female/Rural/26)*

## **5.2 PRACTICES AND MOTIVATIONS AROUND MCP**

This section presents the factors that lead to involvement in multiple and concurrent sexual partnerships. Specifically, it explores the practices and motivations around MCP. The findings show that the factors leading to MCP vary by age (15-20 vs. 21-30), gender (male vs. female), social class (middle vs. low class), marital status (married vs. unmarried) and place of residence (rural-urban disparity). The factors leading to involvement in MCP vary by gender and can be summarized as followed: influence sexual debut, mutual mistrust, desire for sexual gratification, sexual lust, cultural factors, peer pressure, poverty, desire for material things, and sexual dissatisfaction in relationship and marriage aspirations. The following sub-sections provide details.

### ***5.2.1 Mutual mistrust***

Trust in someone is based on what one knows, from past trends or from experience. As far as MCP is concerned, it refers to the amount of confidence that youth vest into each other during courtship, dating and/or n marriage. Both males and females who participated in this study indicated that they want a faithful partner in their sexual relationships, be it premarital relationships or in marriage. However, they acknowledged that infidelity form a great part of sexual relationships (both premarital and marital).

Infidelity in relationship was reported among both males and females:

*R: it's simply cheating...without cheating you can't get any woman here..*

*R:....even women also cheat...they pretend to have no partner at all but the moment you are not with her she tells another man who approaches her the same story that she does not have a partner....it's cheating....*

*R:...and she may say bad things about you if she is aware that a man knows you.....  
FGD/Male/Rural/15-20 years)*

*R<sub>1</sub>: married people also cheat their wives or husbands..he may call you (by phone) that he will come back home late because his friend is having a party somewhere, but in actual sense he may be with another woman, and when he comes back home he will pretend he is tired and you can't even ask him anything more because he informed you in advance.....(FGD/Married Female/Urban/21-30 years)*

*R:.... You know in the first place she (his former wife, now they are divorced because the wife is adulterous) was sleeping with many men because of extreme sexual desires. Imagine at the moment she is married. yet I can tell ....she is still making some connection to sex with me... Imagine the fourth time I caught her with a man ...I slept with her the whole night, in the morning she told me she was going to see her sister in law in Mlandege. I went to Mwangata to see a gentle man whom we were doing business together. Getting there he invited me in and I met my woman in that house*

*I: what!?!?*

*R: Yaah, I was completely shocked. She didn't know that I was familiar with the guy...So the guy decided to introduce me to the lady, she was so ashamed.... (IDI/Married/Male/Urban/28 )*

*R: In my opinion, I think it is better to have two mademu (female sexual partners) because you know what? .Mademu (female sexual partners) are not reliable. I may be feeling to have sex today when I approach one of the two and she turns me down, I must go to the second one who will address my problem..... I guess this also applies to women, when I am not there and she is in of sex , she will definitely go to other men, so it is like that.. FGD/Male/Urban/15-30*

The findings further show that mistrust was also reported by males and females who were in marital and/or permanent relationships and that it was one of the reasons why some of them resorted to having many sexual partners.

*Interviewer: How do you know that she may be playing around with other men?*

*Informant: If you have stayed with a woman for quite sometimes, you can easily tell about her behaviours. Sometimes she despises you for nothing, she compares you with other men but without mentioning names, sometimes she brings home expensive clothes but she claims her relative has bought them for her but in your knowledge you know (the financial position of ) her sister very well (that she can't afford to buy them for her).....but you have no evidence or sometimes you do not have money to buy them for her.....(IDI/Married male/rural/27 years)*

*. Again there is a notion which is true among women that men can hardly be satisfied no matter what...I cannot be 100% sure that my man does not engage in any other sexual relation, never... I can't trust him because we are not from the same womb... So I am ready any day any time to hear him saying it is over (IDI/Female/Urban/27 years)*

The above sentiments were confirmed by some respondents who were the victims of MCP:

*....I asked her where she got the (new) clothes from but she didn't answer me. Later she said she got them from her sister. I went to her sister and ask her but she confirmed that she (my wife) got them from her (sister). When I insisted that I wanted to know why she did so, the argument changed.....she (wife's sister) became furious saying that I am...I am jealous. But when I caught my wife with that man, the man admitted that he had been buying her a lot of presents.  
(IDI/Married male/rural area)*

Victims of partner infidelity resort to various counter-reactions including, but not limited to, mistrusting all men or women and go for secondary abstinence<sup>4</sup>, avoid entering into sexual relationship again or deciding to have multiple sexual partners as revenge. The findings of this study show both establishing multiple and concurrent sexual partnership as revenge to partner infidelity is common among men and women, married and unmarried. The following quotations prove the above contention:

*R: When I married him, my husband had a child with another woman. After three years he brought another child by saying that he slept with another woman only once and that unfortunately the woman became pregnant....this year, I mean this month .....imagine how men are, I caught him with another woman in the bar.....*

*I: So what are you going to do?*

*R: I have already decided....maybe he thinks after marrying me I can't fall in love with another man....right now I have two and if a third or fourth comes on my way I am not going to say no.*

*I: Are you using any protection,*

*R: Like?.*

*I: condom?*

*R: Protection against what! Do you think he was using protection and then gave pregnancy to all those women?(IDI/Female/Urban/26 years)*

*R: Sometimes you find that a man has been sleeping with other women and wife warns him but he doesn't listen and you know them (women) by names...so what do you do? You can also say to yourself: why don't I also go and have sex with other men? Why is he doing that to me?  
(FGD/Female/Urban/21-30)*

*R: your partner may be having an affair with another woman. If you tell him to stop it he threatens to dump you and start blaming you for this and that, so you also decide to have an affair with another man ....you do the same things he does to you....( IDI/Female/Urban/19 years)*

*R: I was surprised to hear that he was marrying another woman while we had been together (as lovers) for two years.....so you see men are difficult to understand, so I felt embarrassed but now I have my fiancé...*

*I: The same man you were telling me?*

*R: No, not that one, the one I was telling you is married,.....*

*I: Do they know each other?*

*R:eeeh, that is not possible, I make sure my fiancé doesn't know about this other man...  
(IDI/Female/Rural/24 years)*

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<sup>4</sup> Abstaining from sex after being sexually active.

The reasons for mistrust vary for both males and females. Youth who participated in this study reported that females always look for material satisfaction in relationship and that where material resources of the male partner are not stable, female partner decides go for parallel relationships. For this reason, male respondents explained how they were struggling to support financially their female partner so as to prevent them from switching to other partners. They further said that because of resource constraints, men are not sure of maintaining current sexual relationships and that they were always dropped by their female partners who decided to establish relationships with relatively rich men. In order to avoid embarrassment of being abandoned, males said they resort to having parallel relationship so that once a partner drops out, there is another one to boast up with. In one of the rural wards, mining activities were associated with increase in MCP behaviours:

*I: How do people perceive sexual relationship in this community?*

*R: normal....it's normal it depends on how you look at it. For instance (giving his own life history): I had a fiancé whom we were lovers for almost a year. Later, a group of men came here, the miners, you know these men have money.....she established sexual relations with one of them and slowly I could not cope with her...*

*I: Why?*

*R: Every time that man was bringing her very expensive items...watch, mobile phone, cash money, you see? It didn't take long she was no longer interested me. But when the man left, my fiancée came back again to me apologizing so that we may be together again.*

*I: And what was your reaction?*

*R: I knew she would come back to me because she was tempted by money.....so I forgot her and now we plan to marry later this year.(IDI/Male/Rural/28 years)*

*R: women are always comparing between men who give them enough cash and those who provide a little.. if you only offer her one thousand and here comes a man who is well off and he gives her ten thousand, do you think she is going to remember as to whether you have been supporting her for quite some time? At that time it is none of her business.(.IDI/Male/Rural/22 years).*

For female participants, mistrust to male partners was caused by male's desire to have sex with many women before one settles for marriage, male's tendency of abandoning a female partner after having sex with her and failure of men to support them financially. In order to avoid being upset, women resort to having more than one sexual partner at a time. Also, females were quite aware that men will always seek to have sex with a girl before he proposes for marriage. Still, girls are alert that in the process of searching for the right partner to marry, a man may establish (and break up from) many sexual relationships concurrently before settling for marriage. In order to avoid embarrassment of being abandoned, unmarried women also resort to establishing multiple sexual relations.

Because males are not trustful in relationship, and that the promises they make are mostly not fulfilled, young females find it difficult to trust one partner for future marriage. Eventually, they enter into parallel relationships such that whenever one drops out, there is another one to take charge and probably become a target for potential spouse.

Although mistrust is negatively perceived, communities visited had devised various mechanisms of coping with it. These strategies differed among married and unmarried people. Youth reported how sexual socialization also involves learning about infidelity in sexual relationships and how to cope with it. Through socialization, females are taught how to cope with marital instability by themselves establishing multiple sexual relations both in premarital and marital relationships. Through the discussions and in-depth interviews, females indicated that they are always cautioned about fear of distress at times of prompt dissolutions of sexual relationships. This fear is neutralized by encouraging them to have multiple partners such that once a partner suddenly drops out of relationship, there must be another partner aside to console and take the position of the outgoing partner.

In doing so, they use the concept of “*kidumu*” (a five-liter container) and “*dumu*” (a twenty-liter container the equivalent of 10 pounds) to refer to having a main friend and another friend in sexual relationship. In other parts of Tanzania, the same culture uses the concept of “*mafiga matatu*” (“three stones”) to refer to having at least three sexual partners in order to make sexual life stable:

*R: They (female elders) do caution you that it is risky in marriage to have only one cooking stone; they have to be three...IDI/Female/Urban/19Years*

### **5.2.2 Sexual lust among males**

It was revealed that men are always attracted to attractive women they have never had sex with. Although female attractiveness is always subjective, men in this study listed many attributes that may promote man’s sexual feelings towards a woman. The list includes: women having big buttocks, slender body, tight skin dresses and mini-skirts

*R: Almost everybody is having many sexual partners I mean women, men, old ...but I should be specific: youth are terrific in sex. You know, our blood is still hot and you need something (like sex) to make it cool down. (FGD/male/rural/15-20 years)*

*I: what makes you have sexual friendship with these two women?*

*R: Let me tell you: I have my best friend, my main friend whom I really feel that she is mine...even when we make love, I know how to make her reach orgasm within few minutes. So but these other women are just by the way, I don’t have any serious intention with them but you know as a male, it makes me feel proud. (IDI/rural/male/20 years)*

*I: ...you said that you decided to find another partner because the first one was obsessed with sexual intercourse as could force you even when you were not ready.*

*R: Exactly*

*I: Do you think there was nothing other than that..?*

*R:.No! No, I don’t think....that man was sexually lustful! He could not let a beautiful woman pass on his eyes without seducing her.....*

*I: Had you ever caught him with another woman?*

*R: Of course yes and it was live, I caught him twice so I also decided to have another man besides him. IDI/Female/Urban/19Years*

*R: sometimes it is a question of temptations.....*

*R:...yeah, temptations, that's true...*

*R: You may find yourself in a position of being in need of a woman with big buttocks if your partner is skinny or your friends tell you a story about having sex with a short girl and you try to imagine that.....*

*R: Yeah that's how the Satan enters you and you forget your partner for a while you enjoy with your other partner but you don't break up with your main friend*

*R:...but it is true women are not the same.....*

*R:...yeah, not only in appearance but we have made investigations, they also test differently, you go and try they are not the same (when it comes to sex) FGD/Male/Rural/21-30)*

Sometimes, male sexual lust is expressed in the form of drama between infatuations and true love. :youth reported how a man may find himself being attracted sexually to a woman to the extent that he is ready to offer the last coin from his balance. In similar veins, male youth believe that male sexual lust is difficult to control. As a sign of despair to controlling male sexual lust, they said:

*R: there are so many temptations around here that we are not sure how one can avoid them, as a youth...*

*R:...if there is a type of medicine which you guys know let us know.....I hear there is a certain medicine which you can use to slow down your libido.....*

*R:...No! No! that's not good at all. You may lose it for ever and then women start laughing at you, they will call you their sister.....(laughing) (IDI/Male/Rural/18 years)*

*I: Why did you keep on shifting from one relationship to the other?*

*R: I can't explain clearly why...sometimes I look at a woman with small breasts, I approach her and have sex with her, sometimes I look at the buttocks, sometimes I go for a woman who speaks seductively, sometimes you see.....I keep on changing my preferences and once I change, I must get the woman who fits my description.....all this makes me feel a real man, you know! (IDI/Male/Urban/25 years)*

Other male youth went as far as saying that a woman's physical beauty and discipline are not enough to contain a man from seeking other sexual partners and that where she fails to satisfy a man sexually, it was difficult for a man to avoid having sex with other women:

*R: If she is disciplined and she listens to you, you can decide to stick to her...*

*R :...Discipline is one thing,.....*

*R:...Discipline should go with her ability to satisfy you (sexually) .....and I emphasize discipline and her sex should not be separated*

*I: Can you elaborate more?*

*R: I mean she should be able to play various styles and do everything to make sure her sex enjoyable, discipline is not enough.FGD/Male/Rural/21-30)*

The results also show that both men and women believe that whenever a man is attracted to a woman he will always act upon his feelings to ensure that he sleeps with her. This perception may be associated with youths' belief that when a man passes long time without having sex he may develop health complications but for a woman to stay long without having sex there is no harm. .

*The longest time I can wait before I have sex is one week, I can't imagine passing long time without sex (IDI/Male/ urban/age 23 years)*  
*If people look at your skin, they can tell that you have not been having sex for a long time....the color of skin becomes abnormal.....(FGD/Make/Rural/15-20 years)*

In some other instances, men engage in MCP as a way of avoiding to show to their permanent sexual partners that they have excessive desire for sex. Thus, instead of demanding for sex from time to time from the same sexual partner, they decide to have other side partners in order to fulfil sexual needs:

*R: You may find that it was only last week that you had sex with your every day girlfriend (main girl friend) .... and you look around and you see another girlfriend who you simply regard as passing time and the moment you start talking to her, you see that she is likely to accept your proposal (of having sex) so you ask for it and.....*  
*It is not like you are betraying your main girlfriend but it's because you also want to this girlfriend happy.....(FGD/Male/Rural/21-30 years)*

*R: May be you had not had sex with her for more than a week and the day you go to her and ask her to do it, she tells you she is tired and this and that.....*

*R:....Yeah that is a good example, tell us if it were you what would.....*

*R..... Yes what would you do?*

*I: So what do you do?*

*R: Remember, this is a problem, I have a problem, so I have to ask myself where does she get satisfaction from, who makes her feel tired, and this and that, so I don't have to wait for explanations, I go out and take another one (and have sex) (FGD/Male/Urban/21-30 years)*

### **5.2.3 Fulfilment of basic needs**

Both male and female youth reported that desire to fulfil basic needs may lead an individual to seek multiple and concurrent sexual partners. Results show that lack of basic needs is dominant both in urban and rural areas and among married and unmarried youth. The basic needs include food, shelter, energy, toiletries and communication bills (mobile phones). Other expenses are required for financial contributions to social events such as festivals, funerals as well as contributions to communal income generation activities. Other basic needs include compulsory contributions to community development such health, education and water projects.

Under normal circumstances, married males are expected to be the main breadwinners but social and economic conditions prevailing in most of the communities do not offer favourable terms for them to do so. High rate of unemployment and low pay to

agricultural produce may it difficult for males to fully cater for the needs of their families. As a coping strategy, all members in the households are supposed to patch a share of the family burden. For instance, unmarried female youth are expected to contribute to the family basic needs regardless of their level of education or type of occupation. Unmarried males are also expected to lead independent life after attaining a certain stage in life such as completing studies (primary or secondary levels).

In leau of the above social conditions, people in the family devise various mechanisms of getting money to fulfil the basic services, one of them being to initiate sexual partnership with people who have money or who are potential sources of financial support. The following quotations present the above concerns:

*R: That is a common problem here.....you find a girl she is in of something, they have not changed meals for more than a week at her family ...or you look at her and you see that she has not taken breast fast yet, so you take advantage of her you buy her some tea or you give her some cash to support her and later she will definitely come to you (for sex)*

*I: Do you have to ask for sex because of that money?*

*R: It is not like she is paying you back...No, she is also helping you as you have helped her with her problems of money, she was surprised if she accepted your money and you don't ask for sex....FGD/Male/Rural/21-30 years)*

*R: for us here what matters is money.....*

*R: ...Without money, every woman is going to run away from you.....*

*F:Kidume pesa!(manhood is money)*

*R: If you happen to meet her on her way to buying kipimo cha mkaa (one unit of charcoal) you can tell her to keep that money for herself and you buy it for her.....*

*R: ...But you should also know that if one her way home she meets another man who offers more money, she may not remember your offer.....so life goes like that .....*

*R:....here if you don't have money then you are not a good lover, you will never make love with women.....*

*R:....Yes, mademu (female sexual partner) will listen to you if they know you have some cash, otherwise forget about it.....and your main friend will always sleep with other boys who have money and still she will regard herself as yours. FGD/Male/Rural/15-20 years)*

*R: But now listen.....he is not giving me everything I want, mmmh, so if he fulfils everything I need, I don't have to think of other men.....and as you know we (women) need to look beautiful and attractive, you make up, you need perfume and other cosmetics and he is not giving you all you want, if it happens that another man gives these things, you will take them and of course you can make love with him*

*I: But do you also continue with your main lover?*

*R: This one here is just for doing it (having sex) may be only once or twice, but you have your main friend, mmmh... that's how it works.....(IDI/Female/Urban/ 21years)*

*R: Sometimes it is not money or what, he may give you sweet words and then he wants it.....in your own heart you know that what you are about to do is not good for your main friend but you ask yourself: does he not do with other women sometimes? ....*

*R: ....This man (who is seducing you) is like your main friend, so you may find yourself already on the line and after you have sex with him, then you ask yourself: oooh my God, what have I done what I have done, but it's too late by then.... (FGD/Female/Rural/21-30 years)*

*R: you may notice that yes you have your husband or your bwana (cohabiting man) but you look at your children they have not taken breakfast, or you look at the clothes they wear and feel ashamed of yourself.....you walk around and meet some men.....if he gives you some money maybe it's big enough to make you survive for some days you will definitely receive it and let him go....you will have to listen to his request..... (IDI/ Female/Urban/22 years)*

#### **5.2.4 Desire for material possessions**

Material possession or lack of it influences youth's engagement in MCP. The results show that women will always admire a man who fulfils their needs and that failure to do so may lead a woman to seeking MCP.

*R: for those who are still single, it is not easy for them to have only one partner.....today comes Mr X tomorrow comes Mr. Y and she is feeling proud that many men are coming to her because she is beautiful and....*

*R: .....she also want to remain beautiful so that other men come to her.....so she need some money to remain so.....men will have to provide this money to her and she will seduce them to her money....(FGD/Female/Rural/21-30 years)*

*R: ..I only love him from your heart and he doesn't give me say money or what.....when I need money I know he can't give money because he doesn't have money, so I go to other men for money but still I love him (main friend) from my deep heart..(IDI, Female/Urban/24 years)*

*R: if you don't have money I wonder who is going to love you in this town....*

*R:... and if you have money and it happens that your lovers know each other and unagonganisha magari ( you cause car head knock accident) ....if you have money they won't fight each other, they will not smile to each other but they will not fight in front of you (FGD/Male/Urban/21-30 years)*

*R: Sometimes you find your main girlfriend with another man and you know the guy has money.....*

*R:...You can not compete with him, the best thing for you to do is to cut off relationship with her and go to other women*

*I: Can't you warn her about this?*

*R: But she's not your wife and you have not yet paid bride wealth, so why should you bother after all there are other women out there.....*

*R:...after all there are other women in the village whom you can make love with or make them your girlfriend even if you don't have money, so it is your choice..... FGD/Male/Rural/21-30 years)*

*R3..Today say I am forty or sixty I meet a young girl in my street I entice her with ten thousand, when I decide to approach her the next day she cant resist my advance ...because she needs my money...*

*R4...That is why you will find these days a man having up to five female partners and one woman has about five men..*

*R5..women are finished when you buy them a mobile phone and say, you decide to provide her with air time , you can use her (have sex) any time you like...(FGD/Male/Urban/15-20 years)*

In such cases, it is not only women who are blamed for seeking the material things from other men but also men blame themselves:

*R: you know.....women are like children. If you wake up in the morning and you tell her: I will bring you a nice jeans when I come back, she will take that seriously and if you come back without bringing what you promised, she may go ahead and seek it from other men. And if you live by your promises she will always feel like going to other men is same as betraying you ...*

*R:Eeee you have to fulfil your promises....*

*R: .....If a woman goes to other men because you don't give her what she wants, then you should not blame anybody, blame yourself.....(FGD/Male/Rural/21-30 years)*

*R: what are the reasons that lead people to have multiple and concurrent sexual partners*

*I: it is just a behavior*

*R: what do you mean when you say it is just a behavior? Is it a copying behavior or what?*

*I: to allow oneself to do stupid things, on the other hand one can copy the behavior from others and another one can have good job and money that can easily make him get different women, for him whenever he approaches women, women do agree because the guy has money and for women this is good and they like it they say this guy has money if he comes to approach me I wont let him down at all!*

*R: mmmh*

*R: for some of women, it is because of hardship situation at home hence they engage themselves in those sexual practices .....(FGD, FEMALE, URBAN, AGE 21-30)*

*R: But some women are very clever. They may let different men contribute to her coffer. You come you're your ten thousand she accepts and praise you, another comes with twenty thousand she thanks him and she keeps on respecting all of you equally ..... you cannot even suspect that she is having a love triangle....*

*FGD/Male/Urban/21-30 years)*

In cases where a male youth does not have reliable source of income, he will always resort to having sexual partners on temporary basis either because he gives them nothing in exchange of sex and they run away or he decides to cut off the relationship before the partners start requesting some material things from him.

Material possession among unmarried youth was regarded important in cases where the relationship was regarded temporary or one that was less likely to end in marriage. Conversely, resource ownership was regarded less important where sexual relationship was to end in marriage (see the next section on female desire for marriage).

#### ***5.2.4 Females' desire for marriage***

It was also reported that because of excessive desire for marriage, young females decide to have many sexual partners whom they think may be potential husband.

It was evident from the interviews and FGDs that for females, the decision to enter into premarital sexual relationship is multi-purpose, ranging from looking for love, companionship and/or material gains.

The fear of not getting someone to marry constrains female sexual agency to the extent that they are ready to unconditionally subject their bodies for male sexual experimentation regardless of the sexual risks such as HIV infections.

*R: ..... it is common for male youth to win confidence of girls by promising to marry them but they tend to dump them after they have fulfilled their sexual desires...*

*R: It is also common for girls to have two to three sexual partners, some are forced by the desire to address life hardships others because they are used to such a situation*

*I: Why did you accept sexual relationship for the first time?*

*R: We agreed to marry each other....and later on I came to discover that he was already married*

*I: Who proposed that you have to sex before getting married?*

*R: It was him .....I willingly accept.....his sister whom we knew each other also convinced me...*

*I: How did you feel after sex?*

*R: I always felt pains ....because it was my first time, I thought that is what it takes to do sex*

*I: ....Who proposed the use of condom during your first sex?*

*R:...It was I myself...*

*I: Why?*

*R: Because mother had warned me before that I should not engage in sex because by doing so I could get HIV and pregnancy...*

*I: How then did you come to know about the use of condom*

*R: ..... one of my friends had told me that HIV and Pregnancy could be avoided with the use of condom... IDI/Female/Urban/23years*

Male respondents confirmed women's assertion by arguing that if a woman refuses to have sex with him, relationship may end even if one had proposed for marriage.

*R: Your friends will ask you: is she good on the bed? Have you tried? What are you going to answer them?*

*I: Do you have to tell them the truth?*

*R: Of course yes, if something goes wrong in your relationship, it is your friends who are going to help you. (FGD/ Male/Urban/15-20 years).*

### **5.2.5 Peer pressure**

Both male and female respondents reported that peer pressure force them to engage in MCP. Variations were noted on the way peer pressure operated among the married and

unmarried youth as well as among men and women. For unmarried youth, it is regarded as a norm that a man should have sex with as many women as he can before he settles down for marriage.

*R: I feel like I am doing the good thing because all my friends say so....and if you act otherwise, nobody is going to praise you what you with women.....(IDI/Male/Urban/17 years)*

*R: You know what? It is like competition. If you have many girlfriends everybody will applaud you, you are regarded as mshindi (a hero)*

*I: Is this heroism recognized by all people in the community?*

*R: No, it's only among ourselves (youth)....we don't involve adults in such things (IDI/male/rural/17 years)*

*R:...Normally we share information at the vibunge. if one has a new experience with a woman must tell others. For instance I may not have slept with the initiate but through stories I get to know how competent they are in sex...so my mzuka(sexual lust) stands up and my sixth sense induces me to search for this initiate, and..and,,we don't hide each other, so you have to tell us her name and whoever wants he may make a follow up..... ,so in this way you gain sexual expertise and competence. (FGD/Male/Urban/15-30)*

*R: ehee! That's why you will hear people saying: if you happen to have sex with that lady, you won't stop in the middle of the night, you only find yourself spending the whole night there (in her room) and you find that if one of us narrates such a story at Kibunge, we all make efforts to hook her in our nets*

*I: Do you succeed?*

*R: In most cases.....the next day you hear another friend narrating the same story so you know that that lady is very hot. (FGD/male/Rural/15-20 years)*

Among unmarried men, non-involvement in MCP is ridiculing and they use various terms to debase a man who does not have many sexual partners or who is slow in approaching women. Various slangs are used to praise to the skies those who sleep around with many women. Examples include *mshua* (the connoisseur), *mwimbishaji* (the chorale leader) *mtunga verses* (the chorus liner), *kichwa kikali* (the gifted), and the like.

Similarly, those who cannot sharply seduce a woman and probably need couching are given ridiculing names such as *domo zege*<sup>5</sup> (slow-moving or indolent) and *bwabwa* (soaked rice). In fact for youth, having only one sexual partner is belittling oneself before others:

*R: so you think having one girlfriend is normal!?!?.....*

*I: eeeeh!*

*R: May be for you.....for us it is different. We will always despise you but why..... why should you have only one? All your friends have many ....*

*R: It (having only one girlfriend) is a clear that our friend is very weak...*

*R: He is bwabwa....*

*R:.....He feels shy to seduce women.... We call them domo zege ...*

*I: Meaning that...*

*R: Slow-mover*

*I: What about the one who does not involve himself in love affairs?*

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<sup>5</sup> Zege in Kiswahili means a mixture of cement and small stones ready for construction of thick walls. Domo means mouth. It is always heavy but soft. For youth it implies that one's mouth is too heavy like zege to open up and speak to women.

*R: We know he is not one of us...*

*R: He won't be in our group.....we will try to help him to get one because this will be uncommon...*

*R: We try to ask him: what's wrong with your Babu Mlungwana<sup>6</sup> (penis). And we will ask: Are you sure you are ok down there? (FGD/Male/Rural/15-20 years)*

*R: if we hear some stories that he is not satisfying her (sexually), we compete to show her that there are strong men out there....*

*R: ...And we succeed .....(FGD/male/Rural/15-20 years)*

In other cases peer pressure is enhanced through intensive discussions in the “vibunge”<sup>7</sup> (youth clubs) where sexual matters and information about ones’ sexual partnership is discussed. In their own claims, they discuss how to identify a good woman on the bed, a woman suitable for sex, a woman suitable for showing up with, and the like:

*R : You may be discussing about women at the vibunge and then one of us says, the best woman is the one who has a slender body and you all would like to test how this woman satisfies you sexually..... (FGD/male/Rural/15-20 years)*

Among unmarried women, peer pressure is both culturally and socially induced. It is cultural in the sense that unmarried woman who does not have a sexual partner is regarded by peers as a child. In most cases, such a woman is isolated from conversations about sexual issues. Socially, unmarried woman is expected to be attractive, wear fashion clothes and own material things such as watch, gold necklaces, fashion shoes and a mobile phone. Unmarried women who have sexual partners always possess such items, indirectly inducing the one who does not have sexual partners to seek one so as to be able to purchase such items. Women proudly discuss among themselves about the types of material things they get from their sexual partners while encouraging their friends who do not have sexual partners that having many partners guarantees material possession. Those who do not have many partners are regarded as backward and less civilized.

*R:....you may have a boyfriend for sometime and then you realize that he is not attractive or his behaviour does not make you feel happy, say he drinks or he smokes and you don't like that habit but when you tell him to stop it he doesn't care and you still feel you need him, so you can take another man but at the same retain your boyfriend. ...*

*R: And your friends will always tell you: your boyfriend is like this and like that and this and that...so you may decide to take another one so that your friends may stop debasing you. (FGD/Female/Urban/21-30 years)*

*R: My fiancée is real committed to marry me but when I told my friends that I am still virgin, they were surprised.....*

*I: Why?*

*R: Of course I tried to listen to them because they say if you get married while you are a virgin, a man who marries you will always despise you...he will always say: You were still a child, I am the one who taught you everything about sex and things like that....so I decided to listen to my friends' advice...*

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<sup>6</sup> Mlungwana in their local terms refer to a famous adult man and here the penis is reified to have power and authority to act like a famous adult man

<sup>7</sup> A prototype of a parliament where serious matters about the nation are held.

*I: So what did you do?*

*R: I have another man but I will end relationship with him once I marry..*

*(IDI/Female/Urban/18 years)*

In other instances, women feel proud to have relationship with people who may be regarded as celebrities in a given community:

*I: so who do you regard as a good man?*

*R: There are so many things.....*

*R: ..Yeah so many things, money, handsomeness ...and..and....*

*R: ...Popular, even if someone does not have money but there are some guys who are very popular.....*

*R: So you will find every girl is striving to befriend him and she will come and tell us: I am with him, I have won him on my side.....she is proud.....and if you know her weakness you rob him from her ...*

*R: And people start laughing at her that she didn't know how to handle him until other girls took him away.....(FGD/Female/Urban/21-30 years)*

It is assumed among young people that after puberty one is expected to have a sexual partner. Female sexual chastity is expected to be replaced by female sexual complicity. In fact, some females reported that for them having a sexual partner enhances the female's reputation among peers.

*R:.....I only know one man since I became sexually active....but my friends make me feel uncomfortable. Every time you will hear them challenging me: how can you let your house (vagina) be entered by only one common guest? How can you make all the decorations simply for only one usual guest?*

*I: What do they mean exactly?*

*R: They mean since I lost my virginity, I have never let other men enjoy with me (sexually) but I listen to them and I care not. (IDI/Female/Rural/23 years).*

*If you have a partner who is aged, you will always get everything you want because if he can't buy you all you want you drop him...they (older partners) question your requests at all. (IDI/Female/Urban/1 years)*

### **5.2.6 Polygamy**

Polygamy was reported as another factor that fuel MCP mainly in the rural areas. In the urban areas, the tendency is to have mistresses – (“nyumba ndogo”) instead of polygamy. The reasons why men take more than one wife were reported to be prestige, need to have sexual outlets when the taboo against postpartum sex makes one's wife unavailable for sex, need for cheap labour, and the religious (particularly Islamic) injunction to have up to four wives.. For some families, polygamy is regarded as the means for a daughter to ensure economic support for members of her family and not just for herself.

In other instances, men choose to have more than one wife in order to ensure continuity of sexual supply at times when a wife is having periods or is breastfeeding. It is a taboo

in most of the tribes in Tanzania for a man to have sex with his wife before a child reaches two years old.

The norm governing polygamous marriage is for the man to provide economic support for his wives. But in many communities visited, the practice is for each wife and her own children to form a unit of economic production and consumption. Each wife is expected to satisfy her family food requirements by cultivating several plots. A polygamous husband only supports a household during the round; end of round means discontinuation of the services until the next round.

The study revealed that in other families, length of the round depends on the extent to which wives manage to keep the husband happy. For this reason, some wives struggle on their own to ensure availability of delicious food and other entertainments during their turn of rounds.

It was reported that a woman in polygamous marriage resorts to having multiple sexual partners either because the husband does not cater for the family needs, or she is in need of material things that cannot be provided by her husband. It was also stated that in most cases, it is not possible for the husband to provide sexual satisfaction to all the women, in which case some of them tend to seek it outside their marriage, thereby increasing the risk for HIV infection.

*R: You can't be sure of their fidelity...*

*R: ..And other men will definitely be helping you....*

*R: Yeah, when you move from this wife to another wife in the next house, there are men behind you who are replacing your absence.....*

*R: ...you are not, they are warming up your house (with your wife).....*

*R : eeeh ! (FGD/male/Rural/15-20 years)*

### **5.2.7 Sexual dissatisfaction in relationship**

Sexual satisfaction or dissatisfaction is a matter of perception and people perceive it differently. In this study, both female and male youth reported that lack of sexual satisfaction from a partner may lead one to having multiple sexual partners. Females talked about the importance of female sexual pleasure and consideration of their own sexual feelings in both premarital and marital relationships:

*R: You may be with a man or husband. But when it comes to sex, he simply touches you...*

*R:..Others jump on you like a frog and by the time you ask yourself what is going on he is done.....and you remain with all your (sexual) desires...*

*R: other men do not make you feel it...eeeh, you may think he has just spat on you (amekutemea mate tu) and off he goes...*

*R: But you may meet a man and he does it until you decide to run away... he may screw you until you find the whole space in the room is not enough.....*

*I: So if you are not satisfied, what do you do?*

*R: Some women decide to leave it like that....*

*R: ...What you are missing from him you get it from your other mabwana (cohabiting male partners)*

*R: Others seek sexual pleasure from other men outside and sometimes you may be having sex with your husband and you feel all the memories of the other man.....i mean the way you do it with another man..... (FGD/Female/rural/21-30 years)*

*R: You may be determined to have only one sexual partner and you try to your level best to make him happy. ..*

*I: How do you do that?*

*R: eeh, you do everything he tells you, you respect him, you make yourself ready when he wants to have sex with....but he may not be satisfying you sexually, he may be feeling tired all the time, so you start asking yourself: is he having an affair with other women? And you decide also to have sex with another man, sometimes it is men who are causing all this. (IDI/Female/Urban/24 years)*

*R: the size of his penis also matters.....*

*R: ..Other men have a 3 inch penis, others five others 12 so we all differ...*

*R: ..So it will depend on woman's preference, if she likes a longer one and you only have a short one, she will go to other men...*

*R: So the size of your penis may encourage her to seek other partners concurrently . (FGD/male/Rural/15-20 years)*

*R: she started dating a married man and I decided to dump her...*

*I: Why do you think she decided to date with a married person?*

*R: ..you know such women are like they have certain bacteria itching in their vagina.... all the time they need sex....You can give her everything but she may still date another partner (IDI/Male/Urban/29years)*

Proof of sexual competence by both males and females in relationship was reported as another factor that may be associated with engagement in MCP. Sexual competence was perceived as ability to apply diversity of sexual styles and acts during sexual intercourse and ability to satisfy the male's or female's sexual desire. They mentioned some sexual acts such as cunnilingus, oral-genital contacts, anal sex, mutual masturbation and various sexual positions during intercourse:

*R: You may not be intending to have sex outside your steady relationship but the type of sexual styles you want may force you to go out (and have sex)...*

*I: How does that happen?*

*R3: Some women are not exposed to what is going on. They want you to have the old missionary style only.....*

*R` : If you tell them to try this style and that style....*

*R5: ..like having sex while squatting and jumping (frog style)*

*R2 : styles are many but she may not be ready and you want it but you don't like to make her feel demeaned , so you let peace prevail in your home and you go to other women who are ready for such styles.....(FGD/Male/Urban/21-30 years)*

*R2...If a woman finds you are less competent (in performing sex) than herself, she is likely to run away from you or look for another partner who is equally competent.... FGD/Male/Urban/15-30*

*R: if you ask him to try this style and that style he says eeeeeeh, where did you learn this from! He starts beating you.....*

*R:... we tell stories to each other and we speak about various styles and you get a feeling that style x may be wonderful.....I am still young, I need to test this and that...so if he does not agree to try it with me I try with another man.....(FGD/Female/Rural/15-20 years)*

It came out clearly that youth perceptions towards oral-genital sex vary. However, the differences are not based on cultural norms of good and bad sexual styles but on personal preferences:

*R:Ahaaa we don't practice such things here....*

*R: I can't soak my mouth in it (vagina).....all laughing.*

*R: Let's be honest, who has never tried it among us? Eeenhee, let's be sincere....*

*R: of course it depends, you can't do it to every woman, some women are not clean.....*

*R: ...yes, but you can tell her to clean it ....*

*R:... we know each other here and we speak about these things at vibunge there.....some of our friends have loosed their girlfriends because other men are eating their labia .. they tell you it tastes good.*

*R: it's true some women will never be satisfied unless you suck their clitoris  
(FGD/Male/Rural/21-30 years)*

*R: that depends on you and your man. These days we try everything that can make a man happy, you suck his penis and he sucks you down there.... people are saying that is the normal practice these days (IDI/Female/Urban/24 years)*

*R:I have never tried it but I ma trying to imagine how it works...but my friend tells me that his boyfriend cannot understand her if they have sex and then she leaves without sucking his penis.  
(IDI/Female/Rural18 years)*

Women's attitudes towards oral-genital sex were mixed. Some of them said it is difficult to suggest such styles to a man but they admitted that where such styles are applied, they intensify the sexual relationships. Others applauded it but saying they would not recommend anal sex since it entails health risks.

Desire for oral-genital sex was reported as another factor that promotes multiple and concurrent sexual partnership among married and unmarried youth. Oral-genital sex (cunnilingus) is preferred by both males and females but both men and women are unable to express own sexual feelings and desires to their steady partners. The participants said proposing oral-genital sex to one's husband or wife is perceived as a sign of disrespect. Eventually they engage in MCP to satisfy such desires: one of the young men described how his lover (a married woman) pays him for carnilingus (oral-genital sex) because she is afraid to propose such sexual style to her husband. Another young female described how she was planning to abandon one of her boyfriends who hate oral-genital sex

### **5.2.8 Partner separation**

Partner separation (due to seeking education, doing business, or for cultural reasons such as postpartum abstinence) came out as another factor that promotes partner engagement in MCP regardless of gender. Young men in Iringa and Morogoro were saying the longest period they can abstain (due to partner's absence) is a week; alternatively they engage in temporary MCP while waiting for the return of/to the partner.

*I: what makes you have parallel relationship?*

*R: My girlfriend sometimes goes to her home village to help her parents and she stays for some weeks. So while she is away I have to go to this other girlfriend?*

*I: How do you manage to make it a secret when she comes back?*

*R: My other girlfriend is well mannered, she never shows up to my main girlfriend so we do it secretly. She never comes here; it's me who goes to her place. (IDI/Male/Urban/29 years)*

*R: I only have one girlfriend who is in my home town.*

*I: Do some girls disturb you to have relationship with you at your school?*

*R: No because they know that I am in love with a lady in another class.*

*I: So is this your other girlfriend?*

*R: No she is not my girlfriend, we are simply giving each other a company at school...yes we do have sex sometimes but it's just for a companionship . (IDI/male/Urban/17 years)*

*I: ...after you had separated with your permanent partner, .what led you to having other partners concurrently?*

*R...It was out of anger, you know, I really loved that lady so much! So I said let me try (to have relations) with other different women ..... IDI/Male/Rural/30years*

*Has it ever happened to you?*

*R: Yeah, it happens sometimes.....not only me but many men as well. If your wife travels to towns to visit her relatives and for some reason she overstays, what you do! You find solution to your sexual desires here in the village. (IDI/Male/Rural/28 years)*

*R: Sometimes the distance (between you and your partner) is a genuine excuse. He is away and you, like any other human being, you need sex, and he is not coming back in the next few weeks ... some men here travel to town and stay for months.*

*I: So what do you do?*

*R: You abstain (from sex) for sometime but if another man comes around and he wants to have sex with you just for a short time, you simply accept him because you also have feeling of (sexual) desire..... (IDI/Female/Urban/ 26years) .*

### **5.2.9 Decline of emotional connection**

Respondents also explained a situation where emotional connection among partners declines, any of the partners may resort to taking another sexual partner. However, it was not clear what makes partners lose emotional connection from each other.

### 5.2.10 Sexual debut

Early sexual debut is problematic. Youth associate sexual debut with having sex with many sexual partners as a proof of sexual maturity. Gender differences characterize sexual debut. It was noted that for boys, sexual debut denotes justification for seeking sexual pleasure from multiple sexual partners. For girls, sexual debut has the cash nexus meaning that a girl's body and hence the sexual pleasure she can provide is a commodity which she can exchange for cash or other social goods, and paradoxically, not only for her personal use but even for the sustenance of her family.

Different societies have different social arrangements in which this takes place. The respondents reported of the cultural practice which involves initiation for both girls (*unyago*) and boys (*jando*). Respondents said the arrangement enables the initiates, *inter alia*, to gain momentous skills on how to satisfy their sexual partners and therefore reduce the chances for a partner to engage in multiple and concurrent sexual partnership on the basis of searching for unfulfilled sexual pleasure. However, because of government interventions on perceived harmful cultural practices including traditional initiation festivals and rituals, this arrangement takes shorter time and is less symbolic. In some communities, this arrangement was reported to have vanished. Youth said that they resort to MCP after puberty as a coping mechanism to cover the gap left behind by traditional sexual socialization:

*R: The problem is that these days, majority of male youth are brought up in the hands of their mothers. This is not proper because as a boy, when you circumcise, your mother is not supposed to see you (your penis), you are supposed to stay naked in the bush.....*

*R: But these days, people are circumcised at the age of three or four years .....*

*R: You are taught about women and their sexual behaviours and so many things which we can't tell you (a researcher). ...(.FGD/Male/Rural/21-30 years)*

*R: your parent cannot tell what to do when you want to enjoy (have sex) with a woman, I mean how to start sex, how to do this and that with the sexual organs of the woman*

*F: mmh, ,*

*R: These days we are not taught at all*

*R:..... So who do you think is going to teach us?*

*R: You have to seek experience for yourself now.....*

*R:..Yes, we are seeking experience (FGD/Male/Rural/15-20 years)*

It is noteworthy that virginity social norm was not mentioned at all. The implication is that although it would be a protective measure against HIV infection, virginity is no longer prized. Instead, respondents said young girls and boys like adults engage in multiple sexual partnerships. In fact, the results also show that question regarding who they have sex with for their debut is not a matter. Both male and female virgins have multiple sexual partners including older men or older women and their age mates, something which heightens the risk for HIV infection:

*R: you should not forget that sexual debut comes like a storm...it creates excessive sexual desire to the extent that you can't do without having sex with (many) women....so you become a type of a*

*person who keeps on testing (having sex) here and there until this stage of growth passes. (IDI/male/rural/15-20 years)*

*R: After you see your first period (menarche), they (female adults) seclude you from the public for teachings...and you are told that men was coming to you for sex not necessarily for marriage.....so even when they see you with men they know that you are ready for it but they will not tell you that it is ok for you, but surely they know.....IDI/Female/Rural/17 years)*

### **5.2.11 Seeking sexual experience/expertise**

Men reported that they like to be consistently treated by females as experts on sexual issues. Despite the fact that men want to be perceived as experts, they also engage in MCP in order to gain variety of sexual experiences from women so that in return they can please their partners. Both married and unmarried males reported how they were anxious of satisfying their sexual partners sexually every time they wanted to have sex. They were much disturbed by the perception that most of the females who had prior sexual experience were likely to challenge the males who did not perform sex more “professionally”. For this reason, males said they had to seek sexual experience from other women, be it married, unmarried, commercial sex workers or sugar mummies.

Like men, women reported desire for sexual efficiency both at the beginning of relationship and as the relationship progresses including within marriage. They said if one wishes to retain a new sexual partner, then the first sexual encounter has to be culminated by proof of ability to satisfy sexually the male partner. In their own account, they said that the first sexual encounter with a new partner may encourage or put off the new sexual partner. For that matter, females strive to prove to their new partners that they are sexually potential as expressed in the following excerpts:

*R:.....yes, women fail to say to a man that I love you, but she can decide, that can lead a woman to be seen by men as commercial sex worker which can make people despises you so you try to use other ways to get a sex partner (man), then you decide to put on short clothes and tight ones that will make a man fall in love, but there a man can already despise her because there is something that he feels that a girl need, that is how it happens.....(FGD/Female/Rural/21-30 years)*

### **5.2.12 Cultural Factors**

The taboo against postpartum sex was reported to be an important factor for men deciding to have many sexual partners or many wives (see section 5.2.6 on polygamy). Couples are supposed to undergo postpartum sexual abstinence until when the child is more than two years. However, this study has shown some social changes on this culture. While women decide not to have sex with their husbands or men who are fathers of their children because of cultural taboos, men decide to have sex outside marital relationships.

*I: What exactly did attract you to another girl while you had another woman at home?*

*R: The one at home alikuwa analea (she was breastfeeding) ..... so I could not afford abstaining (IDI/Married male/Urban/28)*

However, some social changes have been noted on the above cultural taboo. In order to ensure that the same cultural taboos of avoiding to affect the health of the breastfeeding child in case one has sex before a child is two years or older, they use condom. It came out clearly that women believe that since the condom protects seminal contacts with her body, the child's health cannot be affected:

*F: why are you saying that you can't have sex with a breastfeeding mother?*

*R: It is against our taboo....*

*R: ...the child may be affected,....the child may not be able to walk properly...he may stop growing (bemenda) because of your sexual encounter....*

*R: Or the child may start having a running stomach*

*I: How can you explain this?*

*R: They say that the child may suck the fluid you exchanged with a woman during intercourse (FGD/Male/Rural/21-30 years)*

*R:..... and during initiation, women are told how to give sexual pleasure to a man once she marries. But you find that these days they spend long time between initiation and marriage and others don't marry at all. But they have all the sexual skills, so they keep on shifting from this relationship to that relationship.*

*R:..and men know that women who are the initiates know how to play sex better than those who are non-initiates. So you may decide to have sexual relationship with her simply for that purpose. (FGD/Female/Urban/ 21-30 years)*

Traditional dances (ngoma) were also reported to contributing to MCP. This may also be linked to transactional sex and casual sex since partners who know each other use the festivals as meeting points for sexual encounter. Also, because the dances are taking place at night (sometimes all night) people who are not well known to each other engage in casual sex simply as a matter of convenience:

*R: and in this area our culture, traditional dances contribute to having MCP*

*I: How?*

*R: ..Honestly here they their husbands and ....and go for ngoma (traditional dance) with other men*

*I: During the Night?*

*R: Exactly, you find a person knows for sure that so and so is someone's partner yet the woman accepts the man, they (women) are easy going.....I tell you.. IDI/Male/Rural/30years*

Youth pointed out that cultural norms such as familial criteria for selecting a partner to marry forces youth to engage in MCP. The main reason is that the parents' preferences on who to marry may not tally with a youth's preferences. In this case, youth get married to partners who meet the qualities preferred by their parents but at the same time continue with extramarital partnership with whom they are emotionally attached to.

### **5.2.13 Influence of visual media**

It was noted that both urban and rural youth access visual media. While the urban areas are well placed in terms accessing electricity, rural population rely on the use of satellite dishes and generators to view television, films and video shows. In fact, as far as visual media is concerned, the gap between rural and urban residents is narrowing and its impact is discernible.

The shows tend to be organized by itinerant entrepreneurs who take their TV and deck along with generators into the villages. Their shows start in the evening, in some hall or room and they charge a small fee. Most of the pictures and videos are translated in Kiswahili, the national language so as to attract more customers. It was reported that the shows normally start off by showing action movies and videos. As the night advances young children are required to leave so that adult pictures, which are invariably pornographic, are screened. In urban poor neighbourhoods and rural places, the shows are sometimes an all day affair, and some of the pictures shown are entirely pornographic.

The findings have shown that video shows are used as meeting points for sexual partners who sometimes decide to have sex after the show. Since there are no condoms around, there are chances that partners may be involved in unsafe sexual practices thereby catalyzing HIV transmissions.

*R: You may watch the video and you see the actor is engaging in multiple sexual partnership....and sometimes they show that condom is not used with any of the partners but still this person does not get HIV. So it gives us an impression that having many partners does not necessarily mean that you will get HIV. (FGD/male/Rural/15-20 years)*

*My other girlfriend is a never-miss attendant of the video shows in the evening. Imagine if there was no such opportunity, how could I have been meeting her? Her mother is always at home....if you knock the door the first thing she asks you is: what do you want? Why..and bla balaaa....so we are sure of seeing each other every day and do what we want afterwards*

*I: Including sex?*

*R: That's obvious, don't you think so? That's not my sister anyway. (IDI/Male/Rural/22 years).*

## **5.3 MANAGEMENT OF MCP RELATIONS:**

It was revealed that people who engage themselves in multiple sexual relationships apply various techniques in order to ensure that either the adults or their sexual partners are kept in darkness of such relations. Several cases were presented in which various strategies to manage the MCP relations were discerned.

These strategies are of two types: individual strategies and social strategies. Individual strategies in this case were taken to refer to individual initiatives that people take to

handle their MCP relations. These include: cheating, establishing MCP relations at a distance and use of traditional medicine. Social strategies were referred to as social values that guide MCP relations in a given community. In this study, the list includes: reaction to partner infidelity, expression of jealousy and treating MCP as a public secret. These include: nature of reaction to partner infidelity, expression of jealousy and treating MCP relations as public secret.

### **5.3.1 Individual strategies**

The IDI informants and FGD participants reported various strategies used to keep sexual partners in darkness of each other. They said, one has to plan very cautiously where and when to meet the partners separately. The techniques involved meeting a partner at home when the main partner or parents/guardians are away, arranging meetings with a partner away from usual residence and spending the night at the partner's home without the adults' knowledge.

#### **5.3.1 .1 Cheating**

Cheating is another technique that youth use to maintain multiple and concurrent sexual partnership. Cheating is associated with mutual mistrust explained elsewhere in this report. Both men and women have relatively similar strategies of ensuring that concurrent sexual partners do not know each other. The strategies include arranging to meet them at different time or places and ensuring that each observes the code of behaviour:

*R: It's easy, you make sure they don't come to you at the same time..*

*R: they (women) also do the same....once she is not with you she will pretend not to know you at all.*

*R: And if your main girlfriend asks you anything the other woman you strongly say bad things about that woman FGD/Male/Rural/21-30 years)*

*R: my wife doesn't know that I am having a relationship with her friend but I have already told this woman that she should pretend not to show any love to me in front of other people...*

*I: Why?*

*R: People may go and tell my wife then things may be difficult to control....(IDI/Married male/Rural/28 years)*

*R: Our relationship started long time ago, she was the first man I slept with.....*

*I: But you are married now...*

*R: Yes but you know, the one who took away your virginity is always special.....but I make sure that my husband doesn't know about our relationship*

*I: How do you manage?*

*R: He (man friend) never comes to my home, I always meet her when I go at the market or sometimes we go to town together and have fun there. (IDI/Married Female/Rural/22 years)*

*R:....aah it's common to find a girl with three or five partners and she claims that all of them are intending to marry her. But in real sense they don't know each other. (FGD/Female/Urban/21-30 years)*

*R: I have to wait until my child grows at least after she reaches five years, then I can decide whether to tell them or not. For now it's too early and I still need support from both of them*

*I: What is likely to happen if they learn that you are cheating on them?*

*R: I am sure they can't know...if all of them were staying here in this town it would be easy but the distance from here to Morogoro (the next region) is far away and this man (who they are in the same city) is married and he doesn't want his wife to know that he had a child outside marriage. (IDI/Female/Urban/26 years)*

*R:.....it depends on how you plan it....for my case both of them are working (employed) I don't expect them to come to me before 6pm.*

*I: Yes but how do you manage to keep them apart?*

*R: If he comes without calling (phoning) me first I become furious ...why doesn't he respect my time and my schedule! The good thing is that I need their money so I always control myself from ridiculing them.*

*I: How do you make sure that you remain safe, healthy or something?*

*R: what matters in life is to make sure that you have money to cater for your need...*

*I: ...Condom?*

*R: I have never used it....(FGD/Female/Urban/27 years)*

Others create vague impression to their steady partners by giving them all they want so that when they are out with other partners, the steady partners may not query about such absence. It also came out that in case the cheater has enough resources to cater for the needs of all sexual partners, he is assured that even if they happen to know each other, he will use his financial power to calm them down.

Cheating among the married people adopts different strategies. Both males and females ensure that their sexual partners are kept in darkness of their vices. The strategies include avoiding going out together with an MCP, letting the MCP know that he/she should not look for you but you will know the right time to contact her/him. Another strategy is to establish MCP relations with a sexual partner who stays away from one's place of residence, such as the next village or street or town:

*R: If your lovers are staying in different locations, it is not easy for them to know each other. If it happens that people see you standing with her somewhere and they happen to go and tell your other partner, you can easily explain. You simply tell her that the woman they saw was your sister, your aunt's daughter. (FGD/male/Urban/15-20 years)*

Cheating may also be applied by youth who may be categorized as commercial sex workers but since the nature of relations is transactional nature, it's grouped under MCP. .. In the following scenario, one of the informants of this study describes how her friend handles multiple partners:

*R: .....for instance one person told me she was living at our home, she told me that if she wants money she goes to the main road and wait for the track drivers from Mbeya to Mafinga or Makambako, when she is there, she will ask for a ride to go either Mbeya or mafinga or Makambako. On the way, she is sure that the driver will approach her and she will not decline, then she will spend the night with this man wherever the driver decides to have a stop, and definitely this man will give her some money. On the way back, she does the same to other men. She has so many partners but they don't know each other ....(IDI/Female/Urban/26 years)*

### **5.3.1 .2 Use of Traditional medicine**

It came out that both men and women use traditional medicine in order to successfully manage MCPs. It was reported that both male and female youth use traditional medicine for various purposes such as ensuring flow of resources, observing partner discipline, augmentation of partner commitment to love or amplification of sexual pleasure.

For the purpose of enhancing man's sexual pleasure, women insert substances in their private parts prior to the sexual act. This serves to impede the secretion of fluids. The results indicate that this practice is being adopted by married and unmarried women for the same purpose. This makes sense in a context where women are in competition with each other in order to win and keep the partner interested in them rather than moving on to other women.

*R: let's say you fall in love with somebody's husband and you don't like the husband to know. You can go to the traditional healer and he makes you a medicine to control the situation. (IDI/Female/Rural/22 years)*

*R: I have a friend who owns a shop now. She fell in love with a rich man and she went to the traditional healer to make this man love her more and give her money. We all envy her. (FGD/Female/Urban/21-30 years)*

*I: Do you have traditional healers around here?*

*R: They are of all categories.....if you want all women to be bowing to you, there is a traditional healer for that...*

*R: Some people get traditional medicine and they use it to convince women who don't like to marry them.....*

*R: Even women are using these medicines to attract men (for love) (FGD/male/Rural/15-20 years)*

Moreover, women use medicine to win men's confidence so that men should obey their requests. Further results show that both married and unmarried women use traditional medicine in order to be in command of their husbands and wave them away from establishing sexual partnership with other women. Also, they may use the same medicine to make their husbands indifferent about the wife's MCP behaviour. Unmarried females were reported to have used the same medicine to lure men into marriage or get men who could buy them material things including establishing various income generating projects.

### **5.3.1 .3 Establishing MCP Relations at distant places**

In order to keep the sexual partners unknown to each other, both male and female youth (married and unmarried) decide to initiate MCP relations with partners who stay away from neighbourhoods. This strategy involves setting conditions for each partner when to meet where and for how long.

## 5.3.2 Social Strategies

### 5.3.2 .1 Reactions to partner involvement in MCP

Reactions to people who engage in MCP show the extent to which a given community discourages or condones MCP behaviour. This study sought to understand the types of reactions that communities and individuals take toward an unfaithful partner. The findings show that mechanisms of handling MCP behaviour differ by marital status. Most of the communities pay attention to the MCP behaviour of married than unmarried people and have clear mechanisms of handling the former. These include *fidia* (compensation), separation and/or divorce.

The concept of *fidia* (compensation) is used to denote fines imposed on those who commit adultery with one's wife or husband. Married people who commit adultery either with married or unmarried partners are brought before the parent in-laws or community reconciliation committees to explain the matter. The adulterers are ordered to compensate (*fidia*) one's husband/wife for the bad demeanour: the compensation ranges from being paid in kind (goats, clothes and sacks of rice) to cash. The minimum and maximum compensation depends on the financial position of the adulterer.

*I: Tell me about the compensation you got from that man:*

*R: I charged them 100,000/= (\$ 100), they were supposed to divide it among themselves by half. That man apologized saying he only had 50,000/= (\$50) I thought deeply about it but then I said to myself, he is my fellow man, he approached my wife like any other woman. If I would insist that my wife should pay the difference, again it means her parents would be the ones to pay and my relationships with them would deteriorate. But I also thought of my twins, they were only two years old*

*There is a woman.....my former classmate who stays in town, when she came here and heard about my story she really laughed at me saying that it means if another man comes with larger sum of money I would be willing to offer my wife for sex...but I didn't care. (IDI/Male/Rural/26 years)*

However, it is believed that where compensation involves material exchange between the adulterer and the one whose partner has committed infidelity, it does not end MCP relationship but cement it. People have various ways of ensuring that an adulterer is punished even being brought to authority people to pay compensation. One of them is to be witched:

In some instances, the reaction to unfaithful partner may be in the form of silence. However, silence may not necessarily mean acceptance of the partner infidelity. It is also argued that women are more likely to forget an adulterous partner than males:

*R: he told me that I should not worry because he would make sure that hi wife could not know our relationship.*

*Are you sure she doesn't know?*

*R: In the past yes she was not aware, but now I am sure she knows because every time we meet we don't talk to each other. When she sees me she turns her face away.....and I don't care (IDI./Female/Rural/28 years)*

Although divorce or separation due to partner involvement in MCP is rare, it happens when the partner keeps on repeating the same misconduct:

*I: After the first fumanizi (adultery) what happened?*

*R: after that we separated you see, but there was a friend of mine called Chiko... he tried to reconcile us and we went on with the relationship. He did the same for about three times but the fourth and fifth time it was we ourselves who reconciled...And honestly we separated after I myself finally decided to let it go IDI/Married Male/Urban/28*

*R: My father once was approached by my partners' parents asking him to warn me against my relationship with their daughter because by then she was schooling*

*I: Why did you decide to stay with her for so long while you were aware of her misconduct?*

*R: You know as I have told you, we had twines and they were very young.....I thought my kids would suffer if they missed their mother. I tried to be patient and try to tell my wife about how our children would suffer of her misconduct but she couldn't listen to me. Now that they are three years old and they ....as you see (pointing at them)....they can bath themselves, I said enough is enough...I packed her belongings and asked her to depart for home. (IDI/Male/Rural/26 years)*

As for the unmarried youth, communities did not have any clear mechanism of controlling infidelity among unmarried youth. Instead, MCP behaviour among youth is only handled by youth themselves and without interference from adults. The general rule is that as long as one has not paid bride wealth or is not betrothed for males and females respectively, youth are not supposed to engage in sexual relations.

*I: Which sexual partner can you regard socially accepted?*

*R: The one that parents of both sides know that you are going to marry her....even if they see you with her at night hours, nobody is going to ask you because they know she is yours.*

*R:....but if they don't know your relationship and they see you together, say going to the bush or guest house, they (adults) call each other and make quick arrangements, they catch you and force you to marry her under "ndoa ya umeme".....*

*I: ....meaning that?*

*R: It means very spontaneous marriage like electric power,...you have no choice ...you become a husband and she becomes your wife....FGD/Male/Rural/15-20 years)*

However, social changes such as economic hardships have made this norm difficult to implement. In the past, premarital sexual encounters among were controlled through ensuring that partners marry before the woman gets pregnancy. However, nowadays, youth devise means of circumventing the adult authority. They said when a man is forced to marry, he may choose a partner that meets the qualifications that appeal to the parents and relatives but continue with sideline sexual relationship with a woman of his choice.

Traditionally, cases of premarital pregnancies were also handled by making the responsible male accountable to taking care of the child and the mother. With social transformations, these values are difficult to maintain:

As the result, premarital sexuality has been left in the hands of the youth in such a way that MCP behaviour flourishes without the adult intervention. However, this rule has some exceptions and some of the unmarried youth react differently when they learn about their partners' infidelity. Unmarried youth have their mechanisms of enforcing compensation. These include *mtungo* (gang rape) and establishing sexual partnership with one's friend's partner. In cases where a girl engages in MCP while she is already betrothed, she may be abandoned or the hooligans may hurt her partner or both (abandonment and violence).

*R: yes this is called mtungo*

*I: Meaning what?*

*R: It means if you have two sexual partners and it happens that you may be having sex with one of them and then another comes, they don't fight, they agree to each other to have sex with you (rape?) as a lesson....*

*I: Can't you report them to authorities?*

*R: No it is your fault because you were supposed to make sure they don't meet or simply concentrate with only one.... (FGD/Female/Urban/21-30 years)*

At another level of analysis, handling partner infidelity varies by gender. In most cases, there is double standard between unmarried males and females. Specifically, most of the communities rarely talk about unmarried male's MCP behaviour. Male youth who engage in MCP are merely warned against the behaviours. Unlike unmarried males, females are quite aware that such behaviour may negatively affect their marriage markets implying that unmarried females are negatively perceived compared to unmarried males.

Moreover, reaction to partner infidelity varies among partners who have children together and those who do not. Informants who were categorized as victims of MCP described how they were facing difficulties in deciding to separate or divorce from unfaithful partners because they think their children would suffer the consequences. Such reactions were reported by both male and female victims of MCP: (same quotation as above)

*I: Why did you decide to stay with her for so long while you were aware of her misconduct?*

*R: You know as I have told you, we had twins and they were very young.....I thought my kids would suffer if they missed their mother. I tried to be patient and try to tell my wife about how our children would suffer of her misconduct but she couldn't listen to me. Now that they are three years old and they ....as you see (pointing at them)....they can bath themselves, I said enough is enough...I packed her belongings and asked her to depart for home. (IDI/Male/Rural/26 years)*

*R: He (husband) doesn't like to listen to me about anything I tell him... it is him and women, women and him. He doesn't even think of infections, you know, HIV like, eeh...*

*I: So what is your decision on this?*

*R: sometimes I sit here and cry.....sometimes I think of leaving his home and go back to my parents.....but the problem is this (pointing to a kid)....he is too young .....(IDI/Male/Rural/26 years)*

However, social class seemed to influence the type of reactions to partner infidelity. Among the relatively high class neighbourhood, partner infidelity is always not tolerated, probably because individuals are self-dependent:

*R: I didn't care about the future of our child....*

*I: So what did you do?*

*R: My mother said I should take the kid to her. Till now she (mother) is the one who stays with the kid*

*I: What about support*

*R: My mother is a retired officer; she doesn't need support from me. (IDI/Male/Urban/ 22 years)*

*Yes I will regret that my kid grows up without paternal support but I don't care.*

*So what can you do?*

*I am capable of supporting myself...my salary is enough to warrant me and my kid a happy life.... (IDI/Female/Urban/ 24 years)*

### **5.3.2 .2 Jealousy in MCP Relations**

As such, jealousy is an inherent component of romantic relationships. More specifically, jealousy can be understood as an emotion that motivates behavior (Frank, 1988). Jealousy can also be viewed as an indication of the value that the jealous person places on a relationship. In fact, jealousy may sometimes be evoked to test a partner's commitment

In this study, lack of commitment in relationship among unmarried youth was reported to contribute to having many sexual partners. Both male and female participants argue that before marriage, partners are not supposed to be jealous when the fidelity or commitment of one's partner appears to be threatened. According to youth, jealousy is only expected among married couples who have life commitments together.

### **5.3.2 .3 MCP as a public secret**

Another way of proving that MCP is condoned is when friends happen to know that the wife/husband of their colleagues is in multiple sexual partnerships but condone the behaviour by not letting their colleague know what is going on. Both male and female youth said that they knew some of their friends who were in multiple relationships without the knowledge of their sexual partners. It is uncommon for one to reveal a friend's infidelity to his/her partner even when everybody in that community knows about it. When one discovers this hidden relationship then people say: "we thought you were aware about it".

Even among the unmarried youth, it is uncommon for people within a given community to reveal other people's sexual partners. For women, MCP will become public only when the two are having a quarrel.

#### **5.4 DISENGAGEMENT FROM MCP RELATIONS**

Informants were asked to state the reasons that lead people to disengage from multiple sexual relations. The results show that the reasons for disengagement include: marriage, despair and fear of being infected by HIV. The results also show that ending a relationship with one of the sexual partners does not necessarily mean that one disengages himself/herself from all multiple partnerships. The following extracts explains how this works:

*He told me that he was going to marry me but first we should have sex. At first I resisted but then I said to myself, after all he will marry me, so I gave in. he was staying in Dar es Salaam but a week could not pass without calling me by phone. When I went to Dar es Salaam to visit my aunt, ...I called him and we arranged to meet somewhere. We were talking and talking and kissing but....see! One woman came to us and greeted him. He stood up very quickly and took steps away from me and they talked something but I heard nothing. Then he came back to me and said he would call me. Immediately that woman came to me and started asking: do you know this man very well? How did you get to know him? And bla blaaa blaa . I said what is the matter? She said that is somebody's husband.....*

*I: But what made you to break up of your relation with the man?*

*R: ...I came to realize that he was married .... I decided not to engage in any relationship since then.*

*I: Are you still communicating?*

*R: I am not interested in men at all?*

*I: Why?*

*R: They are cheaters.IDI/Female/Urban/23years*

The informants and participants of this study also said that it is difficult to disengage from MCP relationships. The reasons that may lead one to decline from MCP include sexual performance of a partner, being in sexual relationship with a partner who broke one's virginity (both male and female virginity) and that in most cases their relationship continues even after they marry other partners

*I: Why do you think you can't end your relationship with her and concentrate on your wife?*

*R: It is not that easy. She is the one who taught me how to have sex and all these styles that make my wife go crazy are her products.*

*I: Is this normal you think?*

*R: For a man whose libido is perfect, it is ok to have more than one sexual partner (IDI/male/rural/17 years)*

*R: It is true that she taught me sex, she was my.....actually she is my teacher on many issues concerning sex. But when I joined form five, I fell in love with other girls and that's when I realized that women are not the same..*

*I: ....in terms of.....*

*R:.....yeah, in terms of skills, size of vagina, flavour, mmmh you know.....*

*I: So what happened to your "teacher"?*

*R: I thought of deserting her but I was feeling guilty, she is the one who taught me everything about sex.....so I couldn't, we still together*

*I: Only her?*

*R: I make sure she doesn't learn about my other side partners. (IDI/Male/Urban/20 years)*

## **5.5 PERCEIVED RISKS OF ENGAGING IN MCP**

The study also explored people's perceptions towards types of risks that individuals who engage in multiple sexual partnerships are likely to face. The results show that perceptions varied among male and female participants as well as urban and rural residents. In general, the respondents mentioned HIV infections, disruption of relationships, lack of concentration and pregnancy as possible risks.

Both married and unmarried females were worried about pregnancy. Unmarried females reported that premarital pregnancy would cause economic hardships especially where the responsible husband decides to deny the pregnancy or decides to abandon her after delivery.

For instance, it came out clearly that students who engage in multiple sexual partnerships are always taking measures to prevent pregnancy and very rarely HIV infections. Specifically, it stated that sexual partnership with students does not last long because of fear of making them become pregnant:

*R: We are afraid.....*

*I: Afraid of what?*

*R: If students become pregnant you are in for it.....*

*R: ....the jail door is wide open for you.....*

*R:..People are afraid, you get her (have sex with her) and you make sure your relationship is over after a few weeks, coz' if she becomes pregnant you can easily deny it...*

*(FGD/Male/Urban/15-20 years)*

## **5.6 PERCEIVED BENEFITS OF ENGAGING IN MCP**

Participants were asked to state the merits and demerits of involving oneself in MCP. Perceptions towards individuals who engage themselves in MCP differ by gender. On merits, male youth believe that having multiple and concurrent sexual partners guarantees sexual gratification. In case one of the sexual partners is not in position to have sex with him, he resorts to getting sexual pleasure from other partners. The same ambitions were reported to apply to both married and unmarried male youth. Despite the fact that male youth find it difficult to stop MCP behaviour, they realize that it has some demerits. They mentioned loss of meagre resources, loss of energy and distractions from one's business:

*F: what about demerits?*

*R: it happens that when you have many partners, all of them need your support. And if you don't show up that you are able to support them financially, they despise you. But if it were money only then we could say ok, but you are also losing much strength, sex needs energy, now look, your menu contains only maize flower and beans and at the same time you are doing this business (selling used clothes) and the money you get you have to divide it among your partners....I don't think it is paying.... (IDI/Male/Rural/17 years)*

### **5.6.1 Non-engagement in MCP:**

The decision to engage or not to engage in MCP depends on several factors. The results of this study show that perceptions towards individuals who do not engage themselves in MCP vary by gender. The male youth are perceived as having problems in their upbringing while females are perceived as having good habit.

Despite the fact that youth who do not engage themselves in multiple and concurrent sexual partnership are looked down by peers, some youth do not care about such peer pressure and decide not to involve themselves in such behaviour for various reasons. The results show that some youth avoid engaging themselves in MCP because of fear of HIV transmission. Others avoid MCP relations because of their negative personal memories on the sexual relations they had in the past while more others do not have any specific reason but simply hate such sexual behaviours:

*I: ...What are your views with regard to satisfying the sexual partner...?*

*R: men are always lustful. You know even if it is oranges, there are bitter and sweeter oranges yet I believe even the bitter provides Vitamin C to the consumer ...What you need is Vitamin C regardless of the type of orange you eat (meaning sex is sex no matter with whom you play it) (IDI/Female/Urban/27)*

### **5.6.2 Trends in MCP Behaviour**

The study also sought to know whether because of sexual risks such as STIs including HIV infections, there were any signs of reducing the number sexual partners. Participants said that HIV has not yet created considerable threat to the extent of influencing the number of sexual partners one decides to have.

### **5.6.3 Role of sex in sexual partnership**

The study explored the role of sex among sexual partners and the extent to which this role may promote or slow up one's decision in engaging in MCP. The results show that sexual satisfaction or dissatisfaction in relationships plays a significant role in influencing one's decision to engage, or not to engage, in MCP. Sexual satisfaction or dissatisfaction was reported by both male and female informants.

## **5.8 HIV AND AIDS**

### **5.8.1 Knowledge about HIV and AIDS**

Knowledge about the meaning of HIV, how it spreads and how to avoid infections was generally high. Youth talked about the potential risks of engaging in sexual relations with many partners. They also talked about the importance of using condom when one decides to have sex with a person who is not his/her husband. Others insisted on condom use when one engages in sex with a person he/she is not familiar with. More importantly, youth expressed their concern on their potential to HIV infection and how to reduce such possibilities:

*I: what are the chances?*

*R: I know that my wife is like any other women, she is seduced by men like any other women, that much I am sure, after all I was not the first person to sleep with her so I know, but what can you do? I remain faithful but that is not enough because I never go with her wherever she goes (IDI/Married male/Urban/27 years)*

*Have you ever thought of infecting or being infected of HIV by your sexual partners?*

*R: I have never asked myself such a question but I think my partners are faithful*

*What about you?*

*R: I also have only these two...if they have other partners I can't tell but I give myself hope that they rely on me (for sexual intercourse) (IDI/Married male and cohabiting/Rural/29 years)*

*Yes, I have a partner but he is always faithful and my husband is faithful too. Of course you can't be sure hundred percent with your partners but I always believe that my other partner and my husband are faithful (IDI/Female/Rural/28 years)*

*R: the chances of HIV infection are high because you never know whether you are the only one who sleeps with her or there are other intruders (IDI/Male/Urban/27 years)*

Despite the above high level of knowledge on the protection against HIV transmission, discussions and in-depth interviews with youth show that both male and female youth face a high risk of infection because of the nature and context of sexual relations they engage in. Most of the things about HIV prevention are easily said than done. Like everywhere else in the world, youth in Tanzania involve themselves in high risk sexual behaviours despite the HIV and AIDS knowledge they have. The next sub-section presents the main reasons why youth who indulge in MCP find it difficult to protect themselves against HIV transmission.

### **5.8.2 MCP and Perceptions towards STI/HIV Risk**

The study sought to explore whether informants and participants in this study thought of any association between engaging in MCP and potential risk for HIV infections. Two questions were posed on this aspect. While the first question asked about the chances of an individual who engages in MCP to infect the partner(s), the second question sought information on the chances of being infected with HIV by the partner. The results show

that in most cases, individuals thought that the chances of being infected of STIs/HIV by the partner were higher compared to infecting the partner:

### **5.8.3 MCP and Condom Use**

Participants were asked to state the extent to which safer sex could be practised in multiple and concurrent sexual partnership. The results show that condom use in MCP relationships is rare and that reduction of number of sexual partners is insignificant.

Condom use varies among rural and urban residents. In urban areas, condom use is highly emphasized at the beginning of relationship but slows up as the relationship continues. A few male youth take precautions against HIV infections by ensuring that condoms are always readily available in their rooms. The decision to use or not to use becomes secondary:

*R: much as we would like to use condom, it is not easy....may be my colleagues but for me, I can't let the woman go simply because I don't have condom.....*

*R: ..but you are making a mistake, you remember what those people (HIV educators) told us? The rule is that you must have a condom everywhere, I mean, in your pockets, in your bed room eeehee....you should be ready any time.....*

*R: ...but remember they said you should not keep it in very hot place, don't you think if you move around with I in the shamba, in carrying sacks of charcoal or sometimes in your "day work" (casual labour) do you think it will still be suitable? Let the professionals (researchers) tell us.*

*R: Those are mere theories, we have our own lifestyles....you decide to have sex only when the woman is ready anywhere I mean, there is no time for running for the condom....FGD/Male/Urban/21-30 years)*

*I: How often do you use condom?*

*R: aaah! Protection (condom) is very important but my dear, imagine the way a woman in her natural dress (naked) looks like.....mhhh, can you say since I don't have condom let her go? Surely not for men...not for me.....*

*R: Condoms are for those who play sex in the guest houses, for us here, sex is anywhere be in the bush or when the dark comes all these places are our guests... so when are you going to pick the condom?*

*R: Sometimes the pharmacy is closed and you have already seduced her and she is ready for it, let's be sincere please....*

*R: ...but this is not the case with everybody, every individual has his own style, I always keep them in my wallet..... (FGD/male/rural/21-30 years)*

*R: yes it is true, condom is important especially if you are having sex with a person you are not familiar with....*

*R: but most of the girls we know them, they are our colleagues, and we know whom they sleep with whether it's John or Juma, so we know them ....it happens that you have been chasing for her for ages and one evening she agrees to have sex with you, do you say you wait until I get a condom? You will miss the chance.....(FGD/Male/Rural/15-20 years)*

*R: Men are always insistent, sometimes you may be aware of the importance of using a condom, but you tell him and he doesn't like to listen to you.....*

*R: ...but you can tell him to go for it other wise you let him go.....*

*R: in most cases, it is we (women) who let men use us. We wait until a point where we can't remember all the stories (i.e. completely aroused) and then we come to realize that he did not use condom....(FGD/Female/Rural/21-30 years)*

In rural areas, there is a problem of condom availability and access. Because of lack of access to condom, use of condom is rare even when trust among sexual partners is not yet developed. In fact, the type of sexual partnership influences the use or non-use of condom. In this study, youth explained how it is difficult to use condom in transactional sex or when the sexual partner is casual. They further said that sex with casual partners is always quick and of short duration to the extent that there is no time for going to purchase a condom at a distance. In their own language, youth call it “*ngono ya dharura*” (emergency sex):

*R: Apart from the Satan, most of the shops here don't sell condoms...*

*R: But sometimes sex may take place in the shamba where there are no shops.....*

*R : ....if she insists on condom, you use your skills to convince her.....you can't let her go just like that (FGD/Male/Rural/15-20 years)*

Although some of them admitted that use of condom is vital, youth said some women and men reject the use condom for various reasons:

*:R: Some people will say: I have never used condom and I am not ready to use it....*

*R: It is like in our religious beliefs (Islam), we are told that using condom is like interfering in God's plan .....*

*R: ..Another woman may ask you, if you don't trust me why did you follow me? Did I call you? Now if you imagine the type of energy you used to get her, you ask for forgiveness and you just declare the match open (have sex) (IDI/Male/Urban/19 years)*

*R: It is important yes but in our villages it is sometimes not that much easy....you ask him that please do you have a condom? He says yes. Then you go to a place where you have agreed to meet , you ask him again: do you have condom? He says yes. Now you cannot say put it on first so that I can see, I think you know what I mean,.....so things just move on and you come to realize later that he doesn't have one.....*

*I: So what do you do?*

*R: At that point you also need sex so you just give in.....(IDI/Female/Rural/25 years)*

*R : but I think here there is a problem with condom.....yes you may ask him to put on a condom but as your relationship progresses, you start to trust each other and you put a condom aside. But you don't go for HIV testing before you throw away the condom,,,,,.....and they are saying it takes time for one to develop symptoms of HIV,... so don't you think you can still infect each other? (FGD/Female/Urban/15-20 years)*

Other male youth explained that much as they would like to use condom with casual partners, they do not use it because of “*mzuka*” (meaning excessive sexual desire) or *vigonera* (sexual hunger). They believe that once an individual is sexually aroused and the penis is erect, it is not easy for men to remember anything else except having sex. Others went as far as saying that they usually use condom after the first ejaculation.

Furthermore, some male youth believe that one cannot contract HIV if one decides to stop at the first round and discontinue with sex after the first ejaculation. Others believe that they prefer to have sex with women who have large buttocks with anticipation that they will have large vagina which reduces the chances of bruises during sex. Others said where one has wet sex (as opposed to dry sex) and decide to stop sex after the first round, the chances of HIV infection are rare.

Misconceptions about condom also attributed to low condom use among men. The misconceptions are associated with condoms having virus, condoms having pores large enough to allow virus to pass through and a belief that first ejaculation is less likely to allow HIV infections. Male participants reported that :

*R: my friend told me once that condoms are not hundred percent perfect because, it has small aperture that are permeable enough to allow HIV virus to pass through.....but he further said, the HIV virus is 0.005mm while the condom aperture is 0.05 therefore the virus can pass through and here we tried to measure them locally some water passes through....(FGD/Male/Rural/15-20 years)*

*You can't say you are HIV free simply because you are using condom...*

*I: So what do you mean exactly?*

*R:.....There are so many ways, if you take the condom and put it on the sun for some hours, all the viruses die, then you can decide to use it afterwards otherwise you won't avoid HIV infections. (FGD/Male/Rural/21-30 years)*

*R: some people say that during sex, there are some fluids produced by both of you (vaginal and seminal fluids, so they say these fluids do not transmit HIV except where any of you is having some bruises.... I was told that if you use much force during sex and you get bruises then this fluid can cause HIV but otherwise you can do it and avoid bruises and still you can't get HIV..... (IDI/Female/Rural/17 years).*

Men also reported that sex without a condom is more satisfying and that wearing a condom during sex is equated with digging with a hoe while it is wrapping in sack: Other youth believe that using condom is the same as undertaking masturbation because at the end of the process, you see your own ejaculation.

*R: using condom is like pumping pressure in the bicycle tube so I don't like it..... (IDI/male/rural/25 years)*

Use of condom among the married couples is even more complicated. Male partners claim that if the purpose is to avoid pregnancy then the wife can use other methods such as pills. If the partner insists on the use of condom, it will not be used all the time but only during the ovulation days (maximum of five days a month):

*R: If you insist on the use of condom, you will have to explain why otherwise he may even present the case to your parents.....even if you suspect him of having extramarital relations or even if he had ever compensated you when you caught him with another woman, still this is not enough reason to insist on condom use.....(FGD/Female/Rural/21-30 years)*

Female participants stated that males reject the use of condom even when they have sex with casual or commercial sex partners or even with a new sexual partner. They admitted that in most cases, women are not expected to ask questions during sex but please a man sexually. However, even when they suggest using condoms, women do not have the power to enforce its use. It should be noted that women's desire for use of condom is not because they are afraid of STI infections per se. In fact, some reported that what worries them most is pregnancy:

*R: my first child's father abandoned the child...so I am bringing him alone but I am getting (financial) support from other men.*

*I: What are your views about use of condom?*

*R: I have never used a condom.....my partners dislike condoms and...and you know these men of today, I cannot force them,...after all he may decide to unload you, there are other beautiful women outside there. (IDI/Female/Rural/23 years)*

However, it was further revealed that male partners convince their female partners to go for other family planning methods (such as pills) rather than using condom. As a coping strategy, females comply with such requests and start using family planning methods other than the condom.

Knowledge about partner engagement in MCP is not directly associated with the decision to using condom with such partner. Interviews and discussions with victims of MCP (both males and females) show that none of the victims reported to have used the condom after realizing that the partner had an affair with other men or women. The following scenarios exemplify the argument:

*I: ...after every fumanizi did you consider using condom to protect yourself*

*R: ..Honestly we didn't, I must say it was ignorance of its kind...You see she was my first girlfriend and I was the one who took away her virginity.. so she was like an Angel to me. I remember we rarely used condom (IDI/Married Male/Urban/28)*

*I: You told me that although you were aware that she was having affairs with other men, you decided not to divorce her because the twins were still young.*

*R: Yeah....*

*I: Were you having sex with her?*

*R: She was still my wife*

*I: Did you think of infection? Were you using any protection, say condom?*

*R: Frankly I didn't use any protection. Even when we separated for three months as I told you we did not use condom when she came back.*

*I: Why?*

*R: I have never used condom in my life.....I always believe in monogamous relationship...*

*I: Yes but you told me you initiated the relationship with your current girlfriend while your wife was still with you..*

*R:...Yeah but as I have told you, my wife was having affairs with other men and I was feeling bad about it.....so this lady was comforting me and I was contemplating whether I should marry her or not. (IDI/Male/Rural/26 years)*

*I: (he was attending studies and he had left his wife at home) during vacation I was going home and my relatives were telling me that she (wife) was always speeding much time in the local pub with men and sometimes she would stay there for two days without coming back home.*

*I: What did you?*

*R: My mother was saying I should divorce her (wife) because she would bring diseases in my house.....*

*I: Like?*

*R: Gono (gonorrhoea), HIV ...these days HIV is always out there....*

*I: Did you take any measure to avoid such possibilities?*

*R: No.not really.... you know.... I had paid bride wealth and till now we have just separated, so she is still my wife. ....IDI/Male/Urban/25 years)*

Despite the above misconceptions about, and decline from, use of condom, the results show that some youth, both males and females, still emphasize on the benefits of protecting oneself from pregnancy and HIV through use of condom.

## **5.9 Suggestions to Reduction of HIV Risk Associated with MCP**

Participants were asked about what should be done so that the risks associated with MCP can be reduced. Variations by gender were noted on the way participants suggested how to reduce such risks. Some male respondents suggested that people who have multiple sexual partners should disengage from such relationships and go for HIV testing to determine their sero-status. However, HIV testing in rural areas was mentioned as a problem because people who need such service have to travel to the district or regional headquarters, which unfortunately are at a distance.

### **5.9.1 Suggestions by males**

There was a general consensus among male respondents that MCP cannot be avoided when individuals attain puberty. At this stage of sexual growth, they believe that MCP is inevitable and that is why men decide to have sex with many women and that *mzuka* (excessive sexual excitement or desire) and *vigonera* (sexual hunger) cannot be satiated in any other way other than sex. Furthermore, male respondents suggested that after puberty, youth should be encouraged to marry before they are thirty years. Other youth suggested that young women should stop wearing short dresses which ensnare men to seducing them.

On the role of culture and its contribution to MCP, the respondents said unyago and jando should not be banned but should be modified to include HIV education package. The respondents further saw that alcohol should not be served at wedding and other social gatherings since it contributes to people indulging in multiple and concurrent sexual partners.

### **5.9.2 Suggestions by females**

Unlike men, female respondents think that the decision to have multiple and concurrent sexual partnership is personal and has nothing to do with puberty. They agree that excessive sexual desire is real but it is not uncontrollable as men portray. They suggested that men should be educated on the mechanisms of coping with *mzuka* and *vigonera*. They are of the view that MCP

for women is induced by poverty and lack of reliable income. In their opinion, women would avoid MCP relations if they are enhanced to avoid poverty and assure them reliable income. This would reduce women's dependence on men and therefore avoid indulgence in MCP. They also suggested that where one decides to engage in MCP, condom must be used. On the role of culture, women said the duration of postpartum abstinence should be determined by couples and not by culture. Also, the duration of festivals and wedding parties which castigate people's indulgence in MCP could be shorted without affecting the quality of education gained from them:

*R: There are so many tribes here whose wedding parties do not last for so many days like ours.....our parents should guide us (on sexual issues) as we grow up...they should not wait until the final days of our marriage to tell us everything about men. (IDI/Female/Urban/20 years)*

*R: the main problem is lack of employment to youth, if they get employment, because the problem is to stay idle doing nothing, employment will keep youth busy.....they have enough time but they do nothing and that's why they end up having sexual relationships with different people, something that may lead to HIV infections.  
(IDI/Female/Rural/15-20years)*

*R: parents have to spare time to speak to their children, to make sure they know what their children are doing.....they have to know what risk behaviours they children engage in and advise them accordingly. (FGD/Female/Urban/21-30 years)*

*R:.....more education is needed about HIV and youth, we need seminars in order to understand the problem of MCP so that we can know how to protect ourselves from HIV infections  
(FGD/Females/Rural/21-30 years)*

## 6. DISCUSSION

This study has painted a picture that over indulgence in sexual activities with many sexual partners is common. But as with any social behaviour it is subject to social norms that guide this practice: MCP behaviour is both condoned and disapproved in certain social circumstances. MCP is socially disapproved but youth of all categories (male and female, married and unmarried, urban and rural and middle and low class) are equally active in this form of partner relation.

Second, although poverty and indulgence in MCP are mutually exclusive, (that is,. both poor and rich women and men engage in MCP), wealth for both men and women may be associated with ability (in terms of time, money and other resources) to maintain MCP.. The implication is that poverty and wealth may have the same effect on involvement in MCP but these two are not the only factors. Thus, the perception that people are driven to multiple partnerships by either economic desperation or wealth tells half of the story behind MCP.

Furthermore, it may be argued that MCP is socially disapproved but is both condoned and clandestine. It is condoned among some individuals such as unmarried youth and rich people. At the same time, it is disapproved among married couples though their indulgence in such behaviour is not an exception. MCP is always clandestine for one's partner while it is public secret for majority of the people around the two or more partners. When individual's MCP behaviour is known to one's sexual partner, there are institutional mechanisms of handling such misconduct. The general rule is that these mechanisms should strive to the best to ensure that MCP does not lead into separation, divorce or physical violence.

MCP serves various social goals and the social values. MCP plays diversity of social goals including fulfilment of basic needs, sexual gratification, emotional connection, material rewards, monetary gains and identification of potential partners for future marriage. Conversely, MCP has some nuisances such payment of compensation, separation, divorce and lack of piece of mind as one tries to manoeuvre to keep the multiple sexual partners apart and at worst HIV transmission.

MCP is socially and culturally institutionalized. The findings have shown that in some tribes, the culture embroils MCP behaviour through sexual socialization such as the allegory of the three cooking stones and "big" and "small" water container concept. It is said that a prospective wife is told to make sure that she should always have other men besides the husband because no husband can satisfy all her needs and desires. This means therefore that the practice is instrumental for providing the married woman the sustenance and support, including sexual satisfaction which her husband may not be able to provide. Only the initiates are exposed to such knowledge and, like all taboos, breach by disclosing the secrets of the initiation rites to no-initiates carries serious negative consequences.

In leau of the above, the society has other ways of handling the negative outcomes of such practices. For instance, it is uncommon that partner involvement in MCP may lead into divorce but an adulterer may pay compensation. Also, it is not expected that every child of a married woman who bears no resemblance to his father was not sired by her husband because the marital bed cannot yield an illegitimate child - “*kitanda hakizai haramu*”. Even if indeed that child is illegitimate the biological father cannot openly claim paternity of the child.

The results have shown that women insert substances in their private parts for the purpose of enhancing male’s sexual pleasure. In terms of the risk for HIV infection attention has to be paid to the abrasions or side effects which these substances may entail.

The sexual styles mentioned in this report present a different situation. The styles seek to enhance the sexual pleasure of both the woman and the man. However, some sexual partners are not ready to communicate such styles to their partners, rest they dissolve their relationships by being labelled promiscuous or thought of engaging in MCP.

Results have shown that men are considerate of female sexual desire and that every responsive male sexual partner will appreciate his own pleasure being enhanced when the female partner is fully aroused and is an active partner in the act. Getting the woman to such a state of arousal before sexual intercourse is appreciated and taken into consideration by men. The challenge ahead of HIV and AIDS educators is to see to it that such inspirations are becoming a means to promoting faithfulness and serial monogamous relationships.

On men’s desire for improving sexual performance, the results have shown that male youth regard themselves as performance machines rather than sexual beings. They concentrate on .specific techniques for improving sexual performance rather than improving relations with their sexual partners. This is not likely to end MCP but uphold it.

The high level of reported multiple and concurrent sexual partnership and low condom use among youth was not associated with access to health services for treatable STIs including HIV. Our visit to the selected health facilities and discussion with healthcare workers did not show that youth were seeking treatment of STIs from the health facilities around their communities. Only married couples were reported to seek treatment from the facilities though there was a complaint that they never completed the dozes. Our conversation with pharmacy owners and attendants showed that youth always buy drugs for treatment of STIs without any medical prescription. In line with sensitizing youth

about the effects of having multiple and concurrent sexual partners, there is need to educate youth about the importance of treating STIs timely.

Polygamy was also reported as another factor that fuel MCP. Since the tendency is for an old man to marry your wives, it is rare that he can timely do the rounds to all his wives and perform to their satisfaction when he is subject to the effects of aging such as reduced libido, and prolonged refraction periods. The chances for younger wives to feel short-changed are relatively high.

The findings have shown that video shows promote multiple and concurrent sexual partnerships thereby catalyzing HIV transmissions. The reasons were that they are used as meeting points for sexual partners and that they engender involvement in unsafe sexual practices, because pornographic videos are not designed to demonstrate safe sex. However, the video shows are an economic activity for the entrepreneur. Also, for the audience they are a source of entertainment. Moreover, they may also be a source of new information and learning new skills as part of the sexual socialization of the adolescent. Thus, video shows are risky as well as potential to combating HIV transmission.

Use of condom among lactating mothers was mentioned as a new phenomenon which replaces prolonged postpartum abstinence. However, it is still covertly used by mothers who, probably feel sexual desire but cannot communicate their sexual feelings to their permanent sexual partners, decide to have sex outside wedlock. It is also likely that women who experience premarital births also are using condom with their sexual partners, be it casual or permanent. These results imply that if condom use can be promoted among lactating mothers, it can serve dual purposes: protecting the next (unwanted) pregnancies and shortening the duration of postpartum abstinence which is currently described as one of the factors contributing to male involvement in MCP. .

The fact that this study was purely qualitative makes our understanding of the MCP partial. The need for understanding the prevalence of having multiple partners among youth in Tanzania is still underscored. Also the prevalence of the reported factors that are contributing to youth engagement in multiple and concurrent sexual partnership need to be established. Also, the study has shown that people have many sexual partners and at the same time are not using condom. Thus, the relationship between a person's number of sexual partners and his or her condom use needs to be studied further because, under normal circumstances, individuals with multiple partners have the greatest need to use condoms so as to avoid STI including HIV infections.

Transactional sex was reported as a common practice both in rural and urban areas. It should be understood that in such contexts, men exploit the need by the women to make quick money by luring them to take unduly high risks for engaging in such practices as unprotected sex. The bottom line is that transactional sex is governed by the same laws of supply and demand, and it is not every woman who engages in it would like to be rescued

from the behaviour whose returns can be far higher than the income that any economic activity which women in the neighbourhood can make.

## **7. CONCLUSIONS**

This study has highlighted the nature, context, perceptions, motivations, values and norms surrounding MCP behaviour. The study has also explored the linkage between MCP and HIV and AIDS transmission among youth and found that MCP is a potential risk to HIV transmission among youth. The results have shown how MCP is commonly practiced and by whom. MCP involves people of all walks regardless of place of residence, age, occupation, social class, marital status and gender.

As they are, the results justify the inevitability of developing interventions to address MCP and its involved risks. However, the results are relentlessly posing a challenge to the policy makers and policy implementers. The challenge is on how to address the reported factors (that lead to MCP) in the HIV/AIDS interventions without conflicting with the social norms and values that guide sexual relations.

It is clear from the presentations and the discussions which ensued that at least two courses of action can be distinguished.

The first is that based on our understanding of why youth continue to engage in MCP behaviours, which increases their potential for HIV infection, particularly now when the AIDS epidemic is generalized, then concerted educational and advocacy intervention can be mounted with a view to creating awareness of this potential.

A good example is the continued denial of condom use by youth with the claim that it does protect one from HIV infections or that sex which does not involve genital bruises does not lead to HIV transmission or that stopping sex after first ejaculation keeps one safe from HIV infections. Another example concerns males who persuade their female partners to use other contraceptives so as to avoid pregnancy but not encouraging them to use condom so as to avoid pregnancy and HIV infections. These issues require immediate educational and advocacy intervention.

Perhaps a much more important line of intervention would be a multi pronged approach where different interventions or mix of intervention can be tried out in different communities to find out which would yield greater or more significant changes in MCP behaviour over a specific time period. Such results would provide the evidence concerning what works, under what circumstances, and, most important, at what cost. Having understood these concerns, recommendations on specific issues that were reported in this study can follow.

## 8. RECOMMENDATIONS

On Mutual mistrust, MCP and Condom Use: The findings have shown how youth (both young males and females) mistrust each other in sexual relationships. By implication, this situation would have led to adoption of protective measures against sexual risks. Conversely, condom use among married and unmarried youth engaging in MCP is still very low. Reproductive health programs should reinforce this pattern of mutual mistrust as basis for promoting condom use among youth.

On Puberty, sexual initiation and MCP: The findings have shown that there is association between attainment of puberty and adolescents' initiation of sex and engagement in MCP. Since some respondents attain puberty at younger ages (some girls reporting as young as 10 years and boys 12 years), the findings imply that puberty marks the beginning of a much higher sexual risk (including HIV risk) if youth engage in unsafe sex. This also means where puberty occurs early, that individual enters the higher risk period at an earlier point. Hence, the risk period is extended downwards to include younger people. I therefore suggest that HIV and AIDS programs that aim at providing sexual guidance to youth be provided by or before people attain puberty.

On victims of MCP: The study has shown how many people who learn about their partners' infidelity react to the situation and how in some instances their reactions subject them to further sexual risks. At the same time, the social mechanisms of handling partner infidelity encourage partners to stay together even when there are no indications of partner discontinuation from MCP relations. It is suggested that HIV interventions should delve into ways of sensitizing communities on the sexual risks involved in encouraging partners not to separate.

On MCP and Transactional Sex: The results show that transactional sex and romantic sexual relationships are mutually exclusive. Some youth (both males and females) engage in sex casually and do not have commitments to each other. The reasons range from economic hardships, curiosity and peer pressure to marriage aspirations. Taking into account that contraceptive use among young people is very low, the programs and policies that target young people should address the importance of premarital romantic relationships. Premarital romantic relationships will reduce (both in adolescence and in adulthood) mutual mistrust and may decrease the chances for youth engagement in MCP and other sexual risks.

On Culture and MCP: However anomalous the MCP behaviour is, AIDS educators should strive to find reasons which have cultural reverberation in promoting sexual behaviour change towards faithfulness to one equally faithful partner. The current compensation set up for partner indulgence in MCP has nothing to do with helping the victim of MCP avoid sexual risks. After all, compensation obliquely encourages further MCP behaviour among same partners in more crafty way. It is suggested that educational

intervention should be established so as to help victims of MCP make informed decision on whether (or how) to continue with, or terminate, the relationship with a sexual partner who indulges in MCP.

*On Misconceptions about Condom:* The types of misconceptions reported by youth in this study are serious. The misconceptions were mainly reported among rural than urban youth and among male than female youth. After twenty five years<sup>8</sup> of educating the public about condom use, such misconceptions are still surfacing. The take home message is that probably there is a problem with our approaches to HIV and AIDS interventions. Avoidance of MCP would have been the best alternative to condom use if people were ready to go for it. It is suggested that efforts should be directed to addressing misconceptions about condom as well as promoting condom use. This should go hand in with a call for reduction of the number of multiple and concurrent sexual partners.

*On communication about sexual issues among partners:* To a great extent, the factors that have been reported to have influenced individual indulgence in MCP are the outcome of absence of communication about sexual issues among partners. Issues such as sexual dissatisfaction, seeking sexual expertise and competence and seeking sexual pleasure that is not readily available in steady relationships (including oral-genital sex) can still be fulfilled in steady relationship without necessarily indulging in MCP. In an effort to reduce MCP and its negative impact on HIV and AIDS interventions, it is suggested that interventions should take communication on sexuality as one of the thematic priority areas. In designing communication strategies, it is emphasized that different communities and population groups will demand different communication packages. This study precautions that ***having a blanket message to all people who engage in MCP will hardly bring impact on both behaviour change and social change communication initiatives.***

*For research,* One important aspect was not clearly articulated in this study: where do the people experiencing sexual problems (sexual dissatisfaction and dysfunction) seek help from? Are these sources of help or advice reducing or exacerbating the risks of HIV infections? Thus, health seeking behaviour relating to sexual problems needs to be explored in detail. Also, it was not clear in this study further study such as survey may be required so as to establish prevalence of the report MCP practices in a relatively larger geographical area.

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<sup>8</sup> The first HIV case in Tanzania was identified in 1983 and the campaigns against HIV and AIDS infections started instantaneously.

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## **10. APPENDICES**

### ***10.1 APPENDIX 1: FGD Guide***

#### **Perceptions towards Concurrent Sexual Relationships**

1. What kinds of relationships exist in your communities?
2. under what circumstances do people have more than one sexual partner in the same period of time
3. What makes having more than one partner at a time attractive?
4. How do people handle sexual relationships with different sexual partners?
  - Probe for longer term/short term relationships.
5. Under what circumstances do people leave a relationship?
6. What are the general feelings towards infecting a partner with HIV and/or STI?
7. What do people of this community regard as sexual risk?

#### **Culture and MCP**

1. What are some of the cultural practices that encourage people to have multiple sexual partners?
2. Who is a legitimate sexual partner your community?
  - o Probe for other kinds of sexual partners
3. What social norms apply to each gender status of the people involved in having more than one sexual partner? (probe for males and females)
4. What values underlie involvement in multiple sexual partnerships?
5. What motives are associated with involvement in MCP?
6. In what contexts does MCP arise?
7. What explanations do people have for any negative outcome of their involvement in MCP – such as STIs, HIV, unwanted pregnancy, death)
8. What measures are always taken to prevent occurrence of the above outcomes?
9. What kind of people are thought to have a reputation of indulging in MCP?
10. How do people who engage in MCP (or who have the reputation of habitually indulging in the behaviour) regarded?
11. How about those who do not engage in such behavior, how are they regarded?
12. Have you noticed any trend toward changes in the extent to which people engage in MCP during your period of stay in the area? What kind of changes?
13. What specific anti AIDS measures have been taken against involvement in the behavior? What do you think of such measures?
14. What are some of the cultural practices that protect us in relation to HIV infection?

#### **Gender, Sexuality and MCP**

1. What role does sex play among sexual partners?
  - Probe for differences between male and female partners

2. What are the man's role and the woman's role during sex?
3. What are some of the things women do to enhance sexual pleasure for men?  
Probe also for sexual pleasure for women
4. What do you think of the relationship between getting pregnant and getting infected with HIV? Probe for participants' views on males' and females' concerns about this in relationship

**Condom Use:**

1. what are your feelings towards the use of condom among:
  - i. married couples
  - ii. Long term sexual partners (what is perceived as long term)
  - iii. Casual partners

## ***10.2 APPENDIX 2: In-depth Interview Guide***

### ***(With people involved or have been involved in MCP)***

1. What kinds of sexual relationships exist in your community?
2. Tell me about the relationships you have had to date: do you regard them as casual, long term?
3. What do you think of having more than one sexual partner at a time?
  - a. What is good about having more than one partner?
  - b. What is bad about having more than one partner?
4. Why do you / did you have more than one sexual partner at (the) a time
  - a. Probe for reasons for each relationship engaged in.
5. How long did you take between moving from one relationship to the other?
6. What role does sex play for you to have more than one sexual partner at a time? (explore the emotional aspect of sex) ‘Does sex have an emotional side?’
7. What kind of people do you usually get involved with? Why?
8. What are your feelings towards infecting (or being infected by) a partner with HIV:
  - a. Probe also for STIs?
9. What are some of the practices that may put you at the risk of HIV?
10. What promotes / facilitates you to have more than one sexual partner?
  - a. Probe for cultural practices, peer pressure, gender imbalances
11. What are some of the cultural practices that protect you in relation to HIV infection?
12. Under what conditions do you think you can settle for one sexual partner?
13. What are your feelings towards the use of condom with your current partner(s)?