



UNIVERSITY of CALIFORNIA, SAN DIEGO
SCHOOL OF MEDICINE



What do we mean when we say transactional sex?

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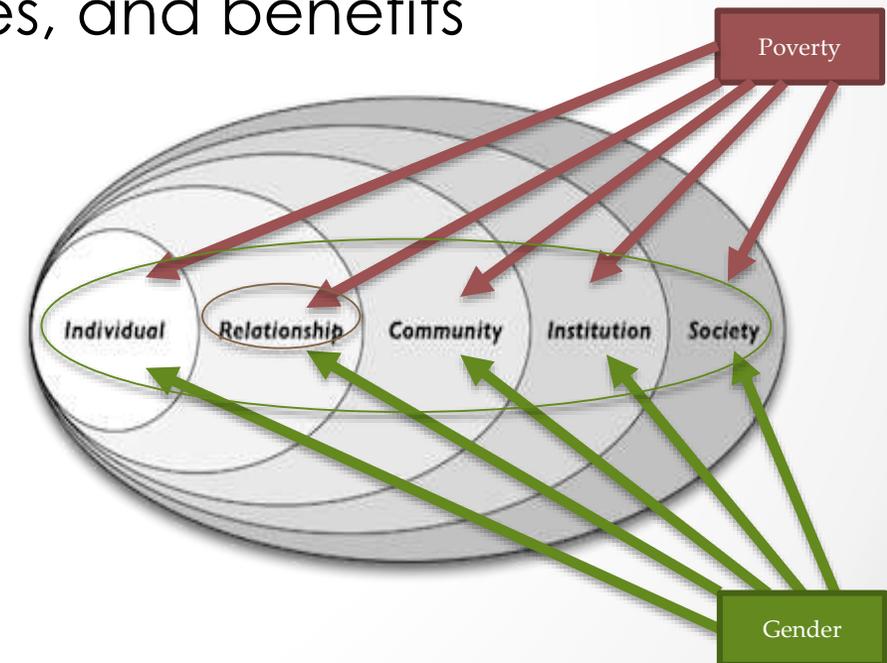
Transactional sex and HIV

“Exchange of sex for money, gifts, or material goods”

- Distinct from sex work
- Increases risk of HIV by 50%, significantly associated with IPV
- Social behavior – social risks, pressures, and benefits

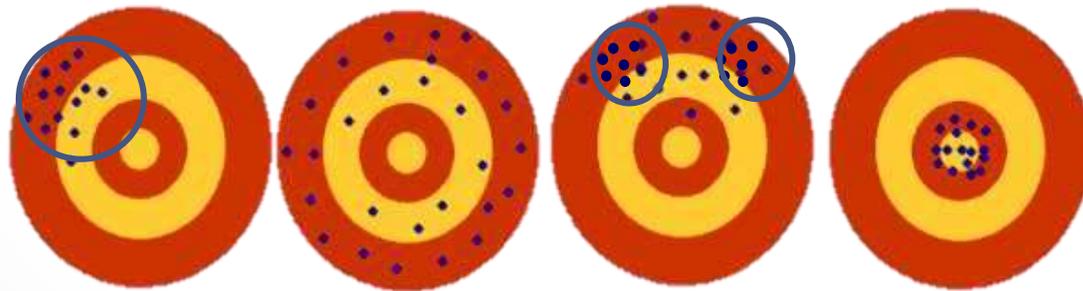
Etic: Outsider perspective

Emic: Insider perspective



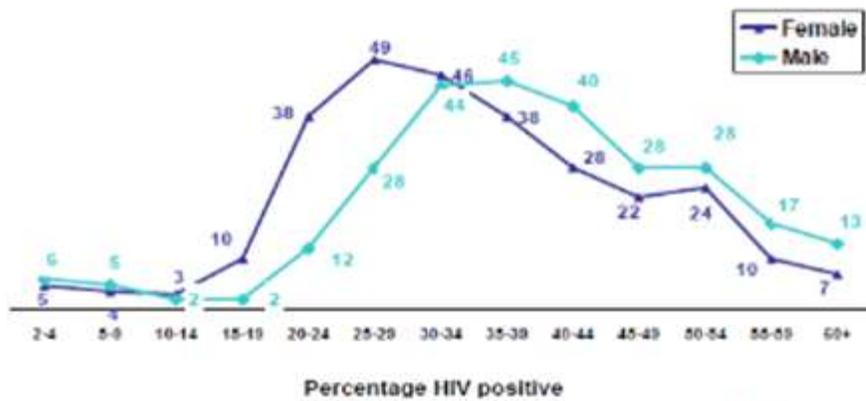
Cultural consensus modeling

- Capture context and thick description with a quantifiable operationalization
- Cultural consensus analysis:
 - etic idea → emic understanding → quantitative operationalization of emic understanding.

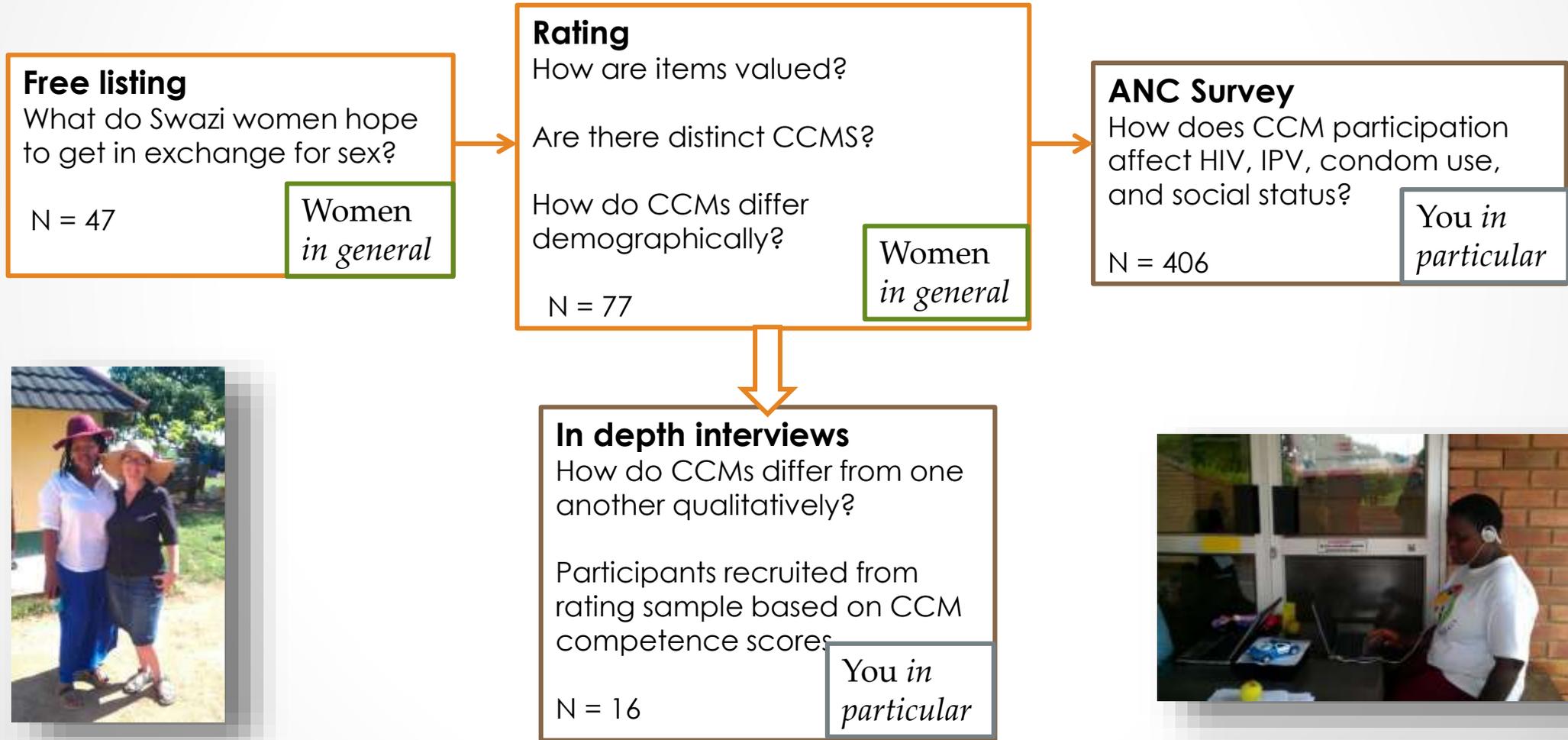


Swaziland

HIV Prevalence among Population Age 2 and Older by Age and Sex



Data collection



Models of Transactional Sex

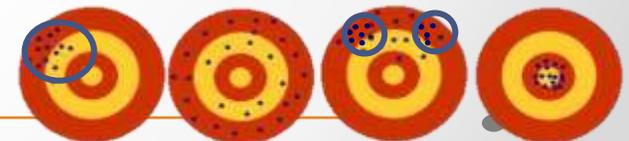
	Aspirational	Work migration	Inkhosikati	University
n	12	27	19	17
Eigenvalue ratio	3.61	2.59	3.03	4.55
Age mean (SD)	27 (7.27)	26.48 (7.16)	31.44† (11.43)	24.41 (3.24)
Education* mean (SD)	11.33 (2.19)	10.30 (2.96)	10.21 (2.37)	12.29 (1.36) ††
Married % (n)	16.67 (2)	37.04 (10)	47.37 (9)	11.76 (2)
Rural* % (n)	41.67 (5)	70.37 (19)	68.42 (13)	29.41 (5) †
University ** % (n)	50.00 (6)	22.22 (6)	15.79 (3)	64.71 (11) ††

Significant ANOVA: * p<.05

** p<.01

Significant ttest or chi-square vs. other consensus groups: † p<.05

††p<.01

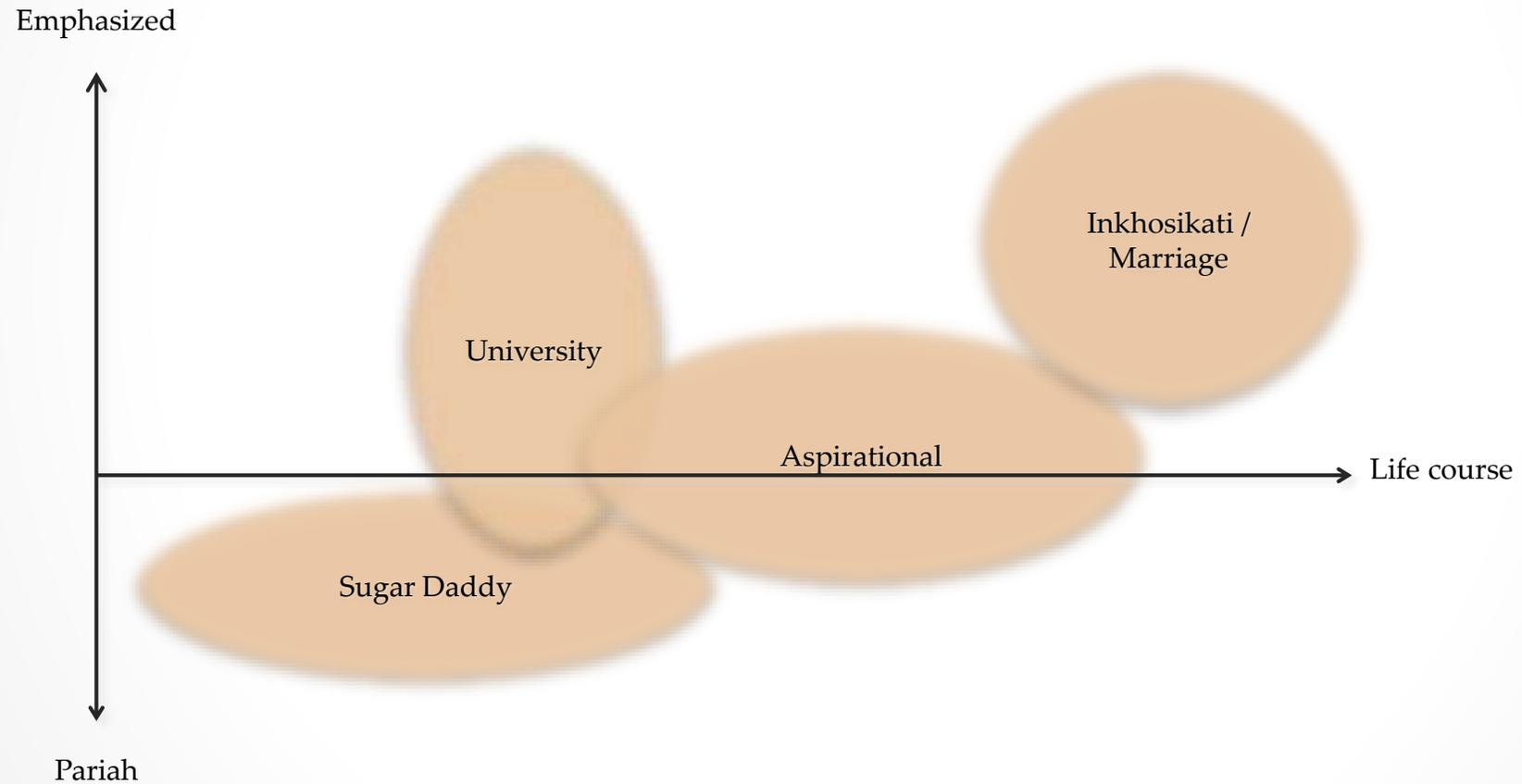


Answer Keys and Competence Scores

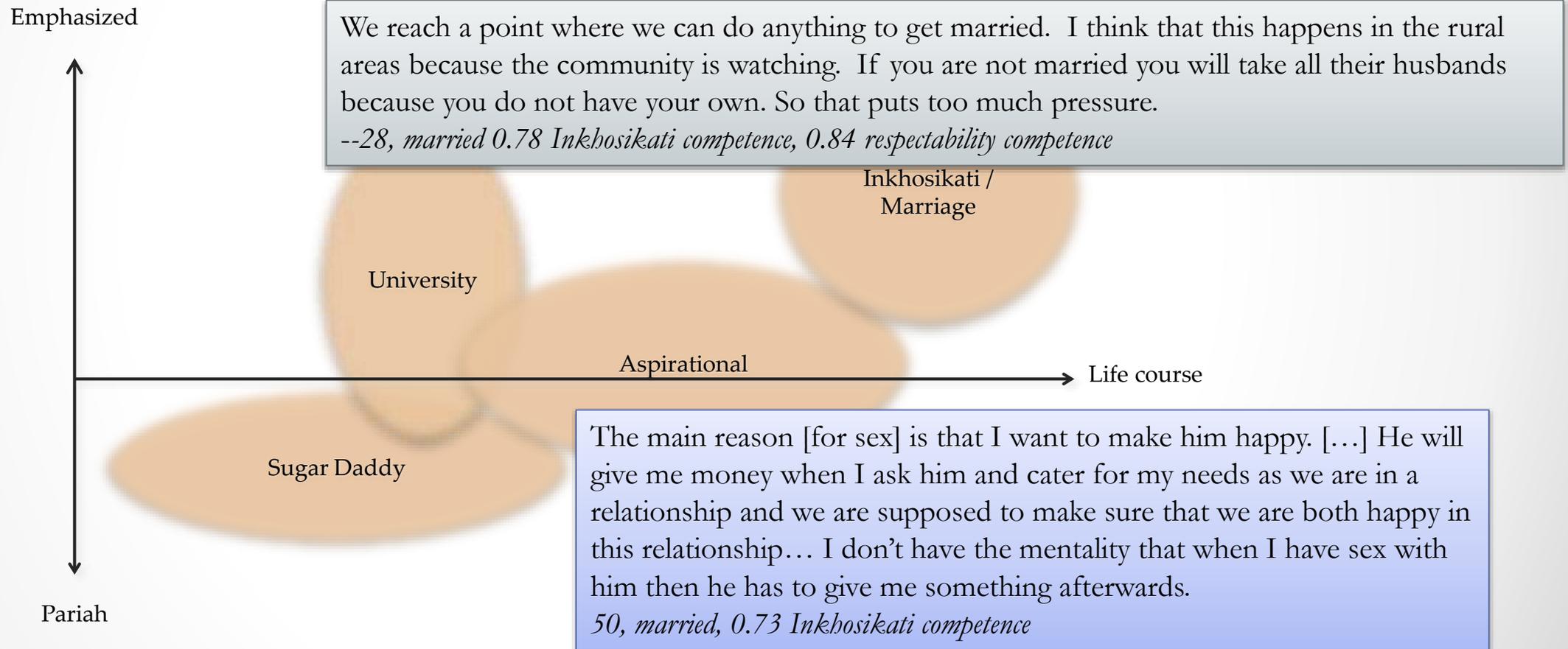
Inkhosikati		Aspirational		University	
*basic food	3.9	*fun night out	4.5	love	4.2
*alcohol	3.4	*phone	4.4	marriage	4.1
*phone	3.2	*airtime	4.1	*provide for children	3.9
*clothes	2.9	*clothes	3.9	label clothes	3.9
*airtime	2.7	*toiletries	3.7	*fashionable clothes	3.7
*cosmetics	2.6	*hairstyle	3.7	expensive clothes	3.7
*fashionable clothes	2.5	*restaurant	3.6	*nice lifestyle	3.7
*toiletries	2.5	*alcohol	3.6	enjoyment	3.6
*hairstyle	2.4	label clothes	3.6	*phone	3.6
*provide for child	2.2	*basic food	3.6	*clothes	3.6
*provide for family	2.1	expensive clothes	3.6	*rent	3.5
marriage	2.1	*takeaway	3.6	*shoes	3.5
label clothes	2.0	enjoyment	3.5	*hairstyle	3.3
sexual satisfaction	2.0	*fashionable clothes	3.5	sexual satisfaction	3.3
*nice lifestyle	1.9	sexual satisfaction	3.4	*job	3.2

Inkhosikati		Aspirational		University	
ID	Score	ID	Score	ID	Score
1	0.857	20	0.777	32	0.810
2	0.824	21	0.771	33	0.793
3	0.779	22	0.744	34	0.777
4	0.728	23	0.662	35	0.763
5	0.685	24	0.651	36	0.705
6	0.671	25	0.635	37	0.675
7	0.638	26	0.616	38	0.666
8	0.629	27	0.598	39	0.650
9	0.553	28	0.538	40	0.597
10	0.514	29	0.514	41	0.564
11	0.494	30	0.354	42	0.561
12	0.403	31	-0.069	43	0.546
13	0.386			44	0.509
14	0.311			45	0.329
15	0.259			46	0.328
16	0.222			47	0.323
17	0.140			48	0.147
18	0.034				
19	-0.065				

Models of transactional sex



Models of transactional sex



Models of transactional sex

Emphasized



Pariah

Maybe there is something big which he will do for you, like giving you pocket money so that you can buy things you need or else he surprises you and buys you things that you need. Maybe he knows that you need a new phone then he buys you one. Maybe you need clothes, maybe he notices that you need to do your hair and he takes you to the salon. Or maybe next day he marries you and you become his wife.

24, single, 0.60 Aspirational competence

University

Aspirational

Life course

Sugar Daddy

Models of transactional sex

Emphasized



Pariah

University

Aspirational

Life course

Sugar Daddy

I have learnt to do things for myself and besides ... where did I expect him to get the things I needed? I do ask him for some money if I need to do my hair, I simply tell that that I need to do my hair. He knows that every month he has to give me money to do my hair and buy myself anything I need. I can say he is my friend because we get along just fine... Like I do give him the respect he deserves as my boyfriend but I'm free when I'm with him.

21, single, 0.81 University competence

He is someone who understands my situation and when I ask him anything he is so understanding as he can see that I'm a single parent and I am still at school... The only problem I have is that I have to have sex with him whereas I don't love him at all.

19, single, 0.76 University competence

Models of transactional sex

Emphasized



Pariah

Uni

I freely asked him [for what I wanted] as I took advantage of the fact that I knew that he was going to give me anything I asked for because I knew that it was his way of drawing me closer to him in order for me to have sex with him
30, married, 0.67 University competence

Aspirational

Life course

Sugar Daddy

Models of transactional sex

Emphasized



Pariah

University

Sugar Daddy

Inkhosikati /
Marriage

I didn't eat in this fancy restaurant -- who can tell what food I eat every day? No one. So why should I put myself at risk of contracting HIV for something which is useless? It would be fine if I sleep with a man and then he builds me a house. If I die I will leave my children with property.

-34, single, 0.60 University competence

Transactional sex as a scale

Inkhosikati		Aspirational		University	
*basic food	3.9	*fun night out	4.5	love	4.2
*alcohol	3.4	*phone	4.4	marriage	4.1
*phone	3.2	*airtime	4.1	*provide for children	3.9
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	%(n)
HIV positive	33.79 (123)
Violence	
0-1 events last 12 months	61.89 (242)
2+ events last 12 months	38.11 (149)
Condom use at last sex	41.94 (164)
	Mean (SD)
	Range
Age	24.55 (4.99)
n=392	18-42
Relationship duration (months)	51.02 (59.59)
n=373	0.13 – 583.82



Transactional sex consonance scales: Condom use

	Inkhosikati (Z-score)		Aspirational (Z-score)		University (Z-score)		Etic Definition	
	<i>aOR</i>	(95% CI)	<i>aOR</i>	(95% CI)	<i>aOR</i>	(95% CI)	<i>aOR</i>	95% CI
Condom use last sex	0.73	(0.58 – 0.93)	0.76	(0.60 – 0.96)	0.76	(0.60 – 0.97)	0.78	(0.40 – 1.52)

For each standard deviation increase in transactional sex participation, condom use decreased ~25%

Binary etic* definition not sensitive to condom use

*Sex motivated by poverty, money, hunger, or for the sake of her children



Transactional sex consonance scales:

Social status

Multinomial Logistic Regression	Inkhosikati (Z-score)		Aspirational (Z-score)		University (Z-score)		Etic Definition	
	aRRR	(95% CI)	aRRR	(95% CI)	aRRR	(95% CI)	aOR	95% CI
Subjective social status								
<i>Quartile 1</i>	Ref		Ref		Ref		Ref	
<i>Quartile 2</i>	1.17	(0.80 – 1.70)	1.23	(0.83 – 1.82)	1.23	(0.83 – 1.82)	0.80	(0.31 – 2.07)
<i>Quartile 3</i>	1.36	(0.96 – 1.94)	1.44	(1.00 – 2.06)	1.49	(1.04 – 2.15)	0.39	(0.14 – 1.14)
<i>Quartile 4</i>	1.41	(1.00 – 2.00)	1.51	(1.05 – 2.17)	1.52	(1.06 – 2.19)	0.89	(0.35 – 2.24)

Receiving more things from a partner significantly improved social status for women who were most consonant with Aspirational or University models of transactional sex, but not the Inkhosikati model.

Binary subjective definition was not sensitive to social status.



What about agency?

Free lists

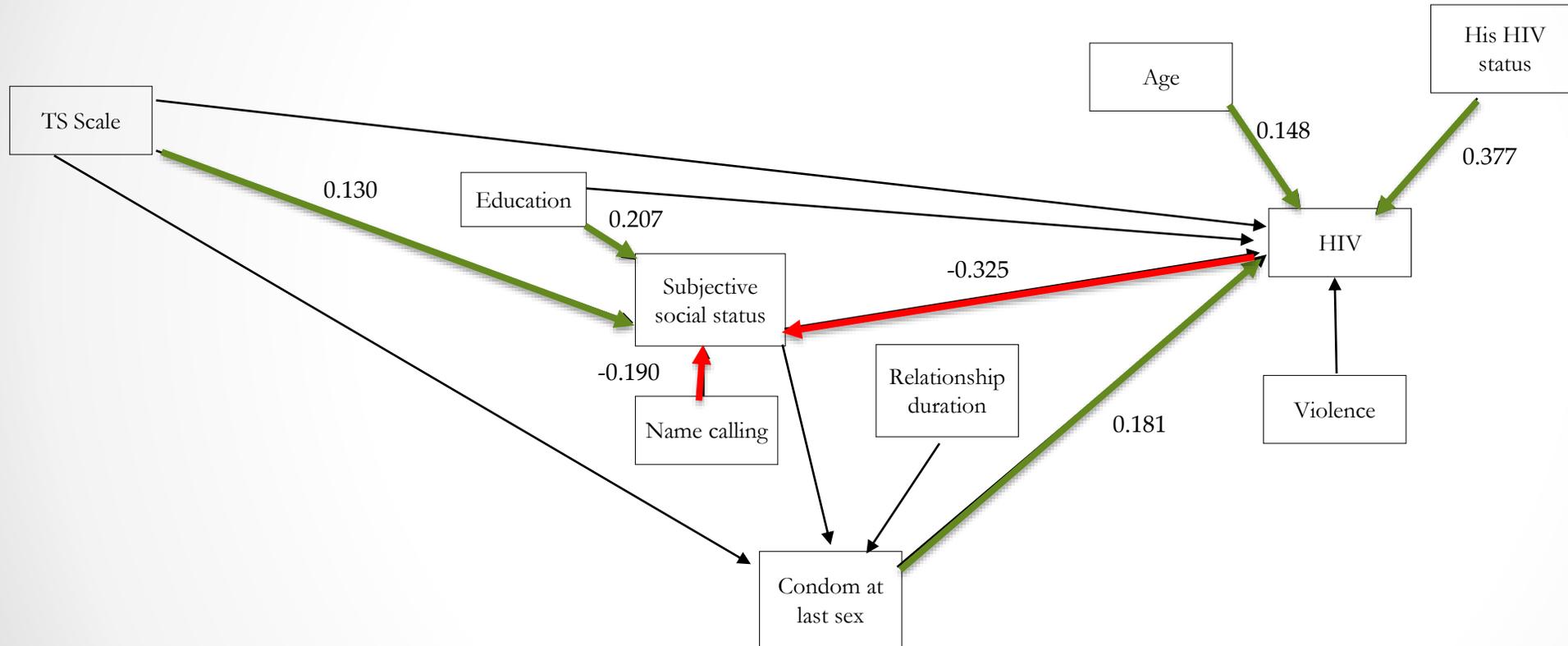
- “What do Swazi women get, or hope to get, in exchange for sex?”
- “What makes a Swazi woman admired?”
- “What makes a Swazi woman agree to have sex?”

Poverty	Security
Spite	So he would commit
Fear of violence	To show commitment
Money	Sex work
Hunger	Prevent infidelity
Rape or abuse	His right as a husband
Parents forced you to	Women should submit to men
Hope he would marry you	He has a nice lifestyle
Sake of your children	He has high status
Fear he would leave	So he wouldn't cheat
Love	Peer pressure
Sexual satisfaction	A nice lifestyle
To have children	Get or keep a job

Agency, transactional sex, and IPV

n=386	Inkhosikati		Aspirational		University	
<i>Chi-sqr, df (p-value)</i>	62.573, 43 (.03)		63.514, 43 (.03)		63.09, 43 (.02)	
RMSEA	.034		.035		.035	
CFI	.956		.953		.954	
TLI	.942		.939		.941	
<i>Latent variable:</i>	Std estimate	p-value	Std estimate	p-value	Std estimate	p-value
Constrained agency						
Poverty	.815	<0.001	.813	<0.001	.813	<0.001
Money	.606	<0.001	.624	<0.001	.613	<0.001
Hunger	.930	<0.001	.928	<0.001	.930	<0.001
Fear he will leave	.596	<0.001	.595	<0.001	.598	<0.001
Violence	.848	<0.001	.844	<0.001	.845	<0.001
Forced by parents	.732	<0.001	.734	<0.001	.737	<0.001
Constrained Agency						
Education	-.222	.01	-.223	.01	-.217	.01
Rural residence	.033	.73	.037	.70	.033	.73
Transactional sex	.088	.41	.102	.35	.068	.53
Intimate Partner Violence						
Constrained agency	.186	.001	.185	.001	.187	.001
Transactional sex	-.108	.09	-.122	.05	-.123	.05
Partner drinks alcohol	.163	.01	.165	.01	.161	.01
First sex wanted	.209	.001	.208	.001	.209	.001

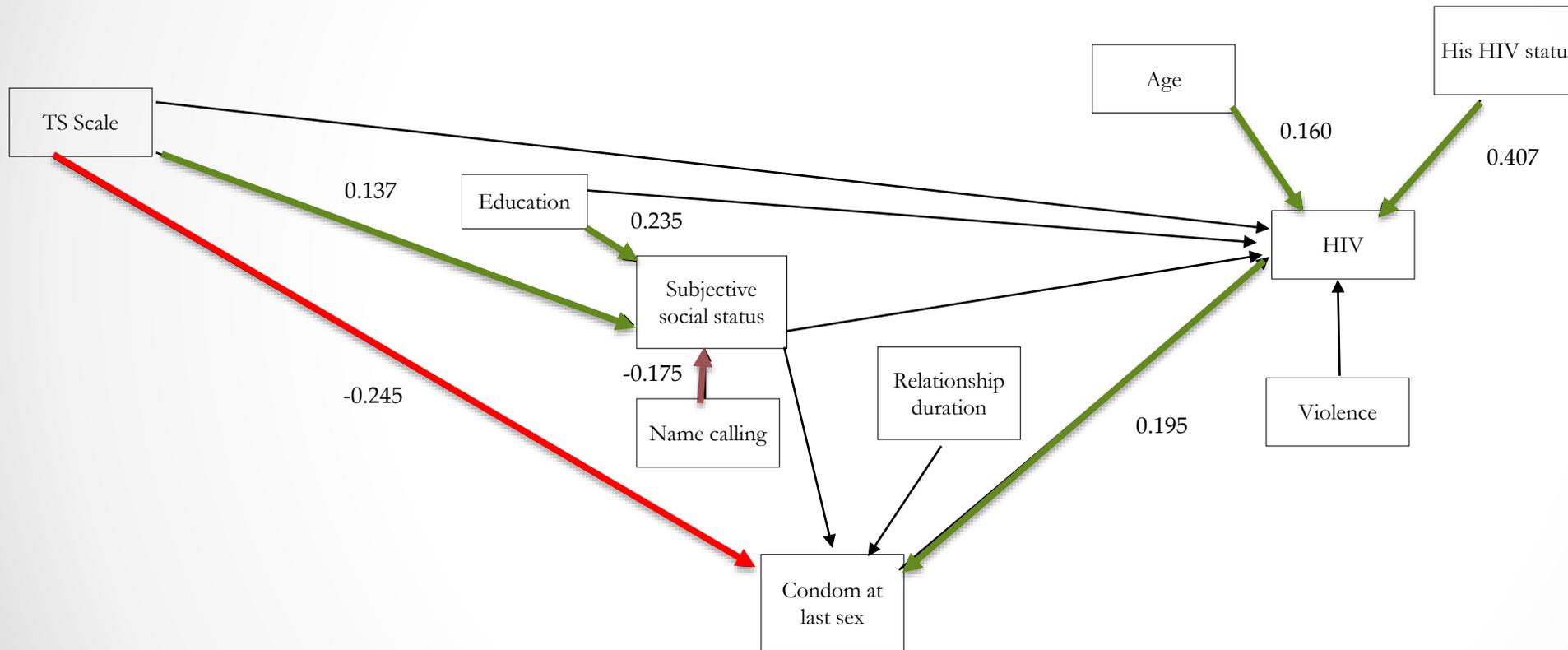
Constrained agency and HIV



Constrained: 107
Unconstrained: 254

None: 70.7%
1: 19.9%
2+: 9.4%

Unconstrained agency and HIV



Constrained: 107
Unconstrained: 254

None: 70.7%
1: 19.9%
2+: 9.4%

What do we mean when we say transactional sex?

- A (measurable!) spectrum, not one binary relationship type
- Transactional sex has physical and social risks and benefits -- women know this.
- Programming efforts must take into account the role of constrained agency in transactional relationships
- Important not to pathologize women who may already be at social margins

Acknowledgments

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