

Some statements made by teachers summarized the aspects mentioned. For example, on the extent of the problem:



"It is common, because it is heard of almost everywhere, in almost all places in the region and in all national schools, even in primary schools. I have already worked in lower level primary schools where there were cases, even of being caught in the act, involving a teacher and a 12 year old female student. In all schools."

(Interview, 06/12/07, teacher, Quelimane, Zambézia)



Ignorance of or disbelief in the Law and/or in preventive mechanisms implemented by the schools:



"... for example, a father finds his daughter with a teacher and lodges a complaint with the school director, and the director says he will refer the case. The father waits for the result with the director, who in turn, does not know where the case stands, or at what district directorate it is at, or if it is at another institution and the family, therefore, does not know how to follow-up the case, and therefore gets scared and ends up keeping quiet."

(Interview, 28/11/07, teacher, Mocuba)



Fear of daughter being kept back at school:



"Some parents refer this to the school management, while others don't, perhaps because they are poorer, or maybe because they fear that if they accuse that teacher, it may imply that their daughter will be failed; and they end up accepting"

(Interview, 03/12/07, teacher, Morrumbala)



Hope of seeing the daughter married:

"...either because in this day and age there is that concept that it is better for a girl to bring a boyfriend home than to fall pregnant and have no responsibility, so the parents accept it."

(Idem)

Teachers' lack of preparation to work with adolescents and youth, and not understanding their role as educators:

"I think that these are mostly young teachers, who are working with girls for the first time. These cases involve mainly younger teachers, who bring with them that air of flirtation that they had in high school where they were studying... other teachers use this as an exchange for marks, and so this is the way the teacher finds to coerce the girl to go out with him..."

(Interview, 03/12/07, teacher, Morrumbala)

"... because there are teachers who did not receive any training; because he leads a rural life, so he thinks like a peasant and as soon as he sees a female student, he runs after her."

(Interview, 05/12/07, teacher, Quelimane)

Pact of silence:

"... it should be the management and the parents themselves, because a teacher who knows that a colleague is involved with a student and tries to approach and advise "that what you are doing is not good", looks like he is selling him out (denouncing), one day when he is caught, he will not acknowledge (admit), he will only think that it was his friend who blew the whistle on me."

(Interview, 28/11/07, teacher, Mocuba)

Direct or Subjective Motivations/Benefits

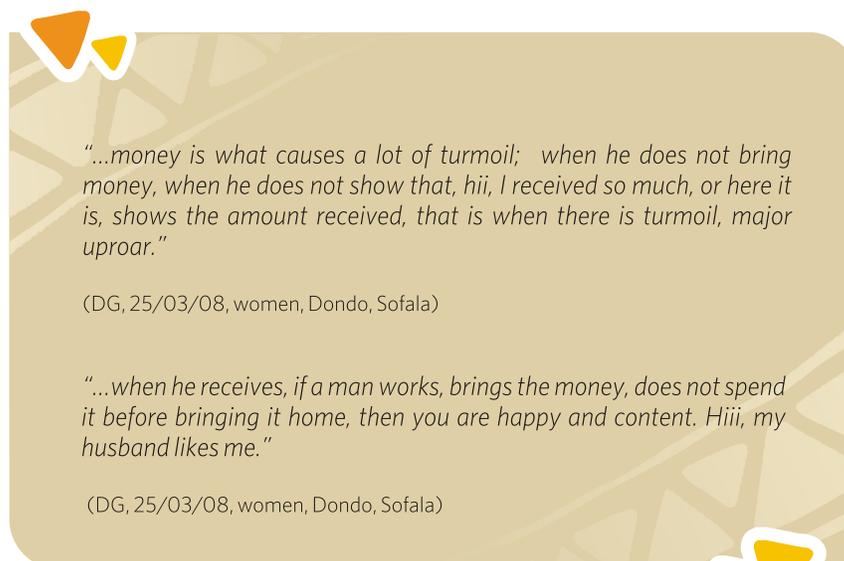
The problem in identifying the motivations for transactional sex lies in the difficulty of characterizing, as purely transactional, relationships in which women benefit from the men with whom they are involved with some form of material assistance, considering that women in Mozambique are conditioned to expect financial support from the man. For example, in the review carried out on the quantitative and qualitative studies in Africa on transactional and cross-generational sex, Luke (2002) observed that women expect presents as part of any relationship, feeling undervalued or humiliated when this does not happen (p.4).

The fact that most of the women in the discussion groups were married and knew each other may have led them to not comment on the behavior of women in the same age group and life situation, in terms of non-traditional behaviors.

Nevertheless, a more detailed analysis of the statements on the different aspects explored in the research indicates that the association between poverty and gender relations is behind this behavior pattern. Another reason, which also involves gender perceptions, concerns the blaming of women for supposedly seducing the men through the way they dress.

Poverty and gender:

The women reiterated that they live in poverty (situation of the population investigated), and imply that, in general, they do not have control over available money to cover household expenses; they do not know how much their husbands earn, and are dependant on their husband's good will to get some extra funds to pay for small personal needs.



"...money is what causes a lot of turmoil; when he does not bring money, when he does not show that, hii, I received so much, or here it is, shows the amount received, that is when there is turmoil, major uproar."

(DG, 25/03/08, women, Dondo, Sofala)

"...when he receives, if a man works, brings the money, does not spend it before bringing it home, then you are happy and content. Hiii, my husband likes me."

(DG, 25/03/08, women, Dondo, Sofala)

"...because what happens is that women get upset because they already have someone who gives them money, someone gives her 1.00 while here at home she only gets 0,50 cents. "They like this because it gives money to support the home. Others don't like it."

(DG, 28/11/07, women, Mocuba, Zambézia)

"Says, 'I don't mind' while perhaps the one who is giving her 1.00 is deceiving her..."

(DG, 14/02/08, women, Boane, Maputo)

Blaming women for seduction:

Without denying the poverty situation as a motivation for transactional sex, in general the men blamed the women's behavior and manner of dress, saying that it was a factor that encouraged this practice. The criticism regarding the exposure of women's bodies, through external influences, is linked to the breakdown of traditional social norms. Indirectly, men blame them for provoking them sexually. The women did not discuss the merit of this claim.

"The way in which women dress determines their manner of being, humm, ehh, the way this one dressed is not good, those that use short skirts and you soon find out, and there are those who dress in good capulanas, (cloth which native Mozambican women use to cover from the waist to the knee) tied properly, long, and you find out, she was brought up well at home... see how she behaves, quiet when she is walking or sitting with her friends, without doing things to attract improper attention from others..."

(DG, 04/12/07, men, Quelimane, Zambézia)

"...perhaps one of the characteristics would be the valorization of our culture, because currently what is happening, eh, a little in our society, is the disappearance of our culture. Our culture is disappearing; we are copying what we see on television... I mean, in our culture, before, the women's culture was to wear clothes, ah, in a qualified manner, eh, below the knee; but what we are seeing now, is exposed navels, hum, that to an old man, is an adulteration of what behavior should be, perhaps tradition."

(DG, 06/12/07, men, Quelimane, Zambézia)

"... this through culture; culture is too much, yes, culture is definitively lost ..."

(idem)

3. Cross-generational Sex

Underlying Factors

According to the literature, cross-generational sex is a socially acceptable phenomenon in Africa, directly linked to the social construction of the female. With the female identity rooted in the archetype of mother-wife, families tend to view an unmarried and childless adult daughter living at home as a constraint. If this is the norm, the woman will, with either direct or subliminal support from her family, try to find a partner and fall pregnant, even if he is much older (N'Weti, 2007; Luke, 2000).

This study found a certain ambivalence of opinions with regard to cross-generational sex and a kind of "culture of silence" around the matter, contributing to its perpetuation. The community does not usually interfere in those situations, considering this to be a private matter⁹.



"... it is normally said that a man does not have an age."

(DG, 13/02/08, women, Boane, Maputo)

⁹ The audience survey performed by N'weti (2007) refers to the "lack of reprimand by the family as well as the community in the involvement (mainly) of women and female adolescents with committed men (married, engaged or dating)" (p.16).



"This is very normal here in the community and if that happens, nobody will speak. The people are at ease and think it is normal."

(GD, 04/12/07, Men, Quelimane, Zambézia)

"He has a crazy heart but it could be that you do not have harmony in the home, so he prefers to leave. It could happen that he did not want to have fun with that girl, but if he marries her, and she becomes the second wife and he builds her a house where he will be happy, he can no longer get that here at home."

(DG, 14/02/08, women, Boane, Maputo)

"The community never says anything; that is their private life. When we are in our homes, it is each one for himself and God for all. To say, if you see a neighbor going out with a child, what are you going to ask? Nothing, let him do what he wants because it is his life."

(DG, 15/02/08, men, Guava/Marracuene, Maputo)

"But when the people in the community keep silent it is not because they are happy, they very often condemn it, they speak badly of the person, but they do not do so directly, but they speak, and others may even find you odd."

(DG, 14/02/08, men, Guava/Marracuene, Maputo)



Certain comments revealed that this type of behavior causes many adults to feel strange or uncomfortable due to its association, as a rule, with transactional sex, which is a situation that tends to have financial repercussions for the family of the man involved and/or jeopardizes the future of the young girl.



"In my opinion, I think that sometimes, those people who violate children because they use their money to abuse children, because they know that a child is a child, a child does not think, so they take advantage of this to use the children, then they abandon them and some of them are disgraced... then it is a scandal."

(DG, 06/12/07, men, Quelimane, Zambézia)





"A person of this age should see this girl as his daughter, and not take advantage of the fragility of a child for him to violate; often they seek out these men to have money and nothing more, and because this man has money he thinks that he will seduce all the girls and ultimately will create problems for himself at home"

(DG, 15/02/08, men, Guava/Marracuene, Maputo)

"The mother can say 'yes, you are with that man like that, an old man like him, why don't you marry someone your own age?' But she will not want to because what does she want, she wants money."

(DG 1, 06/12/07, women, Quelimane, Zambézia)

"That old man does not think, there are those that beat up their children because of exactly this, so he left his own house and went looking for a younger woman and then his children are suffering at home with no money to pay expenses."

(DG, 14/02/08, men, Guava/Marracuene, Maputo)



The findings also highlight the family's collusion with this type of relationship, as a result of poverty, interest in securing a future marriage for a daughter, or "ambition", in the perspective of some participants in the study.



"...When the daughters turn 14 years old, they go and get involved with a man of 40-something years old, when she has 500 thousand she brings it home, buys that, the mother is more relaxed and the daughter has a good boyfriend."

(DG, 06/12/07, women, Quelimane, Zambézia)

"There are ambitious families."

(DG, 14/02/08, men, Guava/Marracuene, Maputo)

"When they know that that man has dough (money), ah, my daughter, go ahead, marry him."

(Idem)





"That depends on the parents; very often the parents see whether the person has conditions (good financial situation and unmarried), if not, then it is not worth it, he can only complain for the court to give a fine, in vain; now, if it is a person with money, they do not leave you alone, they look for you until they find you and make you marry their daughter."

(Idem)

"While there are some parents who allow their underage daughters to marry older men because they treat them well, and will provide financial resources, and a home, they are more concerned with money than with age."

(DG, 21/03/08, women, 25-40, Beira, Sofala)



A similar finding can be seen in Kuate-Defo (2004), where it states that it is common for parents to encourage their daughters to become involved with older men, with the hope that they will find a husband or at least financial security; also, they will be a provider for any child that the girl may possibly already have. It was also seen that the relatives tend to reject these men when they understand that they have no intention of marrying.

Our participants also pointed out that, in general, in cross-generational relationships, the older men are normally married to someone their own age, and the young girls also have a partner or boyfriend¹⁰.



"Just to add, there are cases where the girl has two boyfriends, an older man and a boy her age, and the one serves to give her money, and the other, who is her age, she says she likes, and so for me it is sometimes difficult to explain."

(DG, 14/02/08, men, Guava/Marracuene, Maputo)



However, cross-generational sex with a very young adolescent (under 15 years old) is clearly disapproved of, mainly for health reasons, explained in item 3.3 of this report. This behavior was emphasized as "sexual abuse" in all discussion groups.

¹⁰ Based on studies on the behavior of adolescents and youth, other authors have observed that the partners (boyfriends) of those who engage in transactional sex with older men also benefit from those relationships. This, perhaps, is an important factor favoring cross-generational sex, taking into consideration that boys, generally, have no access to financial resources to please or support their girlfriends, compared to older men. In these cases, the gender dynamics are inverted, since women use those resources to seduce and/or keep their primary partners (Bagnolle, 2003; Gregson, S. et al. 2002).



"It is not advisable of a girl of 15 to get involved with an older man, of 35 years, it is not an age... it is to destroy... she will destroy herself, she will not be a woman like the others, because she began earlier ..."

(DG, 28/11/07, women, Mocuba, Zambézia)

"Another thing, they are violating the child's rights."

(DG, 04/12/07, men, Quelimane, Zambézia)

"They do this because they have no respect; currently, the older people do not have any respect for the younger people. The man dresses and has a lot of money and has everything while the child comes from a humble family, and when the man notices the child's condition, he offers money... the old man will not have the patience to do all this for nothing for the child, he does this to destroy her life, because for a long time it was inconceivable for a relationship to exist between a child and an old man, but currently we are seeing many cases like this."

(DG, 14/02/08, women, Boane, Maputo)

And even if the young girls involved are not that young, social acceptance of the norm is not the same everywhere, i.e., the situation causes many adults to feel strange or uncomfortable, even because cross-generational sex appears to be closely linked to transactional sex, and because these relationships have repercussions on the family and tend to jeopardize the future of the young girls.

Direct or Subjective Motivations/ Benefits

The findings of our study confirm most of the information existing in literature on the motivation of adults, but advance some aspects that will be mentioned further on.



- The men think they are more protected against HIV in a relationship with a young woman

"Because the girls live in poverty, they find an old man who gives them money. She prefers to go out with him, now, because the big man pays 200, 300, 500 and even more, and they say 'this child is really good, she does not play around'."

(DG, 05/12/07, women, Quelimane, Zambézia)

- They feel more power and control with a young woman

"What will happen is that because the girl wants money, he will sleep with her".

(DG, 20/03/08, men, Beira, Sofala)

"Leaves his wife at home to go and look for the "catorzinha" (very young girls cradle-robbing) because with her he feels more powerful, more of a man and the boss, regardless of whether this girl is the same age as his daughter or granddaughter or not, he thinks she is a woman and sexually abuses her".

(DG, 20/03/08, men, Beira, Sofala)

- They feel more sexual pleasure



"Those men who have sex with the girls, they think that the girls have more spirit than the housewives or the women at home."

(DG, 03/12/07, men, Morrumbala, Zambézia)

"He feels that if he gets involved with a child he will rejuvenate, and when the child becomes sexually involved with the man, the next day she feels cold while the man gets strong."

(DG, 14/02/08, women, Boane, Maputo)



- Fame/prestige among friends



"They do not gain anything, are only following, getting fame, like he is the one going out with a very young girl."

(DG, 28/11/07, women, Mocuba, Zambézia)

"His friends think that he is the greatest. 'But how did you manage to get that girl of 15, catorzinha?' while he has an older wife."

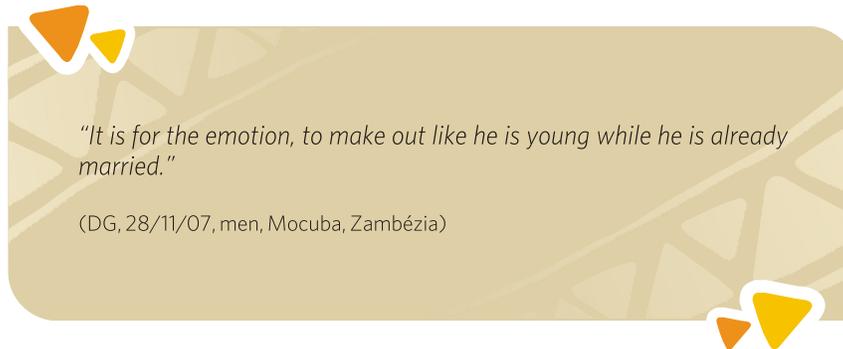
(DG, 06/12/07, women, Quelimane, Zambézia)

"First, I think that he gets fame among his colleagues and even tries to convince others to see the girl, and the friends comment that 'you managed to get a hot chick. Instead of rejecting the idea, they give him an even bigger reputation and he becomes even more at ease."

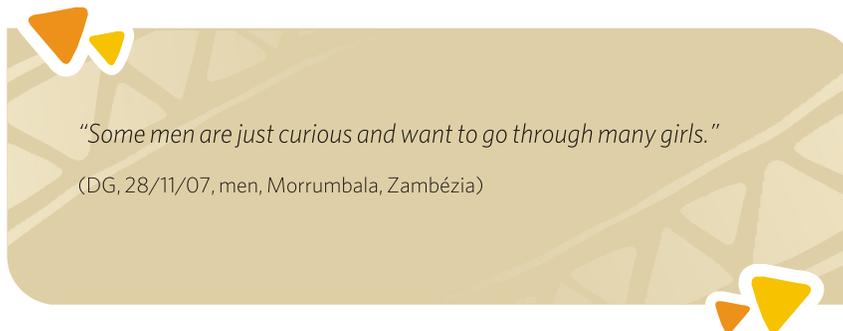
(DG, 04/12/07, men, Quelimane, Zambézia)



- Increased self-esteem



- Curiosity



These findings were also reported by authors like Bagnolle (2003), Gregson (2002), Kuate-Defo (2004) and Luke (2002), who also highlight: better status; and having someone to help with the housework, when the man does not have a wife. Bagnolle (2003) also indicated other motivations, over and above those mentioned: 1) men prefer young women because they are cheaper, easier to get and are more accessible; 2) men think that it is more socially acceptable to go around with a young girl than with a prostitute; 3) relationships with adult women are more complicated and costly, because generally they have children; 4) men think that a relationship with an adolescent is less complicated because it is easier to meet in the street, and to arrange other rendezvous, than it is with an adult woman, normally married, and who has commitments at home, in addition to the possibility of having problems with her husband.

The outcomes of our study also suggest that there are other motivations, not previously examined:

- Competition with younger men

An adult man feels powerful when he is able to provide some form of financial support for a young girl, since a boy does not have the conditions to do this.





"The girls agree to sleep with men who are not their age because of money, because now it is said that the old men pay the most; because the boys don't pay anything, when a man gives a lot of money, the girl becomes vain and the girls agree to sleep with men that are older than them."

(DG, 28/11/07, men, Mocuba, Zambézia)



"Don't they follow money these days? Because they already know that 'even if I have a friend, a boy who doesn't work, he will not give me anything'"

(DG, 28/11/07, women, Mocuba, Zambézia)



The younger men confirmed this disadvantage:



"Some acknowledge that they do not pay anything for the girls, they even say that they cannot compete with that old man, because he can even pay my salary, while the old men have nothing to lose."

(DG, 28/11/07, men, Morrumbala, Zambézia)



Older men feel that they offer more protection to a young girl than partners of the girl's own age.



"... because with a young boy the same age there will be dishonesty, while with an old man, he will pay for everything she wants, and the older man is more concerned for the girl."

(DG, 06/12/07, men, Quelimane, Zambézia)





"If you are lucky with an adult man, you can be treated nicely because you, that are young, that man can marry you and take care of you, but the boys still want to run wild, they want to meet people their age, and now this man still sees this girl as a baby and so takes good care of her."

(DG, 13/02/08, women, Boane, Maputo)



- Adults are allowing themselves to do, in sexual terms, what they did not have the opportunity to do when they were young (opportunity to satisfy repressed desires).



"...During his youth he did not have the opportunity to date, because culture did not allow it, and ihhh, now things have changed. In those times, when you were discovered with a woman that was not your wife, you were punished and now it does not happen. And so, those who never got the chance to be with a pretty woman now give thanks..."

(DG, 04/12/07, men, Quelimane, Zambézia)



- Repressed desires associated with blaming adolescent girls.



"People say that these days children want old men and old men want children, but the children are too much!... because these children, the way they dress (laughter) don't even say it, and an adult cannot resist, he ends up giving all his money in exchange for the sex that he never had as a child."

(DG, 06/12/07, men, 25-35, Quelimane)



- Young women are more uninhibited.



“Married couples do not like to talk about sex, for example, what a woman wants a man to do so that she feels more satisfied, but this is only because the woman is shy, which is why the men find young girls out there and they say do it like this, I want it like that ...”

(DG, 20/03/08, women, Beira, Sofala)



- To avoid rejection by older women, when the man has some disease that is noticeable to adults.



“It could be that this man has realized he has a disease and when he goes out with other people they also see that he has a disease, but they still don't know what it is, so he wants to relieve himself with the child because everyone avoids him, his sperm is building up and so when he finds the children he entices them with money and becomes sexually involved with them and feels relieved.”

(DG, 14/02/08, women, Boane, Maputo)



In short, the underlying factors and motivations linked to multiple concurrent partners, in its various forms, in Mozambique, reveal that gender norms contribute to maintaining these practices. However, there are indications that a certain social conscience is developing on the need for changes in current relationship patterns, so as to protect men and women against HIV. This awareness should be reinforced in community-based communication and in the media. The findings are summarized below:

Unfavorable Aspects

- Social perception that men are polygamous by nature (biologically determined);
- Excess consumption of alcohol, favoring unprotected sex;
- Transactional sex as a “way out” to meet basic and superfluous needs; and.
- Social perception of cross-generational sex as a private issue. Despite being morally condemned, when dealing with adolescents, society does not offer any mechanisms to prevent this practice.

Favorable Aspects

- For men and women, extramarital relations imply a deviation of resources from the household budget, affecting the children and the well-being of the family;
- Men and women admire people who remain faithful in their marriage;
- A faithful man is considered by other men to be an intelligent person because he protects his family from STDs/HIV;
- When the partner is faithful, the women feel more confident, respected and take this attitude as proof of love;
- Men and women want to have a happy family life, in a climate of peace and harmony;
- Cross-generational sex is seen as sexual abuse when it involves girls under the age of 15, and is generally associated with transactional sex.



juntos vamos mudar

juntos vamos mudar

Perception of Risk in Multiple Concurrent Partnerships, and in Transactional and Cross-generational Sex



C. Perception of Risk in Multiple Concurrent Partnerships, and in Transactional and Cross-generational Sex

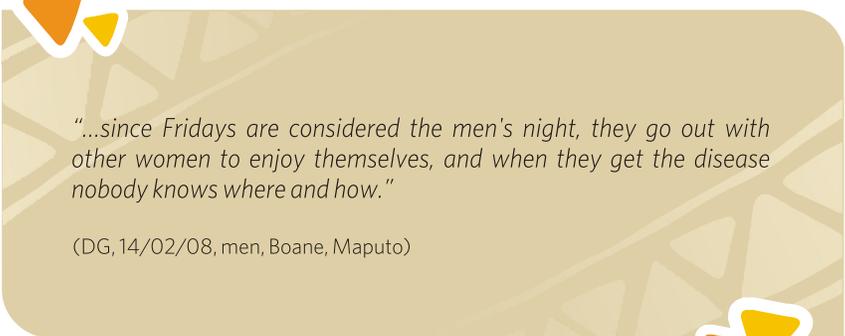
In this section we will present the results on the perceptions of risk in sexual relationships, without separating the different categories of behavior identified in the Holman (2008) analysis on multiple concurrent partnerships, mentioned in the introduction of this report. The CCP team will carry out an additional analysis, taking these categories into consideration, to investigate whether differences exist between the perception of risk according to type of relationship/ behavior.

1. Perception of risk in multiple concurrent partnerships

The findings show that, in general, men and women from urban and rural areas acknowledge that a person may become infected with HIV in multiple and unprotected sexual relations, and transmit the virus to other partners. What prevents people from protecting themselves against infection may be summarized in the following factors: 1) The relativization of exposure to the risk of infection through sexual relations; 2) Gender norms associated with the perception of men being biologically stronger, not being easily contaminated; 3) Appearance and trust as criteria to reduce the risks associated with gender conditionings.

The relativization of exposure to the risk of infection through sexual relations

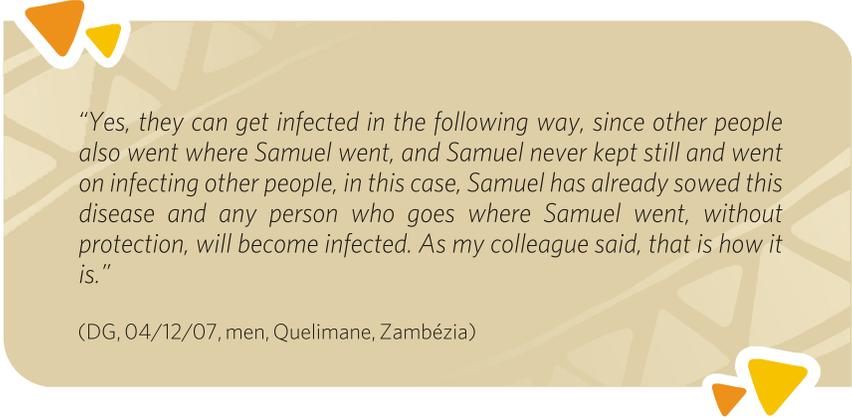
The participants in the study acknowledged that a person may become infected in unprotected sexual relations.



"...since Fridays are considered the men's night, they go out with other women to enjoy themselves, and when they get the disease nobody knows where and how."

(DG, 14/02/08, men, Boane, Maputo)

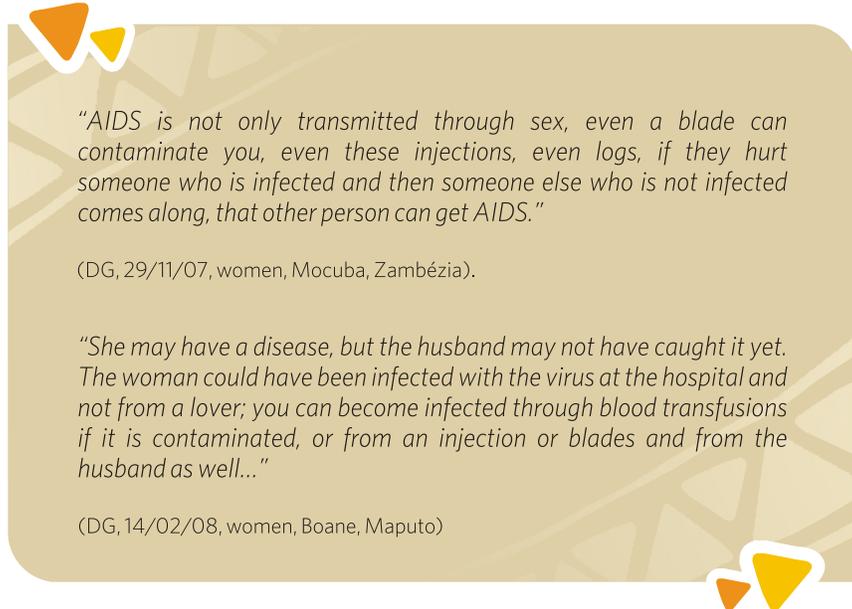
They also agreed that an infected person may go on to transmit the virus in other sexual relations. With prompting from a photograph showing a case of multiple partners, the facilitator checked whether the participants were aware of the transmission chain: "In addition to Samuel, could some other people also be infected?"



"Yes, they can get infected in the following way, since other people also went where Samuel went, and Samuel never kept still and went on infecting other people, in this case, Samuel has already sowed this disease and any person who goes where Samuel went, without protection, will become infected. As my colleague said, that is how it is."

(DG, 04/12/07, men, Quelimane, Zambézia)

However, they consider the possibility of other routes of transmission (contaminated sharp objects, injections, razor blades, etc.) sometimes placing them on the same level of damage as the sexual ones. Thus, they understand that a person may even take sexual precautions, but he/she will not be safe from becoming infected through those other routes, where he/she does not have much control. Women, for example, expressed difficulty in knowing whether a married man was infected through extramarital relations or by other means. Naturally, this may be only a "defense mechanism" used by women so as not to face their partner's infidelity, nevertheless, it reveals that there are still doubts regarding the importance/ usefulness of prevention during sexual relations.



"AIDS is not only transmitted through sex, even a blade can contaminate you, even these injections, even logs, if they hurt someone who is infected and then someone else who is not infected comes along, that other person can get AIDS."

(DG, 29/11/07, women, Mocuba, Zambézia).

"She may have a disease, but the husband may not have caught it yet. The woman could have been infected with the virus at the hospital and not from a lover; you can become infected through blood transfusions if it is contaminated, or from an injection or blades and from the husband as well..."

(DG, 14/02/08, women, Boane, Maputo)