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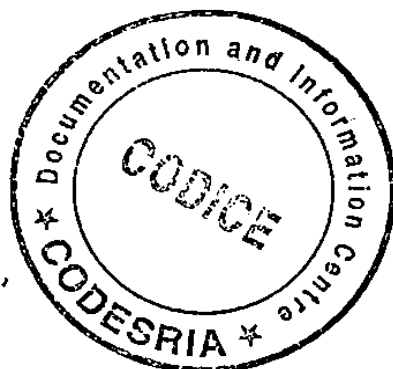
THE UNIVERSITY
OF ADO-EKITI,
NIGERIA

**Gender differences in the
perception of male sexuality in
Ekiti, southwest, Nigeria**

DECEMBER, 2001

07 MAY 2002

**GENDER DIFFERENCES IN THE PERCEPTION OF MALE
SEXUALITY IN EKITI, SOUTHWEST, NIGERIA.**



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BY

OGUNTIMEHIN FOLAKEMI

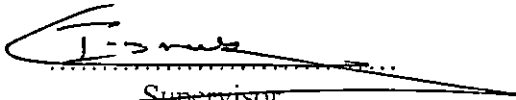
(SOCIOLOGY DEPARTMENT)

**A THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF
PHILOSOPHY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ADO-EKITI, NIGERIA.**


DECEMBER, 2001

CERTIFICATION

Oguntimehin Folakemi of the Department of Sociology, Univeristy of Ado-Ekiti
undertook this project, under my supervision.


.....
Supervisor
Professor I.O. Orubuloye

12th December 2001
.....
Date


.....
Head of Department

12/12/2001
.....
Date

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DEDICATION

To my loving daughter – Oluwafunmike Boluwatife Ogundana

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

First and foremost, I give glory and adoration to God, for His guidance, provision, protection, infinite mercies and more importantly for the wisdom to go about this work.

All honour is to His name.

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ABSTRACT

Studies on male sexuality revealed that sexual norms operate differently for men and women. While women are usually expected to be chaste and remain within the confines of marriage, men enjoy some degree of permissiveness and sexual freedom.

The main objective of this study was to examine Gender Differences and Similarities in the Perception of Male Sexuality in Ekiti, Southwest, Nigeria. Towards achieving this aim, both quantitative and qualitative methods of data collection were employed. This was largely informed by the belief that issues of sexual behaviour are too subtle and complicated to be explored adequately using only standard (quantitative) survey technique. To further enrich this study, spouses were matched in the course of data collection.

The findings showed that a high rate of both male premarital and extramarital sex still obtained among the study population. However, much of the husbands' extramarital sexual relations was borne out of the need to satisfy pressing and overpowering sexual urge and the desire for the company of women other than their wives rather than the traditional need for a substitute when the wives are abstaining from sex following the birth of a child. Nonetheless, the husbands did not engage in sex with commercial sex workers but with girl friends and women friends.

The study also reported that some of the extramarital sexual relations occurred with some apprehension for catching STIs. Some level of condom use/safe sex exists among the study population. However, there is still the belief that when one is selective and careful in his choice of sexual partners, he is not likely to contact STI.

Unlike in the past, when there was a universal assumption that wives have no right to comment upon, or even take note of husbands' sexual activities, this study had shown that wives have a right to know and to interfere in husbands' extramarital sexual activities. Indeed, many of the wives involved in this study were actually aware of their husbands' extramarital sexual relationships. The ability of a woman/wife to interfere, know and be aware of her husband's extramarital sexual activity is largely a function of spousal religion and educational status.

Besides, wives are increasingly attempting some control on their husbands' sexual behaviour. The findings of this study had shown that mothers are more likely to control their sons' sexuality than they would control their husbands. Parental disposition to their daughters' engagement in commercial sex was universally negative. However, those who chose to become sex workers were difficult to control.

A significant observation from this study was that marital fidelity is not impossible for men. While a significant proportion of the husbands indicated that a man would be happy if he has just a sexual partner in his lifetime, many of the wives expressed the burning desire to satisfy their husbands sexually. The path to this was given as adequate love and understanding.

This study also showed that there are more gender similarities than differences regarding the perception of male sexuality among the study population. The only issue upon which the perception of the spouses tends to differ is whether there are biological differences in men's and women's need for sex. The majority of the wives compared to their husbands upheld the opinion that men and women differ biologically in the number

of sexual partners that they need. On the whole, the study has shown that gender perception of male sexuality is a function of socio-economic characteristics.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
HIV	Human Immune Deficiency Virus
IPS	International Press Service
STIs/STDs	Sexually Transmitted Infections/Diseases
DHS	Demographic Health Surveys
US	United States (of America)
NASCP	National Co-ordinator of the National AIDS and Sexually Transmitted Infections Control Programme
NDHS	National Demographic Health Surveys
CAFN	Changing African Family Project, Nigerian Segment
CDC	Centre for Disease Control (United States of America)
IUD	Intra-Uterine Device
LGA(s)	Local Government Area(s)
UNAD	University of Ado-Ekiti, Nigeria
SAREC	Swedish Research Agency for Cooperation with Developing Countries
WHO	World Health Organisation
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Education Fund
UNAIDS	United Nations Program on AIDS
FEAP	Family Economic Advancement Program
NCE	National Certificate of Education
ACE	Associateship Certificate of Education
SAP	Structural Adjustment Program

EPI Expanded Programme on Immunisation

PRB Population Reference Bureau

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BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

The Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) was first discovered in 1981 among homosexuals, male bisexuals and intravenous drug users in the USA (CDC, 1981). It was also diagnosed among men and women with multiple sexual partners in Rwanda, Uganda and Zaire between 1982 and 1984 (Greeley, 1988). Since then, HIV/AIDS has become an issue for extensive policy-making, medical and social research, and of widespread media and public discussion world-wide. Indeed, HIV/AIDS has become a major public health, social, political and economic problem in the world today. It is both epidemic and pandemic. It cuts across countries, gender, age, race, social and economic strata.

The global AIDS estimates reveal that by the end of 1999, 16.3 million people world-wide were living with HIV, including those with symptomatic AIDS. About 32.4 million (about 96%) of those infected were adults of reproductive age while 1.2 million were children below 15 years. About 16.3 million people had died of AIDS since the outbreak of the epidemic while 2.6 million of the AIDS-related deaths occurred in 1999 (IFPP, 2000). Indeed, the 1999 estimates reveal a continuing rapid spread of HIV.

It is estimated that well over 90 percent of the HIV/AIDS sufferers are in the developing countries and more than two-thirds of these are found in sub-Saharan Africa. Indeed, four out of every HIV positive women in the world live in sub-Saharan Africa (IFPP, 1999; 2000). In this region alone, it has been estimated that by year 2010, 200 million people will have been infected (Piel, 1994), while 13.8 million people will have

died of AIDS by the turn of year 2015 (Way and Stanecki, 1991).

The progression of the epidemic has slowed down in some worst hit developing countries such as Thailand and Uganda (UNAIDS, 1997, 1998, 1999; MAP, 1997; Ntozi and Ahimbisiwe, 1997; IPS 1998; Accorsi et.al. 1999), it is reported to be on the increase in some other countries. For instance, South Africa continues to be worst affected by HIV. By early 1997, the Government of South Africa estimated that 2.4 million South Africans were living with HIV. This is up by more than a-third over 1996 (UNAIDS, 1997). By 1998, the HIV figure in South Africa had risen to 3.6 million (South Africa Department of Health, 1999). By the end of 1999, it was estimated that between 140,000 and 150,000 AIDS death had occurred over the year in South Africa. Moreover, there were 2,500 new infections per day (Shell, 1999). In Botswana, the proportion of the adult population living with HIV has doubled over the last five years. In Zimbabwe, infection was estimated at one in five adults in 1996 (UNAIDS, 1997).

In Nigeria, the first case of AIDS was reported in 1986 with only two cases. By June 30, 1997, 10,803 cases were reported to the National AIDS and STD Control Programme (Rukujei, 1997). As at June, 1998, Nigeria had an adult prevalence rate¹ of 4.1% (UNAIDS, 1999). The report of the National Sentinel Surveillance revealed that between 1993 and 1999, there had been a steady increase in HIV prevalence in virtually all states throughout Nigeria. The overall National average prevalence rate increased from 1.8% in 1990 through 3.8% in 1993 to 5.4 % in 1999 (NASCP/Federal Ministry of Health and Social Services, 2000).

¹ The number of adult living with HIV per 1,000 adults aged 15-49 years in the population.

Although Ekiti State, where this study was undertaken still remains a low risk region in terms of the AIDS epidemic (see appendix B). The 1999 HIV/Syphilis Sentinel Surveillance Report put the HIV level at 2.2% for the whole State and 1.7% for Ado-Ekiti, the State Capital.(NASCP/Federal Ministry of Health, 2000).

The main mode of HIV/AIDS transmission in sub-Saharan Africa is heterosexual sex (Kambou et al., 1992; Tanne, 1992; and Caldwell et.al., 1993; Rukujei, 1997) Besides, the high prevalence rate of HIV/AIDS experienced in sub-Saharan Africa is not unconnected with the high prevalence rate of sexually transmitted infections (STIs) that has been reported for the region (Osoba, 1981, 1990; Feyisetan, 1991; Mann, Tarantola and Netter, 1992; Lande, 1993; Orubuloye, 1993b; Erwin, 1993; Brabin, et.al., 1995; McCoy, 1995, Bauni and Obonyo, 1999).

Going by many reports, a history of STIs has been a major risk factor in the transmission of HIV/AIDS. For instance, findings from many AIDS patients across Africa reveal a past history of STI. This was put at 50 percent for Kinshasa, 35 percent in Tanzania, 67 percent in Rwanda, 71 percent in males in Zimbabwe and 51 percent in their female counterparts (Pepin et al. 1989). Caldwell and his colleagues (1989) also revealed that the high risk of HIV/AIDS in Africa is as a result of networks of sexual relations as well as the product of a persistence of untreated genital lesions and ulcers largely relating to sexually transmitted infections and perhaps also, to some extent, the unhygienic conditions in poverty-stricken environments. Bond and Ndubani (1997) corroborate this in their assertion that:

“The breaks in the normal protection of the genital tract, caused by genital ulcers in particular, are an ideal entry or exit point for HIV during intercourse, and are thought to increase the risk of HIV

transmission through sexual intercourse by at least 4 to 10 times”.

Further evidence indicates that non-ulcerative STIs may facilitate the spread of HIV while they cause inflammation and contamination of the skin of the genital tract (Prual, *et al.*, 1991). In a study conducted in Mwanza, Tanzania, for instance, an effective biomedical STI control has been reported to reduce HIV transmission by as much as 40 percent (Grosshurth, *et al.*, 1995).

However, while the alarm over AIDS prevails, the situation seems different with regard to other sexually transmitted infections. For instance, in some urban centres in Nigeria, gonorrhoea is metaphorically called “the disease of the sociable” (Bakare, 1990) or “GCE” meaning “General Certificate of Expertise” (Ogbuagu and Charles, 1991). Thus, a man who has not contacted gonorrhoea in his lifetime is considered unsociable or a novice in sexual exploration. To sex adventurers, therefore, gonorrhoea is said to be a recognised “general certificate of expertise”. This closely confirms Sabatier’s (1988) view that: “gonorrhoea is so common among some ethnic groups, even to an extent that African doctors have written that its symptoms are sometimes regarded as a sign of sexual awakening or potency”.

It is widely acknowledged that a significant proportion of people with STIs in Africa do not attend formal health facilities for treatment due to various reasons including stigmatisation; inadequacies of the modern diagnostic/treatment facilities and services; poor access; negative attitude of health staff to STIs patients; lack of confidentiality and in some cases due to the high treatment cost arising from the Government user-pays health policy. In an exploratory study of STI patients in Ado-Ekiti, for example, 81 percent of the patients did not seek treatment until a week (7 days) after the notice of the

symptoms. The usual first place of call for treatment was herbal homes, patent medicine stores (self medication) pharmacies, private hospitals and government hospitals in that order (Akinawo and Oguntimehin, 1997). Seven-tenths of the patients reported that modern hospitals (private and government) are better treatment places for STIs. However, even if they opted for being treated there, the private modern hospitals charge exorbitant prices while the government hospitals lacked the necessary facilities for the diagnosis/treatment of STIs, especially the genital ulcerative ones (personal communication with Ado-Ekiti Chief Medical Officer, 1995).

By inference, therefore, the spread of HIV/AIDS is likely to continue to increase unless corrective measures are taken. This important aim may remain a tall order except efforts are made to look into the risk behaviours and practices relating to its seemingly unequal spread especially in sub-Saharan Africa. One of such behaviours and practices is male sexuality, which constitutes the main thrust of this study.

1.2 Statement of problem

Sub-Saharan Africa has the highest regional rates of adult HIV prevalence. In addition, it has the highest share of women affected by the epidemic. This stands at about 50 percent compared to below 30 percent in all other regions except Caribbean. It has been argued that since the main mode of HIV/AIDS transmission in sub-Saharan Africa is heterosexual sex, the number of males infected is almost equal to that of females (Kambou *et al.*, 1992; Tanne, 1992; and Caldwell *et al.*, 1993; Rukujei, 1997). Also, in Uganda, a review of passive AIDS surveillance showed that there are almost equal numbers of clinical cases reported in men and women (Ntozi, Lubaale and Nakanaabi,

1997). However, some other studies have shown that women are more likely to be infected with HIV than men are (e.g. N'Galy *et al.*, 1988; Rwandan HIV Sero-prevalence Study Group, 1989; Berkley *et al.* 1990; Ryder *et al.* 1990;).

The reasons adduced for high prevalence of HIV/AIDS among females include more efficient transmission from men to women; sexual norms favouring multi-sexual partnership for men and differing ages at exposure to infection for both sexes (Berkley *et al.*, 1990). Partly for these reasons, and partly for all efforts to curtail the spread of AIDS, recent research endeavours have been intensified on male sexuality. Most of these researches revealed that sexual norms operate differently for men and women (Caldwell *et al.* 1991; Awusabo-Asare and Anarfi, 1993; Orubuloye *et al.* 1993; Isiugo-Abanihe, 1994; Orubuloye *et al.* 1994; 1995; and Knodel *et al.* 1996). While women are usually expected to remain within the confines of marriage, there is a social recognition of certain palliating factors, which allow men to engage in multiple sexual relationships. Thus, men enjoy some degree of permissiveness and sexual freedom.

The most distinctive feature of sub-Saharan African marriage that has helped to sustain the high level of sexual freedom for men is polygyny. The existence of a high level of polygyny inevitably implies much extramarital sexual relationship for men. Even in relations with single women, the concept of adultery hardly applies because a man may merely be seeking another wife (Bleek, 1976). This, however, explains why women particularly in West Africa, make little protest about husbands' extramarital sexual relations (Ward, 1938; Caldwell and Caldwell, 1981). Anarfi and Awusabo-Asare (1993) further corroborate this when they write that:

traditionally, a man in Ghana has unlimited sexual freedom both in and

out of marriage while a woman is expected to stick to only one partner at a time...This is keeping with a situation in which a man can be the husband of several wives. but a woman is a wife to only one man".

Another important characteristic of the traditional African society is the need for a substitute during the traditional long period of post-partum sexual abstinence (Caldwell and Caldwell, 1977; 1981; 1983 and Bleek, 1987). In recent times, this traditional need has become less important, especially in southwest Nigeria, partly because of the widespread practice and adoption of contraception (DHS, 1992; Caldwell, Orubuloye and Caldwell, 1992; Renne, 1993). Considering the distortion in this important characteristic of African society, therefore, this study sets for itself the problem of exploring male/female perception of the traditional, social, attitudinal and behavioural aspects of male sexuality in Irepodun/Ifelodun LGA, Ekiti, Southwest Nigeria.

1.3 Justification for the study

In the past, there was a general belief that Nigeria was free of HIV/AIDS. Recent developments have, however, shown that the epidemic has taken root in the country. Since the first case was reported in 1986, Nigeria has witnessed great increase in the prevalence of HIV/AIDS (Rukujei, 1997; UNAIDS, 1997, 1998, 1999; US Bureau of Census, 1998; NASCP, 1998; NASCP/Federal Ministry of Health, 2000). Although the number of reported HIV/AIDS cases in Nigeria is still very incomplete due to problems ranging from non-recognition of cases; lack of adequate screening facilities; through non-reporting; under-reporting; late reporting; incomplete reporting; lack of provision of feedback to poor communication. It is important to stress that from all indications, the

rate of AIDS cases will continue to increase in the next few years (Rukujei, 1997; UNAIDS, 1997, 1998, 1999; NASCP, 1998; NASCP/Federal Ministry of Health, 2000).

Aside from the near certainty of eventual death, at least three aspects of the disease in Nigeria are especially troubling: (1) the apparent predominance of heterosexual transmission, rather than the pattern of intravenous drug use and homosexual anal intercourse found in relatively small portions of the population in North America and Europe; (2) an apparent very rapid doubling time in estimates of prevalence of the disease; and (3) the slow response of the Nigerian Public and Government to the epidemic. These aspects of the disease lead to predictions that the disease will spread widely (Rukujei, 1997; UNAIDS, 1998), and that a significant rise in AIDS deaths is expected to follow (UNAIDS, 1998).

To a large extent, HIV infection is spread through particular types of behaviour. Since, there is still no major medical breakthrough in respect of stopping the spread of the virus, the best hope is through changes in the types of behaviour responsible for its continued transmission. To achieve this, however, scholars have suggested the need for an adequate understanding of the perceptions, attitudes and practices that are particularly connected with sexual activity, reproductive health and gender relations (Caldwell *et al.* 1993; Ahberg, 1994; Mann and Tarantola, 1996). Against this background, therefore, this study is not only justified as a significant contribution to knowledge but also as an effort to come up with relevant educational campaign and intervention programmes that may help to contain the spread of HIV/AIDS.

1.4 Research questions

A number of important issues can be identified in relation to male sexuality. The identification of these issues require answers to the following research questions:

- ◆ What is the nature of male sexuality as the traditional long duration of post partum sexual abstinence continues to decline?
- ◆ Do the traditional norms that allow high degree of sexual freedom, which may enhance the spread of HIV/AIDS, for men still operate?
- ◆ What is the social perception of these norms?
- ◆ Can the perception be understood from a “gendered” dimension?
- ◆ If these norms persist, what intervention strategies could be adopted to cause a change?

The search for answers to these questions constitutes the main theme of this study.

1.5 Objectives of the study

The general objective of this study is to determine gender differences and similarities in the social, attitudinal and behavioural aspects of male sexuality in Ekiti, Southwest, Nigeria. This is broken down into the following specific objectives:

- ◆ To explore the extent of male sexuality among the study population.
- ◆ To investigate gender differences in the perception of male sexuality.
- ◆ To place male sexual behaviour in the context of STIs and HIV/AIDS transmission.
- ◆ To investigate the extent of fathers’ control on sons’ and daughters’ sexuality
- ◆ To examine the extent of mothers’ control on sons’ and daughters’ sexuality.
- ◆ To investigate the extent of wives’ control on husbands’ sexuality.

- ◆ To suggest possible intervention for the control of male sexuality.

1.6 Organisation of the Thesis

The thesis is presented in ten chapters. Chapter One presents the general background to the study. It appraises the trend of the HIV/AIDS epidemic in the regions of the world. It also examined the role of STIs and some distinctive features of the sub-Saharan African society in the progression of the epidemic. The Chapter also highlights the justification for the study, outlined the research questions, objectives and hypotheses.

Chapter Two focuses on the elements of male sexuality. These are appraised in a number of subsections which are: the conception of sexuality in sub-Saharan Africa; the absorption of male sexuality in traditional African social structure and; the destabilisation of the traditional sexual system. Male sexual contacts both in transitional and modern African society also form part of the discussion in this chapter.

Chapter three presents, in detail, the theory, model as well as the conceptual framework that are deemed to provide the direction for the observation and the research that is reported in this study. The description of the research location; the sources of the data used in this study; the methodology employed in data collection and analysis are discussed in Chapter four. The Chapter also highlights some of the problems that were encountered during data collection and how these problems were tackled.

The qualitative explanation of the socio-cultural context of male sexuality within the study population is presented in Chapter five. Employing the information collected through in-depth interviews, the chapter begins with the identification of the traditional sexual norms that operate in the study locations. It discusses the various

explanations, which the respondents have on the operation of the identified sexual norms for both male and female. The Chapter also presents the views of the respondents about the general pattern of sexuality at the study locations. It equally examines the opinion of the respondents about male sexuality, especially when it is considered in the context of the current general pattern of sexuality. Attempts were also made to compare the current pattern of male sexuality with what obtained in the past. More importantly, the opinions of the respondents about spousal rights with respect to male sexuality is discussed in Chapter five.

Chapters six through nine are devoted to the presentation of the findings of quantitative data. Both bivariate and multivariate analyses are attempted to see the variations on the selected variables. Chapter six presents the socio-economic characteristics of the respondents while male sexual behaviour and risk orientation are discussed in Chapter seven. The right of wives to control husbands' sexual behaviour; and that of parents to control sons' and daughters' sexual behaviour are discussed in Chapter eight. Chapter nine presents the attitude of both husbands and wives to male sexuality. This, in a way, entails the husbands' and wives' perception of male sexuality.

Chapter ten concludes the thesis. It presents the summary of the findings of the study. It also highlights the possible intervention for the control of male sexuality.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This review of literature is presented in four sections namely: the conception of sexuality in sub-Saharan Africa; male sexuality and its absorption in the traditional African society; the destabilisation of the traditional sexual system; and male sexual contacts in transitional and modern African society.

2.1 The conception of sexuality in sub-Saharan Africa

In traditional African society, discussion on sexuality was not central to the traditional sexual system. The limited changes that could be observed in this direction began only with the arrival of foreign religions, administrations and educational systems (Brokensha, 1988). Although, there are no specific general surveys, the available fragmentary works, bear witness to this evidence. In this respect, Mair (1953) in her overview of a research on marriage and social change have this to say:

“the key to the African attitude...is that the religious values associated with sex are concentrated on procreation and not on sexual activity as such...sexual abstinence is not regarded as a virtue in itself”.

Also, Little (1973) from a study of women in towns concluded that Africans have a different view of sexual relations. In 1920, Smith's and Dale's report on the Ila-speaking people of what is now rural Zambia, is aptly quoted below:

“To write of the Ba-Ila and omit all reference to sex would be like writing of the sky and leaving out the sun; for sex is the most pervasive element of their life. It is the atmosphere into which children are born”.

Similarly, Epstein (1981), reporting on his study of Zambian copper belt in the 1950s wrote:

“in contrast to western society...attitudes towards sexual act are simple and straight-forward without the tremendous solemnity that so often surrounds it in Euro-North American society”.

He went further to note that there was no puritan sense of guilt about sex (pp.327-8). Rather, there was the assumption that it was “a legitimate source of pleasure, although also a fundamental force which could at times be dangerous”. In the same vein, Kisekka (1973) reports on the Baganda men reveal that, “men say they would commit suicide if they became impotent”. A similar dread of impotence has equally been reported in Freetown, Sierra Leone by Harrell-Bond (1975).

Nevertheless, that there is neither a strong religious nor a moral focus on sexual acts in sub-Saharan Africa, does not mean that such elements do not exist in the broader area of sexual relations. Reproduction is central to African religion (Caldwell and Caldwell, 1985; 1987). Although, one appreciates the fact that sex is basic to reproduction, the overwhelming emphasis on the latter has kept the focus off sex. In this respect, Fortes (1978) identified that the important and relevant cultural question in Africa is not “are you married?” but “do you have children?” In consonance with this, Vellenga (1983) indicated that the Akan of Ghana had at least 24 names for different types of sexual relations. These varied according to the amount of kin involvement in the knowledge of the relationship, the amount of material exchanges which had taken place between families and the class relations between partners.

Regarding whichever type, the avoidance of incest is important. However, depending on relationships within the clan, there is a wide gradation of increasing

seriousness from sexual relations through pregnancy and ultimately to marriage. Though great importance is not placed on marriage as the doorsill of sexual activities, except as allying families and clans, an element of sacred is still implied in the consequent earlier initiation, puberty or nubility rites which provides that entrance. Again, the prohibitions increase from sexual activity to pregnancy and to marriage.

As much as sexuality do not occupy a central place in the African moral and social systems, it is worth noting that differences exist as regards its conception across regions. One of such is a contrast in the extent to which women enjoy sex especially within marriage. However, there are scattered evidences and this becomes a problem confronting any possibility of certainty. Nonetheless, there are documented reports. In East Africa, there are a number of descriptions of female enjoyment of sex within marriage. Their husbands assume that this must be so. This assumption is well emphasised that even traditionally, husbands must ensure it (Molnos, 1973). Among the Bagandas, Southwold (1973) reported that women considered sex very important. Thus, they tended to judge a marriage by the quality of sex. Kisekka's (1973) is consistent with this and Middleton (1973) further confirmed this in his study among the Lugbara wives of Northwest Uganda, of whom he said, expected a high level of sex in marriage. Mayer (1973) equally corroborates this in his writing about the Gusi of western Kenya when he said:

“I do not remember any remarks about wives being too cold or frigid, but often about their being ‘too hot’. It is believed that they are controlled by ‘that part of their anatomy’”.

In a neighbouring country, Tanzania, Hauvast-Mertens (1973) reported that, women, even wives were praised for their skill.

There is no parallel to the sexual virility of the East African women in Western Africa. At least, neither in Ghana nor Nigeria. In Nigeria, Sudarkasa (1973) reported that, women seemed not to like sex as much as men. This is consistent with the findings of the Caldwells (1981), in the 1974/75 Changing African Family Study, which revealed that even after years (at least 30 months) of post partum sexual abstinence, 83 percent of Yoruba wives did not miss sex much. A similar report in Ghana (Pellow, 1977) showed that in middle class Accra, women regarded marital sex only as a duty rather than a pleasure. In the same vein, Fortes (1949) reported that the Tallensi placed much emphasis on sex mainly because of procreation.

The East-West African differential on sex among women could not be unconnected with the fact that women, in West Africa, live in a 'different world' and devote themselves to such activities as trading. However, the dichotomy may not be as simple as indicated for Raum (1973) said of the Chaga of Northeast Tanzania, that "the proper wife performs her sexual role with coolness". Similarly, Parkin and Parkin (1973) believed that sexual enjoyment within marriage among the Giriama of the Kenyan coast might be limited.

Whether or not an east-west continuum of sexuality is possible, what stands out clear in this section is that sexuality in its African context, is not particularly supported by religious sanctions. Nonetheless, there were associated restrictions in the traditional African society. Again these restrictions were not on male but female sexuality. Thus, male sexuality among traditional African groups is believed to provide a background to the theme of this study. This is discussed in the following section.

2.2 Male sexuality and its absorption in the traditional African society.

“there is no expectation that young men remain celibate before marriage nor is any great value placed upon the fidelity of married men, particularly when away from home”.

(David and Voas 1981).

The situation in respect of male sexuality, across traditional African society, is much as reported of the Fulani of north Cameroon and quoted above. There is also a universal assumption that all boys want sexual adventures. Thus, little or no restraint is placed upon them. This is even glaring to an extent that Mushaga (1973) mentioned it in his much related works, that, “among the Ankole of Uganda, a boy that does not have frequent sex would be ridiculed and called impotent. Indeed, in all regions of the continent, there was the recognition of the need for some provision for non-marital male sexuality. If men and boys are not restrained from either pre- or extra- marital sexual explorations, it therefore becomes particularly important to ask what aspects of the traditional African society favoured sexual permissiveness and freedom for men.

The most distinctive feature that has favoured high level of male sexuality in sub-Saharan Africa is polygyny. The possession of many wives constituted a means to greater wealth and higher social status. In a society where land is communally owned, a man with many wives, subsequently many children, will definitely have a large labour force to work on the family land. Since the wider the area that was cultivated and the greater the number of cultivators reduced famine, then, an investment in bride-wealth and setting up a new wife was considered the best possible economic investment and often the only productive one (Caldwell, Orubuloye and Caldwell, 1991). To a large extent, men chose polygyny to ensure that they did not have to participate in hard farming (Boserup 1965; Clignet 1970). This is also evidenced by Timaeus' and Graham's (1989) major finding

that there was a decline of polygyny and marriage in Botswana as commercial livestock raising and plough cultivation displaced cultivation of foods with digging stick and hoe.

Another advantage of polygyny is that it enhances one's status within the society. The numerous children born through the wives create marriage alliances and links to a large number of families. Not only did this give commercial and political strength, it equally determined the area a man could cross in safety. At any point in time, a polygynously married man will have relations (either by blood or affinity) to defend him against his enemies. For instance, an old man, having grown-up sons and many other relatives in the audience at a village meeting can throw his weight around (not minding whether or not he stepped on toes) much more than a counterpart who is not so well endowed.

Polygyny, not only helped to enlarge the family trading area, it also broadened the network within which loans could be sought. Equally important is the fact that a larger family with more widespread alliances, an impressive number of children, and more housing and farmland made a "big man" with great prestige in traditional Africa. Many a-times, the size of a man's family demanded the creation of a new sub-lineage that will still bear the family name. Price (1954) confirmed this while he wrote that, "thus it became the mark of a chief to have many wives, and guarantee of social eminence in others".

Two other advantages of polygyny, especially to the Yoruba, have to do with their proneness to living in nucleated settlements with distant farms and the trading activities of their wives. Polygyny allows a man to take one wife with him to cook on the farm, leaving the others behind to mind the village house. It also allows a greater division of labour among the wives. Having co-wives often exempts the successful senior wives,

who are in most cases itinerant traders from domestic work. Husbands benefit from the wealth and even take loans from their trading wives, hence the wives could afford to absent themselves for long periods of time, in more distant and lucrative business trips.

An important characteristic of African society that has favoured polygyny is the need for a substitute during the traditional long period of post-partum sexual abstinence (Caldwell and Caldwell, 1977; 1981; 1983 and Bleek, 1987). In much of Africa and indeed, among the Yoruba, sex with pregnant women was highly prohibited for fear of harming the unborn child and poisoning the mother's milk. This continues until the child is born or weaned at the age of two or three years. The period of post-partum abstinence was typically more than one year except in parts of East Africa (Schoenmaeckers *et. al.*, 1981). In the past it was three or more years in Southwest Nigeria (Caldwell and Caldwell, 1977, 1981) and the duration was still as long as twenty-two months in the whole of Ondo State in 1986 (DHS, 1989). Semen is considered harmful to the child in the womb and will later spoil the mother's milk. Hence, the long period of sexual abstinence is necessary to ensure good health for both the mother and the child and principally to improve the chance of child survival.

It has been suggested that pregnancy and post-partum abstinence make a wife with six to seven pregnancies in an active marital sex life from ages 20 and 45 unavailable for at least half of the time (Caldwell, Orubuloye and Caldwell, 1991). However, because of the repetitive, insatiable and overpowering nature of the male's sexual appetite (Anarfi, 1993; Anarfi and Awusabo-Asare, 1993), the alternative to nearly three years of sexual abstinence, for man, is a casual relationship. In some societies, this has become institutionalised such that a man had long-term specific relations with the woman or

women who acted as substitute during the wife's long period of post-partum abstinence. Among the Meru of Central Kenya, the institutionalisation was carried to the point where when the wife was sexually available, a man never danced with her at festivities but always with this other woman (Mwambia, 1973). This situation is similar to that described by Bleek (1976) where the other woman is called an "mpena". As reported by one of Bleek's informant, "a man can not live without an "mpena".

Nevertheless, men seeking extra-marital sexual relations during the period of wives' post-partum sexual abstinence are often considered wrong. A better alternative is at least taking additional wife (Orubuloye, 1977; Caldwell, 1980). However, a polygynously married man with at least two wives have a 55 per cent probability that one wife will be abstaining at any given time and a 30 per cent chance that both will be abstaining simultaneously (Caldwell, Orubuloye and Caldwell, 1991). This again provides the justification for men having more than two wives in traditional African society.

In traditional African society, men hardly got married before about age 30, while no single women were available beyond early adolescence (Caldwell, Orubuloye and Caldwell, 1991). The excess women arising from men's late marriage were absorbed into polygynous marriages. The obvious question that one may want to ask is how was this possible? To a large extent, the system was religiously and socially sanctioned. In much of Africa, old men are usually the custodians of ancestral shrines. They are perceived closer to the ancestors than the young ones. Since the ancestor cult is quite revered, then, more than earthly respect is given to the old men who benefited by it. Not that alone, some families expected their daughters to marry mature men who might soon control their families. Besides, the old men arranged the marriages and set the bride-wealth.

This was necessary because junior members in most cases had no decision-making power over family resources and as such, they could not afford the bride wealth.

In traditional Yoruba society, for instance, much of the “payment” for wives actually took the form of the future groom’s labour for his prospective father-in-law during long period of betrothal of young girls. In addition to this, bride-wealth was paid in cowry shells. Later, it was paid in currency notes and this usually exceeded 10 pounds and could reach 50 pounds in the case of the rich and powerful father-in-law (Ward, 1937; Ajisafe, 1945; Bascom, 1969). This implies that, a man’s marriage was postponed until his family decided that it was time to arrange one and pay for it. It also meant that it was expensive to marry. Thus, among older men who could afford to marry, it was easy to build polygynous households. Most men were, therefore, not usually married until their late 20s or even older. This was partly imperative so as to preserve the institution of polygyny and long period of post partum sexual abstinence.

In all regions of Africa, there is recognition of the need for some provision for non-marital male sexuality, therefore, it is important to ask how male sexual escapades were met within the traditional African society. As stated earlier, male sexual networking was sustained by high level of polygyny. The level of polygyny had remained higher, reaching between 30 and 50% in sub-Saharan Africa than anywhere else in the world (NDHS, 1992; Orubuloye, Caldwell and Caldwell, 1997b). Considering the level of polygyny coupled with its significance in relation to male sexuality in Africa, therefore, one may want to ask, what is the nature of polygynous marriages?.

In most polygynous marriages, wives are usually of different statuses. Also, the bride-wealth paid on the wives decreased with position. For instance, the first or senior

wife is often the one that the family chooses with so much care and on whom much bride-wealth is paid. As for other wives, not only is the bride-wealth usually less, they could be divorcees, widows or women who had had pre-marital children (Lloyd, 1968; Olusanya, 1970). Thus, husbands' family usually had more feeling of mutual obligation for senior wives than the junior ones. Partly for this reason, junior wives are faced with fewer qualms in regard to finding another male protector. This fact is exemplified in a sample of divorcees studied in the 1960s by Lloyd (1968) in the then Ondo province when he wrote that, "junior wives were more likely to divorce their husbands than senior ones".

Moreover, polygyny allows wide age gaps between spouses: typically 10 years in the case of a man's first wife and decades with his youngest (Goldman and Pebley, 1989). This implies that younger wives of older men having several wives may not be sexually, emotionally and economically satisfied. Hence, they are more likely to stray. More often than not, when the husbands become too old either to farm or to provide physical and material support, most junior wives would still have very young children to raise. In such instances, they often desire another man in the background offering either current support or a promise of future support. However, old husbands grant younger men (sons, brothers and other close relations) sexual access to their junior wives, because of their willingness to please their junior wives, or prevent them from straying, or for the fear of being accused of impotency or nearly so if the junior wife or wives cannot become pregnant.

When a woman accepted sexual advances from husband's younger brother or son was not always a case of unsatisfactory husband. Rather a woman might be considered unsatisfactory if she refused such advances; drew the husband's attention to her consent or cause any fuss about the approach. Caldwell, Orubuloye and Caldwell (1991) corroborate this when they wrote that, "*far from despising the husband, Ekiti wives*

believed such sex could only take place if both partners felt greater respect for the husband than for each other”.

Moreover, sub-Saharan Africa is a society, which focussed so much on fertility (Caldwell, 1987). Thus, there is a widespread fear of impotence, such that even when husbands are actually impotent or infecund, younger male relatives could be asked to impregnate a wife. Among the Gwembe Tonga of Zambia, for example, such invitation is figuratively put as “go and cut wood for me my friend” (Brokensha, 1988). In such instances, the real father of the child born through the pregnancy could only covertly acknowledge paternity, if at all. Nonetheless, he could only provide some support for the child and probably the mother also.

By inference, much of the sexuality of single males was accommodated within the larger family through access, provided that it was not discreet and not flaunted, to the wives of relatives, such as older brothers, fathers, (save for their own mothers), uncles and a-times brothers-in-law and cousins (Temple, 1965). Since, in a real sense, women essentially married the family (Meyer, 1916; Junod, 1927; Schapera, 1933; Wagner, 1939; Temple, 1965; Fadipe, 1970; Kashamura, 1973; Middleton, 1973; Mushanga, 1973; Leakey, 1977; Wilson, 1977; Llewelyn-Davies, 1978; and Kakar, 1990), concepts such as adultery did not apply. Even if it applied, it did so only at a much insignificant level. Thus, any children born out of such sexual relationships were regarded as the husband’s legitimate offspring. Not that alone, many of these women could be inherited by the “extramarital sexual partner” following the death of their legal husbands. This is confirmed in Wilson’s (1977) report about southern Tanzania that, “an ageing husband might grant right of access to a wife to a brother who was to be his heir, or even to a son”.

Similarly, in the nineteenth century Kikuyu society (Leakey, 1977) and perhaps

throughout Eastern and Southern Africa, a man's wife was considered a wife to all his age-mates (Mwambia, 1973). By implication, therefore, any member of the age-mates could have sex with a "mate's wife" without any form of reproach. Even when she has been inherited, after widowhood, by a husband's relative, she usually chose to continue to have one or more of the deceased husband's age-mates as sexual partners. These age-mates were like the husband's real brothers and sons in the less militarised West African Region. A related and widespread phenomenon, having some parallels with the age set behaviour, in eastern and southern Africa is the concept of "permissible sexual relations" between persons of the same clan, despite that a marriage between them would be regarded as incestuous (Meek, 1937; Fortes, 1949).

It should be stressed, however, that because of the insatiable nature of the male sexual appetite coupled with the need for wives to abstain from sex until a child is weaned, the other possible sexual outlets for men were relations with single girls. Among the Yorubas, for instance, Ward (1937) reported that although there was little association between the opposite sexes in public, there was a good deal in private. He stressed further that girls often sneaked off to men at night even though, if caught, he was fined and she was flogged by her parents and her value for marriage declined.

In the specific case of South Africa, the major solution to the problem of sexual adventures of men, was to permit female premarital sexuality save for pregnancy and a marriage enforced by it. This was achieved by forbidding the breaking of the girls' hymen. By implication, therefore, most of the premarital sexuality involved incomplete intercourse and coitus interruptus (Orubuloye, Caldwell and Caldwell, 1990a). This type of premarital sexuality provided for most of single male sexuality.

Furthermore, it is important to emphasise the role of the widowed and the

divorced or the separated in the accommodation of male premarital or extramarital sexual excesses. Widows and divorcees as well as women who are separated from their husbands do not often abstain from sex. In fact, this is not unexpected because of the pressure on widows or divorcees to remarry quickly. Hence, engagement of the widows, separated or the divorced in active sexual lives may be a means to obtaining a new husband, whether pregnancy ensues or not. However, there were clearly some that refused to re-marry mainly for personal reasons. This category, Talbot (1969) identifies as "those who prefer to lead a loose life and accept promiscuous favours". Similarly, Wilson (1938) observed that in Broken-hill, prostitution was unusually regarded as a permanent livelihood for women who do not wish or do not hope to marry.

Another possible sexual outlets for men were brothels, bars and the older equivalent of today's hotels and nightclubs. In this regard, there has been the debate over whether commercial sex is age-old. By Fortes' (1978) contention, it is and had never been suppressed because of the common sense and the transactional attitude towards sex. As a confirmation, Reyna (1975) appears to assert that this was the position among the Barma of Chad while David and Voas (1981) identified similar situation in the small towns along the trading routes of Northern Cameroon. David's and Voas' position was grounded on the high divorce and widowhood rates that obtained among the Fulanis. According to them, 35 percent of Fulani marriages last no longer than two years. Rather than remarrying, most Fulani divorcees and widows would particularly prefer to find a means of support and livelihood through sex work, since gifts will be received. This is particularly so because a Fulani woman can neither own land nor publicly engage in trade.

Among the Nupe, that women make trading a profession do not exempt them

from commercial sex. Since the long journeys, which they undertake often remove them completely from the control of husbands and parents, the Nupe take it for granted that such women prostitute themselves for money as a supplement to their other business activities. Indeed, the fact that the Nupes approve sexual freedom for women traders implies that the society accepts prostitution almost as an institution. In this respect, Nadel (1942) wrote that:

“the money, which they make is regarded by the people as a form of earnings as legitimate as that gained from trade itself. When they return to their homes, husbands and families will receive them without questions; no blame would be attached to them for the life, which they had been leading while away”.

Although, such journeys as those of the Nupes are out of the question for Hausa wives, especially because of the Muslim rule of seclusion, it is among the Hausa that prostitution is long established as an institution. Indeed, it is a means of escape for women married against their will or trapped in an unhappy marriage. Such women are usually members of the ruling class who were subject to the strictest seclusion. Once they successfully risked the hazards of escaping seclusion, they would make their way to another emirate, where they often appealed for help to the woman who was recognised as the head of the prostitution there. She would help them with money and houseroom and put them in touch with clients.

Among the Yoruba, although there were probably few institutions for commercial sex in rural areas, some level of prostitution obtained in towns. This was especially so because Yorubaland has long had towns and prostitution appears to have been one function of towns. Ward (1937) corroborates this when he wrote of the early

1930s that, harlotry is widespread, every town and village having an unusually heavy quota of prostitutes". In a later study, Ward (1938) added that the women offering commercial sex "dress well...and often enjoy a measure of status and respectability"

To this end, it is clear that as much as the traditional African society allowed sexual freedom for men, it equally provided means for its accommodation. It is noteworthy, however, that social structures are never static but dynamic. Thus, just as the society itself, many of its traditional values and social practices had undergone changes especially during the course of modernisation and westernization. Since it is unlikely that traditional sexual behaviour (especially male sexuality) would be an exception, its distortion and destabilisation constitutes the theme of the next section. However, attempts in this regard would concentrate more on the instruments of change rather than on determining how much change has actually taken place.

2.3 The destabilisation of the traditional sexual system

In much of Africa, western intervention is held to have established either consciously or unconsciously the conditions that produce change in the traditional sexual order. However, the balance of account differs. For instance, Bullock's (1970) account of the Zimbabweans in the 1920s showed that "it is only since civilisation brought sophistication and a sheltered safety that promiscuity began to obtain at all". Some other scholars believe that, with increasing westernisation, marriage, the institution on which the traditional sexual system is anchored, has ceased from establishing the basic unit of society (Goody, 1973; Bleek, 1978; Caldwell and Caldwell, 1988). A similar position is seemingly reflected in Comaroff's and Roberts' (1977) opinion that the dramatic change

being witnessed by the traditional sexual system has centred on the collapse of a single institution rather than on the broader social structure of which it was a part.

Comaroff and Roberts (1977) wrote that among the Kgatla, a Twasana people of Botswana, “these transformations (non-marital sexuality and births and the jural changes that accommodated them) are the product of a wider process namely: the spread of monogamy within a society organised in terms of the assumptions of polygyny”. Comaroff’s and Roberts’ thesis appeared not to have universal applicability. This is so because the driving force for creating a new sexual system was the type of society in which, polygyny existed, deprived of its enforcement powers for limiting sexual networking and some of its institutions for absorbing surplus male sexuality. Nevertheless, Comaroff and Roberts (1977) have somehow been able to justify their position while they explain the collapse of polygyny, to an extent that only three per cent of married men in Botswana were polygynists by the 1970s. This they claimed was attainable because of the inflexible opposition of the Christian church in a society that was increasingly Christian; the hostility of women to polygyny and their usual refusal to become wives in a polygynous marriage; and the increasingly prohibitive cost of housing and maintaining two or more wives and their children.

Schapera (1934) wrote that Christianity had, within 40 years since the conversion of the paramount chief, abolished the old ceremonies and practically erased the traditional religion including the ancestor cult. Indeed, “*the missionaries...from the first consistently opposed the practice of polygyny. No man is allowed to be a member of the church who has more than one wife*” (Schapera 1934). In Botswana, the colonial administration backed up the missionaries by imposing tax on polygynists. At the same time, even

though tribal law permits polygyny, economic influences caused it to decrease among pagans (Schapera, 1947). The fact that the number of a man's wives is the index of his wealth was true only in the days of subsistence economy. Obviously, the new commercial and monetized economy presents even one wife not only as an economic liability but also a heavier economic burden than in the past.

Beidelman's (1982) study of Tanzania equally revealed that the Church Missionary Society (CMS), related to the Church of England) was firmly opposed to polygyny. This is because it was thought to debase all involved: to promote indulgence in men and lack of respect and dignity for women. Thus, by 1856, Henry Venn, the General Secretary of the CMS had ruled that the church could convert women in polygynous marriages, but not their husbands. For men to be received into the church means they must dispose of all wives but the first (Caldwell, Orubuloye and Caldwell, 1991). As late as the 1950s, polygyny remained the cause of most church expulsions and refusal of baptisms (Price, 1954).

Similarly, Balandier's (1970) study of family among the Gabon revealed that the French missionaries and the colonial government reacted against polygyny and severe punishments meted out to sexually straying married women. The Catholic church preached against polygyny, its punishment and provided refuge at and around the missions for fleeing women. Money was raised by church congregations in France "to ensure freedom for the young wives of polygynous marriages", since it was viewed as an exploitation of females. Also, the colonial administration, partly influenced by attitudes in France stirred by the churches forbade all forms of punishments that may be related to polygyny.

In Yorubaland, polygyny is forbidden to Christians and to men married under civil law (Ekundare, 1969). Also, the spread and intensification of colonial administration destroyed the old extreme system in which powerful old men had many wives and few men did not marry until well into their thirties. Indeed, the colonial administration provided maximum encouragement to the native courts to allow divorce even when initiated by wives. For instance, in the 1890s, a girl betrothed in infancy could get the District Commissioner to grant her a divorce if her new boyfriend was willing to pay the husband an amount equivalent to the instalments he had already paid and if the courts would uphold the Commissioner's decision (Caldwell, Orubuloye, and Caldwell, 1991). Peel (1983) noted that by 1910, "overwhelmingly, the business of the Ilesa Native court at this period was divorce". Talbot (1969) in the 1920s commented that divorce dominated civil proceedings in the courts and that, "the vast majority of these (divorce cases) is due to desire of the women for new husband since a man will usually submit to almost anything to keep his wife". Sofoluwe (1965) showed that the incidence of divorce in the Yoruba town of Igbo-Ora doubled between 1933 and 1962.

It is important to note that, despite the influence of Christianity and colonialism in Africa, the arguments on the collapse of polygyny are not quite convincing. Clearly, polygyny has collapsed in Botswana, for instance. However, Comaroff's and Roberts' (1977) statistics on non-marital births did not show that it has been replaced solely by monogamy but that marriage is generally collapsing. Indeed, socio-economic change has radically altered the value of wives and children possibly for the reasons argued by Timaeus and Graham (1989). Since the tradition does not demand an exclusive sexual

partnership of a man with one woman, there has been a wide spread of concubinage as a means of securing the sexual satisfactions of polygyny without the economic burden.

The alliance between a man and the families of his ex-wives is no longer particularly strong. Instead of attempting to establish a set of continuing alliances with families and community backing, the young man, now insists on controlling his first marriage "to pre-empt his parents". The young man also attempts to nullify the legitimacy of all subsequent marriages except the most recent on the ground that they were really concubinage and fighting to avoid supporting children (Comaroff and Robert, 1977). Thus, instead of benefiting from the continuing value of each partnership, "he may experiment until he finds one which meets his needs and may later terminate it if it no longer does so" (Comaroff and Robert, 1977). Comaroff and Robert (1977) substantiate this when they wrote that:

"...serial monogamy became more widespread as the practice of polygyny became less common,...as its (serial monogamy) incidence increased, it was perceived by the Kgatla as both an observable pattern and a strategic option".

In much of West and Middle Africa, the institution of polygyny seems to exist in its most intact form (Caldwell, Orubuloye and Caldwell, 1991). Unlike the situation in other African regions, Lesthaeghe *et al.* (1989) reported that, 40 to 50 per cent of currently married women in West and Middle Africa are found in polygynous marriages. The 1990 Nigerian Demographic and Health Survey reported just under 40 per cent of the currently married women and 50 per cent of those 35 to 49 years of age in Southwest, Nigeria as being polygynously married (NDHS, 1992). Such figures indicate no evidence of a major decline (if any) in the proportions of women in polygynous marriages. More importantly, it should be noted that much higher proportions of both women and men are polygynously married in the course of a lifetime and nearly everyone must be psychologically prepared for such a status (Orubuloye, Caldwell and Caldwell, 1997b).

Although it is likely that the number of men with many wives has fallen over the last century, it is important to stress that many of the secondary characteristics of West and Middle Africa, as polygynous societies, have been stripped without eroding polygyny itself. Thus, polygyny could be said to have experienced a “disguised” collapse.

To this end, it has become necessary to distinguish between public polygyny and private (Karanja, 1987), surreptitious (Montgomery, 1991) or secondary polygyny (Oloko, 1990). The public type of polygyny represents the institution as practised in African ‘traditional’ structures. Secondary, surreptitious or private polygyny, on the other hand, is the taking of additional wives by a man after an initial contractual monogamous marriage. The public type of polygyny attracts only a small minority of educated elite men while the other type is now been practised by a vast majority of urban and elite men in Nigeria, for instance.

It is not uncommon for men who have been monogamously married, but have later in life become more educated or highly placed in the society, to consider it expedient to look for a woman appropriate to their newly acquired status. Since polygyny has been a recognised feature of the African society, such a man may and frequently does retain his other wife(ves). However, a typical Nigerian elite woman does not generally embrace polygyny. Thus, the vast majority of Nigerian elite men find it necessary to practise private polygyny clandestinely (Karanja,1987). Besides, most other wives in private polygynous marriages insist on being provided with their own autonomous households, at least for reasons of independence. These go some way towards explaining why private polygynous men maintain two or more residences and their other wives are outside wives.

An outside wife is like other wives because she has the resemblance of 'inside wives'. She bears the man's name, has one or more children by him; lives in accommodation provided by the man; is widely recognised as 'wife' by the man's extended family and whose relationship with the man has been accepted through native law and customary marriages. Indeed, "fecundity" and "customary" are the important definitional attributes of secondary polygyny (Oloko, 1990). However, an outside wife may have limited status and a considerably less social and politico-jural recognition than an 'inside wife'. This is especially because her husband, for whatever reason, may refuse to declare her as a wife publicly; and many a-times, the marriage between a man and an outside wife does not involve payment of bride price or any form of marriage rites (Karanja, 1987).

It is pertinent to stress here that the distinction between either the private or secondary polygyny or public polygyny is simply theoretical and semantics. In reality the three are indistinguishable. Although, the majority of the men who practise private or secondary polygyny disapprove of public polygyny on the ground that it is a lesser form of marriage. Even those practising it, they regard as old fashioned. The contention, however, is that there is still a high level of polygyny among elite Nigerian men, despite the attempt to maintain a semblance of monogamy. Indeed, some of Karanja's (1987) male informants asserted that the African man is 'naturally' polygynous and that the institution of 'outside wives' is an innovation for confronting changing circumstances. This is consistent with Baston's (1961) who stated that:

"While Africans often appear to imitate European ways, their cultural borrowing is in fact selective and the items taken over acquire a different significance in African culture".

Moreover, that the African men had upheld private or secondary polygyny, could be seen as a rebellion against their colonial past. Indeed, many elite men argue, with ideological passion, that it is 'incumbent' upon them to go back to African ways. And the institution of 'outside wives' or private polygyny is seen by some as an articulation of such a sentiment, since it is said to be intrinsically bound up in African traditional cultures (Karanja, 1987). Ifedi (1984), expressing his inclination to polygyny and indeed the rebirth of African culture in one of the Nigerian newspapers appears to speak the mind of many Nigerian elite men. According to Ifedi (1984),

"If the English legal code sees bigamy and polygamy as an aberration, it is because England is a white homeland very distant socially and culturally from the black-man's (culture)... It is true that Britain ruled Nigeria some time ago and left their codes behind as a legacy, but we have the right to be ourselves in the true spirit of negritude and the much publicised concept of African Personality".

2.4 Male sexual contacts in transitional and modern African society

Generally, African males are sexually active from shortly after puberty until old age. It is undoubtful that much of the males' sexual activity is outside marriage - premarital and extra-marital. The factors, which had particularly favoured much sexual networking for males in traditional African society include polygyny and its necessary very late age at marriage for men as well as the long duration of post-partum abstinence. It should be noted, however, that the assumptions of polygyny have been distorted. Indeed, marriage distributions by numbers of wives have become highly westernized. Similarly, the economic crisis that is biting hard in much of African states had made it much more difficult for boys to go into marriage earlier than their 30s. In addition, the duration of post-partum sexual abstinence had declined substantially in recent years (Orubuloye, Caldwell and Caldwell, 1991). Be that as it may, men's non-marital sexual

needs had not changed significantly in the last century. On this note, the question remains whether male sexual outlets have changed both in the transitional as well as modern periods. It is in a bid to provide an answer to this question that this section centres on the identification of sexual outlets at any given time for most males both in transitional as well as modern African societies.

In traditional society, the family itself absorbed a substantial part of the male non-marital sexuality. The balance of this was accommodated by single girls, widows, divorcees and of course commercial sex workers. In recent times, intra-familial sex has declined a great deal. Among contemporary Ekiti married women, living in the traditional set-ups, for instance, a-quarter report that their last sexual episode was with a man other than their husband, and of these women, just one-quarter report that it was with a male relative by marriage, usually one of the husband's younger brothers or sons by a senior wife (Caldwell, Orubuloye and Caldwell, 1991). Obviously, these numbers are small and indeed reveal the end of an era. This fact became clearer from the response of the older women interviewed by Caldwell and his co-researchers, who wrote that, "such relations made up a majority of their extramarital sex only 40 years ago" and that, "the proportion must have been higher a century ago". The probable reason for the rapid diminution of the intra-familial outlet is that Christianity and western culture misconceived such relationships as incestuous.

Given the assumption that there has been, in the western sense, a strangely "modern" attitude to sex, African males are more attracted, than in the past, by the possibility of relations with single girls. Indeed, most African studies report sexual freedom of girls at least after initiation or nubility ceremonies. This is considered

necessary because modern husbands prefer as wives the sophisticated girls with sexual experience (Epstein, 1981). Goody (1973) made a similar point about the Gonja of Northern Ghana when he wrote, "not all courtship leads to marriage, and the lover relationship is enjoyed for its own right". Also, Leith-Ross (1939) claimed that Ibo girls in the 1930s regarded sexual experience as being identical with "good time".

Another major factor that has contributed to the high incidence of sexual relations with single girls is the easy access to contraceptive devices (NDHS, 1992; Caldwell, Orubuloye and Caldwell, 1992; Renne, 1993). Now that contraceptives are available, the general feeling among youths is that only a girl who wants to get pregnant actually do so. This is clearly revealed in the Nigerian Segment of the Changing African Family Project, which showed that one-third of contraceptors had begun contraception while single. And more interestingly that half of them have learnt of contraception while in school (CAFN I, 1973; Caldwell and Caldwell, 1987). It is worthwhile to stress, however, that even when pregnancy ensued by mistake, it has become easier and safer to procure an abortion.

Moreover, transitional and modern African societies recognise the longer-term girl friends, mistresses and "outside wives" as distinct sexual outlets for males. More often than not, these sexual partners serve as alternatives to polygynously married wives especially in recent times. Not only have these sexual outlets become widespread among the city middle class, it has equally become a growth industry in places such as Freetown (Harrell-Bond, 1975); Accra (Pellow, 1977); Lusaka (Schuster, 1979); the Copper Belt (Epstein, 1981) Lagos (Karanja, 1987); and Kampala, Nairobi and Dar-es-Salaam (Obbo, 1987). Most of these studies tend to assume that such relationships are important and most flamboyant only among the more urbanised, better off and educated. However,

there is evidence that they exist in a more glamorous form and probably on a smaller scale among the poor of Kampala, Nairobi and in rural Sierra Leone, Botswana and the Kenyan Coast (Caldwell, Caldwell and Quiggin, 1989). In 1973, the Caldwells found that the frequency of less informal unions is equally represented at all social levels in Ibadan (CAFN I, 1973). Nevertheless, the duration of these unions is often short and they may be hidden from wives who usually resent them if only as a drain on family resources.

More often than not, the longer-term girl friends, mistresses and “outside wives” of the middle class are young, relatively well educated, in white-collar employment and given to enjoying “the good life”. They may decide to break up the relationship whenever they deem it necessary. Most of these women are mostly young women, divorcees and widows who might yet marry more formally (CAFN I, 1973). Powdermaker (1962) observed that on Zambia’s Copper Belt such relationships may last for only few months. In West Africa, in-depth interviews in Ibadan suggest great stability (CAFN I, 1973). Obbo (1987), for instance, said such stability is deliberately aimed at by the elites of East Africa’s cities because of fear of diseases from bar girls. Certainly, if they marry the men, they are likely to find themselves left at home immediately to bear and raise children while their husbands go to nightclubs with new outside wives.

For many young women, being a longer term girl friend, a mistress or an outside wife is considered the only way of having a relationship with a high-status or powerful man and in fact having an entry to society (Caldwell, Caldwell and Quiggins, 1989). It is also often seen as part of a strategy for advancement, success and high incomes in the world of government and business. Of course, it is not one-sided. For instance, Schuster (1979) reports of Lusaka that there is a great deal of expectation of sex by bosses in

offices and businesses. Also, there have been cases of young men who enter into sexual relationships with women older than they are. These women are often referred to as “sugar mummies”. Their male counterparts who have sexual relations with younger girls are known as “sugar daddies”. “Sugar mummies” and “sugar daddies” use their wealth - money, cars, gifts as well as influence in the society - to attract young boys and girls for companionship. Usually, such companionship gets terminated at the desire of the “sugar daddies” or “mummies”. More often than not, it gets terminated when they get another younger and more attractive person with whom to start a new relationship.

Owing to growing urbanisation and service centres with bars, night clubs and entertainment, modern males are increasingly attracted to the possibility of relations to bar girls as well as sex workers. In this regard, Little (1973) points out that African Novelists portray towns as being unusually sexually permissive. Schuster (1979) says that in Lusaka, most entertainment is at parties or nightclubs and bars and sex always abound to a great extent. In support of this position, Schuster claimed that, “it is this night life, which makes Lusaka come alive”. Trading in the town can be combined with sex as has been reported in Bida (Nadel, 1942).

That commercial sex has continued to flourish in most African cities is not unconnected with the fact that women in the cities are free from the gerontocratic controls of the village. Thus, women are increasingly likely to demand the same right as men (Southall, 1961). In addition, researches have indicated that the services of sex workers are usually requested by migrants who are unaccompanied by wives. Such migrants often include migrant labourers, short-term miners, truck drivers, cattle herders, itinerant traders, soldiers in some locations and men in urban or mining areas where the

immigration of women or others without jobs has been restricted such that there is a pronounced male majority (Southall, 1961; David and Voas, 1981).

In as much as these outlets: single girls, mistresses or concubines and sex workers existed in traditional African societies, the question to be asked is what, then, has changed? The major change in male non-marital sexuality has been in its form rather than volume. In the past, much of male non-marital sexuality was absorbed by seemingly permanent and fewer partners who were more of substitutes to wives during the post-partum abstinence periods (Caldwell, Caldwell and Quiggin, 1989). More often than not, these partners were other men's (relations) polygynously married wives or neighbours. In modern times, however, it is obvious that male non-marital sexual relations within the family have declined while other outlets, especially, commercial sex have almost certainly increased. Consequently, male sexual contacts have broadened and overlapped. It has broadened in that individuals now appear to have more sexual partners than before. It is equally overlapping because the partners are not so centralised residentially. Thus, males tend to patronise the bars, nightclubs, and hotels of the now more commercialised society.

Given the fact that traditional sexuality within the family was largely self-contained, the spread of sexually transmitted infections in traditional African society was less risky. With the broadening and overlapping of sexual contacts in modern times, the society appears more vulnerable to sexually transmitted infections and AIDS.

THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

The AIDS epidemic in Africa is essentially heterosexual in nature. This has serious implications for the spread of HIV/AIDS and other STIs. Therefore, the issue of sexuality demands a more vivid examination as it is intended in this study. To attain this and particularly the objectives of this study, male sexuality and the attitude towards it is understood from three complementary perspectives viz:

- ◆ The scripting theory of sexuality.
- ◆ The theoretical model of sex relationship chain or simply the network approach.
- ◆ A conceptual framework. This is employed to supplement both the script theory and the sex relationship chain model.

3.1 The Script Theory of Sexuality

This theory is a sociological perspective on sexual action, which was emphasised by Laumann and Gagnon (1995) as researches are being conducted into human sexuality in the advent of the AIDS epidemics. The understanding of human sexuality from the script theoretical perspective is a deviation from either the pure biological or the mixed biosocial explanations that characterised the scientific era. It is one of a number of pure socio-cultural theories of human sexual conduct. It is pure because there are no necessary biological elements contained in its explanations. Generally, the scripting theory of sexual conduct rest on a number of suppositions about the ways in which specific sexual patterns are acquired and expressed. The assumptions are:

- ◆ that patterns of sexual behaviour differ from one culture to another;

- ◆ that there is no innate sexual instinct or drive. Thus, infants do not possess any information about sex or specific sexual aims at birth. Although, infants may vary biologically in activity level and temperament, there are no direct links between this variation and what their sexual behaviour will be when they become adults;
- ◆ that individuals often acquire, through a process of socialisation (that often lasts from birth till death), patterns of sexual behaviour that are appropriate to their culture. Individuals may also acquire, through acculturation, those patterns that are believed to deviate from the norms of their culture;
- ◆ that people are not merely mirrors of the sexual scenario that is provided by their culture. Rather, as individuals become older, they tend to make suitable adaptations to what the culture had provided originally. In complex and contradictory cultures, such individual adaptations will become very diverse.

Given these assumptions, it is unmistakable that people acquire scripts for sexual conduct in any society. The scripts for sexual conduct encompasses who one should have sex with, when they should have sex, where they should have sex, what they should do sexually and why they should do sexual things. These scripts actualise what the culture treats as sexuality as well as what the individuals believe to be the extent and the domain of sexuality. Individuals may improvise around the cultural scenarios and in the course of social action create a changed sexual culture for the society.

The scripting perspective on sexuality distinguishes between collective scripts, interpersonal scripts and intra-psychic scripts. Collective scripts are the cultural scenarios. They are the instructions for sexual and other conduct that are embedded in the cultural narratives, which are provided as guides or instructions for all sexual conduct. Interpersonal scripts, on the other hand, refer to the structured patterns of interaction in which individuals as actors engage in everyday interpersonal conduct. Intra-psychic

scripts are the plans and fantasies by which, individuals guide and reflect upon their past, current, or future conduct (Gagnon and Simon, 1973; Simon and Gagnon, 1984; Gagnon, 1990).

From the description of social conduct, as presented in the explanation of types of scripts, an instinctive individual participates in concrete social interaction with others. The interaction, however, is guided in part by a meaningful system of individually interpreted instructions. This model introduces a link between the two levels of meaning (the cultural and the intrapsychic) and connects them to a system of interpersonal action. Nevertheless, the two systems of symbolic meaning (the cultural scenario and the intrapsychic script) are better described than the performed interaction itself. The approach has also failed to examine sexual conduct as a joint product of multiple actors. Although social interaction is important in scripting theory, it has not developed a distinct place for considerations of social structure. This is partly the result of the greater interest of scripting theorists in the symbolic environment (culture) and the interpreting individual (mental life) than in the 'social structuration' (Laumann and Gagnon, 1995) of sexual interaction. It is also a reflection of a commitment to an individualistic approach to sexuality rather than the actual contexts and enactment of interaction that shape sexual conduct as a social performance.

Improving the fit between scripting theory and social structure requires the construction of a concept that will link different effects of social structure on the variety of ways in which individuals enact social scripts. The most important components of a script are, possibly, the social features of the individuals who enact them. These are the publicly accessible features of individuals, which they and the co-participants and audiences for their conduct use to guide and understand their social performances. These are labelled as the "master statuses" of individuals and they are defined as the features of

individuals, which most significantly shape how they conceive of themselves and their possible courses of action (i.e. the scripts they can enact) and how they perceive that others facilitate or retard these self-conceptions and courses of action (Laumann and Gagnon, 1995). Master statuses are the socially interpreted physical attributes such as gender, race and age, or other socially important characteristics like marital status, educational background, political orientation, or religious affiliation. It could also include prowess in war, ancestry or magical powers (Laumann and Gagnon, 1995).

Master statuses are almost the important dimensions of “who people are” and how these features shape what an individual believes he could possibly say and do or often think as well as what other people think is appropriate for an individual who bears such social markings to say and do. For instance, it is believed that people who have gone to school will behave differently from those who have not. Not only is this a general belief, persons who have these different master statuses believe they should behave in ways that are appropriate to their master statuses. Based on the recognition of this fact, script theorists, specifically define master statuses as those characteristics that (1) constitute the major basis for the ways in which social interaction is structured, (2) are a basic component of the self-identity of the individuals who possess them, and (3) organise the cognitive maps or modes of understanding what individuals bring to social circumstances.

With reference to the first element of this definition, master statuses organise and structure social relationships between people. This has been documented, for instance, in empirical studies of friendship networks (Laumann, 1973; Halliman and Williams, 1989); discussion networks (Mardsen, 1988), work relationships (Baker, 1990); and collegial ties (Heinz and Laumann, 1982). The conception of master statuses, as stated above, is also applicable to an analysis of sexual relationships. The significance of the findings of the above-mentioned studies is that relationships are the channels through which the

processes such as persuasion, sanction, discussion and admiration are directed (Blau, 1964). Thus, one may expect to find differences in normative understandings about what is appropriate sexual conduct that correspond to certain status characteristics.

Coupled with the structuring of social relationships, evidence indicates that people differ in the way that they describe themselves to others, attributes such as those that have been mentioned are often a prominent feature of self-descriptions. This is important from a sociological perspective because it indicates which groups people look to as reference points in evaluating the appropriateness of their own behaviour. These reference groups can consist of specific people such as a person's priest and /or fellow parishioners, or cultural artefacts, such as one's perception of what "women" are like (Laumann and Gagnon, 1995). In either of the cases, possessing the status characteristic becomes important in determining how that person will conduct himself or herself. However, the manner in which and the degree to which this occurs will vary across individuals.

The third element of the definition of master statuses entails the extent to which they structure the ways in which people think about those around them. One's perception of those around him/her is important in determining what is and what is not an appropriate behaviour in a given situation. For example, people are more likely to express themselves differently when in interaction with people who share their ideological views than when they are in company of people who do not. The significant point here is that, in any situation, an individual's particular master status characteristics are employed to formulate expectations about his or her attitudes and conduct. Since the element being discussed here are master identities that have ramifying implications for normatively appropriate social action, they are particularly likely to be useful in inferring a source of a person's sexual attitudes and behaviours.

Together, the three features define what have been identified as master statuses.

However, prior to an exploration of their usefulness for explaining patterns of sexual behaviour, it is worthwhile to note some of the empirical properties of the statuses that determine how they are implicated in specific social processes. Some of these properties are:

- ◆ Master statuses differ in the extent to which they can be recognised. Gender, for instance, is usually an attribute that is easily recognisable while political orientation is a latent characteristic that is often quite difficult to determine, despite some considerable interaction.
- ◆ People who possess them vary in the degree to which they consider them to be important. Thus, an African man is likely to take the label more seriously, especially regarding its sexual advantages, than a non-African male, for instance.
- ◆ Master statuses have different meanings in different segments of the population. Being a woman, for instance, means different things in different places. One might expect that a female college student in the city has more opportunity to go after a male sexual partner without being labelled a deviant than a middle-aged woman living in the village.
- ◆ In most cases, a specific status does not operate in isolation. Rather, each individual embodies several statuses concurrently, and must manage the expectations and requirements associated with each of these statuses at the same time.

The last two properties suggest that one should not be interested in a particular status in isolation. Rather, the focus should be on the set of social positions consisting of all possible combinations of status characteristics.

Critical to the framework that has been discussed so far is the view that sexual relationships are special cases of social relationships. Thus, they should conform to some of the “regularities” that have been observed in respect of social relationships, generally.

An example of such regularities is the tendency toward equal status contact. Apart from gender, it is expected that sexual relationships are more likely to begin between individuals who share the same or similar status attributes than between individuals with different status attributes. The reason being that, since the majority of social interaction occurs within groups of similar status individuals, it is likely that an individual chooses a sexual partner from an already pre-selected group of similar others (Feingold, 1988). Another reason is that in some cases, sexual partners could become potential marriage partners. Since, marriages tend to occur among people who share similar status attributes, it is plausible that the prospect of marriage tend to discourage sexual relationships between people with different status attributes.

Another important “observed regularity” in explaining the dynamics of social relationships bothers on the involvement of interested parties. These are the people who know one or both of the potential partners and have a particular interest in encouraging or preventing the occurrence of the partnership. The third parties may attempt to influence one or more of the partners, and this may result in increased tendencies toward same status contact. For instance, it is likely that groups of friends who share a given set of status characteristics are likely to influence each other to have sexual relationships with partners who have the same set of status characteristics. This is to allow for some fitness of the partner into ongoing group activities.

3.2 The network approach

To a certain extent, a “network approach” has been implicit in epidemiology for a long time. For instance, Burnet (1940) provided a network-like diagram showing the spread of an hypothetical infectious agent transmitted from one person to another. Later, a few steps were taken in the direction of demonstrating the usefulness for epidemiology, if human population is explicitly conceptualised in network terms (K'lov Dahl, 1985).

This therefore serves as a justification for the use of the network approach in this study.

In a broad sense, a network is a system connected by links in some way. The nodes may be persons, groups, or other units while the links are either symmetrical or asymmetrical (Mitchell, 1969). The present focus is on networks in which the nodes are individuals and the links are personal relationships that are based on cohabitation. Further still, a basic distinction is made between a personal (or “egocentric”) network and a social (or “sociocentric”) network. A personal network refers to an individual person, the other persons in direct contact with him or her, and the social relationships that link these persons to the focal person. In an ideal case, the network also covers social relationships among those linked to the focal person. The term social network, on the other hand, refers to the whole set of persons in a particular population and the links connecting them.

An attempt to emphasise the distinction between personal and social network is not to undermine personal network as the potential of social networks but an attempt to guide against a misplacement of use. In a population, there may be as many personal networks as there are individuals in the same population. All these personal networks may be connected together to form a single social network (Srinivas and Beteille, 1964). However, there has been a tendency to use personal networks somewhat less precisely than desirable to describe studies of friendship ties, interaction with kin and other personal network phenomena. Thus, although, it has been well established that the concept of a personal network can be useful in epidemiological research (Prilisuk and Froland, 1978), it should be made clear that the focus in this study is on social networks.

Basic to much of social network researches is a proposition that the structure of a network has consequences for its individual members and for the network as a whole. This is exemplified by Bott (1971) in a research suggesting that the structure of networks in which married persons are entrapped affect husband-wife relationships. By inference,

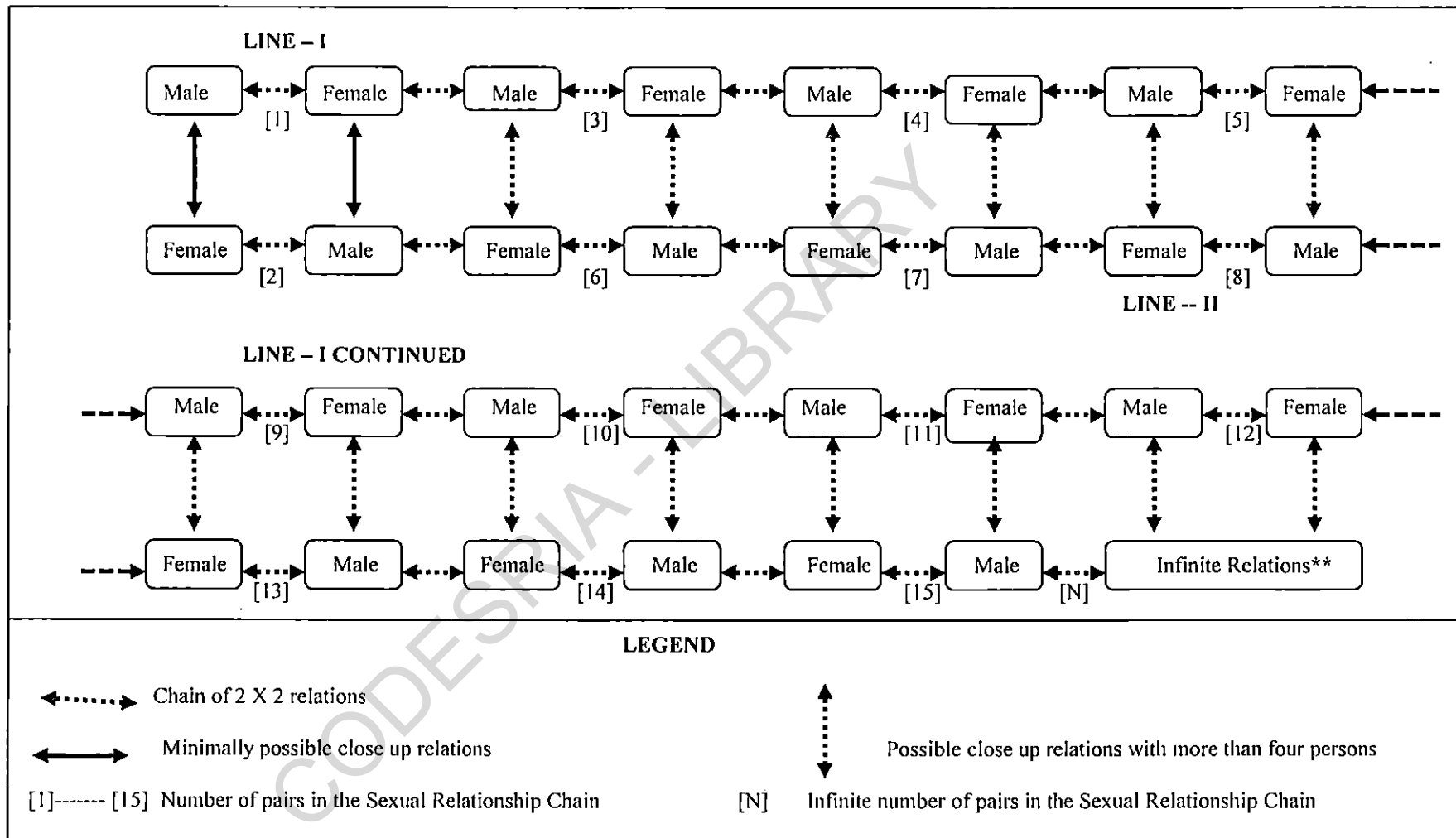
therefore, the structure of relevant networks determines the rate and extent of the spread of a disease transmitted through personal relationships. This, again, implies that if a population is divided into relatively isolated sub-populations with low rates of interaction within the sub-population, a network disseminated disease that enters the population (through a sub-population) would either be confined mainly to that sub-population or is likely to spread slowly, if at all. However, if individuals, within the population, maintain large network linkages that cut across the whole population, and there is a high rate of interaction within the population, a more rapid and extensive spread is possible.

Since the exploration into the theme of this study – the social, attitudinal and behavioural aspects of male sexuality - is not an end in itself but a means to understanding the transmission of the sexually transmitted infectious agents (especially its epidemic potential), then, a knowledge of network structure is expected to provide a theoretical underpinning. An adoption of this theoretical approach is based on the assumption that the constituent elements of a large social network are personal networks of individual married males; and that these personal networks involve some degree of sexual intimacy. Considering the probability of these assumptions, therefore, the Theoretical Model of Sex Relationship Chain (TMSRC) is deemed appropriate for a meaningful explanation of this study.

A chain of sex relationship model

Theoretically, a minimum sexual relationship may end up with at least a relation of two males and two females provided there are common partners (or couple swapping) (refer to model 1 in figure 3.1). If the relationship, is not a swapping one, or the last partner in the model does not have his or her last partner within the 4 members in model 1, the relationship continues with an infinite number of people of both sexes, as in the model with broken lines in figure 3.1

Figure 3.1: A chain of sex relations



Source: Ahmed, G. (1988)

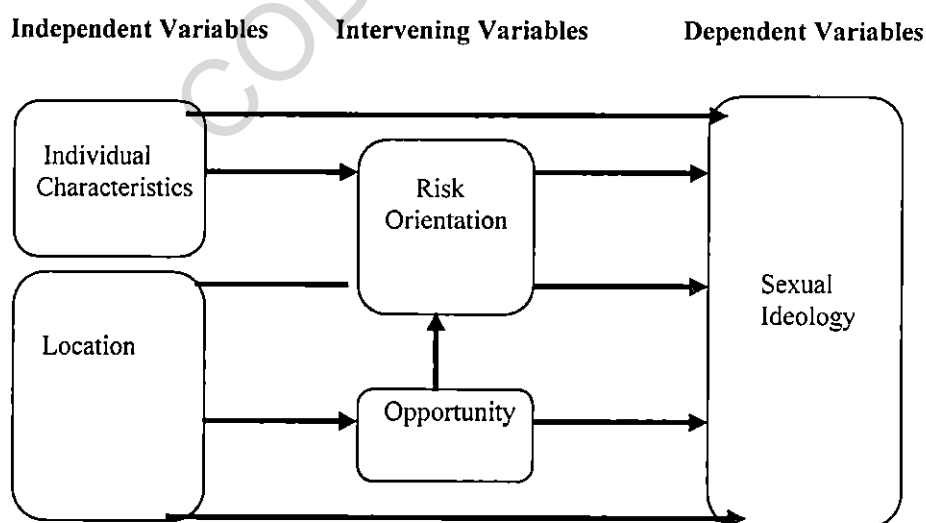
Note: The first pairs of males and females are shown clockwise to show the first ever possible close relations in a minimum of two persons relationships, which are very unlikely in practical situation. The possible close up of relationships will only occur when last member ends up his or her relations with member(s) before him/her. The chain will thus be complete. When this happens, the relationship at the right hand side ends. In other words, the second relationship of the individual at the top rather than on the right hand side. The normal individual relationship is linked horizontally while a vertical relationship is also possible.

3.3 The Conceptual Framework

There is no single conceptual framework for the analysis of attitudes to male sexuality. However, any detail, meaningful and comprehensive analysis of the social, attitudinal and behavioural aspects of male sexuality demands a distinction between a multiplicity of factors. With reference to Oyekanmi (1991), these factors are categorised into three: independent and explanatory variables; the intermediate or intervening variables; and the response or dependent variables.

The explanatory variables in this study include individual characteristics and location; risk orientation and opportunity. However, some of these variables may also be viewed as intervening variables depending on the levels of analysis. These variables whether employed as explanatory or intervening variables ultimately determine sexual ideology, which is the dependent variable. The relationship between the independent, the intervening and the dependent variables identified in the context of this study is presented in Figure 3.2.

Figure 3.2: A conceptual framework for explaining the perception of male sexuality



Note: Adapted and modified from Oyekanmi (1991)

A detailed classification of the variables that are considered significant within the context of this study are as follows:

- ◆ **Individual characteristics:** These are the socio-economic attributes of an individual. They include age, sex, education, occupation, type of marital union (whether polygyny or monogamy), position among co-wives, age difference between husband and wife etc.
- ◆ **Location:** Refers to where respondent lives, whether urban or rural.
- ◆ **Risk orientation:** Constitutes both the perceived risk of specific sexual behaviour, and the general disposition of the individual to (or not to) engage in behaviour believed to have some probability of an undesirable physical, social or demographic results (WHO, 1988).
- ◆ **Opportunity:** Means availability of conditions that favour the performance of particular sexual acts. This include availability of brothels, bars and hotels where there is commercial sex, being away from home and spouse etc.
- ◆ **Sexual ideology:** Refers to beliefs, norms, values and attitudes concerning male sexual behaviour and sexuality.

The socio-economic attributes of an individual have been identified as a major determinant of his or her beliefs, values and attitude to issues (Laumann and Gagnon, 1995). The explanatory variables, which include individual characteristics and location will be employed as determinants of both the intervening and the dependent variables. Besides, both the explanatory and the intervening variables will be viewed as ultimate determinants of sexual ideology, which is the dependent variable. It is assumed, for instance, that the socio-economic characteristics of both men and women would

determine their perception of male sexuality. It is equally believed that the individual characteristics of men would largely influence their perceived risk of specific sexual behaviour and their general disposition to engaging in such a behaviour. The resulting effect of individual male characteristics on risk orientation could be considered significant for the formation of sexual ideology.

Moreover, as much as an individual's place of domicile (whether rural or urban) could have a direct influence on sexual ideology, a direct influence between the two variables is also explainable through an individual's risk orientation as well as opportunities or conditions that favour the performance of particular sexual acts. While it is envisaged that an individual's residence/location could determine the opportunity for engaging in sexual acts on one hand, it could also be imagined that opportunity may influence an individual's perception of the probable risk of his sexual behaviour.

Considering the possibility that explanations of variations in the dependent variable (sexual ideology) can adequately be understood within the framework employed in this thesis, the strength of the probable association between the relevant categories of variables is determined through both the bivariate and the multivariate levels of analysis.

3.4 Research hypotheses

In the context of this study, the major hypothesis that is being considered is that there are gender differences and similarities in the perception of male sexuality. This is broken into the following working hypotheses:

- ◆ A man's social status influences his involvement in extramarital sexual relations.
- ◆ The socio-economic status of a man has significant influence on the extent to which

he is apprehensive of the risks that are involved in extramarital sexual relations.

- ◆ Mothers will always control their sons' sexual activities.
- ◆ Wives will always control their husbands' sexual activities.
- ◆ Wives often desire that their husbands are satisfied with them in their lifetime.
- ◆ There are significant gender differences in the perception of male sexuality.
- ◆ Social status is significantly related to the perception of male sexuality.

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RESEARCH SETTING AND METHODOLOGY

4.1 The research setting

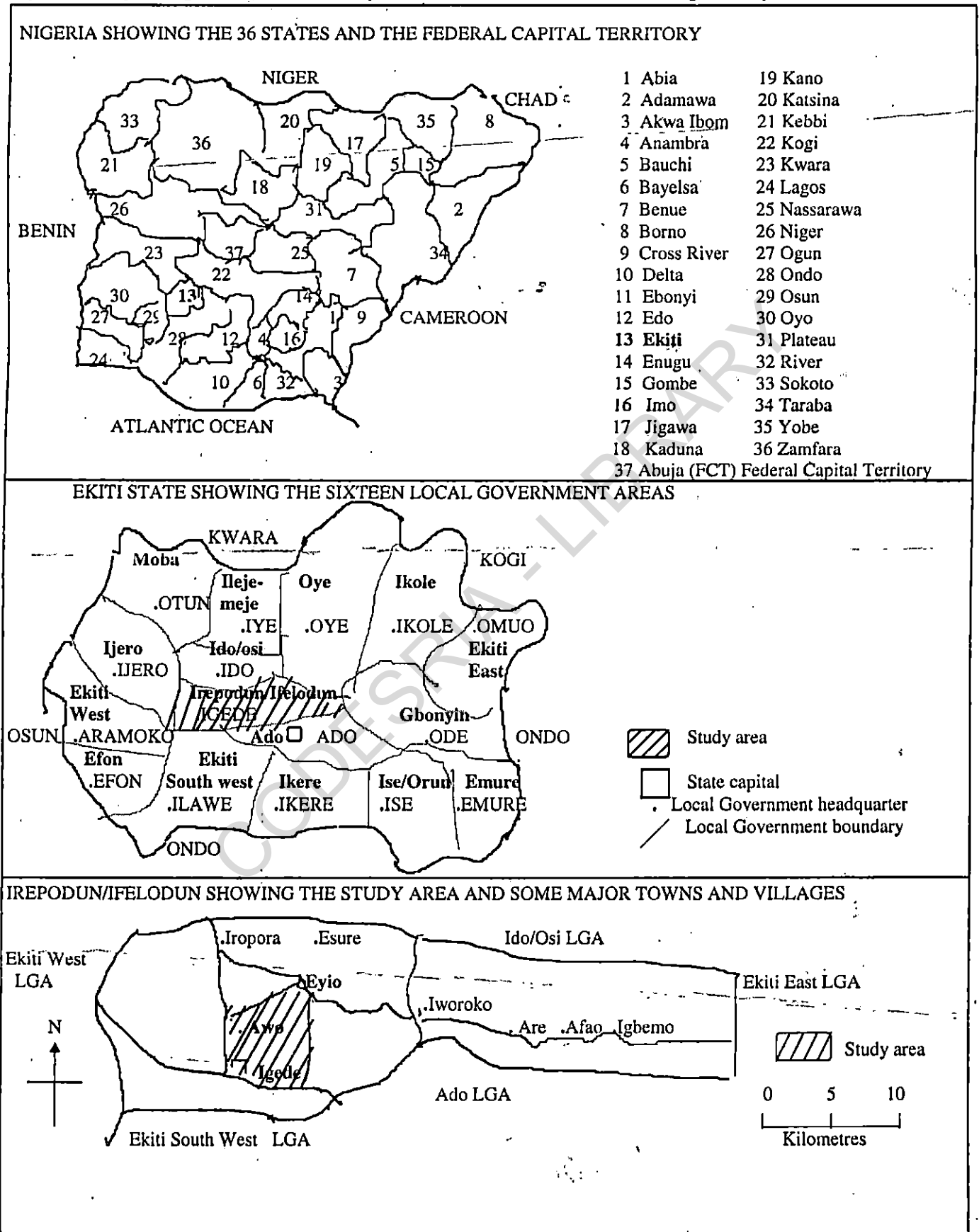
This study was conducted in three communities in Irepodun/Ifelodun Local Government Area (LGA) of Ekiti State, Nigeria. Irepodun/Ifelodun LGA was part of Ekiti Division of the former Ondo Province (Later Ondo State) in the defunct Western State of Nigeria. Prior to the creation of Ondo State on February 3, 1976, the Ekiti Division, which comprises of all the towns and villages in the present day Ekiti State had its overall administrative headquarter at Ado-Ekiti (Irepodun/Ifelodun Local Government Information Booklet, 1993). Nevertheless, for easy and effective administration, the Ekiti Division was sub-divided into two zones. It was at these zones that all administrative organs were constituted and put in place. These zones were Ikole and Ijero respectively. The towns and villages under the present Irepodun/Ifelodun LGA were under the administration of Ado-Ekiti administrative area. When Ondo State was created in 1976, Local Governments were also created. One of such Local Governments was the defunct Ekiti Central Local Government (Irepodun/Ifelodun Local Government Information Booklet, 1993). The Irepodun/Ifelodun LGA, created in May, 1989 with its headquarter at Igede-Ekiti, was an integral and functional part of the defunct Ekiti Central LGA.

The Irepodun/Ifelodun LGA shares a common boundary with some of the sixteen LGAs in Ekiti-State. These are Ido/Osi LGA to the North; Ekiti Southwest LGA and Ado-Ekiti in the South respectively; Ekiti West LGA to the West and Ekiti East LGAs in the East. According to the 1991 provisional census figures, the Irepodun/Ifelodun LGA had a

population of about 110,259 inhabitants, comprising of 54,451 males and 55,808 females (National Population Commission, 1993). The total population of the LGA is expected to have increased to about 136,343 inhabitants by 1999. Of the 1991 population figure, Igede-Ekiti had a total of 24,607 people, comprising of 12,229 males and 12,378 females. The total population of Eyio-Ekiti in 1991 was 2,619, comprising of 1,239 males and 1,380 females. Awo-Ekiti had a total population of 9,294: comprising of 4,559 and 4,735 males and females respectively. Projecting the populations of Igede-Ekiti, Eyio-Ekiti and Awo-Ekiti into 1999 gave estimates of 30,430; 3,239 and 11,492 people respectively (Ekiti State Department of Population Activities, 1999).

The Irepodun/Ifelodun LGA is sub-divided into two zones namely: Irepodun and Ifelodun. The Irepodun zone comprises of Igede, the administrative headquarter of the LGA, Iyin-Ekiti, Awo, Iropora, Eyio and Esure. The Ifelodun zone, on the other hand, is made up of Iworoko, Are, Afao, Igbemo and of recent Araromi-Obo, which was transferred to the LGA from the Ado-Ekiti LGA by the Ondo State Government in April, 1990 (Irepodun/Ifelodun Local Government Information Booklet, 1993). Besides, the Irepodun/Ifelodun LGA has a sizeable number of villages and farmstead like Ile-Ona, Irasa, Ika and a host of others located in both zones of the LGA. Maps of Nigeria, Ekiti State and Irepodun/Ifelodun showing the locations of the study area are presented as Figure 4.1.

Figure 4.1: Maps of Nigeria; Ekiti State and Irepodun/Ifelodun Local Government showing the study location



4.2 Research methodology

This study draws from both primary and secondary sources of data. The secondary source is the study on Male Sexuality, which was undertaken by Orubuloye, Caldwell and Caldwell between 1994 and 1995. The 1994/95 study provided the background for the analyses that were conducted in this study. In order to enrich this study, efforts were made to match spouses in the course of quantitative data collection. This was not done in the Orubuloye and Caldwell's study. The primary sources are quantitative and qualitative data. The choice of both quantitative and qualitative types of data was largely informed by the belief that issues of sexual behaviour are too subtle and complicated to be explored adequately using only one survey technique.

4.2.1 The 1994/95 Study

This was a pilot study carried out in 6 locations in Southwest, Nigeria. The locations included Ado-Ekiti, the headquarters of the Ekiti District in the old Ondo State, but currently the capital of Ekiti State. A sample of 500 males and 500 females, who were 18 years and above, was successfully interviewed. The respondents, however, were not necessarily married couples.

The findings of the study revealed that men's extramarital sexual activity is still largely taken for granted in Southwest Nigeria. This is especially to protect the marriage and for the sake of dignity. Nevertheless, an increasing number of men and women believe that one woman is sufficient for a man at a given time and over a lifetime. However, the need for men to have sexual variation coupled with the assumed polygynous nature of man

were the two major reasons why men cannot be satisfied with one woman. The respondents were apprehensive of STDs and HIV/AIDS. The belief that men would have extramarital sex during the wife's post partum abstinence is no longer important. This is especially because of the increasing level of contraception and the rapid decline in traditional long period of post-partum abstinence. It is still generally believed that men are biologically different from women in their need for sex. Thus, a man should have unlimited sexual freedom while a woman is expected to have only one partner.

The study also indicated that wives' impediments regarding any attempt to control their husbands' sexual behaviour wives' are gradually declining with advances in education. Although, there is no perfect consensus, among the female respondents, as to the right of husbands' to some extramarital affairs, a significant proportion of the women had attempted some control of their husbands. However, the attempt of the women (mothers) to control their son's sexual behaviour was nearly universal.

4.2.2 Quantitative data

In an attempt to collect quantitative data that are relevant to this study, the questionnaire method was employed. Data were collected from three locations in Irepodun/Ifelodun Local Government area of Ekiti State: one urban and two rural. The rural locations are Eyio-Ekiti and Awo-Ekiti, while Igede-Ekiti (the LGA headquarter) constitutes the urban component. The choice of Irepodun/Ifelodun Local Government Area and the selected communities was informed by a number of factors. First, the Irepodun/Ifelodun and Ado-Ekiti, the headquarters of Ado-Ekiti Local Government Area (LGA), one of the six locations where the 1994/95 male sexuality, which provides the

background for this study, was undertaken are two adjoining LGAs. Besides, the two LGAs have long belonged to the same district. Thus, they are deemed to share some socio-cultural characteristics, which are considered significant for the nature of this study. Secondly, the three communities, which were selected for this study are contiguous. Hence, it was less cumbersome to supervise the fieldwork and conduct the qualitative study.

In each of the research locations, a random selection of eligible male and female was undertaken. In Igede-Ekiti, a total of 500 respondents (250 currently married couples) was drawn while a sample of 250 respondents (125 currently married couples) was randomly selected from each of the villages. In all a total of 1,000 respondents (500 married couples), whose ages are 15 years and above was the target. However, 898 respondents (449 married couples) were successfully interviewed. That the targeted sample size could not be met is not unconnected with the need to interview both spouses in a marital relationship. There were instances whereby several attempts were made to interview wives or husbands whose spouses had been interviewed but to no avail.

Two sets of questionnaires were employed in this study. A set was administered to male (husbands) while the second was administered to their female counterparts (wives). Each of the two sets of questionnaire was divided into two sections. Section A consisted of questions on the socio-economic characteristics of the respondents while section B contained questions on male sexual behaviour and respondents' attitude towards male sexual activities. Samples of the interview schedule are attached as appendices D and E.

The interviewers that were recruited on this study consisted of seasoned

fieldworkers who had been trained by the UNAD/SAREC Research Centre in the art of handling studies that bother on personal and private issues (such as sex and sexual behaviour). Both male and female interviewers were engaged in the administration of the questionnaire. Each interviewer interviewed people of his or her own sex and, as much as possible, respondents within their age cohort. The older interviewers interviewed the older respondents. For the fact that the study requires a discussion of a private and personal issue, older interviewers related more to the older respondents. Also, male and female field workers were paired to interview a married couple simultaneously. If an interview could not be completed during a particular session, appointments were made with respondents for another visit, until the completion of the interview. Most of the interviews were conducted in the evenings, when most couples would have returned from the day's work.

4.2.3 Qualitative data

The limitations of the quantitative data in understanding complex issues have been documented (Scrimshaw, 1991; Caldwell, 1994a; Oni 1996). More often than not, the questions and responses in quantitative surveys are very simple, since they must be capable of being quantified. In the process of quantification/categorisation, however, many important information to the study may be lost. As such, the findings of quantitative studies are often unable to elucidate the multi-faceted explanations of human action and behaviour. Since the preoccupation of a social researcher is usually to make sense out of human behaviour (i.e. to understand and predict human behaviour), it has particularly become expedient that he employs an effective method in the conduct of his

surveys. To this end, the use of qualitative methods has often been advocated.

Although, qualitative method has been used for quite sometime (Banks, 1956), its popularity as an approach for conducting basic research within the social and health sciences has been relatively recent (Hull, 1975; Caldwell, 1988; Scrimshaw, 1990; 1991; Shafritz and Roberts, 1994; Oni, 1996). The qualitative method is usually employed to penetrate attitudinal themes as well as those that are not well known to the investigator. For instance, the qualitative approach will be more handy when a researcher intends to investigate the locally held beliefs about contraception; the value of immunisation or traditional practices preferred by an ethnic subgroup in respect of pregnancy and childbirth. It may also be used to elicit opinions on known topics, especially, to develop an understanding of client or user perspectives on the topics. A researcher, for instance, may believe that they know the answers to the questions posed, since they have grown up in the same general society. However, as they listen to the responses, especially those spoken in the respondents' own words and preferred idioms, the researchers knowledge often become enriched. Indeed, the responses often reveal the cultural distance between what the researcher thinks he know and what obtains among the study population.

No matter the design of a study or how refined the quantification procedure adopted, the use of non-quantified/qualitative data often lead to important insights. For instance, a verbatim report or important observation may be useful to retrieving the relevant information that may have been lost in the course of quantification. They may also help to clarify the nature of relationships between variables, which have been demonstrated 'quantifiably'. Not only that, qualitative data may equally lead to an hypothesis for further research. This is particularly possible in the sense that an

hypothesis for further research. This is particularly possible in the sense that an examination of non-quantified data could reveal aspects of the phenomenon that have not been sufficiently studied in a particular investigation.

Scrimshaw (1991) particularly summarised the importance of qualitative methods in research as follows:

Quantitative methods used in isolation tend to jump ahead to a focus on reliability and replicability, but if validity is compromised, these efforts are wasted on data, which do not reflect reality. Qualitative methods can capture actual behaviour with great accuracy, and can produce detailed information and insights applicable to both the development of testable information and insights applicable to both the development of testable hypotheses and the interpretation of quantitative data.

Another justification for the use of qualitative data in demographic research was presented by Caldwell (1994a) thus:

“One of the great strengths of demographers is that they are so interested in numbers that they are deeply suspicious of them...This is unfortunately waning as more demographers and their graduate students accept the standardised re-coded data available from such programs as the World Fertility Survey and the Demographic and Health Surveys, even for countries about which they have very little first-hand knowledge. It is blood chilling to hear demographers asking around for ‘analysable data sets’.....Their real weakness is that they often confuse statistical categories with underlying social reality. Many demographers fail to appreciate that the quantified part of some phenomenon is merely one aspect of it, and often one that has been pushed into a certain configuration to make the measurement possible. And they do not often appreciate just how artificial it is to break up continuous variables into quantifiable segments”

The arguments stated above, suggest the importance of both quantitative and qualitative methods of data collection especially in social, demographic and health research endeavours. Consequently, the use of both qualitative and quantitative methods

in health and demographic studies have not only been advocated but has also increased in the last few decades (Hull, 1975; Caldwell, 1988; Scrimshaw, 1990; 1991; Oni, 1996; Oni and Oguntimehin, 1996). With the use of both methods, a researcher will enjoy the advantages of both while minimising the disadvantages of each.

Hence, both quantitative and qualitative data sources were employed to complement each other in this study. The collection of the relevant qualitative data was through in-depth interviews. These were organised in terms of:

- ◆ Sex (a) male (b) female
- ◆ Type of marriage (a) monogamy (b) polygyny
- ◆ Age (a) young (15-34 years) (b) middle aged (35-49 years) and (c) old (50 years and above)
- ◆ Level of education (a) none and koranic only (b) primary only (c) secondary and above
- ◆ Place of residence (a) urban (b) rural
- ◆ Position among co-wives (a) 1st (b) 2nd (c) 3rd and above
- ◆ Age difference between husbands and wives (a) 0 – 5 years (b) 6 – 10 years (c) 11 years and above

Selecting each type of respondent for an in-depth interview, the study covered some 60 key informants – 30 in the urban area and 15 in each of the rural locations-selected on the basis of the characteristics stated above. The selection process was to ensure that all the individual characteristics of the respondents are taken into consideration. The interview guide included the following issues:

- ◆ Identifying the traditional sexual norms that operate in the society.

- ◆ Detailed explanation on the operation of these norms for both male and female.
- ◆ Views about the current general pattern of sexuality in the society.
- ◆ Placing male sexuality in the current pattern.
- ◆ Comparing the current pattern of male sexuality with what obtained in the past.
- ◆ Opinions about spousal rights with respect to male sexuality.

4.2.4 Data management and analysis

When the completed questionnaires were pooled, the responses were edited and coded. Codes were assigned to each of the responses, entered into the computer and edited for internal consistencies prior to their analysis using Dsurvey and SPSSWIN 7.5 data management software. In an attempt to attain the research objectives earlier stated, there were three levels of analysis. The first is at the level of univariate analyses. At this level, descriptions of frequency distributions with a view to highlighting how varied the respondents are on socio-economic characteristics as well as social, attitudinal and behavioural aspects of male sexuality can be determined. The second level – bivariate analyses – was undertaken only for variables on which the respondents vary. At this level, there was a simultaneous analysis of two variables, mainly through the use of contingency tables. These analyses were employed to examine the relationships between the independent and the dependent variables. Efforts were also made to determine the strength of the association between the two categories of variables. Appropriate measures of the degree of association were employed in this regard. The other level of analyses – multivariate analyses – was also undertaken in order to determine the “net” effect of each independent variable on the dependent variables. Multivariate analyses are intended to

provide better estimates of the impact of an explanatory variable on a response variable. This impact, it is believed, provided more adequate answers to the research questions. Multivariate analysis, using the General Linear Model method, was employed in this regard.

Information collected through in-depth interviews was transcribed. A computer program – SPSS for windows version 7.5 – was employed in the indexing, searching and sorting of the transcribed data. The program specifically assisted with the organisation of the transcribed information under broad headings that depict the different aspects of discussion in the interview sessions.

Having employed both the quantitative and qualitative methods, the question that comes to mind is how to integrate both sets of data after they have been collected. Although there are many answers to this question, the appropriateness of any is usually determined by the approach a researcher chooses to follow (Oni, 1996). A researcher, for instance, may decide to first present quantitative data. Later, qualitative data will be introduced either to validate or negate the findings from the quantitative data. In the alternative, the findings from qualitative data may be presented first, and the findings from the quantitative data are later employed to validate the findings of the qualitative ones. The third approach calls for the use of the qualitative data to describe, explain and clarify the context in which the behaviour observed in quantitative data took place. This approach is more appropriate to answering the “why” and “how” of a behaviour. Another approach is when a researcher employs the qualitative data to further describe an agreeable and straightforward finding from quantitative data.

In this study, the second and third approaches were largely employed, although the

two other approaches were used when relevant. The information collected through in-depth interviews was organised as summaries under broad headings to provide the background for quantitative analyses. The outcome of the descriptive analyses of qualitative data was also employed to explain and enrich the results of quantitative analyses. Indeed, the results of the quantitative data were discussed with constant reference to qualitative data. Towards this end, the use of common Yoruba proverbs and expressions as justified by Delano (1973) and as reported by the respondents, is largely adopted

4.2.5 Problems encountered and solutions

Perhaps like any other researcher, I set out for data collection with lot of excitement and expectations. The fact that I grew up and lived most part of my life in the same culture and society as the study population, gave me the confidence that all things would go on smoothly. I was, indeed, of the opinion that the target population are people who speak the same language, eat the same food and share the same customs as I. Hence, I never envisaged any serious problem in respect of data collection. However, my experiences during fieldwork tend to prove me wrong.

The major problem encountered in the course of data collection was that associated with gaining the respondents' confidence. It is commonly assumed that asking people about their sexual behaviour, beliefs or preferences, implies treading on a very very personal ground. Also, the Yoruba tradition does not permit the discussion of sex as a topic. Hence, some of the respondents were reluctant to provide all the information requested of them. In fact, some of the respondents, particularly at the initial stage of the

survey saw the interviewers as gossips who were only out for blackmail. There were a few who felt that some of the questions they were being asked touched so much on too personal and private issues. This made some respondents to doubt the seriousness of the research. The respondents in this category had to be convinced about the valid reasons for investigating their sexual behaviour.

There was also the need to maintain some flexibility in time schedules for the interviews. This particularly became mandatory in that the respondents were not often available until in the evenings when they would have returned from the day's work. Besides, attempts to interview the female respondents on market days and their husbands while they were preparing to attend village meetings were to no avail. Even when they accepted to spare sometime for the interview, they were always in a hurry and not ready to waste time on issues, which they regarded as irrelevant.

Although most of the respondents scheduled for in-depth interviews were very co-operative, those who had been sampled for the quantitative survey were reluctant to participate in the in-depth interviews. However, with careful explanation of the purpose of the in-depth interviews, they were persuaded. Furthermore, some of the respondents tended to introduce personal and religious biases into their responses. Hence, they almost deflected the course and focus of the survey.

Since the fieldworkers employed on this study were drawn from the UNAD/SAREC's pool of seasoned researchers, who are quite knowledgeable in survey methods and the art of interviewing, the problems encountered became unavailing. Because the interviewers worked in pairs; interviewed respondents of their sex and age cohort; and spoke the local dialect fluently, it was easy to establish the necessary rapport

and friendly atmosphere for the conduct of the survey. These particularly facilitated good interaction between the interviewers and the respondents. The need to maintain secrecy and anonymity was also not a serious problem in that no attempt was made to record the names of the respondents. Moreover, the respondents were specifically requested to appoint a convenient time and place both for the administration of questionnaires and the conduct of in-depth interviews. Also, the survey was not given undue publicity. This affords the respondents the freedom to answer the questions put to them as truthfully as possible.

Going by the measures highlighted above, the quality of the data used in this study was reasonably reliable. It is worthwhile to stress here that integrating two or more sources of data could limit the quality of a study. When different units of study have been used, integrating the data collected becomes increasingly difficult. Besides, variations and ambiguity in definitions of terminology and concepts employed in different methods could also lead to problems in integrating the sets of data collected (Bledsoe and Cohen 1993). To a large extent, these potential problems of integrating different types of data do not affect this study. This is because both quantitative and qualitative data were collected in the same communities and in some cases from the same respondents.

THE QUALITATIVE EXPLANATION OF THE BEHAVIOURAL AND ATTITUDINAL ASPECTS OF MALE SEXUALITY

5.0 Introduction

As a background to subsequent quantitative analysis, this chapter presents the qualitative evidence of the factors affecting the behavioural as well as the attitudinal aspects of male sexuality among the Yoruba and indeed, the study population. Usually, when studies reveal no statistical significance between two variables, such variables are considered either unrelated or unimportant. This is not always the case. Often times, statistical significance that are derived from quantitative analyses do not reveal much about a particular issue (Oni and Oguntimehin, 1996). This has prompted demographers and other social scientists to realise the importance of both qualitative and quantitative analyses in social surveys (Oni and Oguntimehin, 1996). Indeed, a combination of both quantitative and qualitative analyses often presents a clearer picture of the real situation regarding social surveys. In the light of this, this Chapter serves as a background to subsequent quantitative analyses. It is presented in four sections which are: (i) identification of the traditional sexual norms and their operation for both male and female in the society; (ii) the current general pattern of sexuality in Yoruba society; (iii) placing male sexuality in the current pattern and comparing this with what obtained in the past; and (iv) opinions about spousal rights with respect to male sexuality.

5.1. Identification of the traditional sexual norms and their operation for both male and female in the society.

Drawing on Tan's (1994) opinion, it is assumed that an appraisal of the perception of male sexuality needs to go beyond the analysis of individual personality or characteristics to an understanding of how these are shaped by the society. Although, virtually every society undertakes to regulate the sexual behaviour of their members, social forces appear to be more important in Africa. The traditional sexual norms and their operation in the Yoruba society have been discussed Chapter two. The focus in this section is to know whether or not the respondents could identify these norms. This is considered necessary since it is assumed that this would largely affect their perception, which is the main thrust of this study. As presented in Chapter two, sexual intercourse is forbidden with pregnant or nursing wives among the Yoruba. The Yoruba society condones intra-familial sexual relationships but not incest. It equally places much value on premarital chastity.

All the in-depth interviewees agreed that the traditional Yoruba society frowns at incest; while it favoured premarital chastity and a long period of post-partum sexual abstinence. The interviewees, however, differed on the operation of these norms for both male and female. There was a consensus among the interviewees that incest is a non-dignifying and indeed an important taboo across the society. While some of the respondents thought that a man is not expected to adhere strictly to the traditional requirement of post-partum and premarital sexual abstinence, others maintained that these norms are binding on both sexes and that men are only being deviant and selfish. It is important to stress, however, that the latter opinion is predominant among the younger,

the educated and the monogamously married female interviewees. Some of the responses of the in-depth interviewees in respect of the two positions are as follows:

A 70-year old rural woman living in the rural area, a widow, who was polygynously married and had no formal education said:

“There is no controversy in it. It is clear and we all know that men are often more sexually insatiable than their female counterparts. Let us not deceive ourselves, a man can not live without a non-marital sexual partner. My daughter, (*referring to me*) I do not know if you have seen a man who is sexually pressed before. You see these men, when they are in this position, they are always very wild. Because of this, a man would always want the urge for sex satisfied as soon as it strikes at least more regularly than women. The traditional Yoruba society itself recognised this. So, it allows men some exception from the traditional requirement of post-partum and premarital abstinence. As for women, they are expected to maintain some degree of sexual abstinence when they are single as well as when they are pregnant and nursing a child”.

Another 80-year old woman in similar social condition as the respondent above shared her own experience as follows:

“Men were allowed to have more sexual partners than women in traditional Yoruba society. When I still had a husband, I could remember that my husband was always having concubines, but we the wives dare not. This is not to say that female non-marital sex did not obtain in traditional Yoruba society. This was however, more discrete than that of males”

Another woman stated her own viewpoint as follows:

“Traditional norms largely permit a man to have more than a sexual partner. In Yorubaland, for instance, men would always have premarital or extramarital sexual partners (This was emphasised in the Yoruba language as *“laelae ni okunrin ti maa nyan ale”* meaning *“men have traditionally had concubines”*). For a man to relate to just a woman is western. While a man can never be satisfied with just a sexual partner, their female counterparts are expected to remain within the confines of

marriage. If for any reason, a woman ventures into extramarital sexual relationships she must be discrete about it. All the same, a woman can not have as many sexual partners as a man, except if she is a prostitute” (a 65-year old, polygynously married, with the primary school education).

The contribution of an urban woman, 35-year old, monogamously married, with a post secondary education, is as follows:

“I do not really know whether or not the traditional sexual norms operate differently for men and women. All that I am sure of is that they (men) can never be satisfied having sex with just a woman. Not even those that enter into marriage by ordinance. You see, men are very deceitful. When they tell you it is only you, do not ever believe them. May be they even need some extramarital sex since their libido appears much stronger than ‘ours’. So, a woman that does not want to die prematurely or become largely ‘spent’ (age fast) should allow the husband some extramarital sexual activities”.

The contribution of a woman, 40-year old, the only wife of her husband with an NCE education is as follows:

“When a woman is nursing a baby, there is no law that says she should abstain from sex. However, it is assumed that her husband will continue to have sex outside marriage whether or not the wife is abstaining from sex. Tell me, who can prevent men from satisfying their powerful urge for sex? Nobody”.

Another young and educated urban woman responded as follows:

“Truly, there are traditional sexual norms and the norms tend to operate differently for men and women. For this, men often believe they must have some extramarital sex. However, it is wiser for a man to forget the advantages of the norms for him and remain faithful to his wife. Or in the alternative, a man should keep as many women as he feels could satisfy his sexual urge as wives. This is especially to avoid premature death and contacting sexually transmitted infections and HIV/AIDS”

A 50-year old educated and monogamously urban married man said:

“Male sexual freedom has always been considered normal and even encouraged in traditional Yoruba society. Having non-marital sexual relationships is not largely condemned by the society even if the man is

married. The case is however different for women. Women are expected to be chaste both before marriage and when married”.

Another, 50 years old man who is polygynously married reported thus:

“A healthy man can never continue to have sex with just a woman in his lifetime. He would just be too much for the woman. The society appreciates this. That is why there are traditional sexual norms and these sexual norms often operate differently for men and women”.

The viewpoints reported above could be seen as the basis upon which men tend to justify their action in relation to non-marital sexual relations. In contrast to the above, a 40-year old woman living in urban area, and with a university education said:

“Every community has its sexual norms. Men are only being selfish by cheating on their wives through extramarital sexual relations. There is no law that says a wife should abstain from sex. She could always use contraceptives to guide against an unexpected pregnancy”.

Another 35-year-old woman, residence in the urban location and with a post secondary education expressed her opinion as follows:

“I agree that there are sexual norms in our society. But I do not believe there is any sacred cow anywhere. Tell me, is there anything that is good for man and not good for his female counterpart. Are we not created the same. What I am saying in effect is that any norm at all does not operate differently for the members of any society. But when men want to play pranks, it is then they would be referring to a norm that would favour them. After all, our fathers would ask, ‘*bawo ni obo se s’ori, ti inaki o se*’ meaning “*what is good for the goose is good for the gander*”. So, when you have a norm, it must be binding on every member of the society that operates the norm. There are usually no exceptions. However, there are often no strict penalties for deviants. This is the truth of the matter”.

A 35 year man, Christian, resident in a rural area and with a post secondary education said:

“It appears to me that the operation of the norms depends on self discipline. To my mind, it also depends on the attitude of a

man/woman to the so-called sexual norms. Tell me, which Christian man/woman would have any grain of positive attitude towards the operation of any sexual norm that would not make his or her life to glorify God”

The contribution of a young educated urban man also throws more light on the issue being discussed. According to him:

“Men and women often venture into non-marital relationships primarily not because of sex. As the economic crisis bites hard, people of both sexes would want an assistance or the other from outside the marital relationship. For example, men would be out for relationships with influential women, who can assist with one contract or the other. However, as the relationship continues, sex often comes into it. In such instances, whether or not traditional sexual norms operate differently for men and women is not the issue, but how to make both ends meet”.

The opinion of an urban, young and educated woman tends to corroborate that of the man reported.

“My own understanding of the matter is that whether or not the existing traditional sexual norms operate differently for men and women depends largely on individual disposition. If you look at it from both male and female sides, you will realise that sex is often a means to an end. For example, a man may want sexual satisfaction/companionship while a woman may want financial assistance. The extent to which either of the sexes believe that this could be achieved through sex determines the operation of the norms for them”.

It is clear from the opinion expressed by both men and women during the in-depth studies, that there are different explanations on the operation of the traditional sexual norms for both men and women in the society.

5.2 The current general pattern of sexuality in Yoruba society

Studies have revealed that western intervention have largely established the conditions that produce significant change in the traditional sexual order (Schapera, 1934; Ekundare, 1969; Balandier, 1970; Bullock, 1970; Goody, 1973; Comaroff and Robert, 1977; Biidelman, 1982; Bleek, 1988; Caldwell and Caldwell, 1988; Caldwell, Orubuloye and Caldwell, 1991). Evidence from some other studies have also concluded that peoples' attitude towards sex have become increasingly liberal.

An analysis of the current pattern of sexuality shall begin with premarital sexual relations, which used to be less covert than extramarital sexual relations. Evidence from in-depth interviews revealed that emphasis on female premarital chastity has diminished and is subjected to some abuse. Young girls and boys now relate to themselves as boy friends and girl friends with sex as a regular aspect of the dating system. More often than not, most single girls have sexual relations with boy friends as a demonstration of their love and to sustain the relationship. Since not all courtship leads to marriage, the lover relationship is enjoyed for its own right. Indeed, sexual experience is considered identical with 'good time'. Potential husbands now want their future wives to be pregnant before marriage as a proof of their fertility. Besides, most new husbands tend to prefer sophisticated girls with sexual experience as wives. As such, virginity at marriage has seized to be a sign of purity but an antisocial behaviour. The implication is that a high rate of premarital sexuality now obtains in the society.

As for extramarital sexual relations, evidence from in-depth interviews reveal that it is high among married men and women alike but that it is fairly frequent among married men. While men relate to young girls as 'sugar daddies', women, especially in

the cities are beginning to relate to younger and unmarried men as 'sugar mummies'. Since free marriages, consensual unions and non-customary marriages have largely increased in the society, out of wedlock sexual relation is no longer regarded as immoral. In these circumstances, divorce and separation are not regarded as tragedy even if it is caused by extramarital sexual relations. However, female extramarital sexual activities still remain more hidden than those of males.

As much as all the interviewees agreed that a high level of sexuality currently obtains in the society, they differed on what could be responsible for this. Some of the respondents were of the opinion that the current pattern of sexuality that is being experienced in the society is a concomitant of bad governance and the introduction of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) in the 80s. Others blamed infidelity on civilisation and moral decay. One of the respondents aptly states this:

"My friend, since the introduction of SAP, things have not been easy in this country. To get anything in the country, one has to be influential and in the corridor of power. In fact you have to know people that matter. Let us not deceive ourselves, one of the ways through which men and women have been getting things done is to sleep with the high-status and powerful men/women. This has indeed been working as expected. It is in fact a fast thorough-fare and entry into the society" (a 32-year-old, second wife, resident in the village, with a post secondary education) .

Studies have revealed that commercial sex is not recent in sub-Saharan Africa. In Nigeria, Pittin (1983) described in Hausaland "houses of women" who supported themselves largely by supplying sex. In Ghana, Peil (1981) reported on houses in the migrant townships surrounding Accra - Tema, which had several sex workers. However, a general observation reveals that commercial sex has greatly increased in Nigeria

especially because of the attending problems of SAP and the long period of military rule.

An interviewee stated this:

“There is no controversy about it. Prostitution has become more widespread in present-day society. The most troubling aspect of it is that it had assumed international dimensions. Imagine some Nigerian ladies travelling as far as to overseas to practise prostitution. What else could have pushed them into such if not for the economic hardships that had continued to bite hard on Nigerians. Many young women take to this business in order to make both ends meet. We all know that things are hard and people must survive. Thus, for women who could not afford to manage what the parents could provide them, an alternative is the sale of their body. Besides, bars and brothels are increasingly springing up as means of surviving economic crisis. And their availability and accessibility tend to have provided the conducive atmosphere for women who may want to venture into commercial sex” (a 35-year-old, man, urban resident, with a post secondary education)

Another interviewee expressed his own opinion on the matter as follows:

Many young men and women travel away from home for education and employment in the cities. Many a-times, these are not easy to come by. In such circumstances, many of the young women often venture into the sale of their body. This is particularly because young men and women that migrate to the cities always remain hopeful. Thus, they would prefer to find something to keep them busy until they get what they want rather than returning to the villages” (a-50-year-old, urban resident, with a post secondary education).

It had been indicated that commercial sex could be a part-time or a full-time business (Orubuloye, Caldwell and Caldwell; 1994; Oguntimehin, 1995). This is reiterated by a respondent as follows:

“Do you know that apart from being full-time sex workers, there are some young ones who do the business on a part-time basis. Most of the part time sex workers are young women and they usually solicit for sexual partners in the premises of hotels and drinking places in the cities. The situation has reached an alarming proportion, in major cities and towns in Nigeria, particularly since the onset of economic difficulties and the introduction of the Structural Adjustment Programme. It has become very scandalous to an extent that it is frequently reported in the News Media. For instance, there are usually

remarks on the radio and television about young women, even students of tertiary institutions, who often converge at strategic locations or move around in the streets of the cities (mostly in the evenings) to solicit for clients. May be we should not blame them. Things are just too bad. Thus, most of them engage in sexual relations to augment their income or that of their parents or even to pay for their education. Sometimes, these parents are aware but for economic reasons, are handicapped in dissuading their daughters from exchanging sex for money because of the benefits they themselves derive from such activities” (a 45-year old, urban resident male, with a post secondary education).

The contribution of a 40-year-old man, urban resident, with a post-secondary education, further illuminates our understanding of the situation. In his opinion:

“The current pattern of sexuality that is being experienced in the society is highly sustained by hard times. For what do we say about some Nigerians whose main business is to recruit young ladies (whose ages range between 11 and 13 years) and set them up in prostitution. I am sure this was not the situation in the time of our forefathers. Things have really changed. Today, many young ladies now prefer to relate to elderly men (i.e. sugar daddies) rather than young men. If the ‘sugar daddies propose marriage to them, they will jump at it. It is not as if they really love these men. They agree to his proposal because the man has cared for her financial needs and it is assumed that it will continue this way. The care of the man is highly appreciated by her because of her poor parental background, which has probably been worsened by the economic crisis. Because of this, she prefers to sacrifice a stable relationship with a boyfriend”.

The emphasis of the interviewees on prostitution and making ends meet is consistent with the findings of some studies in other parts of Africa. In Ghana, it has been reported that young girls often go out at night to sell sex. In Accra, for instance, the most popular place is the nightclub (circle). Girls in Central Accra often say they had to go to “circle” to make ends meet. Circle is a busy place for all illicit dealings at night and sex work is one of such dealings (Anarfi and Fayorsey, 1999).

The viewpoints reported above had indicated that economic crisis is a major contributory factor in respect of the current level of sexuality that obtains in the society. In contrast to this viewpoint, however, the study has also revealed that westernisation and civilisation have played a major role in this regard. In the words of an in-depth interviewee:

“All in the name of civilisation, our people, both young and old, have become very promiscuous. The world is largely spoilt. People are just ‘drinking’ sins like water. More often than not, young boys and girls who are yet to reach puberty have early experience in sexual matters. I just pray that God, Himself would take control” (a 45-year old, monogamously married rural woman, Christian, with a secondary education).

The opinion above is consistent with the reactions of religious leaders to the HIV/AIDS scourge. The epidemic is highly regarded as punishment for sexual sins arising from infidelity on the part of both men and women. Hendricks (1992) supporting the view said that the occurrence of AIDS as a disease was a violation against morality. According to him, ‘God promised a new world entirely free from diseases. Hence, we do not need to spend billions of dollars on research. What we need is a return to morality’. Schroeders (1988) equally believed that AIDS is one of those prophetic evils, serious and severe diseases that would automatically afflict human who knowingly or unwittingly violates God’s revealed and natural laws. These pathogens according to him come to the fore when God’s revealed and spiritual and natural laws of proper living are violated. Caldwell, Orubuloye and Caldwell (1999) also reported that one-half of their respondents believed that AIDS had been sent to scourge those who are sinners. Indeed, the respondents conceive of AIDS as a punishment for fornication and adultery and more generally for disobeying the instructions of the holy books (the Bible and the Qur’an).

For example, a 50-year-old Grade II female teacher in the village, reported as follows:

“If not for the western culture that we have adopted, things would have been normal. In the past, a young and unmarried lady who became pregnant knew she would be ostracised. The situation is more so for a married woman who became pregnant in the course of an extramarital sexual partner. To avoid this, however, women were very careful about having non-marital sexual relations. The general feeling among youths today is that only a girl who wants to be pregnant can do so since there are so many family planning methods (there are the pills, the injection, the IUD and many others) which can be used to avoid pregnancy”.

Another respondent, who corroborated the views of the Grade II teacher reported thus:

“It is no controversy that we are becoming more civilised. However, as much as civilisation has its benefits, it has detrimental effects on the society. One of its disadvantages for the society, you will agree with me, is in the area of sexuality. Today, a high rate of sexuality obtains in the society. A major factor that has contributed to the high incidence which we now find in the society, is the easy access to contraceptive devices. These are often used to prevent unplanned pregnancies. Even when pregnancy ensued by mistake, it is now easier and safer to procure an abortion” (a 40-year-old, rural woman, with a secondary school education).

Evidence from in-depth interviews have been quite revealing as to the factors which have made the society vulnerable to the high level of sexuality that obtains in the society. A high rate of both male and female sexuality now obtains in the society.

5.3 Placing male sexuality in the current pattern and comparing this with what obtained in the past

Despite the general high rate of sexuality that obtains in the society, studies have revealed that it is higher among males than females. For example, it is assumed that a man will continue to have sex while the wife is not available due to the birth of a child (Bleek, 1987; Caldwell and Caldwell, 1987). Survey research of unmarried young persons (14 to 25 years of age) in Ibadan city, Nigeria (Ladipo, *et al.*, 1983; Nichols *et al.*, 1986) found that 79 per cent of males have experienced sexual relations, 60 per cent within the previous month, in contrast to 55 per cent of females, 40 per cent within the last month.

In traditional African society, males were not expected to be chaste. The factors that have particularly favoured sexual permissiveness for African men were late marriage and the need for two to three years female abstinence during the post partum period (see Chapter two). Due to the economic difficulties of the eighties, the age at marriage appears to be increasing. It is assumed, therefore that premarital male sexuality will be on the higher side. This supposition appears to be confirmed by qualitative evidence. All the female in-depth interviewee agreed that men are major contributors to the high rate of sexuality that is prevalent in the society. In the opinion of the women, if men do not initiate sex, things would definitely become normal. Although some of the men agreed that they are always predisposed to more overpowering sexual urge than their female counterparts, many of the male interviewees did not agree that men are solely responsible for the high level of male sexuality that prevails in the society. According to them, no matter how high the level of men's libido or how well they try to initiate sex, some level

of negotiation is often expected between men and women. By implication, therefore, both men and women are to blame for whatever level of sexuality that may prevail in the society.

It must be emphasised, however, that the availability of contraception has made the need for a long period of post-partum sexual abstinence obsolete. Thus, post-partum period is being shortened considerably (Orubuloye, Caldwell and Caldwell, 1991). Besides, the taboo preventing pregnant women from having sex is no longer in place. Men now have access to their wives during pregnancy. Total abstinence during post-partum period has not been medically recommended except in situations where the woman has a history of spontaneous abortions or other problems. Given the relaxation of the taboo, one would tend to assume that men would not seek extramarital sexual relations. The opposite has, however, been the case for certain men who have appetite for sex. The case of a female interviewee, which is presented below is a testimony to the general belief that men have natural urge for multiple sexual liaisons.

The interviewee, a 35-year old woman, resident in the town, who had been married for ten years reported that she usually abstains from sex for just a month or thereabout after the birth of a child. She has been able to guide against an unwanted pregnancy through the use of contraceptives. By this decision of hers, she thought she would be able to satisfy her husband sexually and that the husband would have little or no reason to seek extramarital sex. Just about three months preceding the interview, she discovered that her husband has been 'going out' with schoolgirls. She was highly disappointed. She complained bitterly about this both to the husband and his relations but nobody would listen to her. She said, she now realises that no matter what a woman does to keep her

husband they can not but engage in extramarital sexual relations except if both husband and wife are born-again Christians”

The contribution of a 40-year-old monogamously married man, who live in a rural area, with an NCE degree also throws more light on the situation.

According to him:

“Aside from the fact that men are more sexually voracious than their female counterparts, they are highly mobile. And many a-times, they are unaccompanied by their wives. Since there is often a high rate of migration especially among men of the working ages and in the sexually active ages, then, a higher rate of male sexuality (than what it used to be) is implied. Do not forget that there are many young ladies, who are prepared to offer sex for money. In the alternative, there are also the divorced and separated women who would want to enter into sexual relationships with men either in a bid to remarry or for financial, emotional and material assistance from these men”.

The findings from this study have shown that male sexual need is still as high as it was in the past. Evidence from in-depth interviews has also revealed that the level of sexuality that is currently prevalent in the society is largely a function of male desire for multiple partners. Considering the health implication of this, therefore, an attempt is made to investigate the role of spouses concerning male sexuality. The qualitative analysis of the relevant findings is presented in section 5.4.

5.4 Opinions about spousal rights with respect to male sexuality

Considering the general belief that men can not live without extra-marital sexual partners, most wives would prefer not to know the identity of other women but feel strongly that there should be only one so as to prevent the spread of diseases (Dorjahn,

1958). Although respondents expressed different opinions on spousal rights regarding male sexuality, evidence from the qualitative survey appear to shed more light on the reasons why Yoruba women may or may not have any right to control their husbands' sexuality.

On the question of woman's right to control her husband's sexuality, one of the respondents reported as follows:

"Ha! for a woman to control her husband's sexuality. It is not possible. His people would never allow that even if he does. Unless the husband and the wife are Christians. Even as Christians, it is not an easy thing to do. It has happened to me before. When I first got married, in the name of love, I wanted to know everywhere my husband went and everything he did. Initially, he was taking this. Not until his relations got to know and warned him against the danger of being a weak man. Imagine this. What of if I had specifically attempted to control his sexual activities?" (38 years, urban domicile, monogamously married, with a post secondary school education).

Another respondent, a 32-year old ACE teacher responded to the same question as follows:

"Where there is love, it can be possible. Especially with one wife, one husband. This love must be very deep anyway. But, men, no matter how much you monitor them, it does not stop them from looking for another woman".

There were a few other respondents who had different opinions from the examples reported above. For example, a 31-year old NCE teacher, maintained that there was nothing wrong with a woman trying to control her husband's sexual behaviour. She reported as follows:

"As for me, I have a say in whatever affects my husband. Infact we often discuss virtually every thing that concerns him. But even if he goes out to other women, since he tends to meet his responsibilities towards me and the children, I have no cause to be bothered. More importantly, since I have my children to keep my company. I have

sons and daughters and the elders would say, *'omo eni ni oko eni'*, *'a woman's children is her husband'* why must I be after monitoring his sexual activities outside the matrimonial home”

The opinion of this woman raises a fundamental issue. It specifically highlights the value of children among the Yoruba. Indeed, having children reinforces the position of women in the matrimonial home. Besides, it could be inferred from the opinion analysed above that the cultural value placed on children and especially sons can influence the perception of male sexuality. It has been observed that the number of sons a woman has for her husband establishes her stay in her husband's house and among his kinsmen (Orubuloye, 1977; Oguntimehin, 1987; Oni, 1988).

Traditionally, women are considered subordinate to their husbands in a number of ways (Adepoju, 1977). This cultural value reveals more on why some of the respondents especially men, think that wives have no right to control their husbands' sexual activities. For instance, one of the male respondents, a 41-year old farmer said:

“This is a bit difficult, if it is possible. The reason is that we all know that *'oko l'olori aya'*, *'husbands are superior to their wives'*. Give a woman an inch, she will go several miles. Women will always want to control their husbands' activities (not only those concerning sex). But I think it is an insult for a man/husband to play into the wives' hands to that level. If I am not old enough to be a “man” and in fact a husband I would not have ventured into getting married. However, I am not against it. I think it could be possible among the *'alakowes'* *“the educated elites”*. I would never allow that. Those that are educated can do that. *'Ife t'iwon maa n yato'* meaning *“they have imbibed the Western form of spousal relationship”*.

It appears that the findings so far suggest that it may not be impossible, although it appears a difficult thing for a woman to attempt to control her husband's sexuality. The level of education and modernisation appear to have modified the traditional position.

Many women, particularly the educated ones, now share with their husbands the provider role. In the period of economic crisis, many wives have become the breadwinner of their homes. Thus, women are no longer contented with staying at the background. They would like to share and participate in decisions on matters that affect them, the family and the daily activity of their husbands.

Summary

This chapter has been devoted to a discussion of the qualitative explanation of the behavioural and attitudinal aspects of male sexuality. The findings of the Chapter revealed that some identifiable traditional sexual norms exist in the Yoruba society. Nonetheless, opinion about its operation for both male and female differed to a great extent. Generally, a high level of sexuality has been reported among the Yoruba. There was high level of sexuality in the past too. The current situation is largely considered a concomitant of civilisation, moral decay and bad governance and poor management of natural resources that necessitates the introduction of SAP.

Despite the general high rate of sexuality that obtains among the population, males are more sexually active and enjoy more sexual permissiveness than their male counterparts. Although, it is seemingly difficult for a woman to attempt to control her husband's sexuality, the findings in this chapter suggest that it is not impossible.

THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RESPONDENTS

The master statuses of a person often determine who that person is; shape his beliefs and condition what other people think is appropriate for him to say and do (Laumann and Gagnon, 1995). Therefore, it is expected that the socio-economic characteristics of the study population is significant for the understanding of the attitude the respondents to male sexual behaviour. Thus, this chapter is devoted to a discussion of the age distribution, marital status, types of union, religious affiliation and other characteristics of the respondents. Data on these socio-economic characteristics are presented in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1 reveals that the majority of the respondents are in the sexually active ages. However, the proportion of this age group is higher among women than men. About four-fifths of both urban and rural husbands fall within the 15 to 54 year age range, compared to 87 per cent and 90 per cent of their wives in the urban and rural areas respectively. The mean ages of urban and rural husbands are 40.8 years and 42.7 years while those of their wives were 36.3 years and 32.5 years respectively. The probable explanation for this is the wide age-gap between husbands and wives. This has traditionally been the case in Nigeria (Orubuloye, 1999). The age-gap between spouses is considered necessary to achieve and maintain the patriarchal structure of the Yoruba family system. The wife is by age and rights, an intermediate between her husband and the children (Caldwell and Caldwell, 1994). This is indeed further established by the

reported age differences between husbands and the wives in this study. The mean age difference between urban wives and their husbands is 10.6 years while that of the rural wives it is 10.7 years. This corroborates Goldman and Pebley's (1989) conclusion that the age-gap between spouses is typically 10 years in the case of a man's first wife and

Table 6.1: The socio-economic characteristics of the respondents (percentage distribution)

Characteristics	Husbands		Wives	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
Age				
15 - 34years	33	20	36	32
35 - 54 years	36	50	51	58
55 years and above	31	30	13	10
Mean	44.1 years	45.6 years	39.3 years	38.1 years
Median	45 years	45.0 years	38.0 years	37.5 years
Mean age difference between spouses	-	-	10.6 years	10.7 years
Education				
None/Koranic	15	25	25	21
Primary only	20	24	20	33
Secondary only	30	28	40	34
Post secondary	35	23	15	12
Type of union				
Monogamy	81	74	62	59
Polygyny	19	26	38	41
Number of marriages				
One	85	80	88	83
Two	12	14	10	16
Three and more	03	06	01	01
Mean	0.2	0.3	1.1	1.2
Religion				
Christianity	81	68	85	66
Islam	18	31	11	33
Others	01	01	01	01
None	00	00	03	00
Occupation				
Farming	23	46	08	11
Trading	11	12	48	47
Artisan	14	10	10	21
Civil service	26	16	20	14
Professional	11	06	02	03
Others*	14	10	12	04

Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

Note: Others* include applicants, housewives, students etc

decades with his youngest. This is consistent with the spousal age- gap that is reported for South Asia (Caldwell, Reddy and Caldwell, 1983; 1988).

The level of literacy is high among the respondents. More than one-half of the respondents, both in rural and urban areas have more than primary school education. This is higher than the National literacy level, which is put at 47 per cent in Nigeria (Population Reference Bureau, 1998). Literacy is seemingly universal in the whole of Ekiti State. Hardly can one find a family without at least a secondary school graduate. Indeed, many have at least one university graduate. It is this high level of literacy in the State, that particularly earned her the title - Fountain of Knowledge - at its inception in 1996.

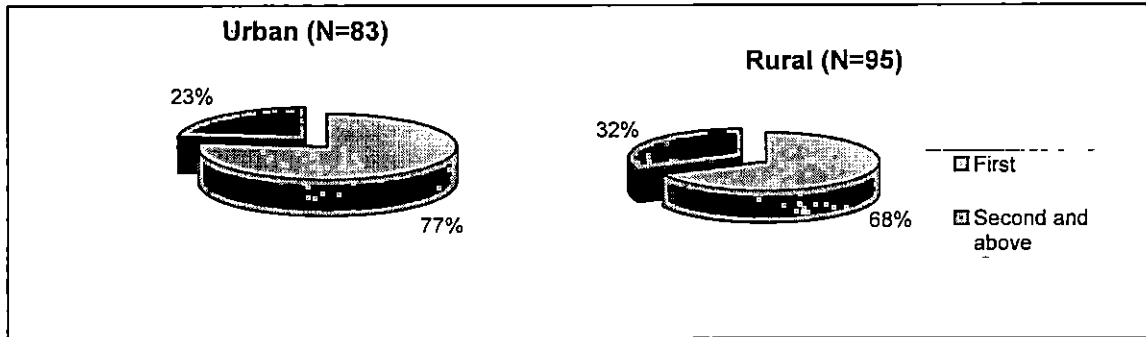
However, husbands have more education than their wives, while 35 per cent of the urban husbands have more than secondary school education, less than one-fifth (15 per cent) of their wives have the same level of education. Among their rural counterparts, about one-quarter of the husbands compared to a little above one-tenth of their wives have the same level of education. Urban wives are more educated than their rural counterparts. The disparity between husbands and wives with regard to their level of education may not be unconnected with the desire of men to maintain and fulfil their headship and bread-winning status. This is so because the level of education is closely related to the level of income and occupational status. Besides, the disparity is also a reflection of the general belief that a wife who is less educated than the husband is more submissive and not very likely to claim equality with the husband.

The majority of both urban and rural husbands and their wives are in monogamous marriages. As expected, more urban husbands (81 per cent) compared to

their rural counterparts are in monogamous unions. The disparity by location is probably not unrelated to the level of education, which is higher among the urban couples than the rural ones. Despite the level of education of the respondents, about one-fifth of urban husbands compared to a little above one-quarter of their rural counterparts are in polygynous marriages. This indicates that polygyny still retains some grip on the communities. In much of West Africa, 40 to 50 per cent of currently married women are found in polygynous marriages (Lesthaeghe *et al.*, 1989). The 1990 Nigerian Demographic and Health Survey reported just under 40 per cent of the currently married women of Southwest, Nigeria as being polygynously married and 50 per cent of those who were 35 to 49 years of age were in polygynous marriages (NDHS, 1992). It is important to stress that the traditional Ekiti social structure encourages polygyny not only because of the high status it conferred on the men but also because of the need for labour on the farms especially in the rural areas where more emphasis is placed on numbers.

Of the polygynously married wives, 77 per cent in the urban compared to 68 per cent in the rural area are the first wives. The position of the wives in polygynous homes is presented in Figure 6.1. As shown in Table 6.1, marriage is significantly stable among the respondents. This is consistent with an earlier study in Ado-Ekiti (Orubuloye, 1997). A significant proportion of both urban and rural couples are in their first marriages. However, marriage is more stable in the urban areas than in the rural areas.

Figure 6.1: Percentage distribution of polygynously married wives by position among co-wives



Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality 1999.

Christianity is the dominant religion of the respondents. More than four-fifths of both husbands and wives in the urban area are Christians compared to about two-thirds of the rural ones.

Farming is the major occupation of the men living in the rural areas. This is the source of income for only 23 per cent of their urban counterparts. More than one-quarter of urban husbands compared to less than one-fifth of the rural ones are in white-collar occupations. For both urban and rural wives, trading is the dominant occupation. This confirms the common saying among the Yoruba that “*oja ni oko obinrin*”, meaning “*a woman’s farm is the market place*”. This adage describes the woman as one who sells while the husband farms (Marshall, 1965; Fadipe, 1970; Sudarkasa, 1973; Adeokun, 1983; Fapohunda, 1983; Kritz et al. 1993). More often than not, women start trading as soon as they are married, the initial capital being provided by their husbands (Marris, 1961; Fadipe, 1970; Sudarkasa, 1973; Eades, 1980).

The average number of children ever born to urban wives was 4.0 and 4.6 for the rural ones. The median number of children living for both urban and rural wives is 4 children per woman. The level of fertility reported here corresponds with that reported

for Ado-Ekiti in 1997 (Orubuloye, 1997). Although the average number of children ever born implies high fertility levels by world standards; it represents a major shift from what obtained in the past. In the 1970s for instance, the mean children ever born was 6 children per woman (Caldwell, 1977). The disposition of the people to smaller family size is much more likely to have been influenced by economic hardship. The prevailing economic difficulties that have affected most homes in recent past have made it quite difficult to raise large families. The Nigerian Population Policy aimed at reducing fertility from 6 to 4 children per woman by the year 2,000 (Nigeria, 1988) may have played a role in the desire for a smaller family size.

The average number of own children reported dead is significantly low (less than 1 per cent) in the town and the villages. This may not be unrelated to the high literacy level that is observable among the respondents as well as the effectiveness of the EPI programme. For over a decade now there has been massive campaign (by UNICEF) for the immunization of children against the five killer childhood diseases. An inverse relationship is believed to exist between women's education and child mortality, because (1) educated mothers are more likely to complete the immunization doses and (2) children of educated mothers are twice likely to be taken to a health facility or a health provider for treatment (Nigeria, 1992). By inference, children of educated mothers are more likely to survive than those of their uneducated counterparts.

The findings of the bivariate analyses of the socio-economic status of the couples reveal that the stability of a marriage increases with every level of educational attainment both in the urban and rural areas. The possibility that a wife or a husband, either in the urban or in the rural areas, would be a monogamist increases with their level of

educational attainment as well as their belief in the Christian faith. However, the distribution of both the urban and the rural husbands indicate an inverse relationship between monogamy and age.

Summary

The findings reported in this chapter, show that the age gap between husbands and wives is still considerably wide. The population is highly literate. However, husbands are more literate than their wives while urban wives have higher educational status than their rural counterparts. Although, the majority of husbands and wives, in both rural and urban areas are in monogamous marriages, a significant level of polygyny still exists in the area of study. Nevertheless, the intensity has reduced with most of the polygynous husbands having not more than two wives. This is a departure from the typical situation in the past in which polygynous men had many wives depending on their status in the society (Anderson, 1875; Mair, 1969 and Maija, 1970, Peel, 1989). Besides, marriage is significantly stable in the population. This is consistent with a 1994/95 study in Ado-Ekiti (Orubuloye, 1997). The population is predominantly Christian. Trading is the major occupation of the wives while their husbands are more into farming or white collar occupation. However, there are more farmers in the rural areas than the urban areas. It would appear that fertility is beginning to tumble. This is evident from the mean children ever born that is estimated as 4.0 in the urban and 4.6 in the rural areas.

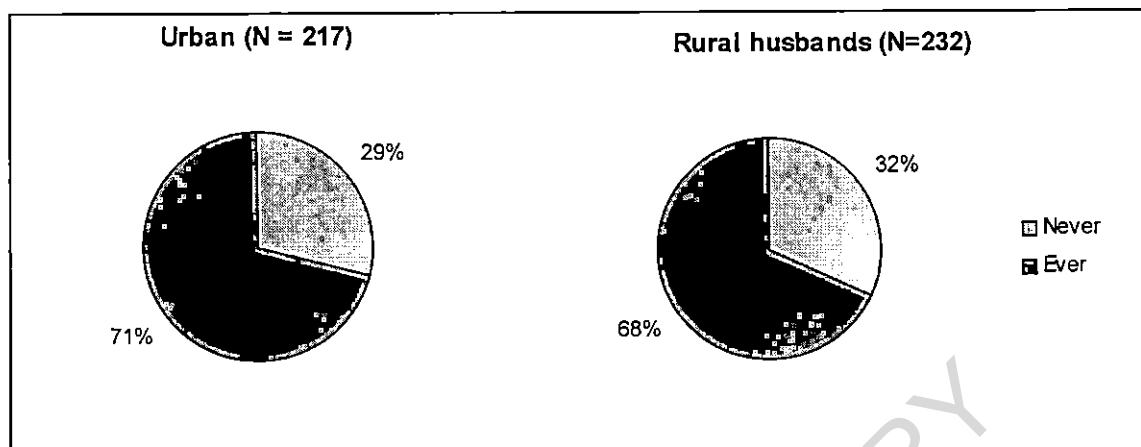
MALE SEXUAL BEHAVIOUR AND RISK ORIENTATION

7.1 Male sexual behaviour

Across sub-Saharan Africa, there is a universal belief that men need more than one sexual partner at a given time. For instance, it has been revealed that a considerable level of extramarital sexual relations obtains among men in the Ekiti district (Orubuloye, 1994). Isiugo-Abanihe (1994) reported similar findings in his study of a different population in Nigeria. Mushanga (1973) also emphasised on the need for some sexual adventures for men when he wrote that boys that do not have frequent sex, among the Ankole of Uganda, would be jeered at and called impotent. Among the Meru of central Kenya, even when the wife is sexually available, a man never dance with her at festivities but always with the other woman (Mwambia, 1973). Also among the Ghanian population studied by Bleek (1976), a non-marital sexual partner is called an “mpena” and as reported by one of Bleek’s informant, “ a man can not live without an “mpena”. With this background information, attempts were made to explore male sexual behaviour through a number of questions. The responses are presented in this section.

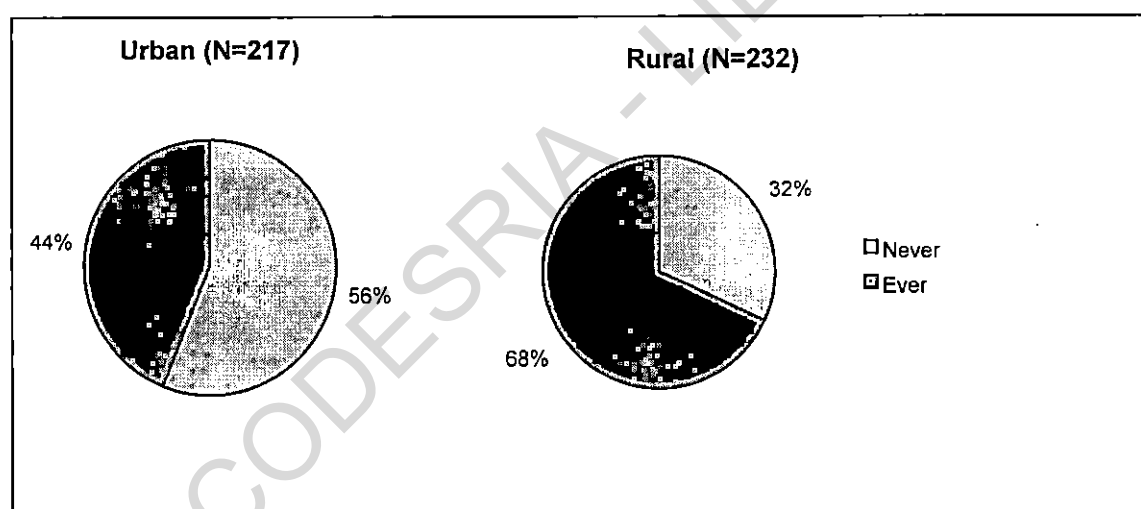
The responses of the men in respect of their extramarital sexual relations are presented in Figure 7.1 while those of their wives concerning the husbands’ involvement in extramatiral sex are presented in Figure 7.2.

Figure 7.1: Percentage distribution of husbands who reported their involvement in extramarital sex



Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

Figure 7.2: Percentage distribution of wives who reported their husbands' extramarital sex



Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

Figure 7.1 confirms the general belief that men need to have some extramarital sex; 71 per cent of the urban husbands and 68 per cent of the rural ones had engaged in some extramarital sexual activities before. The fact that men often have extramarital sexual escapades could further be established from the responses of their wives. Fifty-six per cent of the urban wives and 64 per cent of the rural ones reported that their

husbands had had extramarital sex before. From the responses, it would appear that nearly all the women in the rural areas are aware of their husbands' extramarital sexual affairs, while less than two-thirds of urban women are aware.

Studies have revealed that African society recognises as a distinct phenomenon the longer term girl friends, mistresses and outside wives, who partly serve as alternatives to polygynously married wives especially in the cities (Harrell-Bond, 1975; Pellow, 1977; Schuster, 1979; Epstein, 1981; Karanja, 1987; Obbo, 1987). Most of these studies tend to assume that such relationships are important only among the city middle class, the more urbanised, the better-off and educated and that that is why they are more flamboyant. Yet, there is evidence that they exist in a more glamorous form probably on a smaller scale, among the poor of Kampala, Nairobi and in rural Sierra Leone, Botswana and the Kenyan Coast (Caldwell *et al.*, 1989). Caldwell and Caldwell (1973) equally found that the frequency of less informal unions is also represented at all levels in Ibadan (CAFN 1). However, the duration of these unions is often short and they may be hidden from wives, who usually resent them if only as a drain on family resources. It is, therefore, possible that many of the wives, who claimed that their husbands do not engage in extramarital sex, share their husbands (unknowingly) with outside wives or girl/women friends.

Interestingly, an overwhelming majority of both urban and rural wives (92 per cent and 89 per cent respectively) were of the opinion that most husbands had extramarital sex with women older than their wives. Since women are deemed to be married to families (Fadipe, 1970), males are traditionally granted access to wives of relatives (Temple, 1965). Wilson (1977) reported that, in Southern Tanzania; "an ageing

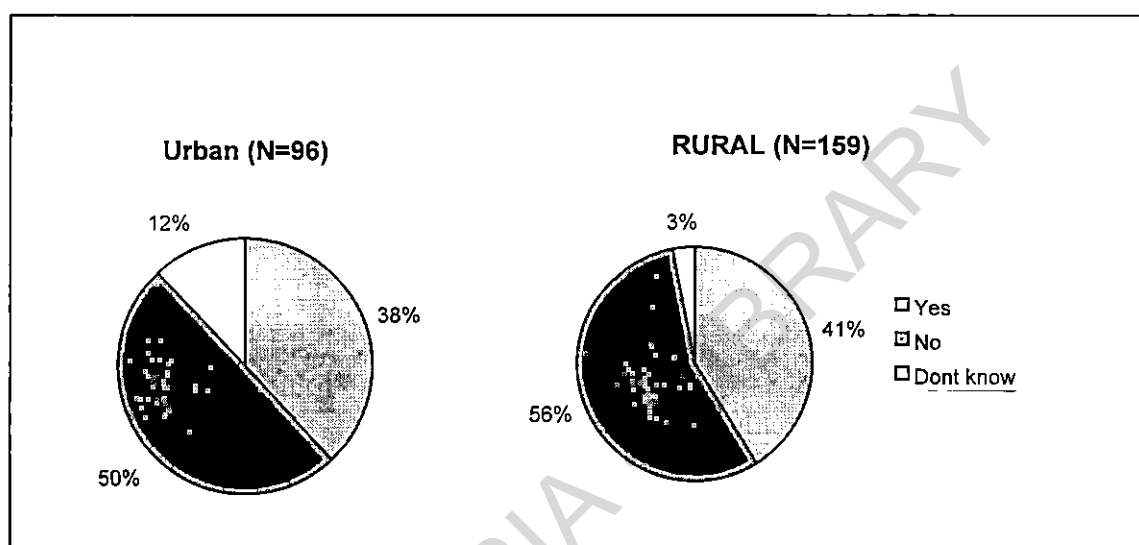
husband might grant right of access to a wife to his brother who was to be his heir, or even a son. The logic in this is that the husbands' relatives at the demise of the husbands could inherit many of these women. This is consistent with the responses of the old and non-educated respondents in the qualitative component of the study. A widow of 90 years of age, who was the second wife out of six, reported that:

“In the past, the culture of our people allows for widow inheritance. And in most cases, widows were inherited by their husbands' sons or brothers who were usually younger than the widows. Let me use my own case as an instance. When my husband died, I was taken over by his brother, who was 10 years younger than I was then”.

Apart from widow inheritance, which is being emphasised by the in-depth interviewee, one other factor that could be responsible for sexual relationships between husbands and women who are older than their wives, is the age disparity between most African men and their wives, especially those in polygynous marriages. Besides, it is probable that some of the husbands would prefer women who are more sexually experienced and by implication provide more sexual satisfaction. Orubuloye *et al.* (1991) suggested that divorced women are often preferred. Some men could also prefer rich and influential but older women who are in stable unions for security reasons and to avoid unnecessary liabilities and financial drain that could arise when a young girl is involved. Since female extramarital sexual affairs are tolerated if they are made discreet and secret and not flaunted in such a way that it would cause the husband any annoyance, it therefore, means that many of these women would be available for patronage. In fact, the elite males of East African cities are known to prefer these women to bar girls for fear of contacting diseases (Obbo, 1987).

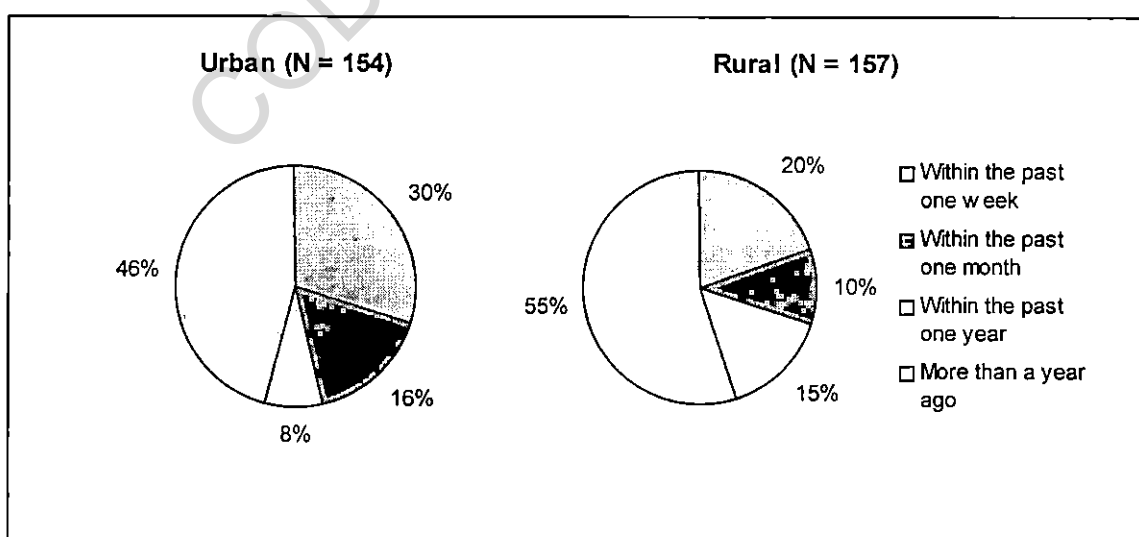
The responses of the mothers on their sons' involvement in premarital sex are presented in Figure 7.3. About two-fifths of the urban mothers and a little more than two-fifths of the rural ones, who had sons of 16 years of age and above reported that their sons were having some premarital sex.

Figure 7.3: Percentage distribution of mothers, who reported their adolescent sons' premarital sex



Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

Figure 7.4: Percentage distribution of husbands, who had ever engaged in extramarital sex at various durations



Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

There is close similarity between the urban and rural areas. The responses suggest a complete breakdown of the cultural norms supporting premarital chastity.

As shown in Figure 7.4, almost three-fifths of urban husbands and nearly one-half of their rural counterparts reported that they had extramarital sex in the last year preceding the survey. The balance of 46 per cent of urban husbands and 55 per cent of the rural ones could not remember when exactly they had engaged in extramarital sexual activities. Nevertheless, current level of extramarital sex is higher in the rural areas compared to the urban ones.

The reasons for husbands' extramarital sexual relationships are presented in Table 7.1. The major reason advanced by husbands for their extramarital sexual activities is the need for companionship and satisfaction of sexual urge. This is reported by three-fifths of urban husbands and four-fifths of their rural counterparts. In comparison to the husbands, however, the wives believed that most husbands are driven to extramarital sex by the attempt to satisfy regular and insatiable urge as well as the need for sexual adventure and enjoyment.

Table 7.1: Percentage distribution of couples by reasons for male extramarital sexual affair.

Reasons	Urban		Rural	
	Husbands	Wives	Husbands	Wives
Urge/companionship	60	37	82	28
Adventure/variation/enjoyment	10	23	06	40
Substituting for abstaining wife	07	-	02	-
No apparent reason/Don't know	-	34	-	25
Others*	23	06	10	07

Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

Note: Others* include persuasion by friend, deprivation by wife and to spite a straying wife.

The most important reason given by the respondents (male and female) is that men's sexual appetite is insatiable and as such, they would always look out for enjoyment and variation. This view is consistent with the assertion made by Orubuloye et al (1991) that: 'it is assumed that monogamous men and most polygynous men must have sex with women other than their wives'. As one driver puts it, 'it is not manly to stick to one regular sexual partner, men need variety' (Sibanda *et al.*, 1997).

The findings of the qualitative analysis corroborate those of the quantitative analysis. However, the qualitative component of the study seems to add another dimension to the reasons why most husbands engage in extramarital sexual relations. In the words of a 40-year old university graduate with three wives:

"When a woman is nursing a baby, there is no law that says she should abstain from sex. But it is not specifically for sex that men and even women often venture into extramarital relationships. As the economic crisis bites hard, people of both sexes would want one assistance or the other from outside the marital relationship. For example, men often enter into relationships with influential women, who can assist with securing one contract or the other. However, as the relationship continues, sex often comes into it".

The fact that husbands reported that they had extramarital sex because of the need for companionship, sexual adventure, enjoyment and satisfaction of sexual urge rather than the need for a substitute for a pregnant or nursing wife is a great departure from the past. Nonetheless, it is probable that some of the husbands who had been pushed into extramarital sex by post-partum sexual abstinence might have described themselves as being pushed by an irresistible sexual urge.

It is worthwhile to note that nearly two-fifths of urban wives and one-quarter of the rural ones stated no clear reasons for their husbands' extramarital sex. This is equally

a significant response among the young wives that were interviewed both in the urban and the rural areas. A polygynously married woman of 35 years of age, who had just a primary school education, expressed her feelings on the matter as follows:

“I cannot just imagine what else most husbands want from outside. To me, the involvement of a husband in any form of extramarital sexual relation is borne out of covetousness”

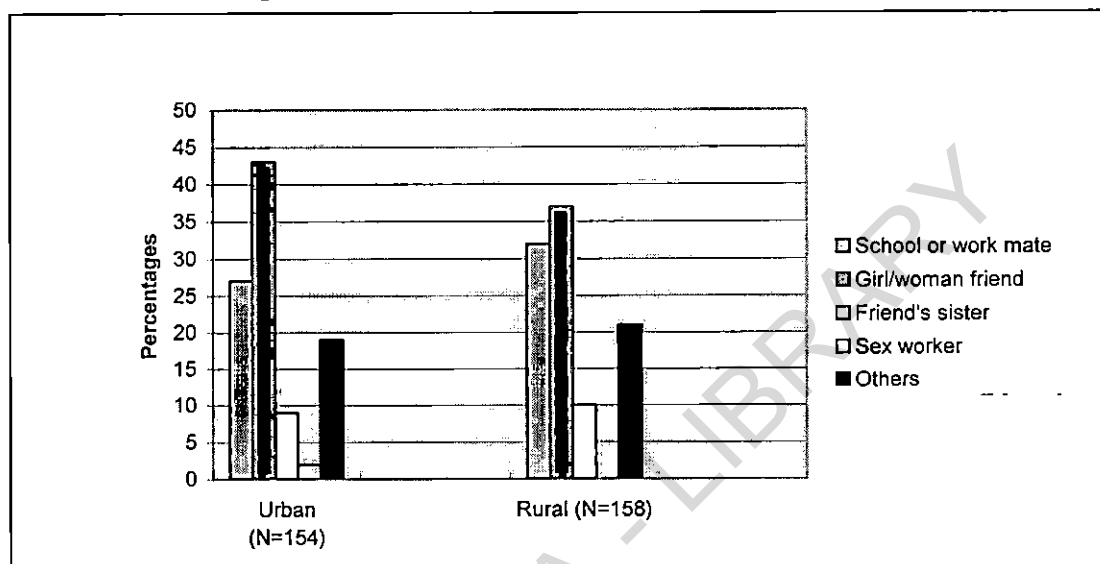
It is assumed that the responses of the wives, as presented here, will have some implications for the wives' perception of their husbands' sexual behaviour. This will be discussed in the subsequent part of this thesis.

Earlier researches had shown a reluctance to classify many sexual relations with some transactional component as commercial sex (Orubuloye *et al.* 1991; 1992). Commercial sex is strongly stigmatised among the Yoruba. Hence, husbands and sons who go to sex workers do so secretly. An insignificant proportion of the men reported that they had had sex with commercial sex workers before. Those who had ever explored this medium claim that it happened a long time ago. Most of the wives confirm that their husbands had never had sex with commercial sex workers. Only 3 per cent of the urban wives and 9 per cent of the rural ones reported that they do not know or could not say whether or not their husbands visit sex workers. Similarly, about four-fifths of both urban and rural wives, who had adolescent sons are of the opinion that their sons never visit sex workers.

Commercial sex workers do play significant role in the spread of AIDS and STIs. Though commercial sex enjoy little or no patronage from the respondents, it constitutes a risky behaviour within the general population. This is so when one considers the extent of sexual networking in which commercial sex workers engage. The low patronage may

be due to the fact that sex workers or hotels/bars are few or non-existent at the location of study. Figure 7.5 presents the extramarital sexual partners of husbands who had ever engaged in extramarital sex.

Figure 7.5: Percentage distribution of husbands according to their extramarital sexual partners



Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

Note: Others include brother's or father's wife, affinal relatives etc.

Nearly two-fifths of both urban and rural husbands mentioned either girl friends or women friends. About one-third of both urban and rural husbands reported their work or old school mates. More rural than urban husbands reported their brother's or father's wives as their sexual partners. This may not be unconnected with the fact that rural locations are much more traditional than urban centres. Indeed, rural areas are known to identify strongly with culture and tradition more than urban areas where face-to-face relationship is highly limited. In traditional sub-Saharan African society, much of the non-marital male sexuality was accommodated within the larger family through access to the wives of relatives, provided that it was discreet and not flaunted (Temple, 1965; Brokensha, 1988).

7.1.1 Status of man and involvement in extramarital sexual relations

The status of a man is a major determinant of his entanglement in extramarital sexual relations. Some bivariate analyses that are relevant to the understanding of men's extramarital relations are presented in Tables 7.2 and 7.3.

Table 7.2 shows that in the urban area, the proportion that had extramarital sexual affairs within the last year and more than one year ago increases with the age of the husbands. The reverse is the case for the husbands in the rural areas. More Moslems had extramarital sex than Christians. The relationships are, however, not statistically significant.

Table 7.2: Percentage distribution of husbands by age, level of education, marriage type, religion and last time they engaged in extramarital sex.

	Never*	Within the past week*	Within the past month*	Within the past year*	More than a year*
Age**, a					
15 - 34 years	31 (28)	34 (22)	11 (09)	06 (13)	17 (28)
35 - 54 years	32 (31)	13 (19)	10 (03)	09 (10)	36 (38)
55 years and above	23 (28)	17 (22)	11 (10)	03 (07)	46 (33)
Education					
None/koranic only	24 (36)	18 (24)	09 (04)	06 (05)	42 (31)
Primary only	25 (27)	16 (16)	09 (06)	07 (13)	43 (38)
Secondary only	33 (30)	23 (20)	09 (08)	05 (09)	30 (33)
Post secondary	29 (24)	24 (22)	15 (07)	07 (11)	26 (36)
Marriage type					
Monogamy	31 (29)	21 (19)	11 (06)	07 (11)	31 (36)
Polygyny	20 (30)	24 (26)	10 (07)	02 (07)	44 (31)
Religion***					
Christianity	29 (30)	21 (20)	11 (08)	06 (10)	33 (34)
Islam	25 (29)	23 (21)	10 (03)	05 (10)	38 (37)

Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

Note: Total percentages may not equal to 100 due to rounding

a Urban: Pearson $r = .140$, $P = .05$ (2-tailed)

*The percentages for the rural husbands are presented in parenthesis

**Urban $LR\chi^2 = 25.446$, $d/f = 12$, $P = .01$

***Excludes the adherents of the traditional and other religions as well as those who had no religion because they constitute a minority

Table 7.3 reveals that the young and middle-aged husbands in the urban and the rural areas had extramarital sex because of their desire for sexual adventure, companionship and satisfaction of sexual urge. The relationship confirms the existing fact that men in the younger age groups are usually more sexually active than their older counterparts. The proportion of both urban and rural husbands who reported that they had extramarital sexual activities mainly for companionship and the need to satisfy sexual urge increases with their level of education.

Table 7.3: Percentage distribution of husbands by age, education, marriage type, religion and reasons for engaging in extramarital sexual relations.

	Urban (N=136)			Rural (N=116)		
	Adventure/ companionship/ urge	Nursing/ pregnant/ wife	others*	Adventure/ companionship /urge	Nursing/ pregnant wife	others*
Age						
15 - 34 years	80	11	09	89	04	07
35 - 54 years	63	24	13	93	02	06
55 years and above	63	11	25	81	10	08
Education						
None/koranic only	59	23	18	80	10	10
Primary only	62	16	23	87	03	10
Secondary only	70	20	10	92	03	06
Post secondary	77	08	15	91	07	03
Marriage type**						
Monogamy	72	14	15	92	04	05
Polygyny	59	24	17	82	09	10
Religion						
Christianity	68	16	16	89	05	07
Islam	74	11	15	86	06	08

Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

Note: Total percentages may not equal to 100 due to rounding

Others* include deprivation by wife, to spite straying wife and persuasion by friends

**Rural: $LRX^2 = 19.318$, $df = 12$, $P = .000$

Although the rate at which urban husbands reported that they had extramarital sex because their wives were nursing babies or pregnant fluctuates for those with no education, koranic education, through primary to secondary education, fewer husbands

with post secondary school education reported these reasons. Nonetheless, the rural husbands with no formal education frequently reported the need for a substitute for a nursing wife. Interestingly, while the need for a substitute for a depriving wife, to compensate a straying wife and persuasion by friends fluctuates by education among the urban husbands, it decreases with increasing level of education for the rural husbands.

Religion and marriage type also played important roles in the desire to have extramarital sex for companionship and the need to satisfy sexual urge. However, more of the monogamous husbands in the rural areas reported this. An interesting finding from the analysis of the reasons given for extramarital sex by marriage type is that more polygynous husbands than their monogamous counterparts, both in the rural and urban areas reported reasons ranging from deprivation by wife; the need to spite a straying wife through persuasion by friends. A probable explanation can be found in an in-depth report by an urban woman of 30 years of age who was the first of the two wives of her husband.

“Orisa je n pe meji obinrin ko d’enu’ meaning ‘a woman’s prayer to god for a co-wife in her husbands’s house never comes from the depth of her heart’. It is usually not possible for a polygynist to love all of his wives equally. He would always have a favourite among them. The favourite wife, you know is usually the last wife. In situations whereby the favourite is not sexually available, there is every possibility that the other wives who are available would turn the husband down especially on the ground that they are at that time considered as alternative(s) and that when the favourite wife becomes available they the old wives would be dumped”.

The explanation for the need to pay a straying wife, is also related to that given above. More often than not, polygynists fail to provide adequate sexual and economic satisfaction for every wife. As such, many of the wives tend to seek satisfaction elsewhere. It is important to stress here that due to the wide age-gap between a

polygynous man and his youngest wife, the latter is not necessarily terrified of straying if she feels she is not being satisfied sexually.

7.1.2 Multivariate analysis of men's involvement in extramarital sexual relations

Multivariate analysis becomes a useful tool when a researcher wishes to test the direction and strength of relationships between variables as well as when the need to control for the effect of some other independent variables on the dependent variable(s) arises. Against this background, General Linear Model multivariate analysis was carried out to determine the relationship between selected socio-economic characteristics and male sexual behaviour and risk orientation. The results for male sexual behaviour are presented in Tables 7.4 and 7.5 while the analyses for risk orientation are presented in Tables 7.6; 7.7; 7.8 and 7.9 respectively.

The results presented in Tables 7.4 and 7.5 show that men, irrespective of their socio-economic status, would always engage in extramarital sex. This is significant at 100 per cent and 95 per cent levels for urban and rural areas respectively. However, male extramarital sexual activities is more of a function of age, education, marriage type and religion in the rural areas while it is closely determined by age in the urban areas. The relationships are, however, not quite statistically significant. The fact that men would always engage in extramarital sexual relations is consistent with those of the univariate and bivariate analyses as well as the qualitative evidence presented in Chapter five. It also confirms the finding from other parts of Africa.

Table 7.4: General Linear Model Multivariate Tests of men's sexual behaviour and selected socio-economic characteristics

Effect	Value	Urban			Rural			Sig.
		F	Hypothesis df	Sig.	Value	F	Hypothesis df	
Intercept	.298	13.133 ^a	3	.000	.091	2.749 ^a	3	.048
Age	.075	5.529 ^a	3	.062	.119	3.695 ^a	3	.015
Education	.055	1.795 ^a	3	.153	.125	3.919 ^a	3	.011
Marriage type	.037	1.195 ^a	3	.316	.095	2.883 ^a	3	.041
No of past wives	.022	.697 ^a	3	.556	.044	1.267 ^a	3	.291
Religion	.055	1.813 ^a	3	.150	.094	2.834 ^a	3	.043

Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

Design: Intercept + Age + Education + Marriage type + No of past wives + religion

Note: a. exact statistic

Table 7.5: General Linear Model Tests of Between-Subjects Effects^a

Dependent Variables	F	Sig	Urban		Rural		Adjusted R ²	
			R ²	Adjusted R ²	F	Sig		R ²
Last time had sex with a woman other than wife	2.341	.047	.110	.063	2.644	.029	.136	.085
Feeling after the experience	1.105	.363	.055	.005	3.223	.010	.161	.111
Last time went to a hotel to meet a woman	1.658	.152	.080	.032	2.244	.057	.118	.065

Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

Note: a source is the corrected model

The adjusted R-squared values presented in Table 7.5 indicate that the explanatory variables are only capable of explaining insignificant proportions of men's extramarital sexual activities both in the urban and the rural areas. To this extent, the postulation that social status influences a man's involvement in extramarital sexual relations is null and void.

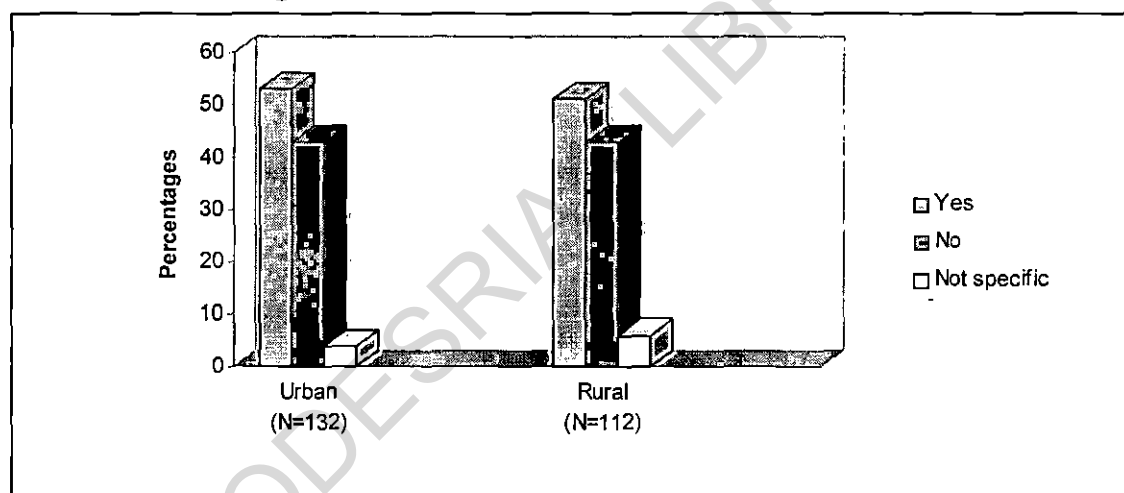
7.2 Risk Orientation and Awareness

Sex is a pleasurable physiological need that man would want to satisfy at least to the best of his ability. Despite the pleasure and satisfaction derived from sex, it is often

associated with some risks. However, because of the pleasure therein, most people often shun the risks and make do with whatever opportunity and outlet that avails itself for the achievement of that pleasure that is derivable from sex. Against this background, therefore, this section is devoted to an analysis of the degree of risk-taking among the population that is being considered in this study.

Figure 7.6 presents the distribution of the husbands by whether or not they consider themselves as taking a risk by having extramarital sex. Slightly more than one-half of both urban and rural husbands (53 per cent and 51 per cent respectively) are of the

Figure 7.6: Percentage distribution of husbands according to perceived chance of catching a disease



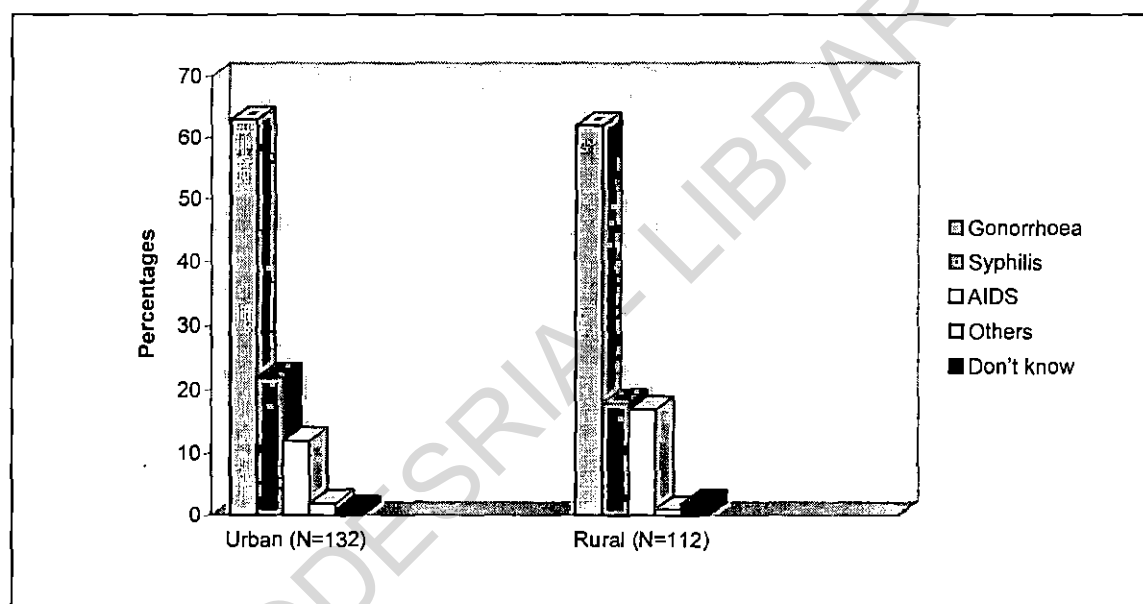
Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

opinion that their sexual behaviour exposes them to infection with a disease. Forty-three per cent in both locations held a contrary opinion while only 4 per cent of urban ones and 7 per cent of their rural counterparts are not specific.

The diseases over which the husbands expressed some apprehension are presented in Figure 7.7. As expected, gonorrhoea tops the list. Sixty-three per cent of urban husbands and 62 per cent of their rural counterparts reported this. Next to this is syphilis,

which was reported by 22 per cent and 18 per cent of urban and rural husbands respectively. Only 2 per cent and 1 per cent of the husbands in both urban and rural areas respectively are apprehensive of some other sexually transmitted infections. Less than one-fifth of husbands in both locations (12 per cent in urban and 17 per cent in rural areas) mentioned AIDS. This may not be unconnected with the fact that Ekiti State and indeed the study locations still remains a low risk area in terms of HIV/AIDS

Figure 7.7: Percentage distribution of husbands according to diseases they believe they can contact through their sexual behaviour



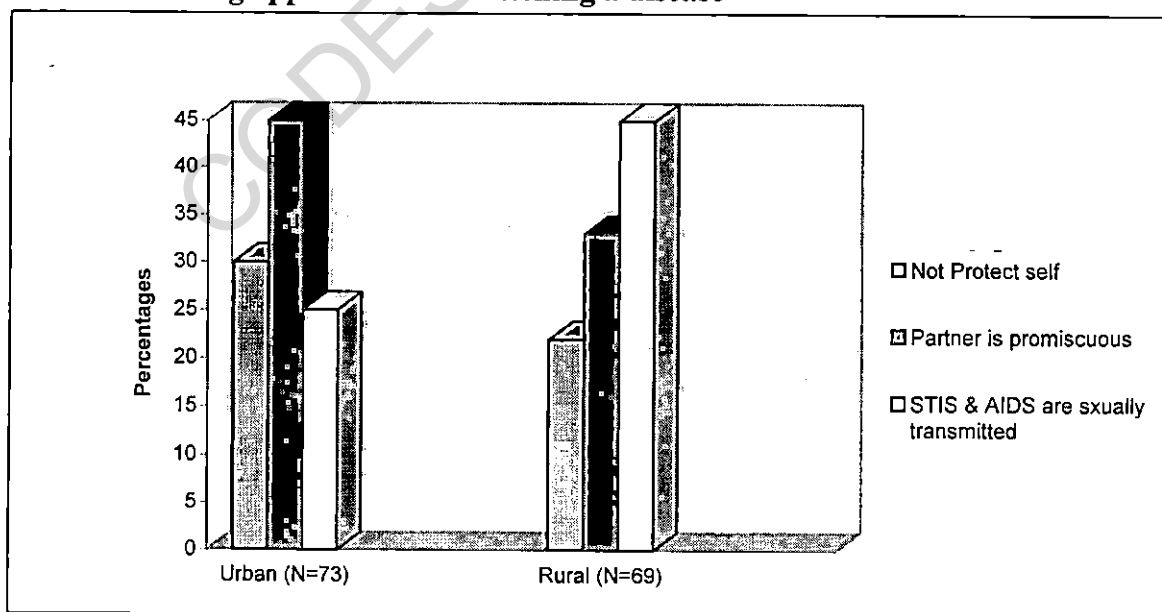
Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

(NASCP/Federal Ministry of Health, 2000). This is consistent with the belief of the majority of both urban and rural wives (80 per cent and 79 per cent respectively) who reported that if AIDS comes to their area, their husbands would stop extramarital sexual activities. Sixty-nine per cent of the urban wives and 71 per cent of the rural ones hold on to this opinion because they know AIDS is deadly while 31 per cent and 29 per cent of urban and rural ones respectively, acknowledge that AIDS is incurable. Seventy-eight

per cent of urban wives and 75 per cent of the rural ones believes that some other factors, aside from HIV/AIDS can restrain their husbands from having extramarital sexual relationships. One of these factors is fear of diseases reported by 65 per cent of urban wives and 35 per cent of the rural ones. It is important to note, however, that if gonorrhoea and indeed other sexually transmitted infections that are well known and probably existing among the population are not feared, then the disease that can pose serious danger is HIV/AIDS. Other than the fear of diseases, 29 per cent of urban wives and 47 per cent of their rural counterparts believe that if their husbands have adequate love and care from their spouses, they will stop going on extramarital sexual adventures.

The reasons why the husbands consider themselves to be at risk of contacting a disease are presented in Figure 7.8. Nearly one-half (45 per cent) of the urban husbands and about one-third (33 per cent) of the rural ones admitted that they are at the risk of contacting a disease because their sexual partners are promiscuous. Forty-five per cent

Figure 7.8: Percentage distribution of husbands according to perceived reason for being apprehensive of catching a disease



Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

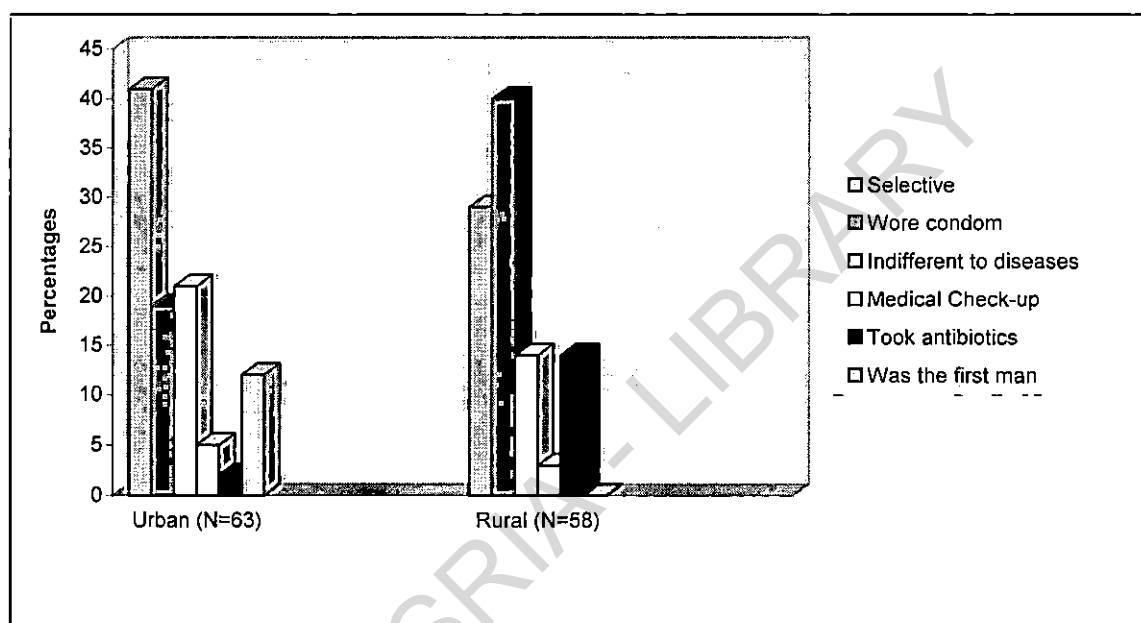
and 25 per cent of the husbands, in the urban and rural areas respectively, acknowledge that they are at the risk of catching a disease because sexually transmitted infections and in fact AIDS are contracted through sex. One-third of the rural husbands compared to about one-quarter (22 per cent) of the urban ones said they practice naked and unsafe sex.

Three-quarters of the urban husbands and about four-fifths of their rural counterparts who believe that their sexual behaviour exposes them to some infection, do something to reduce the risk of catching a disease. Sixty-four per cent of the urban husbands and 57 per cent of the rural ones in this category use condoms; 28 per cent of the urban husbands and 40 per cent of their rural counterparts take antibiotics while 8 per cent of the latter and 3 per cent of the former take herbs. That a significant percentage of the respondents use condoms is, however, not unexpected. Indeed, it has been widely reported that in most casual and extramarital sexual affairs, people are known to practice safer sex through the use of condoms (McGrath *et al.*, 1993; Washington, 1993; Rwabukwali *et al.*; WHO 1994; 1994; Bond and Dover, 1997).

The responses of the husbands on the reasons why they never thought they could catch a disease through their sexual behaviour are presented in Figure 7.9. As shown in the Figure, 41 per cent of the urban husbands and 29 per cent of their rural counterparts reported that they are immuned against the risk of catching a disease because they are selective in their choice of sexual partners. While 21 per cent of urban husbands and 14 per cent of the rural ones are indifferent to diseases, 19 per cent and 40 per cent of the urban and rural husbands respectively reported that they always use condoms. Three per cent of the urban husbands and 5 per cent of their rural counterparts reported that they have regular medical check-ups while 2 per cent and 14 per cent of urban and rural

husbands respectively rely on the use of antibiotics to avoid being infected with a disease. Thirteen per cent of the urban husbands believe that since they are the only sexual partners of their non-marital sexual partners, they do not consider themselves as being vulnerable to a disease of any sort.

Figure 7.9: Percentage distribution of husbands by the reasons why they do not think they are at the risk of catching a disease



Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

7.2.1 Men's socio-economic characteristics and the apprehension of the risks in extramarital sexual relations

The status of a man is perceived as very important in the understanding of the risks of extramarital sex. In attempt to confirm the true position of this, the responses of the husbands to questions on the general belief are subjected to some bivariate and multivariate levels of analyses. The results of the bivariate analyses are presented in Tables 7.6 and 7.7 while those of the multivariate analyses are presented in Tables 7.8 and 7.9 respectively.

Table 7.6: Percentage distribution of husbands by age, education, religion, marriage type and chance of catching a disease.

	Urban (N=132)			Rural (N=120)		
	Yes	No	Not specific	Yes	No	Not specific
Age						
15-34	59	37	04	37	56	07
35-54	46	52	02	57	38	05
55 years and above	55	41	05	51	41	08
Education*						
None/koranic	48	48	04	32	55	14
Primary only	54	35	12	58	42	-
Secondary only	48	50	02	58	42	-
Post secondary	60	40	-	48	36	16
Religion**						
Christianity	56	41	03	53	41	06
Islam	42	54	04	43	49	08
Marriage type						
Monogamy	52	43	05	53	40	07
Polygyny	55	45	-	44	50	06

Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

Note: Total percentages may not equal to 100 due to rounding

*Rural: $LRX^2 = 15.561$, $df=8$, $P = .05$

**Excludes the adherents of the traditional and other religions as well as those who had no religion because they constitute a minority.

Table 7.6 shows that the young and old urban husbands are more apprehensive of catching a sexually transmitted infection than the middle-aged husbands. In the rural areas, nearly three-fifths of the middle-aged husbands; a little above one-half of the old ones compared to about two-fifths of their younger counterparts reported some level of risk awareness in their involvement in extramarital sexual activities. Explaining the level of risk awareness by education reveals that the literate/educated, both in the urban and rural locations, acknowledge that they are taking some risks while they engage in extramarital sexual adventures. However, more of the urban husbands (60 per cent) with post secondary education compared to a little below one-half (48 per cent each) of their counterparts with only secondary education hold on to this opinion. In the rural areas,

this opinion is most significant for post secondary school graduates than those with no formal education.

Moreover, in both the urban and rural areas, more Moslems than Christians reported that they are ignorant of the risks of catching diseases through their sexual behaviour. The differences between the adherents of both religions and between polygynously and monogamously married men in this regard are not statistically significant. Nevertheless, more of the urban polygynous husbands (55 per cent) than their monogamous counterparts (52 per cent) admit that their sexual escapades put them at the risk of catching diseases. In the rural areas, however, the reverse is the case. While 53 per cent of the rural polygynous husbands are of the opinion that they are indeed taking some risks while they engage in extramarital sexual activities, 44 per cent of the monogamous ones hold a similar view.

Table 7.7 presents the responses of the husbands as to whether they reduce their risks of catching a disease. The Table shows the probability that urban husband who considers himself at the risk of catching a disease through his sexual behaviour do something to reduce the risk decreases with age. In the rural areas, the probability is higher for husbands in both the young and old age groups. Analysis by education reveals a statistically significant positive relationship for the urban husbands while it fluctuates among their rural counterparts. Unexpectedly, more of the rural husbands with either no formal or primary education compared to their counterparts with higher education reported that they are doing something to reduce the risk of catching a disease. The majority of both urban and rural husbands, Christians or Moslems, undertake a means of reducing their chances of contacting one disease or the other. This position is also true of

both the polygynously and monogamously married husbands in both rural and urban areas. However, the tendency to guard against being infected with a disease is higher for the polygynously married husbands in both urban and rural areas.

Table 7.7: Percentage distribution of husbands by age, education, religion, marriage type and whether they do anything to reduce the risk of catching a sexually transmitted infection.

	Urban (N=96)		Rural (N=97)	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Age				
15 - 34 years	85	15	89	11
35 - 54 years	76	24	71	29
55 years and above	64	36	89	11
Education**^a				
None/koranic	50	50	89	11
Primary only	70	30	77	23
Secondary only	85	15	82	18
Post secondary	84	16	73	27
Religion**				
Christianity	77	23	80	20
Islam	65	35	79	21
Marriage type^b				
Monogamy	73	27	73	27
Polygyny	94	06	94	06

Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999

Note: Total percentages may not equal to 100 due to rounding

a Urban: Pearson $r = -.292$, $P = .01$ (2-tailed). b. Rural: Pearson $r = -.218$, $P = .05$ (2-tailed)

*Urban: $LRX^2 = 7.804$, $df = 3$, $P = .05$

**Excludes the adherents of the traditional and other religions as well as those who had no religion because they constitute a minority.

Interestingly, the study reveals that attempts by both urban and rural husbands to protect themselves against contacting a disease do not depend on whether one is apprehensive of the risk or not. The majority of the husbands in both locations, who are not specific or positive in regard of their risk of contacting a disease still do something to prevent themselves from catching a disease.

7.2.2 Multivariate analysis of men's apprehension of the risks of extramarital sexual relations

From the bivariate analyses, it is obvious that there is some relationship between the socio-economic characteristics of the husbands and the assumed indicators of their risk orientation and awareness. The General Linear Model multivariate analysis was undertaken to determine the "net" effect of each of the independent variables on the dependent variables. The results of the multivariate analysis are presented in Tables 7.8 and 7.9.

Table 7.8 shows that the socio-economic characteristics such as education, marriage type and number of past marriages are significant in respect of men's anxiety about the risks of extramarital sex. However, the Adjusted R-Squared values in Table 7.9 reveal that the independent variables that have been considered in this study are not capable of explaining much of men's risk orientation. This implies that there are other variables, which are not considered in this study, but could account for men's risk orientation about extramarital sex. Nevertheless, the findings of both bivariate and multivariate analyses tend to confirm the premise that the socioeconomic status of a man can influence the extent to which he is apprehensive of the risks that are involved in extramarital sexual relations.

Table 7.8: General Linear Model Multivariate Tests of men's apprehension of the risks of non-marital sexual relations and selected socio- economic status.

Effect	Value	Urban			Rural			Sig.
		F	Hypothesis df	Sig.	Value	F	Hypothesis df	
Intercept	.365	25.325 ^a	2	.000	.268	15.893 ^a	2	.000
Age	.026	1.190 ^a	2	.309	.009	.402 ^a	2	.670
Education	.087	4.206 ^a	2	.018	.019	.837 ^a	2	.436
Marriage type	.053	2.456 ^a	2	.092	.074	3.483 ^a	2	.035
No of past wives	.051	2.385 ^a	2	.098	.062	2.894 ^a	2	.061
Religion	.027	1.232 ^a	2	.297	.018	.802 ^a	2	.452

Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

Design: Intercept + Age + Education + Marriage type + No of past wives + religion

Note: a. exact statistic

Table 7.9: The General Linear Model Tests of Between-Subjects Effects^a

Dependent Urban	F	Sig.	R ² Adjusted		F	Sig.	R ² Adjusted	
			R ²	Adjusted R ²			R ²	Adjusted R ²
Think there was a chance of catching a disease	1.475	.209	.077	.025	1.257	.290	.067	.014
Did you do anything to reduce the risk of contacting a disease	3.287	.009	.156	.108	1.756	.130	.091	.039

Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

Note: a source is the corrected model

7.3 Summary

The findings of this study reveal that unmarried sons engage in premarital sexual activities, and that a high rate of male extramarital sex obtains among the population. However, much of the male extramarital sex, both in the urban and the rural areas occurred more than a year before the survey. The traditional need for male extramarital sex during the wife's post-partum abstinence is no longer significant. Indeed, much of the husbands' extramarital sexual relations are borne out of the need to satisfy pressing and overpowering sexual urge as well as the desire for the company of women other than

their wives. Despite the great and the pressing need to satisfy sexual urge, the desire for commercial sex is small. Rather, most of the sexual partners are girl friends and women friends.

When extramarital sexual relation occurs, it is with some apprehension of catching sexually transmitted infections. The reason being that both men and women who engage in extramarital sex do not trust themselves. The extent to which the husbands become apprehensive of their sexual behaviour varies by age, education, and marriage type. There is also the recognition that STIs and AIDS can be contacted through unprotected sex. Gonorrhoea is the major disease over which the husbands expressed some apprehensions. However, some level of condom use or safe sex exists among the population. This partly explains why some extramarital sex is not accompanied with the fear of STIs. Nevertheless, there is the belief that when one is selective and careful in his choice of sexual partners, he is not likely to contact an STI. This is a major obstacle to the success of the campaign for sexual behavioural change.

SEXUAL CONTROL

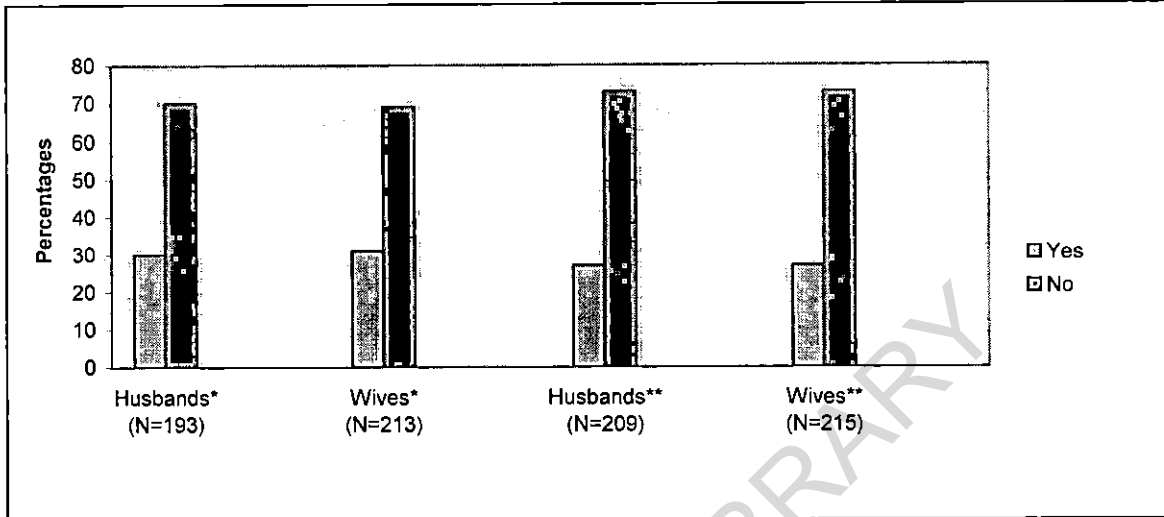
8.1 Wives' right on husbands

Spousal relationship in the traditional Yoruba society epitomised that of patrilineal societies where males usually play dominant roles. The husband is recognised as the head of the family, and his decision on any issue often final. Not only must his wish be respected, it must be obeyed. Based on this fact, it has been a widely acknowledged belief, in sub-Saharan Africa and indeed among the Yoruba, that wives have no right to know or to discuss, and more importantly, to control or interfere in their husbands' extra-marital sexual activities. However, with increasing rates of improvement in women's status and the changes brought about by feminism, the trend towards egalitarian families and marriages appears strong in modern societies. It is against this background that this section of the thesis is committed to an analysis of the extent to which wives, in the study locations, have and exercise the rights to control their husbands' extramarital sex.

The responses of husbands and wives to the question on whether wives have a right to know about husbands' extramarital sexual affairs are presented in Figure 8.1. The Figure reveals that the majority of both husbands (70 per cent urban and 73 per cent rural) and wives (69 per cent urban and 73 per cent rural) believe that wives have no right to know about their husbands' extramarital sexual relations. Although the majority of the respondents responded in this way, nearly one-third of both men and women believed that wives had some right. This is a significant number and a plausible explanation for this is that the rights of women within the home might have improved with increasing

conjugal relationship, which is possibly a concomitant of the high level of literacy among the study population.

Figure 8.1: Percentage distribution of couples according opinion on wives' right to know about husbands' extra-marital sexual affairs

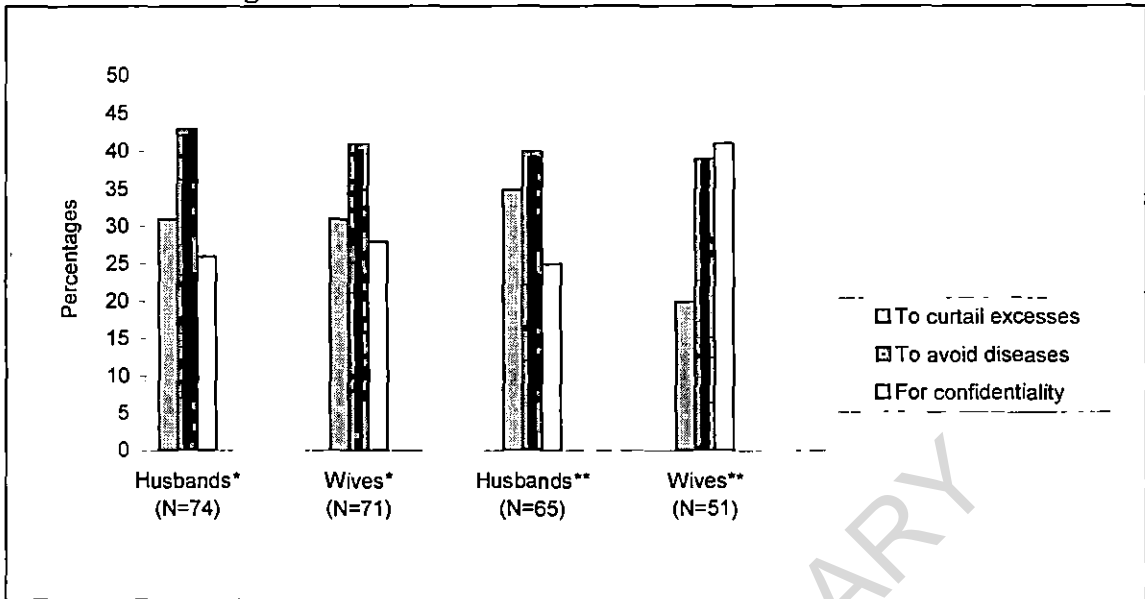


Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

Note: * Urban couples ; ** Rural couples

Figure 8.2 presents the reasons why wives should be aware of their husbands' extra-marital sexual relations. The reasons given for the need for wives to know about her husbands' extramarital sexual affairs include the curtailment of husbands' sexual excesses, which is reported by 31 per cent of the urban couples; 35 per cent of rural husbands and 20 per cent of their wives. Forty-three per cent of urban husbands and 41 per cent of their wives compared to 40 per cent of the rural husbands and 39 per cent of their spouses express the fear of catching a disease. The reason given by 26 per cent and 28 per cent of urban husbands and wives respectively and 25 per cent of the husbands in the rural areas and 41 per cent of their wives is the need for confidentiality. Slightly more than one-third of both urban husbands and wives (31 per cent) and a little less than two-fifths (35 per cent) of rural husbands reported the curtailment of husbands' excesses.

Figure 8.2: Percentage distribution of couples according to reasons why wives have the right to know of husbands' extra-marital sexual activities



Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

Note: * Urban couples ; ** Rural couples

The findings of the qualitative component of the study further confirm the reasons why a wife needs to know about the husband's extra-marital sexual relations. Regarding the need to maintain some confidentiality, a 70-year old widow reported the case of her husband thus:

“In the past, any sexual relationship between a man and another man's wife (i.e. a concubine) must be discreet. Thus, for any man to enjoy the relationship and to make it an enduring one, he needs to confide in his wife. Again, this depends on the nature of the wife. If she is an understanding and a tolerant type, the relationship is well secured. In such a situation, the concubine and the wife can become so friendly and this friendship can cover-up the sexual relationship which exists between the husband and the concubine who may become a friend of the wife. Personally, when my husband was alive, he used to send messages through me to his concubines. Whenever, he went to sleep with any of the concubines, I would open the door to him as early as he returned so that he would not have to go on knocking. Thus, no other members of the household knew he ever slept outside. Not even his parents”.

Similarly, a polygynously married woman of 60 years of age, while emphasising

the fact that a wife should know about her husband's extramarital sexual activities have this to say:

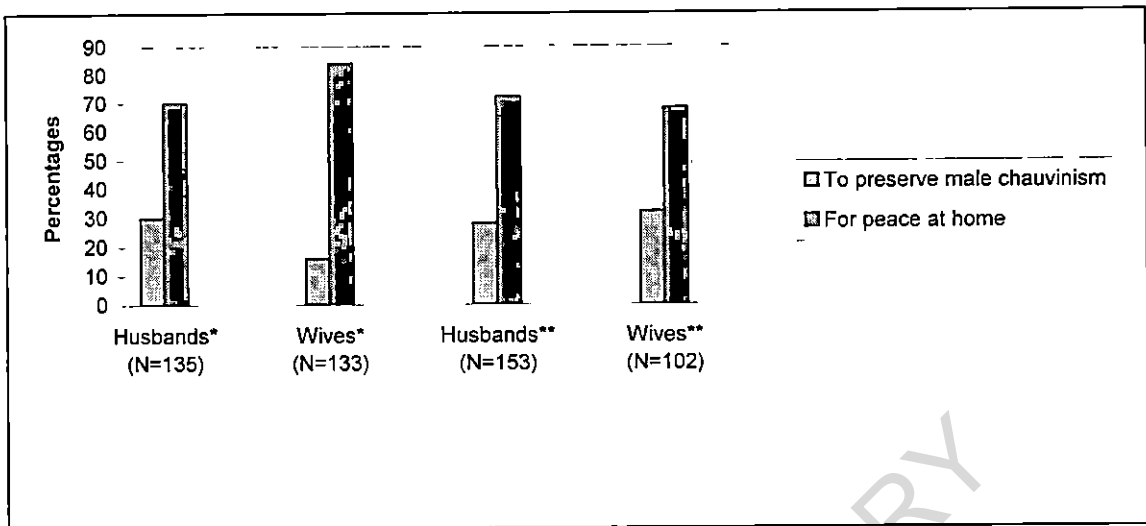
“There is no other means of confidentiality for a husband who involves in extramarital sexual relations than the wife. I remember that my husband was a very handsome man. Thus, he was having extramarital sexual relations to a great deal. When he found a new catch, he would inform me and many of these concubines became my friends. There were even instances of some of these women who proposed marriage to my husband through me. Many of these women (concubines) came to me and said, “this your husband is handsome, we love to have at least a child by him” and I allowed them. And up till today, nobody else knew about such relationships”.

On the need to avoid diseases, a 45-year-old female respondent with a secondary education said:

“There is really no need for a man to seek sexual satisfaction outside the home. However, if any husband wishes to, he should inform the wife such that she would know where the husband goes especially in this period of AIDS”.

Figure 8.3 presents the reasons why it is not considered rightful for a wife to know about the husband's extramarital sexual affairs. Among those who were of the view that wives must not know about their husbands' extramarital sexual relationships, the need to ensure peace at home was the main reason. This was in the opinion of 70 per cent of urban husbands, 84 per cent of their wives, 72 per cent of rural husbands and 68 per cent of their spouses. It is worthwhile to stress here that reasons that confirm male chauvinism are slightly insignificant for all the spouses in this study. This is in the opinion of 30 per cent of urban husbands, 16 per cent of their wives, 28 per cent of rural husbands and 32 per cent of rural wives.

Figure 8.3: Percentage distribution of couples according to the reasons why wives need not to know about husbands' extramarital sex .



Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

Note: *Urban couples ; ** Rural couples

The findings of the qualitative data corroborate those of the quantitative data. For instance, a 70-year old widow said:

“Although a man can always have extramarital sexual relations, he must not inform the wife so as to avoid trouble. You know women are naturally jealous. If a woman knows her husbands concubine, there is every possibility that she would always want a way to fight her”.

A younger woman of 30 years of age justified the opinion stated above when she reported sharply thus:

“A man can not tell the wife about his extramarital sexual relations. He dares not. He must dread doing such”.

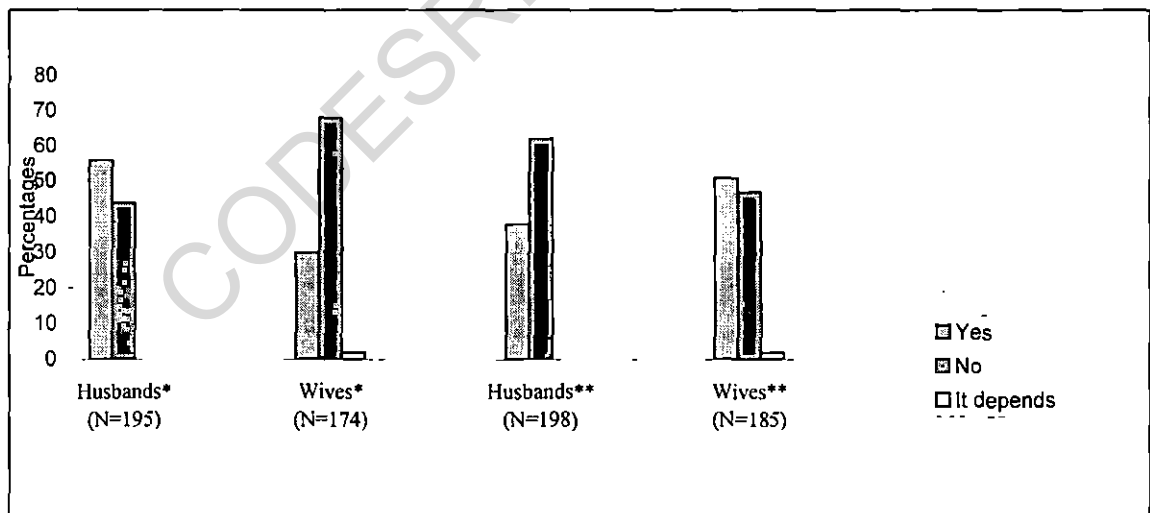
A university graduate husband of 40 years of age claimed that:

“Ideally, a wife should know about the husbands extramarital sexual relations. But there are differences in individuals' temperament and this may damage the sincerity of his purpose. There is every probability that initially the woman may agree with the husband. However, when she discusses the issue with a friend, she could be ill- advised. In such a situation, there can be trouble for the husband. To avoid this trouble, therefore, may be it is better to

keep any extra-marital sexual relation from wives”.

On whether husbands have any right to extramarital sex without their wives’ interference, the respondents’ opinion was significant on both the affirmative as well as the negative. However, the belief that wives have every right of interference in husbands’ extra-marital sexual relations was slightly significant for rural husbands (62 per cent) and urban wives (68 per cent). This was the opinion of 44 per cent of urban husbands and 48 per cent of rural wives. The contrary standpoint was upheld by 56 per cent of urban husbands, 30 per cent of their wives, 38 per cent of rural husbands and 51 per cent of rural wives. A small fraction of both urban and rural wives (2 per cent) believe that whether or not a wife will interfere in the husband’s extra-marital sexual activities depends on the couple. The responses of both husbands and wives are shown in Figure 8.4.

Figure 8.4: Percentage distribution of couples by views on whether husbands have the right to some sex without wives interference

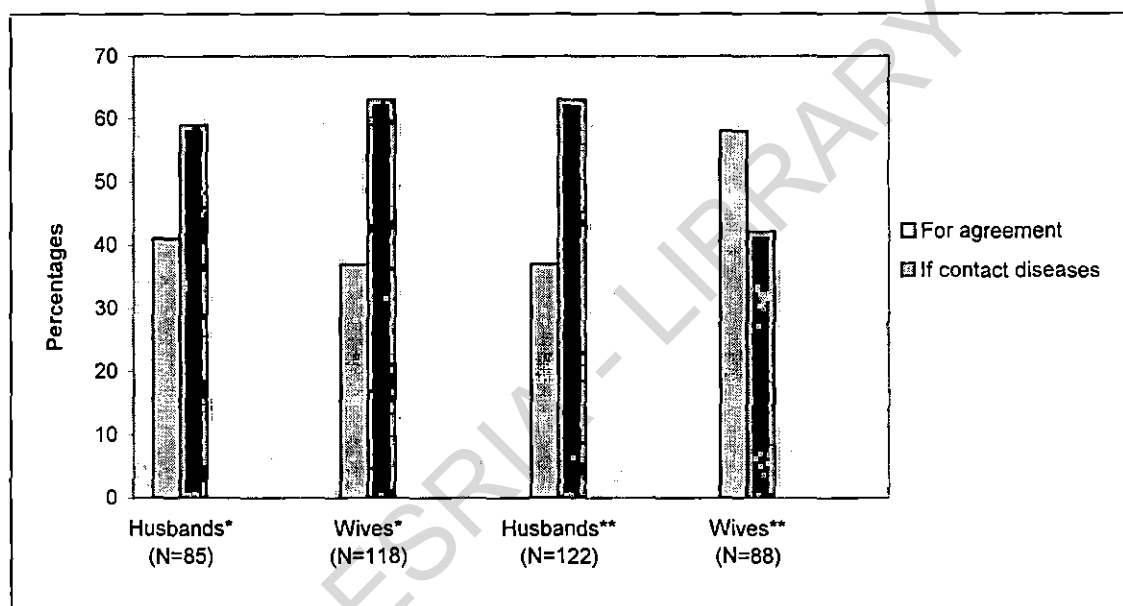


Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

Note: *Urban couples ; ** Rural couples

The respondents who are of the opinion that wives need to interfere in husbands' extra-marital sexual activities would do so partly to ensure agreement or confidentiality and partly to know the source of infection in case he contracts an STI. However, a significant proportion of urban couples (59 per cent of husbands and 64 per cent of wives) and rural husbands (63 per cent) emphasise the possibility of knowing the source of an infection, if any. The responses are shown in Figure 8.5

Figure 8.5: Percentage distribution of couples by reasons why husbands need to engage in extramarital sexual relations with wives' interference



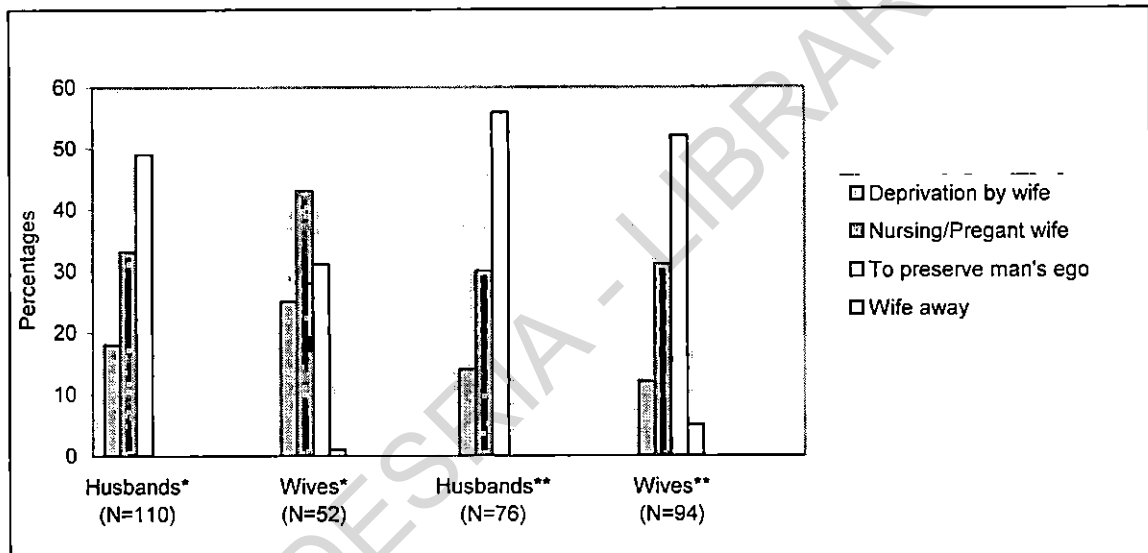
Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

Note: *Urban couples ; ** Rural couples

Many of the respondents who are of the opinion that wives need not interfere in husbands' extramarital sexual relations held on to this position because they feel men often need to disallow women/wives some involvement in some of their endeavours as a boost of male's ego. Forty-nine per cent of urban husbands, 32 per cent of their wives, 56 per cent of rural husbands and 52 per cent of their wives express this viewpoint. One-third (33 per cent) of urban husbands and rural wives (31 per cent) compared to slightly

higher than one-quarter ((28 per cent) of rural husbands and about two-fifths (42 per cent) of urban wives believe that wives need not to interfere especially when the wives are abstaining from sex either because of pregnancy, or the birth of a child. Eighteen per cent of urban husbands, 25 per cent of their wives, 14 per cent of rural husbands and 12 per cent of their wives reported sexual deprivation by wife. A small number of rural husbands (1 per cent) and their wives (5 per cent) believe that a wife need not interfere if she is away from home. The views of the couples are shown in Figure 8.6.

Figure 8.6: Percentage distribution of couples according to the right of husbands' to extra-marital sex without wives' interference

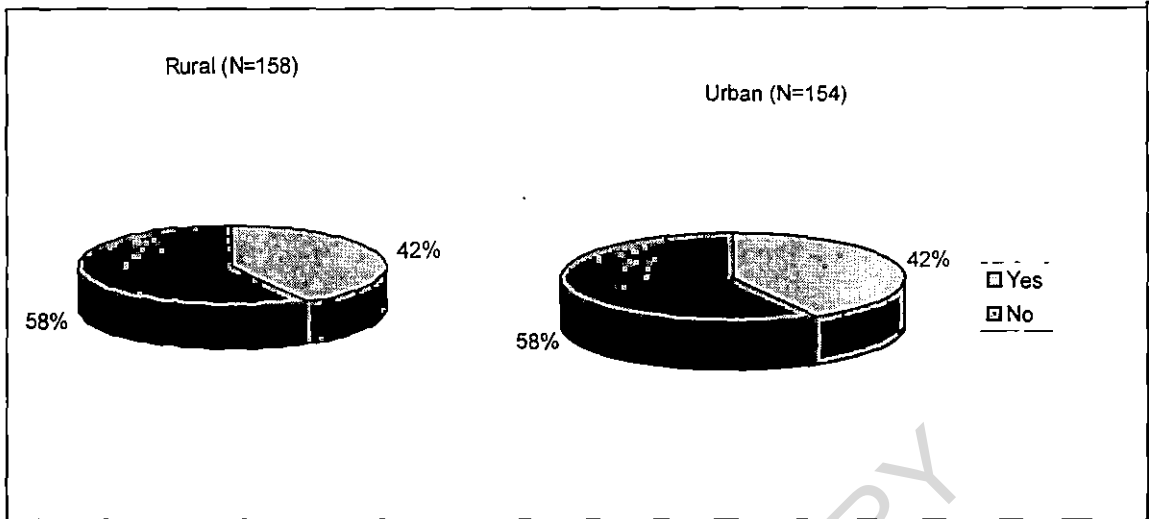


Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

Note: *Urban couples ; ** Rural couples

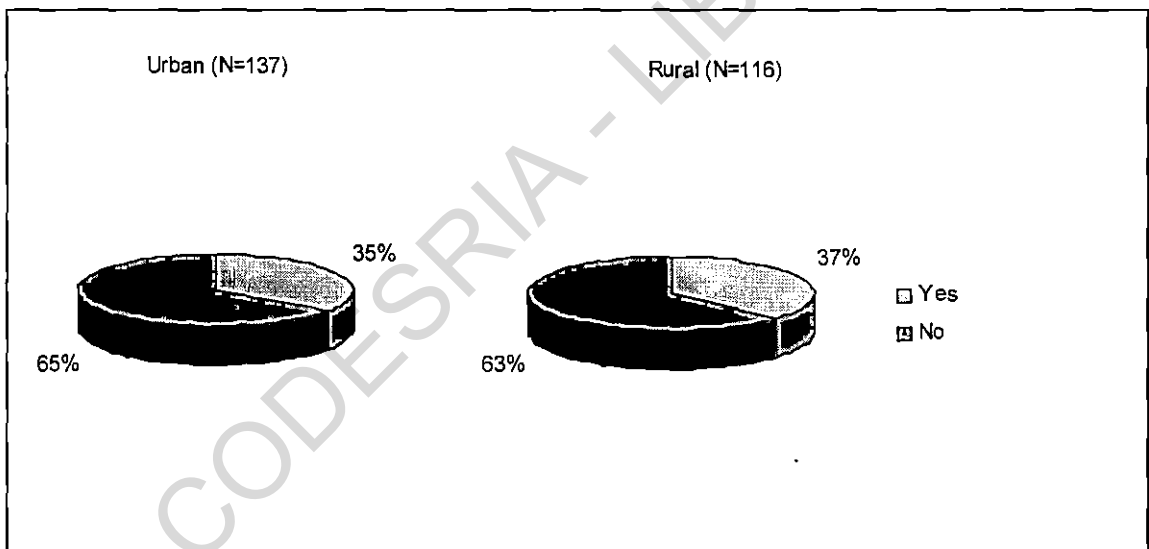
To further establish the position of the respondents on wives control of husbands' extramarital sexual activities, more specific questions were asked. Such questions include: whether the wives know that the husbands engage in extramarital sex and; whether the wives are aware of husbands' last extramarital sexual act? The responses of the husbands to the question on whether wives know that the husbands engage in extramarital sex are shown in Figures 8.7 and 8.8.

Figure 8.7: Percentage distribution of husbands according to whether their wives know that they have extra-marital sexual relations



Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

Figure 8.8: Percentage distribution of husbands according to whether their wives knew about their last extra-marital sexual relation



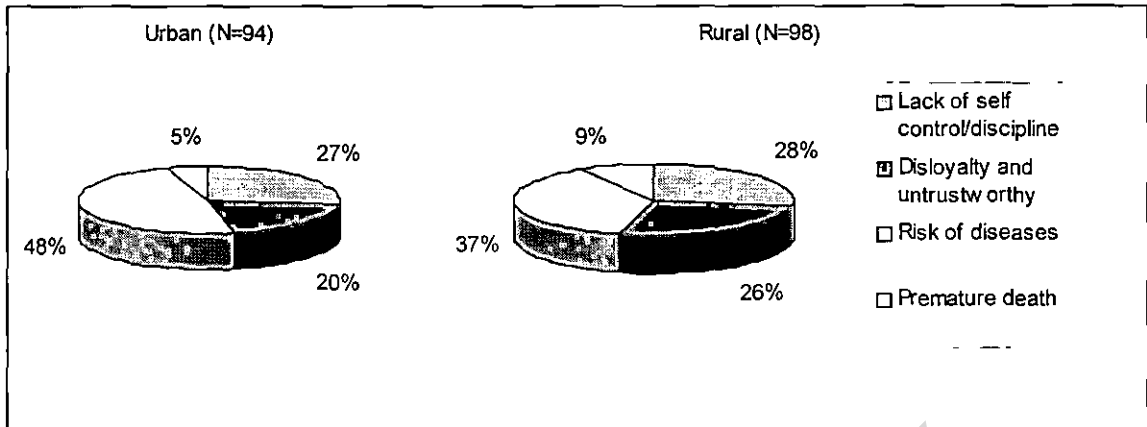
Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

Nearly three-fifths (58 per cent) of both urban and rural husbands reported that their wives are not aware of their extra-marital sexual activities. The fact that the majority of wives are not aware of their husbands' extramarital sexual adventures is further confirmed in the responses of the husbands to a related question bothering on their last

extra-marital sexual encounter. Indeed, the proportion of both urban and rural husbands who reported that their wives do not know that they have extramarital sexual relations increase when emphasis is on their last extramarital sexual relation. Slightly more than three-fifths of both urban (65 per cent) and rural (63 per cent) husbands are in this category. However, that about two-fifths of the husbands in urban and rural areas reported that their wives are aware of their last extra-marital sexual relation is significant. This is consistent with the responses of the husbands to the question on wives' right to know of husbands' extra-marital sexual relations. It also conforms to the findings in a 1991 study of Ondo Town (Orubuloye, Caldwell and Caldwell, 1992).

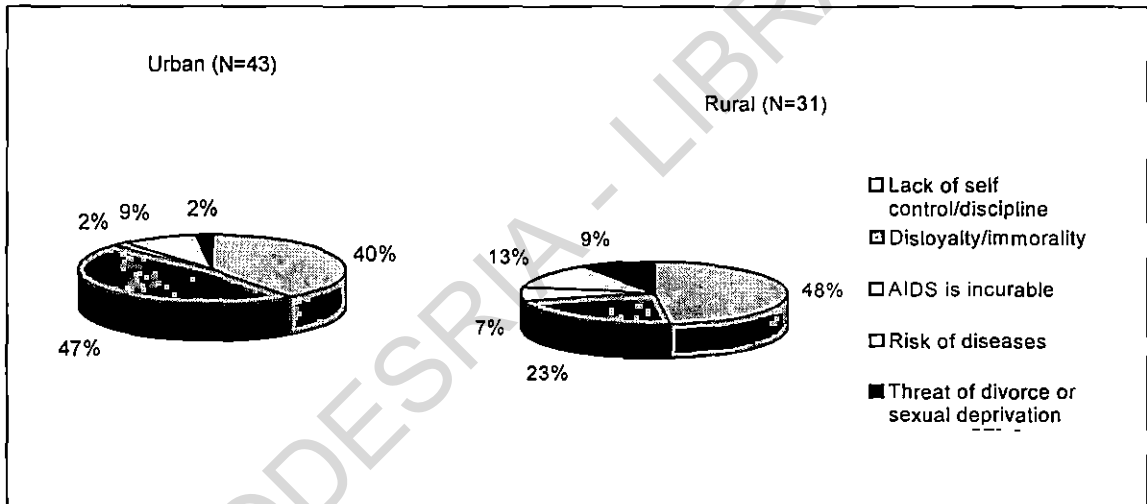
The majority (88 per cent urban and 72 per cent rural) of the men who reported that their wives knew about their extra-marital sexual affairs generally also reported that their wives say something about their extra-marital sexual affairs. However, much of what the wives say is more of guidance rather than complaints. These are presented in Figures 8.9 and 8.10. Figure 8.9 reveals that about one-half (48 per cent) of the urban husbands and 37 per cent of the rural ones whose wife are aware of their extramarital sexual adventures reported that the wives usually expressed the fear of diseases. Twenty-seven per cent of the urban husbands and 28 per cent of the rural ones reported that their wives believe that their adventure into extramarital sex depicts lack of self control. While 20 per cent of the urban husbands reported that their wives believed that men who engage in non-marital sex are disloyal and untrustworthy, 26 per cent of the rural husbands are of the opinion that their wives maintain a similar view. The remaining 5 per cent of urban husbands and 9 per cent of the rural ones, reported that their wives expressed the fear for premature death.

Figure 8.9: Percentage distribution of husbands according to what wives say about their extra-marital sex



Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

Figure 8.10: Percentage distribution of husbands according to what wives say about their last extramarital sex



Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

Lack of self control, disloyalty and immorality are the main remarks made by wives in respect of their husbands' last extramarital sexual affairs. The relative importance of each of the remarks by the wives are shown in Figure 8.10. Only 9 per cent of the wives of the urban husbands and 13 per cent of their rural counterparts express the fear of diseases in respect of husbands' extramarital sexual relations. The wives of a minority of the husbands (2 per cent and 7 per cent in the urban and rural locations

respectively) fear AIDS.

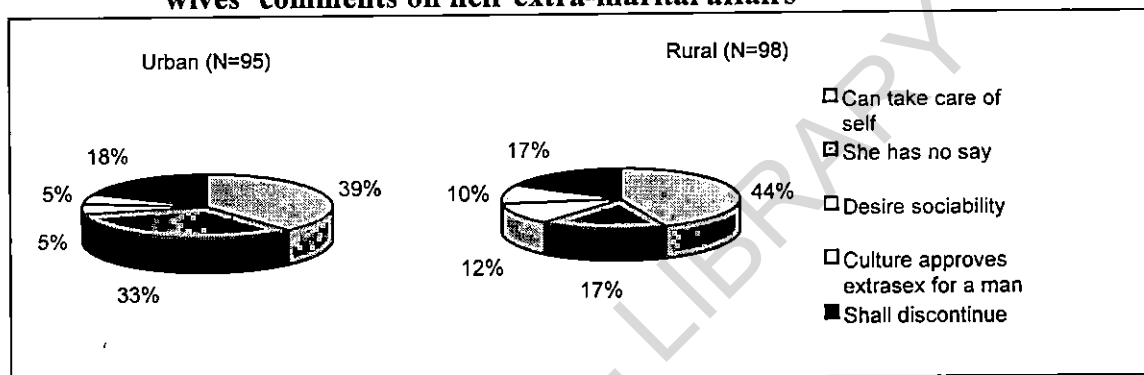
The study reveals some consistencies between the responses of the husbands to the question on their wives' comment in respect of their last extramarital sexual affairs and what the wives themselves say in this respect. However, the emphasis on the risk of diseases is more significant for the wives than for the husbands. Also, the stress on AIDS as an incurable disease is more significant in the remark of the wives. It is worthy to note that some of the wives (2 per cent and 5 per cent in urban and rural areas respectively) say that they told their husbands to recognise premature death as a probable attendant risk of extramarital sexual relationship. The husbands did not report that their wives actually told them the dangers of extramarital relationships.

A plausible explanation for the disparities in the responses of both spouses to the question on the wives' comment on husbands' last extramarital sexual relation bothers on peculiar characteristic of women. It is not uncommon for wives to result to nagging rather than involve the husbands in some closer and more personal communication when and while they feel disturbed about the behaviours of their husbands. Limited spousal communication takes place in more traditional households or in polygynous relationships.

Despite the disparities, however, it is important to stress that the emphasis of wives on premature death and more importantly that AIDS is incurable is significant given the seriousness of the AIDS epidemic in Nigeria. If the husbands, whose wives appear knowledgeable about HIV/AIDS heed their wives advice and stay away from extramarital sex, it is a bold step toward the behavioural change that is required at this stage of the epidemic.

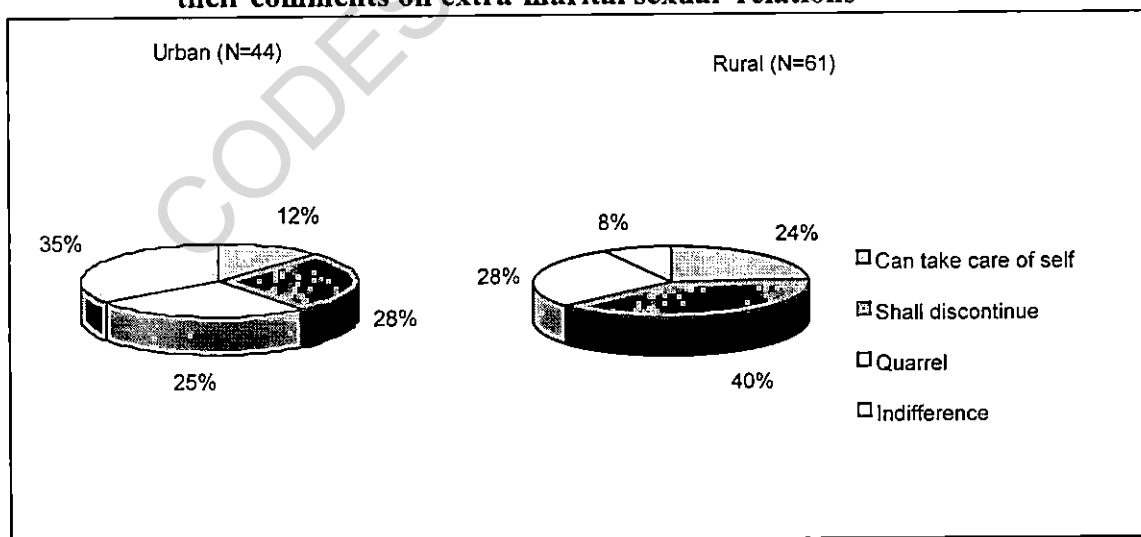
Figures 8.11 and 8.12 present the responses of husbands to wives' comments. The common responses of both urban and rural husbands to their wives' comment on extramarital sexual relations are: "they can always take care of themselves", "she has no say" and, that "they shall discontinue". However, the expression of the confidence that the husbands can always take care of themselves or know how to play the game is slightly significant for the rural husbands than for their urban counterparts.

Figure 8.11: Percentage distribution of husbands according to their responses to wives' comments on their extra-marital affairs

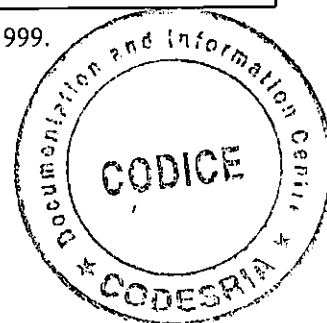


Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

Figure 8.12: Percentage distribution of wives' according to husband's responses to their comments on extra-marital sexual relations



Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.



The confidence expressed by husbands in the rural areas are often characterised with the face-to-face kind of interaction. Hence, rural men are far more likely to be convinced that they know the background of their female sexual partners. However, the fact that this confidence is often unjustifiable had been revealed by Orubuloye and Caldwell and Caldwell (1992) when they reported that men often know very little about the other sexual activities of their extramarital sexual partners. The belief that wives have no role to play in decisions bothering on sexual matters is more significant for urban husbands than the rural ones. Almost twice the number of the rural husbands who hold to this belief are the urban ones. An equal proportion of both urban and rural husbands reported that they might stay away from having extramarital sexual relations.

However, the wives reported that the reactions of their husbands to the question on extramarital sexual relation include the pledge to discontinue, indifference and picking quarrels with them. Twenty-eight per cent and 40 per cent of both urban and rural wives, maintain that their husbands pledged to discontinue with extramarital sexual affairs. Thirty-five per cent of the urban husbands and only 7 per cent of the rural ones are indifferent to the wives' comments. Twenty-five per cent of the urban wives and 28 per cent of their rural counterparts reported that their husbands quarrel with them when they resent their husbands' extramarital sexual relations. The fact that some of the husbands pick quarrels with their wives is consistent with the viewpoint of a 30-year old male respondent, who referred to the lyrics of a record that was released by a popular Yoruba musician, Ebenezer Obey, in the 70s to drive home his point. He sang thus:

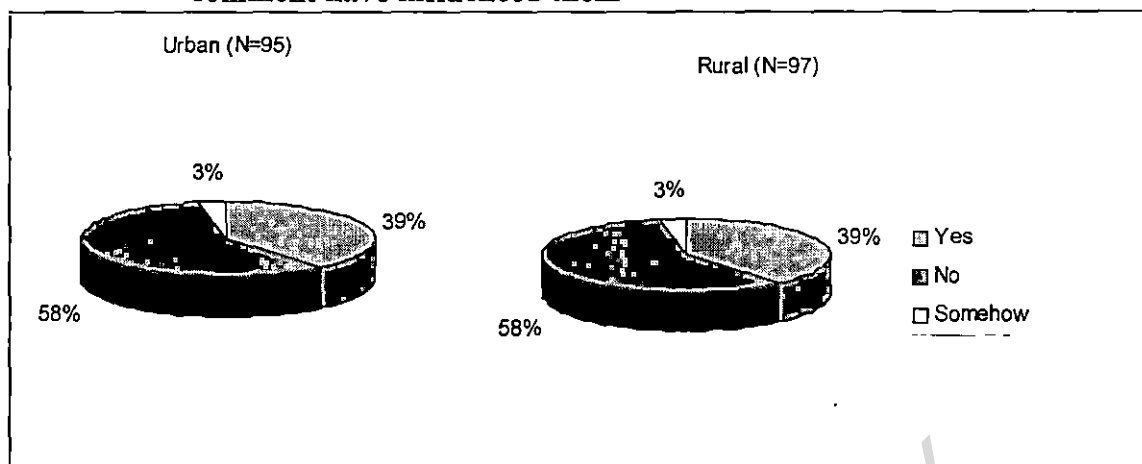
“...awon okunrin to l’aya sile, to tun lo ni girl friend; T’aya tile ba gbo, to ba lo binu, o ye ko l’ogbon agba fun ni. B’o ba l’ogbon agba, bi o ba gbo; o ye ko l’ogboju fun ni...” meaning, if a married man, ventures into extramarital sexual relations, and the wife knows of this and she wants

to pull trouble, the husband should be able to apply wisdom. If this does not work, it is better to pay her back with a quarrel..."

The majority of the rural wives stated that their husbands promised to discontinue with extramarital sex while a minority of the husbands are indifferent to their comments. However, more wives compared to their husbands, in the urban and rural areas believe that their husbands will discontinue with extramarital sexual adventures. The disparity may not be unconnected with the fact that women are quite gullible. Thus, they are likely to take their husbands' response hook, line and sinker, not minding whether or not it represents the true standpoint of the husbands. It is possible that the husbands only promise to discontinue as a way to reduce the anxiety of the wives and more importantly to maintain peace at home.

Traditionally, a Yoruba man must dominate his wife and must not show any signs of weakness. A man who is dominated or openly manipulated by a woman/wife is referred to as "**a weak man**". Against this background, therefore, the responses of the husbands to the question on whether their wives comments have influenced them are considered worthy of note. These are presented in Figure 8.13. To a large extent, the answers of the husbands to the question on whether their wives comments influence them, appear to be coherent with their responses to their wives' comments on extramarital sexual relations. Nearly three-fifths (58 per cent) of both urban, and rural husbands reported that their wives' remark has no influence on them.

Figure 8.13: Percentage distribution of husbands as to whether their wives' comment have influenced them



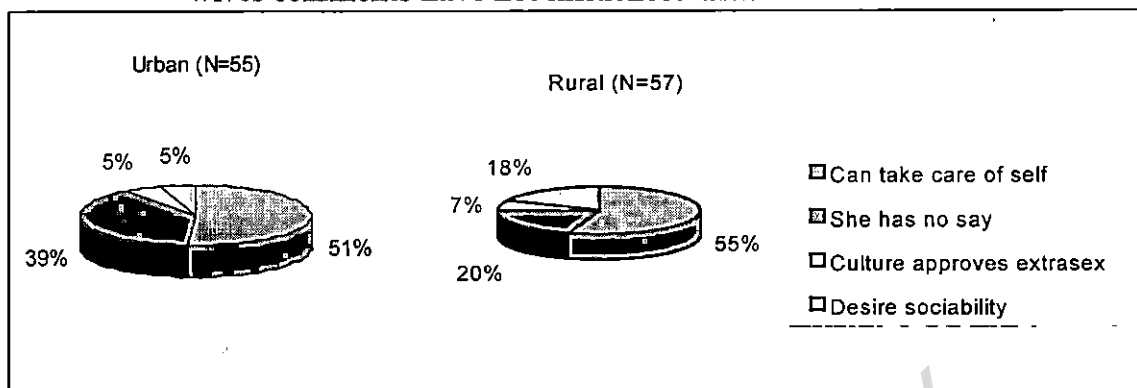
Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

However, a little below two-fifths of the husbands in both locations are indeed influenced. This shows that the traditional restriction on women's/wives' participation in decisions relating to sexual matters had begun to decline (Orubuloye, Oguntimehin and Sadiq, 1997). All the urban husbands whose wives' comments influenced them had reduced their number of extramarital sexual partners. One-half of the husbands in the rural areas took a step similar to that of their urban counterparts while the remaining one-half used condoms.

The reasons why wives' comments did not influence the husbands are presented in Figure 8.14. The most significant of the reasons is that the husbands believe that they could always take care of themselves. Almost two-fifths of the urban husbands and one-fifth of their rural counterparts believe that their wives have no say and that the attempt of the wives' to advise on this area of decision-making was mere infringement on their traditional rights and privileges. Nearly one-fifth of the rural husbands and a small proportion (5 per cent) of the urban ones express their desire to remain sociable as an

explanation for discountenance of their wives' comment on their sexual behaviour. Five

Figure 8.14: Percentage distribution of husbands according to the reasons why wives comments have not influenced them

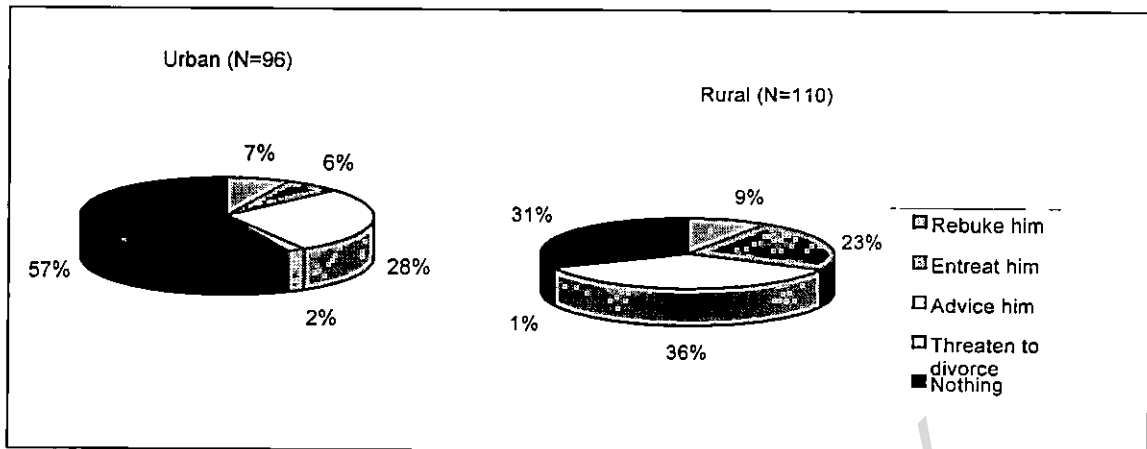


Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

per cent and 7 per cent of the urban and rural wives respectively reported that they remained uncompromising because the culture supports extramarital sex for men while it places restrictions on it for women.

It is important to stress here that despite the wives disapproval of husbands' sexual behaviour, as shown by their comments and remarks, nearly three-fifths (57 per cent) of the urban women and 31 per cent of their rural counterparts reported that they would not do anything if their husbands engage in extramarital sexual relations. Twenty-eight per cent of urban wives and 36 per cent of the rural ones affirmed that they would not desist from advising their husbands with the hope that they would heed their advice someday. Six per cent and 23 per cent of the urban and the rural wives respectively affirmed that they would entreat their husbands while not more than one per cent of the wives in both locations declared that they would threaten with a divorce. The responses of the wives are shown in Figure 8.15. The position of the wives, as presented in Figure 8.15, confirm the fact that wives often know of their husbands' extramarital sexual escapades but they do not comment openly. That some of the wives claim that they

Figure 8.15: Percentage distribution of wives according to what they usually do when husbands had extramarital sex



Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

would not do anything about their husbands' involvement in extramarital sexual relations is not unexpected. Other studies in West Africa have equally shown that wives seldom notice or protest their husbands' extramarital sexual relations (Caldwell and Caldwell, 1981; Caldwell *et al*, 1989; Orubuloye *et al*, 1992). Adegbola (1991) in his report about the participants in a focus group discussion, revealed that women have resigned themselves to faith believing that no matter what they do, Nigerian men will uphold the culture of polygyny. Dinan (1983) also reported that in the view of white-collar single women in Accra, it was hopeless expecting husbands to be faithful, even though they were highly critical and resentful of the adulterous behaviour of the men. It is not uncommon for wives to become suspicious and contemptuous of girls and women who become unnecessarily close to their husbands. More often than not, these women constitute constant threats to the wives' marriage. Despite the fact that the odds of every husband's extramarital sex are against the wife, the best she can do is to pray and hope that her marriage will be a rare exception and weather the threatening storm.

Moreover, the fact that only the minority of the wives would threaten their

husbands with a divorce further reinforced the point that culturally among the Yoruba, a husband's extramarital sexual restlessness does not constitute a justifiable reason for a wife to seek divorce from the husband. This is consistent with the view of Caldwell and his research group (1989), who have rightly shown that divorce has not been a common solution for adultery, except where it is flagrantly provocative and repeated (in wives).

8.1.1 The correlates of wives' control on husbands' sexual activities

In an attempt to investigate the correlates of women's right to control men's sexual activities, the opinions of the respondents are subjected to both the bivariate and multivariate levels of analysis in this section. The bivariate analyses of the data on wives' right regarding their husbands' sexual behaviour are presented in Tables 8.1 to 8.6.

The majority of the husbands believe that wives need not to know of their extramarital sexual relations. This opinion is significant for couples in the age group 35 - 54 years in both urban and rural areas. The tendency for an urban husband to hold this opinion decreases with rising level of education. A slight increase is observed for urban areas as the educational status shifts from secondary only to post secondary. The opposite is the case for the husbands in the rural areas. The study also reveals that more of the polygynously married urban husbands than the monogamously married ones believe that wives need not to know about their husbands' extramarital sexual relations. The difference is, however, not statistically significant. In the rural areas, the same proportion of both the monogamously and the polygynously married husbands are of this viewpoint. Many of the urban husbands, who were adherents of the Islamic religion,

compared to the Christians, prefer that wives do not know a thing about their husbands' extramarital sexual activities. The opposite is the case in the rural areas.

Table 8.1: Percentage distribution of couples by selected socio-economic characteristics and opinion on wives' right to know about husbands' extramarital relations

	Urban				Rural			
	Yes		No		Yes		No	
	Husbands	Wives	Husbands	Wives	Husbands	Wives	Husbands	Wives
Age								
15 - 34 years	32	- ^a	68	- ^a	41	- ^a	59	- ^a
35 -54 years	24	- ^a	76	- ^a	20	- ^a	80	- ^a
55 years and above	37	- ^a	63	- ^a	30	- ^a	60	- ^a
Education*								
None/koranic	20	32	80	68	29	46	71	54
Primary only	29	38	71	62	26	18	74	82
Secondary only	35	29	65	71	18	22	82	78
Post secondary	32	32	68	68	36	30	64	70
Marriage type								
Monogamy	31	33	69	67	27	29	73	71
Polygyny	24	30	76	70	27	27	73	73
Religion**								
Christianity	33	34	67	66	23	28	77	72
Islam	17	25	83	75	35	26	65	74

Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

Note: Total percentages may not equal to 100 due to rounding

*Rural wives $LRX^2=14.745$, $d/f=6$, $P=.02$

** Excludes the adherents of the traditional and other religions as well as those who had no religion because they constitute a minority. ^a means not applicable.

For the wives, the expression of this viewpoint varies by educational status. It is more important to the urban wives who are secondary school graduates and their rural counterparts who are primary school certificate holders. In both the urban and the rural locations, more Muslim than the Christian wives thought it is not right for a woman to know about the husband's non-marital sexual activities. The difference is however not statistically significant. More of the urban and the rural wives in polygynous marriages are of this viewpoint. The difference by marriage type is also not statistically significant.

Table 8.2 presents the bivariate distribution of couples by reasons why wives need not to know about husbands' extramarital sexual relations.

Table 8.2: Percentage distribution of couples according to socio-economic characteristics and the reason why wives need not know about husbands' extramarital sexual activities.

	Urban				Rural			
	Preserve male ego/chauvinism		For peace at home		Preserve male ego/chauvinism		For peace at home	
	Husbands	Wives	Husbands	Wives	Husbands	Wives	Husbands	Wives
Age*								
15 - 34 years	33	- ^a	67	- ^a	48	- ^a	52	- ^a
35 - 54 years	28	- ^a	72	- ^a	24	- ^a	77	- ^a
55 years and above	30	- ^a	70	- ^a	26	- ^a	74	- ^a
Education**								
None/koranic	34	06	67	95	29	53	71	47
Primary only	26	13	74	87	23	25	77	75
Secondary only	36	19	64	81	36	34	64	66
Post secondary	24	32	76	68	22	30	78	70
Religion								
Christianity	27	16	73	84	30	30	70	70
Islam	40	19	60	81	25	34	75	66
Marriage type								
Monogamy	30	12	70	88	30	36	70	64
Polygyny	30	15	70	85	23	30	78	70
Position among co-wives								
First	- ^a	16	- ^a	84	- ^a	37	- ^a	63
Second	- ^a	07	- ^a	93	- ^a	23	- ^a	77
Spousal age difference***								
0 - 5 years	- ^a	30	- ^a	70	- ^a	28	- ^a	72
6 - 10 years	- ^a	37	- ^a	63	- ^a	24	- ^a	76
11 years and above	- ^a	27	- ^a	73	- ^a	30	- ^a	70

Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

Note: Total percentages are not equal to 100 because only the positive responses were employed in the Analysis ^a Not applicable:

* Rural LRX2 =35.036, d/f =9, P=.000: ** Urban wives Pearson r =-.261, P = .01 (2-tailed):

*** Rural wives Pearson r = -.295, P =.01 (2-tailed)

The distribution of the responses on Table 8.2 indicates that the emphasis of urban wives on the need for peace at home, as a major reason why wives need not to know about husbands' extramarital sexual activities, decreases significantly with increasing level of education. The association between this reason and spousal age difference is also

inversely significant for rural wives. Furthermore, both urban and rural husbands of the middle and old ages laid little emphasis on the need for peace at home more than their younger counterparts. There are no statistically significant differences by education, religion and marriage type. The distribution of the wives on the need for peace at home is also akin to that of the husbands. However, rural wives with no formal schooling generally believe that men need to preserve their ego by not letting their wives know about their extramarital sexual affairs. In respect of the age difference between wives and their husbands and wives' position among co-wives, virtually all the wives would prefer not to know about their husbands' extramarital sexual activities so as to avoid strife at home.

It is important to stress that the extent to which husbands keep their extramarital sexual relations from their wives varies greatly by education. The Pearson correlation coefficient for both urban and rural wives is .194 ($P=.05$). In the urban area, wives whose husbands have a post secondary education are not usually aware of their husbands' extramarital sexual activities. This position is also the case for rural wives with only a secondary school education.

The distribution of wives by their socio-economic characteristics and what they usually do when husbands engage in extramarital sexual activities is presented in Table 8.3. More often than not, both urban and rural wives do nothing when they know their husbands have extramarital sexual relations. This is more significant among urban wives than their rural counterparts. However, there are reported instances when wives advise/admonish or entreat their husbands. A significant proportion of rural wives with only one child entreat their husbands while more of those 6 to 10 years younger than their

husbands and with just the primary school education advise their husbands whenever they (the husbands) engage in extramarital sexual relations.

Table 8.3: Percentage distribution of wives according socio-economic characteristics and what they usually do when husbands have extramarital sex

	Rebuke/threaten him with divorce	Entreat him	Advice him	Nothing
Spousal age difference				
0 - 5 years	07 (12)	07 (27)	27 (33)	59 (27)
6 - 10 years	07 (07)	07 (20)	25 (46)	61 (27)
11 years and above	04 (14)	04 (28)	42 (24)	50 (35)
CEB*				
1 child	00 (00)	00 (75)	33 (25)	67 (00)
2 - 4 children	10 (06)	04 (31)	30 (31)	56 (33)
5 or more children	06 (14)	09 (12)	26 (41)	60 (33)
Education				
None/koranic	09 (14)	00 (19)	25 (19)	63 (48)
Primary only	14 (09)	07 (21)	21 (49)	57 (21)
Secondary only	05 (07)	08 (41)	30 (24)	58 (28)
Post secondary	00 (25)	22 (00)	33 (42)	44 (33)
Marriage type				
Monogamy	06 (08)	09 (18)	28 (43)	57 (31)
Polygyny	11 (11)	00 (29)	28 (29)	63 (27)
Position among co-wives				
First	07 (10)	06 (19)	29 (37)	59 (33)
Second	06 (08)	00 (30)	35 (33)	65 (30)

Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

Note: Total percentages may not equal to 100 due to rounding.

The percentages for the rural respondents are presented in parentheses

* Rural $LRX^2 = 12.874$, $d/f = 6$, $P = .05$

The reaction of the wives as presented above is not unexpected. This is so because Yoruba society is a patriarchal one where wives are expected to accord much respect to their husbands. The superiority of Yoruba husbands over their wives is often expressed in statements such as “*oko l’ori aya*” meaning “*husband is the head of the wife*”. Besides, a typical Yoruba husband is the “father” of his household -the wife(ves) and the children alike-. Moreover, the “headship” of the husband over the wife is further strengthened by the need for a wide age-gap between them. African society places much

value on polygyny, and the desire for polygyny is often the beginning of men's involvement in extramarital sexual relationships. A Yoruba woman is not comfortable if she has no child of her own or has not at least a male child for her husband. This situation often tempts the husband into polygyny. Thus, no matter the situation, when a husband engages in extramarital sexual relations, his wife pretends not to know and endure the situation. All these put together are probable reasons why most wives, especially those who are younger than their husbands; who had just a child; and who are polygynously married never do anything when they know that their husbands engage in extramarital sexual relations.

Table 8.4 presents the distribution of husbands according to their socio-economic characteristics and whether or not their wives' reactions about their extramarital sexual activities have influenced them in any way. Most of the husbands (both urban and rural ones) are not influenced by the reactions of their wives. The distribution of the responses indicates some variations by age, marriage type and educational status. The variations are, however, not statistically significant.

Table 8.4: Percentage distribution of husbands by whether or not wives' reaction about their extramarital sexual activities have influenced them.

	Urban			Rural		
	Yes	No	Somehow	Yes	No	Somehow
Age						
15 - 34 years	41	48	11	43	52	05
35 - 54 years	36	64	00	39	59	02
55 years and above	39	61	00	37	59	04
Education						
None/koranic	19	81	00	40	60	00
Primary only	41	59	00	46	50	04
Secondary only	33	60	07	35	65	00
Post secondary	53	44	03	36	56	08
Marriage type						
Monogamy	42	54	04	42	55	03
Polygyny	29	71	00	32	64	04

Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

To further ascertain the extent to which husbands are influenced by their wives' reaction, bivariate analyses of the husbands' usual response and counteraction were undertaken. These are presented in Tables 8.5 and 8.6.

Table 8.5 Percentage distribution of husbands by usual response to wives' reaction about their extramarital sexual activities

	Can take care	She has no say	Desire sociability	Culture approves extra-marital sex for men	Shall discontinue
Age*					
15 - 34 years	23 (48)	40 (10)	10 (00)	03 (29)	23 (14)
35 - 54 years	53 (52)	22 (18)	03 (10)	09 (04)	13 (16)
55 years and above	39 (26)	36 (22)	03 (26)	03 (04)	18 (22)
Education					
None/koranic	44 (30)	38 (10)	00 (30)	00 (10)	19 (20)
Primary only	39 (56)	28 (26)	06 (00)	06 (04)	22 (15)
Secondary only	32 (44)	46 (20)	07 (12)	00 (12)	14 (12)
Post secondary	42 (42)	21 (12)	06 (12)	12 (12)	18 (23)

Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

Note: The percentages for the rural husbands are presented in parentheses

* Rural $LRX^2 = 24.623$, $d/f = 12$, $P = .02$

The distribution of the husbands as to their counterclaims appears to be substantiating the "privileged" position of an African man. By implication, they are not stirred by their wives' reactions. The counterclaims as reported by the husbands themselves vary by age and level of education. Both the rural and the urban husbands who are in their middle ages (35 - 54 years) and the rural ones with only primary school education believe that they can take care of themselves. However, the younger (15-34 years) urban husbands with secondary education only believe that their wives have no say in men's extramarital sexual matters. The variations are, however, not statistically significant.

Table 8.6: Percentage distribution of wives according to socio-economic characteristics and husbands response

	Shall discontinue	Quarrel	Can take care	Indifferent
Spousal age difference				
0 - 5 years	46 (39)	21(25)	04 (21)	29 (14)
6 - 10 years	30 (50)	20 (21)	20 (27)	30 (03)
11 years and above	10 (27)	25 (50)	10 (09)	55 (05)
CEB				
1 child	20 (25)	20 (50)	20 (25)	40 (00)
2 - 4 children	34 (32)	13 (40)	09 (28)	44 (00)
5 or more children	26 (48)	39 (19)	13 (19)	23 (14)
Education				
None/koranic	10 (31)	43 (46)	05 (15)	43 (08)
Primary only	36 (47)	43 (31)	21 (16)	00 (06)
Secondary only	32 (31)	10 (27)	13 (42)	45 (00)
Post secondary	60 (60)	00 (10)	00 (20)	40 (10)
Religion				
Christianity	30 (42)	00 (29)	13 (23)	37 (06)
Islam	27 (42)	07 (25)	13 (25)	53 (08)
Marriage type*				
Monogamy	38 (50)	22 (21)	07 (21)	33 (09)
Polygyny	09 (30)	26 (37)	22 (28)	43 (05)
Position among co-wives				
First	32 (40)	23 (27)	09 (22)	36 (11)
Second	08 (41)	31 (31)	15 (28)	46 (00)

Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

Note: * Urban $LRX^2 = 8.828$, $d/f=3$, $P=.05$

The distribution of the wives as presented in Table 8.6 indicates slight variations by spousal age difference; number of children ever born; educational status; religion; marriage type and position among co-wives. Although the variations are not statistically significant, they are however noteworthy. The age-gap factor between husband and wife has been shown as an important variable in determining women's ability to make decisions in the face of a patriarchal husband (Caldwell and Caldwell, 1994) and even to control such an husband. When the relationship between spousal age difference and the control of husbands' sexual activities are examined, it shows that in the rural areas, more of the wives who are considerably younger than their husbands reported that their

husbands often quarrel with them while their counterparts in the urban areas are indifferent. Yet wives who are closer to their husbands in age reported that their husbands often pledge to discontinue extramarital sexual relations. Monogamously married husbands in both urban and rural areas are also willing to stop having extramarital affairs.

A woman's education is known to exert a significant influence on decision-making and decision processes within the family (Basu, 1989). Education as an indicator of women's status can also be the means to desirable outcomes or statuses in life (Mason *et al.* 1995). Caldwell (1979) also argued that a woman's level of education enables her to alter the locus of decision-making in the household and more importantly to communicate freely with her husband. Thus, the extent to which, the spouses of the educated wives, especially those having a post secondary school education, promise to discontinue any involvement in extramarital sexual activities is not unexpected. This is an indication that educated husbands are willing to change their risky sexual behaviour faster than their less educated counterparts.

8.1.2 Multivariate analysis on wives' right to control their husbands' sexual activities

The General Linear Model Multivariate analysis was carried out in order to determine the statistical significance of the effect of the independent variables (socio-economic characteristics) on the presumed indicators of wives' right to control their husbands' sexuality. The results of the analysis are presented in Tables 8.7 and 8.8. The findings from the multivariate analysis tend to confirm those of the bivariate analysis by showing that wives can not control their husbands' sexual activities. Except for the position of

the women among co-wives which appears to be a determinant of an urban wife's ability to attempt to control her husband's sexual activities, the effect of other socio-economic characteristics are not statistically significant. The assumption that wives may control their husbands' sexual activities is not supported by the facts.

Table 8.7: General Linear Model Multivariate Tests of women's ability to control men's sexuality

Effect	Value	Urban			Rural			
		F	Hypothesis df	Sig.	Value	F	Hypothesis df	Sig.
Husbands^b:								
Intercept	.639	12.372 ^a	4	.000	.505	7.829 ^a	3	.001
Age	.081	.616 ^a	4	.655	.007	.056 ^a	3	.982
Education	.101	.785 ^a	4	.545	.080	.668 ^a	3	.580
Marriage type	.052	.387 ^a	4	.816	.046	.371 ^a	3	.774
Religion	.038	.273 ^a	4	.893	.089	.751 ^a	3	.533
Wives^c:								
Intercept	.801	95.057 ^a	3	.000	.836	109.023 ^a	3	.000
Marriage type	.030	.724 ^a	3	.541	.016	.352 ^a	3	.788
Spousal age difference	.075	1.914 ^a	3	.135	.199	5.297 ^a	3	.003
Education	.165	4.675 ^a	3	.005	.046	1.027 ^a	3	.387
No of marriages	.009	.203 ^a	3	.894	.019	.420 ^a	3	.739
Religion	.007	.161 ^a	3	.922	.043	.965 ^a	3	.415
Position among co-wives	.102	2.678 ^a	3	.053	.038	.841 ^a	3	.477

Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

Note: a. exact statistic

Design: b Intercept + Age + Education + Marriage type + No of past wives + religion

c. Intercept + Marriage type + Spousal age difference + Education + No of marriages + Religion + Position among co-wives

Table 8.8: Multivariate tests of Between-Subjects effects^a

	R ²	Urban			Rural					
		Adjusted R ²	df	F	Sig	R ²	Adjusted R ²	df	F	Sig
Husbands										
Wives' right to know	.035	-.090	4	.277	.890	.071	-.077	4	.481	.749
Right without wives' interference	.064	-.057	4	.530	.714	.048	-.104	4	.318	.863
Was wife aware of last extra-sexual behaviour	.089	-.028	4	.758	.560	-	-	-	-	-
Did wife say anything	.093	-.025	4	.790	.541	.094	-.051	4	.651	.632
Wives										
Wives' right to know	.047	-.031	6	.607	.724	.057	-.028	6	.669	.675
Wives need not to know	.178	-.111	6	2.643	.022	.230	.160	6	3.285	.007
Right without wives' interference	.107	-.033	6	1.451	.207	.020	-.069	6	.222	.968

Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

Note: a source is the corrected model

8.2 Parents' right on children

Yoruba parents often endeavour to give admirable moral training to their children. This is especially because children who are not well trained bring shame and dishonour upon their families. Mothers are generally closer to their children. They are primarily responsible for the care of children including their upbringing. Hence, it has been a common belief among the Yorubas that mothers have a greater role to play in the upbringing of her children. More often than not, if a child exhibits any behaviour that can bring dishonour to his family, it is the mother who gets the blame. This is expressed in the popular Yoruba saying, "*omo ti o ba dara ni ti baba re, eyi ti ko ba dara ti iya re ni*", meaning, "*a good child belongs to the father, while the bad one is for the mother*". This saying indicates that the Yorubas expect much responsibility from the mothers in building the character of the children. Nevertheless, mothers' efforts must be complemented by fathers. This is because fathers often wield stronger authority within the home and particularly on the children. It is against this background that this section is committed to an examination of the extent to which parents exert control over their sons' and daughters' sexuality.

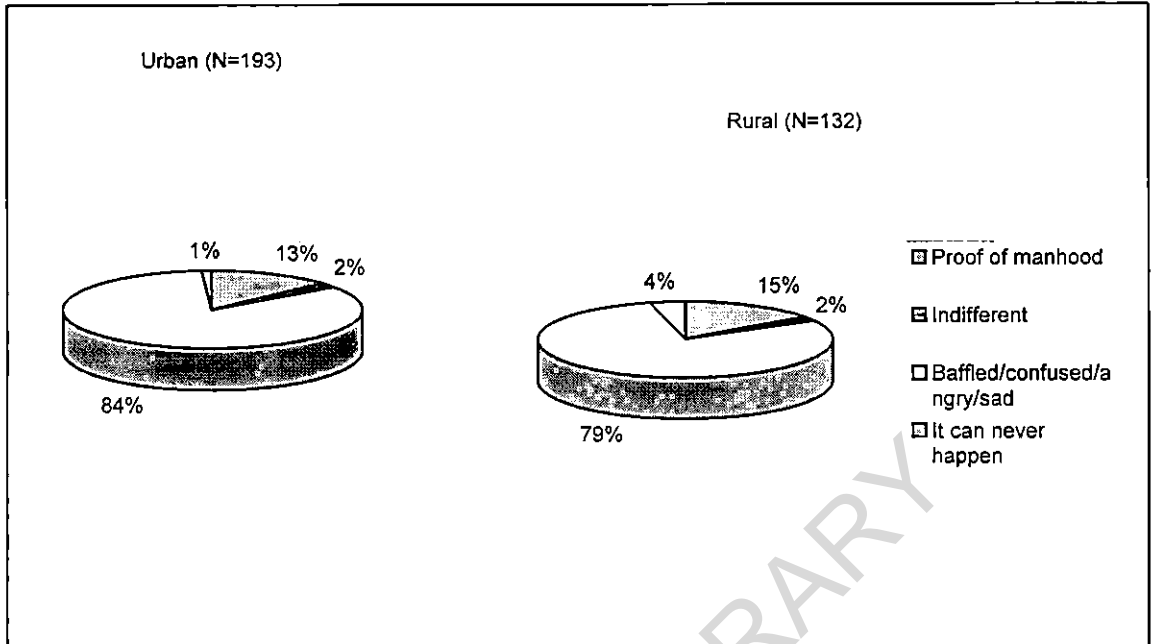
8.2.1 Parents' control of unmarried sons' sexuality

Traditionally, arranged marriages were common in sub-Saharan Africa. Girls marry early while marriage is considerably delayed for boys. It is largely assumed that unmarried males will indulge in sexual activities. Investigations have shown that African adolescent sons and daughters are sexually active and that the proportion rises with age

(Kisekka, 1976; Ankrah and Rwabukwali, 1987; Kaijuka, Kaija, Cross and Loaiza 1989; Ondo State, Nigeria, 1989; Orubuloye, Caldwell and Caldwell, 1991; Konde-lule, Sewankambo and Morris, 1997; Mfula, 1999). This finding is comparable with those revealed from studies conducted in other regions of the world (Zelnick and Kantner, 1980; Strunin and Hingson, 1987; Bowie and Ford, 1989). In confirmation of this fact, 38 per cent of urban mothers and 41 per cent of their rural counterparts believe that their adolescent sons have sex with girls (see Figure 7.3). Although one-half of urban mothers and nearly three-fifths of the rural ones believe their sons do not have sex with girls. The proportion doing so is significant in view of the traditional position on premarital chastity. The fact that a significant proportion of the mothers do not believe or can not ascertain that their sons engage in premarital sex is not unlikely to be connected with the fact that most sons usually keep issues regarding sex to themselves. In the alternative, youth often prefer to discuss reproductive health issues and their sexual activities with their siblings and peers or “best friends” (Awusabo-Asare et. al., 1999; Mfula, 1999). Only on rare instances was sex discussed with parents (Mfula, 1999).

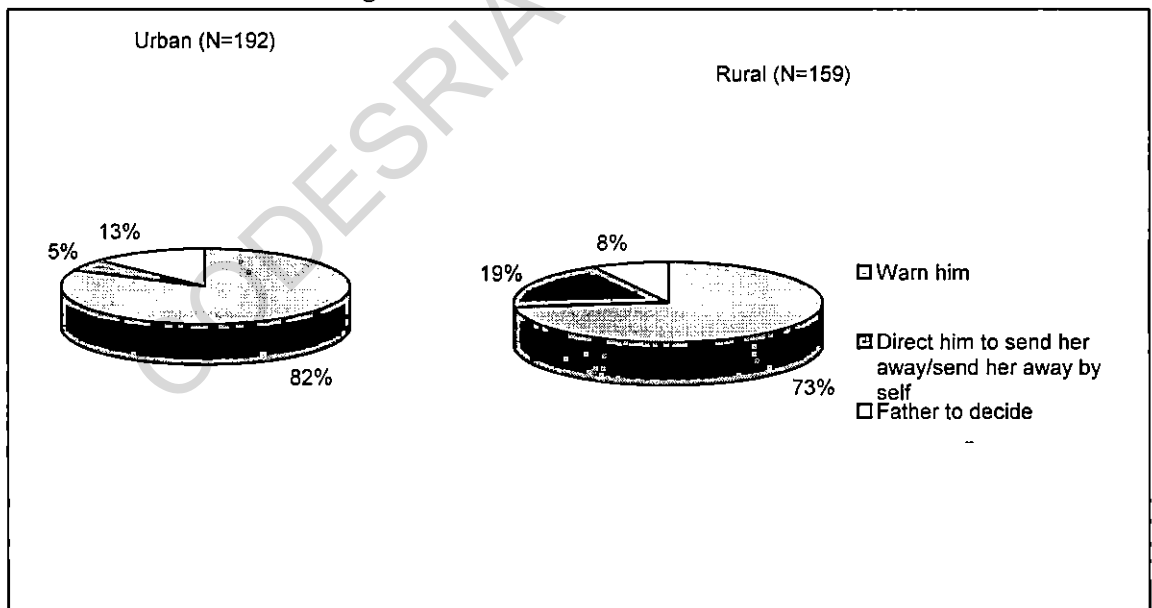
When the question focused on what would be the feelings of the mothers about an unmarried son living with a girl, 84 per cent of the urban mothers and 79 per cent of the rural ones said they will be baffled/confused, angry and sad. The distribution of the mothers’ feelings are presented in Figures 8.16 and 8.17.

Figure 8.16: Percentage distribution of mothers according to their feelings about an unmarried son living with a girl



Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

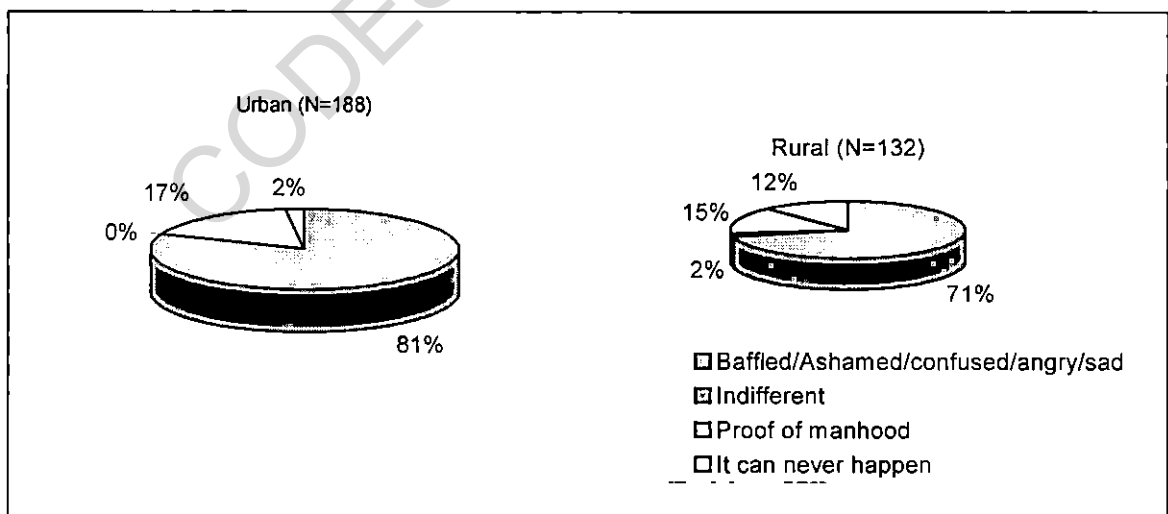
Figure 8.17: Percentage distribution of mothers according to what they will do if their unmarried son lives with a girl



Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

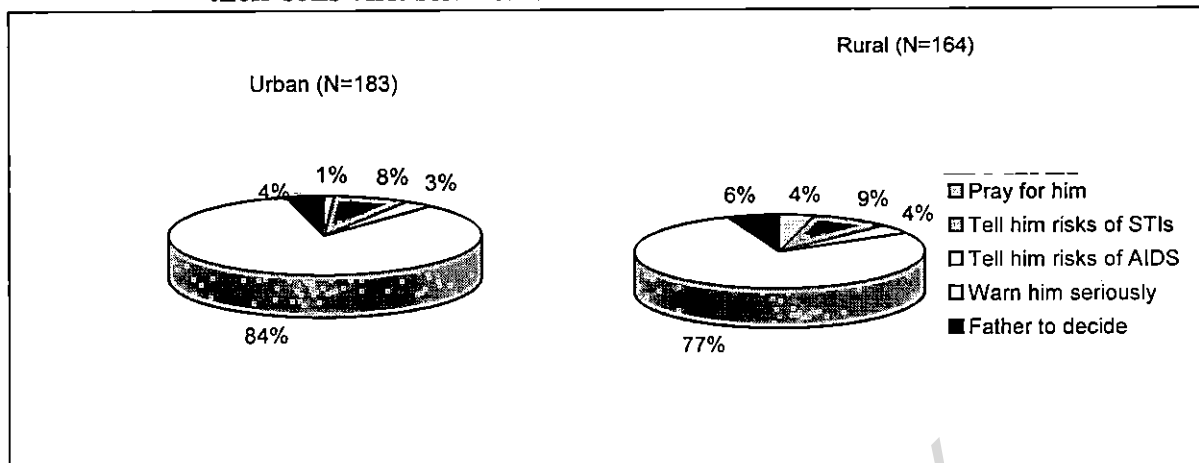
The position of the mothers appears different as to whether their sons visit sex workers or not. The majority of both urban and rural mothers reported that they will be sad, ashamed, confused, baffled and even angry if their sons visit sex workers. Hence, 84 per cent of the urban mothers and 78 per cent of the rural ones will warn their sons seriously. Some of the mothers will tell such sons the risks that are associated with visits to sex workers. Slightly less than one-tenth of the mothers in this category will mention the risk of STIs. A smaller proportion will specify the risk of HIV/AIDS. Only 4 per cent of urban mothers and 6 per cent of the rural ones consider decisions on this issue as exclusively the fathers'. Actually, the majority of the mothers (rural and urban) believe that their sons never visited sex workers. This confirms the findings of earlier studies that most boys have sex with girls in their age cohorts, especially school mates/girl friends, rather than commercial sex workers (Orubuloye *et al.*, 1991; 1993). The distribution of the mothers' feelings about their sons visiting sex workers is presented in Figures 8.18 and 8.19.

Figure 8.18: Percentage distribution of mothers according to their feelings if their sons visit sex workers.



Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

Figure 8.19: Percentage distribution of mothers according to what they will do if their sons visit sex workers.

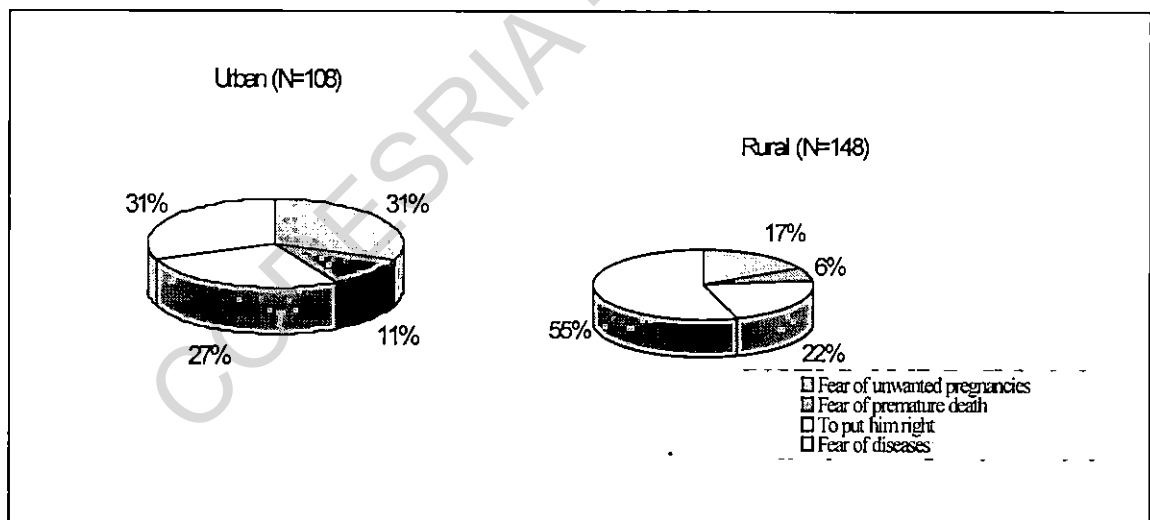


Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

The majority (75 per cent) of urban wives/mothers and the rural ones (85 per cent) believe that mothers should be able to control their sons' sexual activities. They consider this necessary in order to prevent unwanted pregnancies; to avoid diseases; to avoid premature death and to put them right. There are, however, some urban-rural differences in the distribution of the mothers as to why they need to control their sons' sexuality. While the rural mothers put more emphasis on the fear of diseases, the fear of unwanted pregnancy and of diseases is important to the urban ones. The distribution of the mothers according to the reasons why they should control their sons' sexual activities is presented in Figure 8.20. Three-quarters of the urban wives/mothers and nearly nine-tenths of the rural ones reported that they can control their sons' sexual activities. A major way through which the mothers exercised this control is by asking an adolescent son what he does when he goes out. Besides, nearly nine-tenths of both urban and rural mothers confirmed that they have ever said a thing to their adolescent sons about premarital sex. Most mothers, and nearly all fathers, (93 per cent in the town and 94 per cent in the villages) had attempted some control on their sons' sexuality. However, most rural

parents (58 per cent of mothers and 67 per cent of fathers) compared to their urban counterparts (24 per cent of mothers and 41 per cent of fathers) will rebuke and scold their sons who have premarital sex. More than one-third of the urban parents (38 per cent of mothers and 33 per cent of fathers) compared to a lesser percentage (29 per cent of mothers and 20 per cent of fathers) of the rural ones will discuss with the sons the risks involved in having sex with girls. The most significant of the risks, according to the parents, is that contracting diseases (i.e. STIs and AIDS). Nearly one-fifth (17 per cent) of urban mothers and one-tenth of the rural ones had told their sons to be selective and more importantly to protect themselves while they engage in sex with girls whereas only 4 per cent of the urban fathers and 7 per cent of the rural ones gave such warnings.

Figure 8.20: Percentage distribution of mothers according to why they think mothers should control their sons' sexual activities

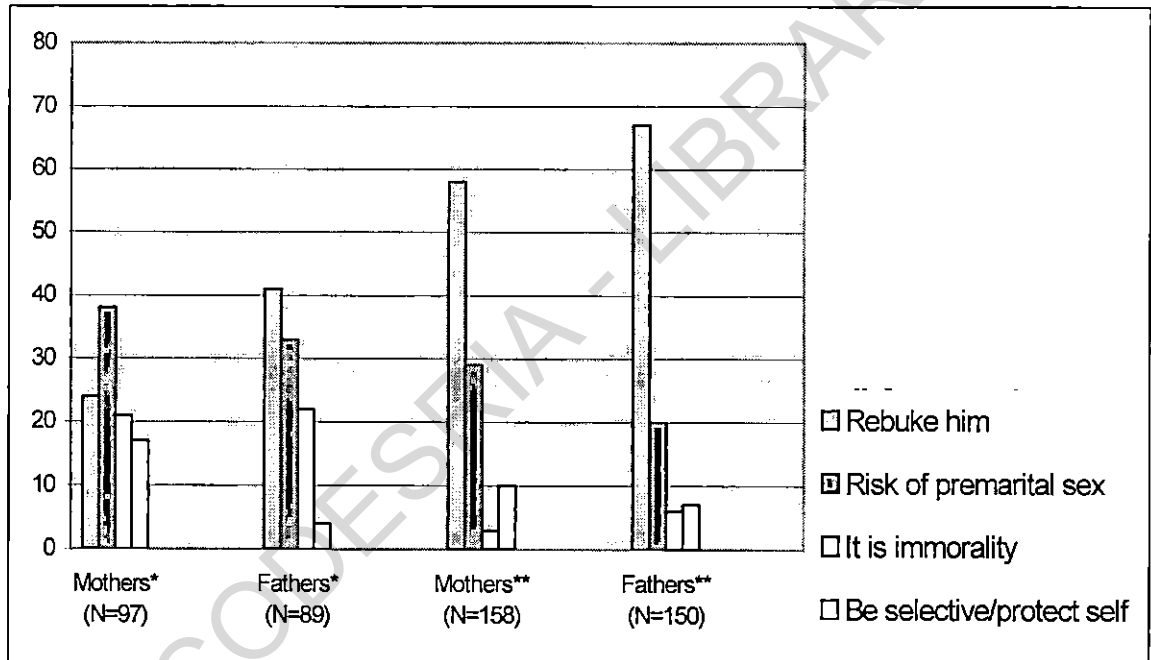


Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

The ways through which parents control their sons' sexuality are presented in Figure 8.21. An interesting aspect of the Figure is that more of the urban mothers and fathers compared to their rural counterpart control their sons' sexuality by preaching

Christian morality and behaviour to them. Consequent upon this, they largely focus sex with girls as being immoral and “unChristianly”. A probable explanation for this may not be unconnected with the fact that urban areas are usually the seat of the new generation (Pentecostal) churches, which put more emphasis on fornication as a grievous sin in the sight of God. Perhaps, most of the urban parents are members of the new generation (Pentecostal) churches. This may have influenced their perception of sex with girls as reflected in the counsel given to sons who engage in such acts.

Figure 8.21: Percentage distribution of parents according to the ways through which they attempt to control their sons’ sexuality



Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

To this end, it is obvious that most parents often attempt some control on their sons’ sexual activities. However, it appears that mothers’ control is slightly more effective than their fathers. This is evident from the responses of the parents to the question on whether their sons ever take notice or are influenced by whatever they say to him. Nearly

all the mothers whose adolescent sons are sexually active (94 per cent) compared to less than seven-tenths (68 per cent) of urban fathers and about nine-tenths (86 per cent) of the rural ones have been able to influence their adolescent sons' sexual behaviour in a way. It is important to stress here that most fathers engage in some extramarital sex (see Figures 7.1 and 7.2). Perhaps this explains why some of the sons do not take notice of whatever their fathers say about extramarital sex.

8.2.2 Mother's status and control of unmarried son's sexuality

The bivariate and multivariate analyses were carried out to determine the extent of mothers' control on sons' sexuality. The results of these analyses are presented in Tables 8.9, 8.10 and 8.11 respectively.

Table 8.9 Pearson correlation coefficients according to the socio-economic characteristics of mothers and the control of their sons' sexuality

	Think mothers should Control sons' sexuality	Can you control sons' sexuality	Ask son what he does when out
Religion	.262** (.058)	.219** (-.068)	.032 (.216**)
Marriage type	-.006 (-.081)	-.001 (-.238**)	.236* (.069)
Position among co-wives	-.172 (-.074)	-.096 (-.122)	.164 (.012)
Number of marriages	-.047 (.027)	-.061 (-.061)	.082 (-.036)
Education	.011 (-.005)	-.004 (.133)	.084 (-.083)

Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

Table 8.9 shows that religion has a positive impact on the control of mothers over their son's sexuality. This result is expected, since premarital sex (fornication) is

considered a grievous sin in the sight of God. It is important to note, however, that the effect of marriage type on the control of son's sexuality differs for both urban and rural areas. In the rural area, it appears that the more the number of women married to a man, the lesser the probability that a mother will be able to control her son's sexuality. In contrast, the data show that, in the urban area, the control of sons' sexuality is positively related to the mother's type of marriage.

8.2.3 Multivariate tests on mothers' control of sons' sexuality

The General Linear Model Multivariate analysis was carried out to clarify the results of the bivariate analysis. The result of the multivariate analysis is presented in Tables 8.10 and 8.11

Table 8.10: Multivariate Tests of mothers' control on sons' sexuality

Effect	Urban				Rural			
	Value	F	Hypothesis df	Sig.	Value	F	Hypothesis df	Sig.
Intercept	.305	9.208 ^a	3	.000	.562	50.450 ^a	3	.000
Marriage type	.075	1.708 ^a	3	.174	.031	1.265 ^a	3	.290
Spousal age difference	.068	1.539 ^a	3	.213	.025	1.007 ^a	3	.392
Education	.060	1.331 ^a	3	.272	.020	.808 ^a	3	.492
No of marriages	.019	.400 ^a	3	.753	.006	.220 ^a	3	.883
Religion	.072	1.629 ^a	3	.192	.067	2.826 ^a	3	.042
Position among co-wives	.022	.468 ^a	3	.706	.012	.480 ^a	3	.697

Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

Table 8.11: Multivariate tests of Between-Subjects effects^a

	Urban					Rural				
	R ²	Adjusted	df	F	Sig.	R ²	Adjusted	df	F	Sig
Should mothers control sons	.081	-.004	6	.957	.462	.027	-.021	6	.560	.761
Can you control sons	.045	-.044	6	.505	.803	.038	-.010	6	.785	.584
Do you ask son	.165	.088	6	2.147	.060	.111	.067	6	2.506	.025

Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

The results on Tables 8.11 and 8.12 indicate some confirmation of the bivariate analysis (they are, however, not as highly statistically significant). For instance, the R-squared values on Table 8.12 indicate that some relatively insignificant proportion of the control of sons' sexuality can be explained in terms of mothers' social characteristics. Nevertheless, the findings of the study shows that mothers are more likely to control their sons' sexuality than that of their husbands. By inference, therefore, the assumption that mothers can control their unmarried sons' sexual activities hold for most times.

8.2.4 Parents' control of unmarried daughters' sexuality

In much of traditional African society, significant importance was attached to female premarital chastity. Indeed, a high degree of attention was put on female virginity at marriage (Evans-Pritchard, 1951; Uchendu, 1965; Fadipe, 1970; Ellis 1970; de st. Croix, 1972; Ndeti, 1973; Reining, 1973; Gulliver, 1973; Bolaji, 1984; Orubuloye, *et al.* 1990b). Although, people's attitude towards sex have now become increasingly liberal such that sexual behaviour has taken different dimensions from what it used to be in the past, the society and most parents alike are prone to condemn female premarital and

extramarital sexual activities while little attention is paid to those of male. Hence, daughters are often relatively cautious than sons about their involvement in non-marital sexual relations. Parents, in most cases, can not tell whether or not their unmarried daughters engage in some non-marital sexual relations.

However, it has been shown that the majority of the commercial sex workers in most Nigerian cities are single (Orubuloye *et al.*, 1994). Besides, they are daughters to some parents. Nevertheless, most commercial sex workers often remain anonymous and rarely disclose their home towns, parents and relatives.

Many parents do not know the source of their daughters' income while in the cities. More often than not, many parents do not bother to inquire about this. Even those who care to, hardly receive genuine answers. Bearing this in mind, it may not be easy for parents to exert some control on daughters who ventured into the commercial sex industry. Nevertheless, attempt was made in this study to probe parental control on daughters' sexuality through some attitudinal questions.

Parents who had daughters were asked how they will feel if they discover that their daughters are into commercial sex. An overwhelming majority, both in the town and the villages, said they will feel sad, ashamed and astonished. An insignificant number of them will be indifferent or delighted. As such the majority of the parents will consider such daughters as not in viable employment. Thus, no matter how much wealth she might have amassed for herself, the parents will never hope that she will send them some money. The views of the parents became, however, divided when questions were put to them on what will be their feelings if the daughters, who venture into commercial sex come back (well dressed) into the village particularly to start a business. About

seven-tenths (67 per cent) of the urban husbands; three-quarters of their wives; and about three-fifths (59 per cent) of rural husbands and more than one-half (55 per cent) of their wives will be sad and ashamed. Slightly above one-quarter (27 per cent) of urban wives; more than one-third (34 per cent) of their husbands; and about one-third (33 per cent) of rural wives and two-fifths of their spouses will be delighted. It is important to note, however, that the introduction of the Structural Adjustment Programme of the 1980s really transformed Nigeria into a poverty-stricken nation, such that her citizenry often try any means to get money. Besides, in the present-day Nigerian society, the desire to make money is a major pre-occupation of the vast majority of the population, particularly the young ones. Indeed, the amount of money one can afford to flaunt determines his or her symbol in the society. Perhaps, these explain why about one-quarter of the parents reported that they will be delighted if their daughters go into commercial sex. A significant proportion of the parents (33 per cent of urban fathers, 27 per cent of their wives; 44 per cent of rural fathers and 35 per cent of their wives) are of the opinion that a "returnee" from the commercial sex business will still make a good marriage. Nevertheless, 67 per cent of urban fathers; 54 per cent of the mothers; 56 per cent and 44 per cent of the rural ones believe any girl who has been into commercial sex will never make a good marriage. The more liberal attitude of some of the parents regarding their daughters, who had gone into commercial sex, but have returned to start a business or to get married in the village is consistent with the findings of some other studies across the West African Coast. For instance, Caldwell (1969) reported that although rural families in Ghana were apprehensive of what their single daughters would do if they went to

Accra, none of these rejected remittances these girls sent them or even refused to have the girls back.

Summary

The chapter has shown that men's sexual activity is still largely significant in the society. Nevertheless, the society is gradually moving away from one where wives have no say in such matters. Unlike in the past, when there was a universal assumption that wives had no right to comment upon, or even take note of husbands' involvement in sexual activities (Caldwell and Caldwell, 1981; Orubuloye *et al.*, 1992), an increasing proportion of the spouses believe that wives have a right to know and to interfere in husbands extramarital sexual activities. Indeed, many of the wives are actually aware of their husbands' extramarital sexual relationships. Besides, wives are increasingly exercising some control on their husbands' sexual behaviour. Although, much of the control is in the form of advice and admonition, they are likely to yield some good result. Indeed, some of the husbands have been influenced by their wives' comments.

Furthermore, the findings of this chapter confirm that most adolescent sons are sexually active. Nevertheless, a smaller proportion of the mothers than was reported in the 1994/95 study (Orubuloye *et al.*, 1997a; 1997b) knew that their sons are sexually active. This is probably because most sons now keep issues regarding sex to themselves or in the alternative, will prefer to discuss reproductive health issues including their sexual activities with their siblings and their peers or "best friends". Nonetheless, the majority of parents attempt some control on their sons' sexual behaviour. It appears, however, that mothers' control is slightly more effective than that of the fathers. It is worthwhile to note that most of the women will control their sons' sexual activities and to

see that it is conducted in safety more than they could interfere with their husbands'. This is not unexpected as there are traditional sanctions on wives monitoring their husbands' sexual behaviour. There are no similar sanctions on mothers' control on their sons.

Despite the inconsistencies of the parents' stand on their daughters engaging in commercial sex, parental attitude to this is universally negative. Indeed, parents will largely condemn this because of its immorality. However, parents may have no control over their daughters who may choose to become commercial sex workers, since the decision to be or not to be is largely an individual one.

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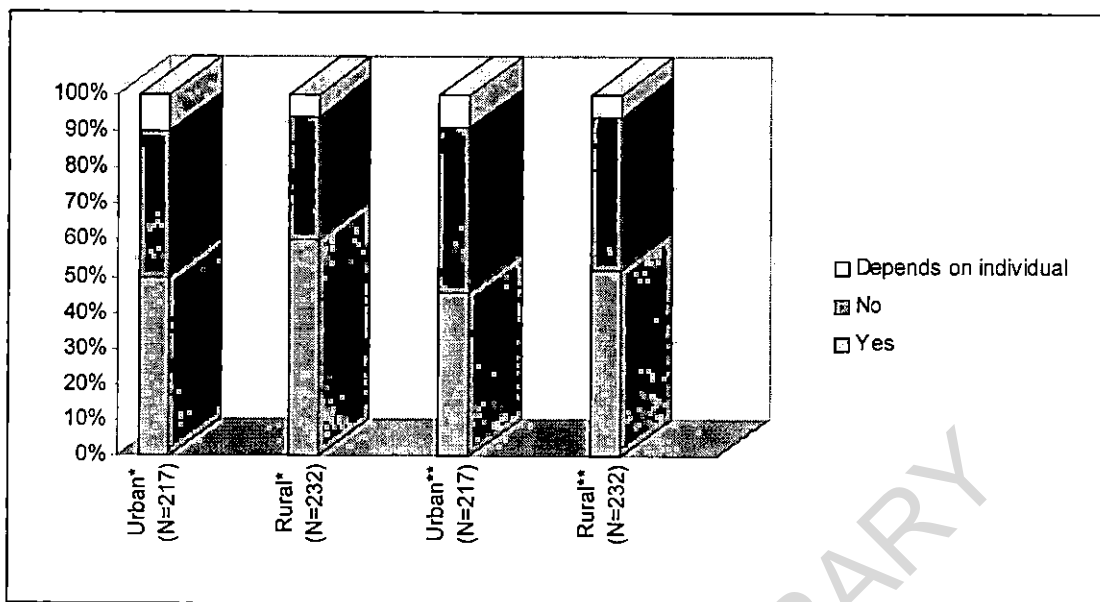
SEXUAL ATTITUDE AND DESIRE

This chapter focuses on the gender perception of male sexuality, which constitutes the main thrust of the study. The responses to a number of questions asked of the respondents on gender perception of male sexuality are presented in this chapter. A comparative analysis of the responses and those reported in the 1994/95 study are presented.

9.1 Husbands' Attitude to male sexuality

The findings of this study reveal that most husbands believe that a man could be satisfied with a woman over a year rather than in his lifetime. This is obvious from the distribution of both urban and rural husbands in respect of their responses to the questions on the sufficiency of a woman over a year and a lifetime (see Figure 9.1). More of the rural husbands (60 per cent) compared to their urban counterparts (50 per cent) believe that a man can be satisfied with a woman over a year. When the question focused on the sufficiency of a woman over a lifetime, 46 per cent of urban husbands and 52 per cent of their rural counterparts gave positive responses while 45 per cent of the husbands in the town compared to 42 per cent of those in the villages held a contrary opinion. Only 9 per cent of urban husbands and 6 per cent of the rural ones did not give specific answers. To husbands in this category, the sufficiency of a woman over a lifetime depends largely on a man's individual differences and their need for sexual satisfaction.

Figure 9.1: Percentage distribution of husbands according to whether a woman is sufficient for a man over a year and in his lifetime.

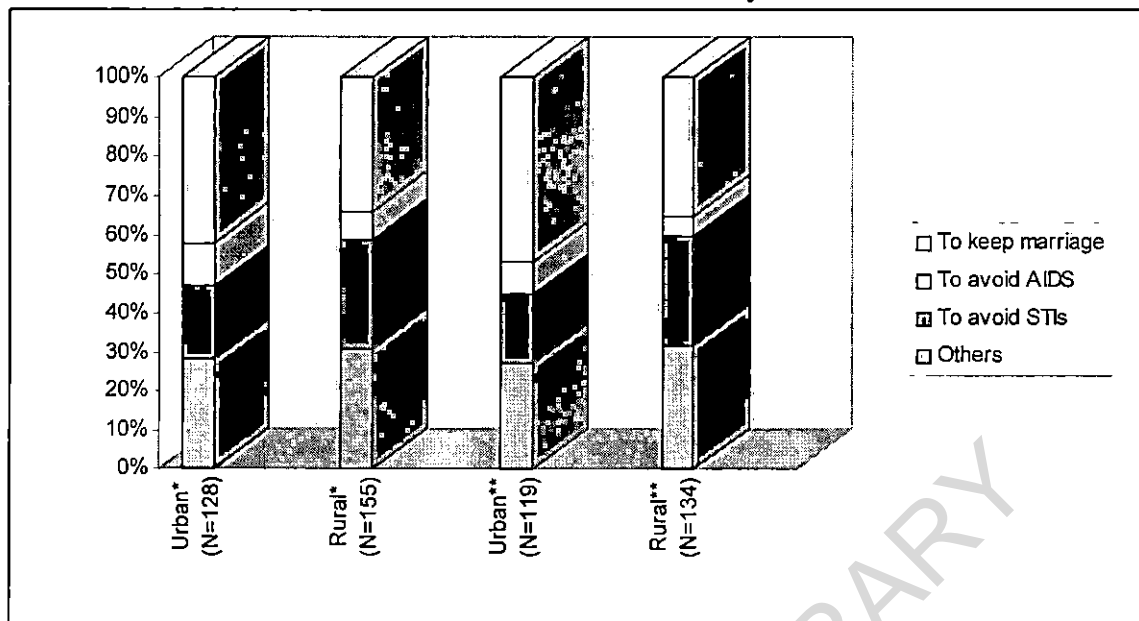


Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

Note: *Sufficiency over a year; ** Sufficiency in a lifetime.

The reasons why a man can or cannot be satisfied with a woman over a year or in his lifetime are presented in Figures 9.2 and 9.3. The desire to keep their marriages and the fear of STIs and AIDS are the main reasons why husbands believe that a woman should be sufficient for a man over a year or in his lifetime. The other reasons that are reported include the need to conserve expenses, to maintain self-dignity, to avoid illegitimate births among others. There appears to be some differences in the category designated as others by location of the husbands as well as in the reference period (i.e. whether a year or lifetime). Nearly one-third of urban husbands compared to less than one-fifth of their rural counterparts; slightly above one-quarter of the urban husbands and a little above one-third of the rural ones reported the other reasons for the sufficiency of a woman for a man over a year and in his lifetime respectively.

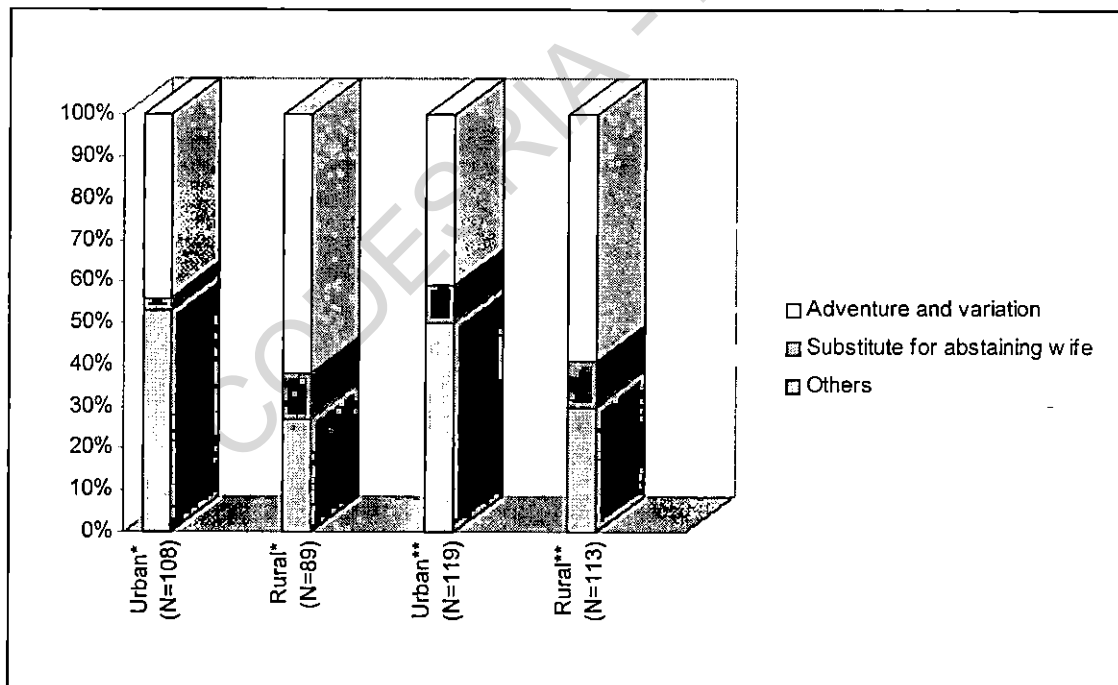
Figure 9.2: Percentage distribution of husbands according to reasons why men should be satisfied with a woman over a year and in their lifetime



Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

Note: *over a year; **in a lifetime.

Figure 9.3: Percentage distribution of husbands according to reasons why men cannot be satisfied with a woman over a year and in their lifetime



Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

Note: *over a year ; ** in a lifetime.

On why men cannot be satisfied with a woman, the need for variation was largely reported. There are urban-rural variations on the category of responses classified as others that are considered significant in this respect. While 36 per cent of the urban husbands emphasised the polygynous nature of men as a reason why a woman can not satisfy a man over a year compared to 23 per cent of the rural ones. On the question of the sufficiency of a woman for a man in his lifetime, 20 per cent and 29 per cent of urban husbands compared to 19 per cent and 11 per cent of the rural husbands stress the polygynous nature of men and the sexual virility of men respectively.

The findings of the qualitative data largely corroborate that of the quantitative data regarding the sufficiency of woman over a year or in a man's lifetime. For instance, a 50-year old polygynist and rural key informant said:

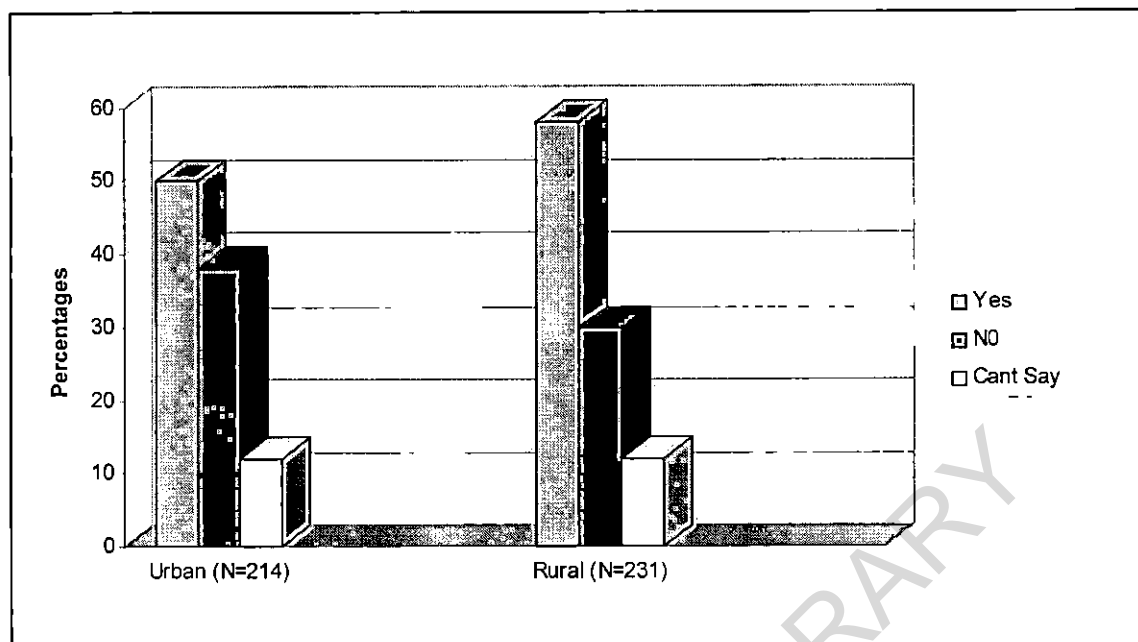
“a man can only be satisfied with a woman for just over a year and never in his lifetime. Hey, I can not just imagine myself sticking to just a woman in my lifetime when I am not sick”.

However, an urban, educated monogamously married male and a Christian of 45 years of age believe that:

“a man could be satisfied with a woman both over a year and in his lifetime. What happens if one contacts a sexually transmitted disease? Besides, when God gives you peace, (through a responsible and an understanding wife) you must keep the marriage. Why must you pull down your house by yourself?”

The distribution of the husbands as to whether men are biologically different from women in their need for sexual partners are presented in Figure 9.4. Although many of the husbands, both urban and rural, believe that men differ from women in their need

Figure 9.4: Percentage distribution of husbands according to whether men are biologically different in their need for sexual partners.

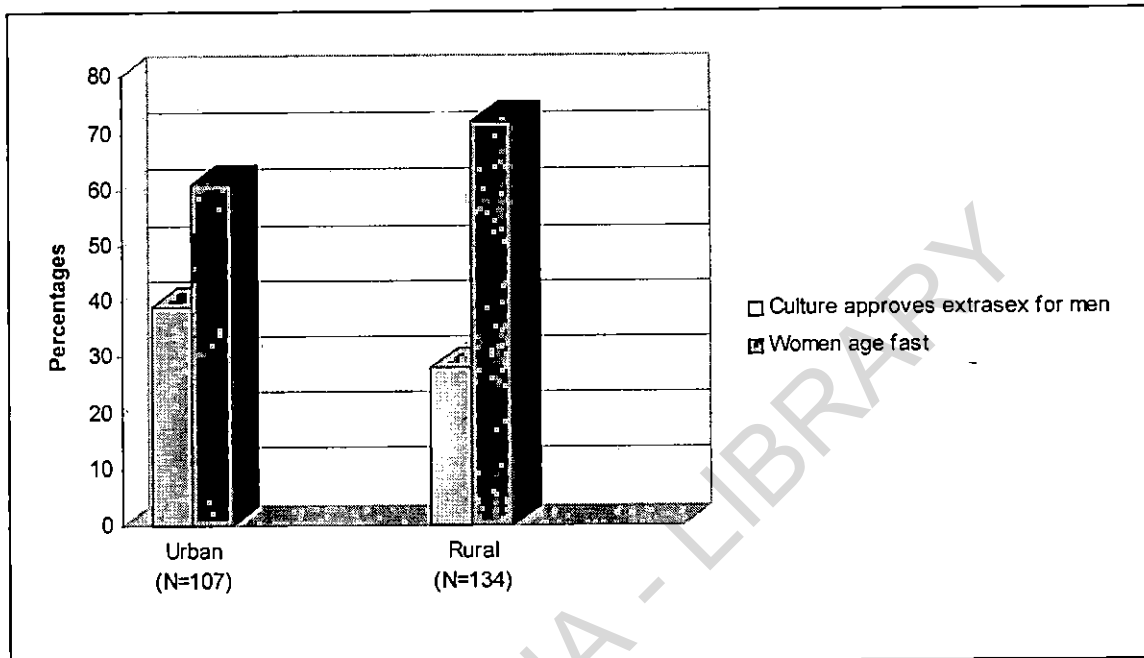


Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

for sexual partners, a significant proportion of them still held a contrary opinion. One-half of the urban husbands and 58 per cent of their rural counterparts gave positive responses compared to 38 per cent and 30 per cent of the urban and rural husbands respectively thought men and women are the same in their need for sexual partners. For the husbands who believe that men are different from women in their need for sexual partners, their main bone of contention is that too much sex makes women to age fast. This is the view of 61 per cent of urban husbands and 72 per cent of their rural counterparts. Another important reason reported by 39 per cent of urban husbands and 28 per cent of the rural ones bothers on the unlimited sexual freedom that is culturally approved for a typical African man. The majority of the husbands who thought men and women are alike in their need for sexual partners, believe that “what a man can do, a woman can do better”. A little below two-fifths of them indicate that both men and

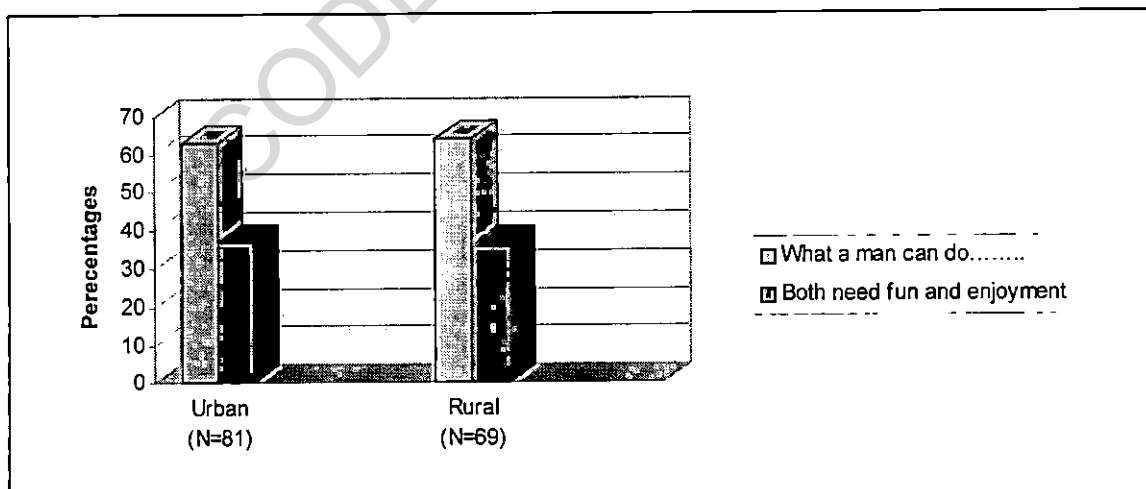
women require some sexual fun and enjoyment. The distribution of the husbands as to why men are different and are not different from women in their need for sexual partners are presented in Figures 9.5 and 9.6.

Figure 9.5: Percentage distribution of husbands according to why men and women differ in their need for sexual partners



Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

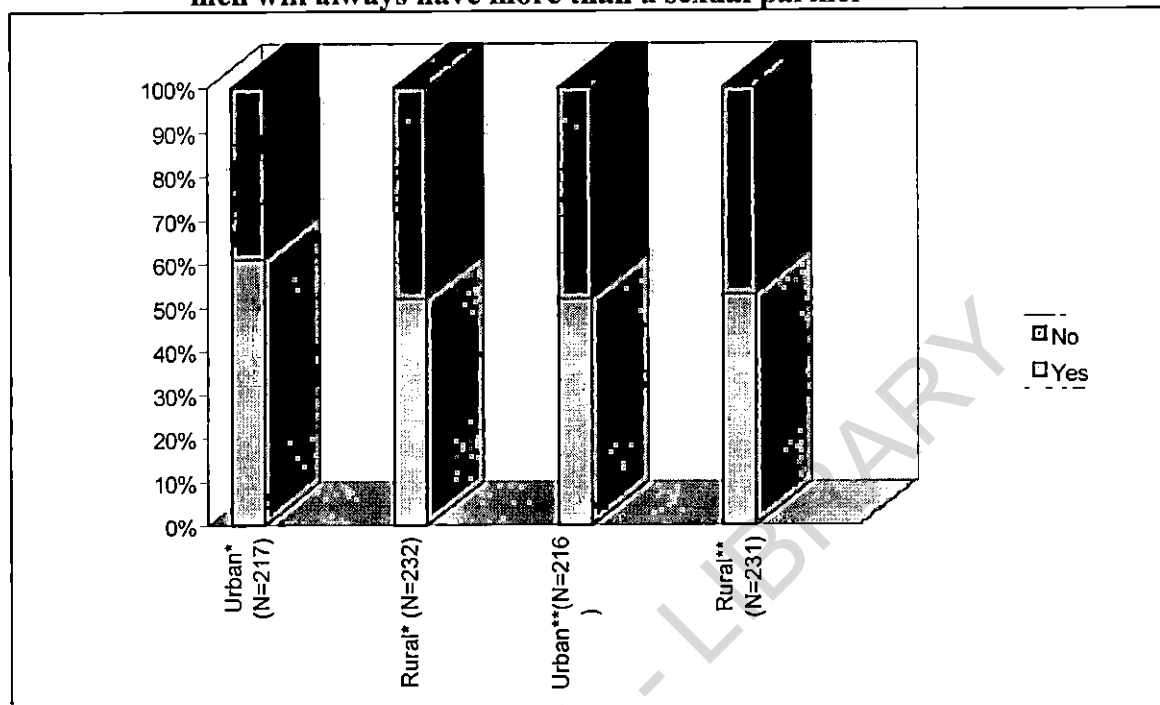
Figure 9.6: Percentage distribution of husbands according to why men and women do not differ in their need for sexual partners



Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

The responses of the husbands regarding whether men will always have more than a sexual partner and whether this is true of them is presented in Figure 9.7.

Figure 9.7: Percentage distribution of husbands according to whether they and men will always have more than a sexual partner



Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

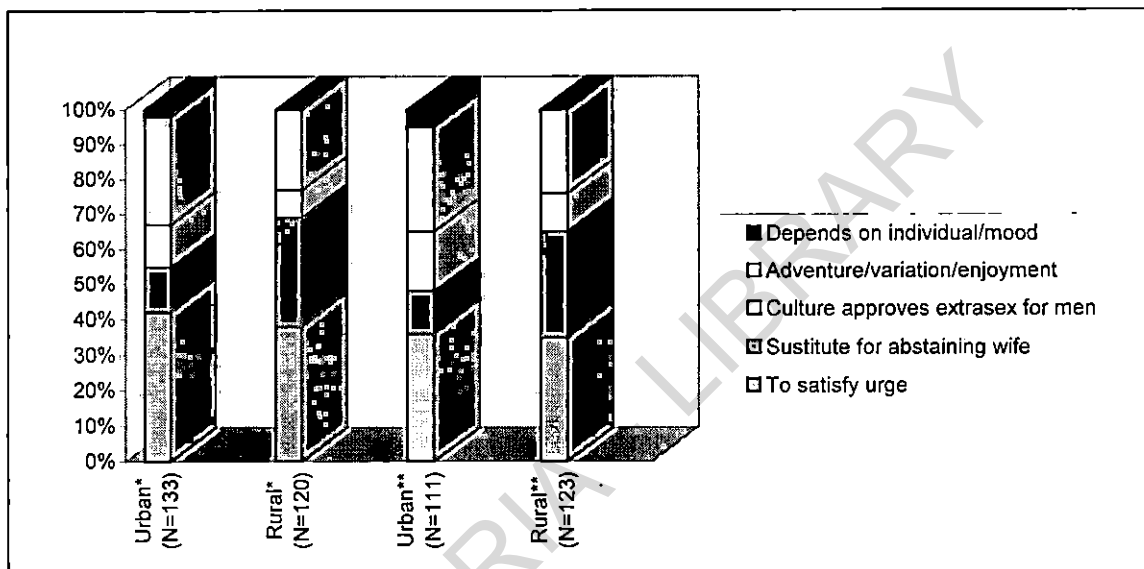
Note: *Men generally: **The husbands.

The responses of the husbands as presented in Figure 9.7 tend to justify the belief that men are biologically different from women. Slightly above three-fifths of urban husbands compared to a little above one-half of their rural counterparts thought men would always have more than a sexual partner. Interestingly, the sexual behaviour of only a little above one-half of the husbands confirms the general belief being discussed here. Nearly one-half of both urban and rural husbands do not always have more than a woman. The need to satisfy men's regular and overpowering sexual urge and the need for sexual variation are the major reasons why men in general and some of the husbands/respondents in this study will always have more than a woman. However, the

need for a substitute during the traditional long period of post-partum abstinence appears more important for the rural husbands.

The distribution of the husbands regarding the reasons why men and some of the husbands themselves will always have more than a sexual partner are presented in Figure 9.8.

Figure 9.8: Percentage distribution of husbands according to the reasons why men will always have more than a sexual partner.



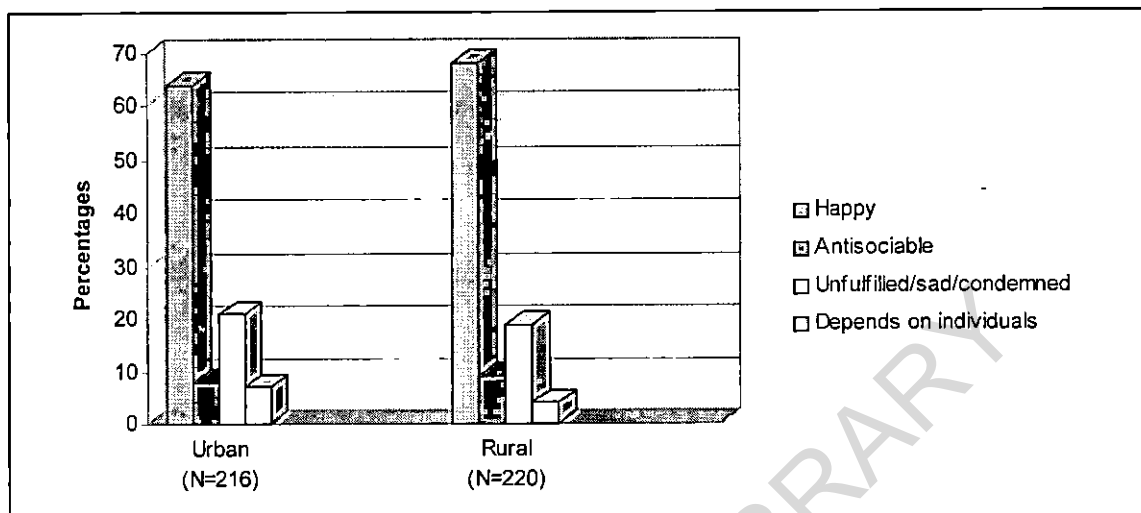
Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

Note: *Men generally: **The husbands.

A striking finding of this study is that a significant proportion of the husbands demonstrates that the traditional assumption that men need some non-marital sex is becoming less important. For instance, about seven-tenths of the husbands both in town and the villages believe that a man that continues to have sex with just a woman in his lifetime will be happy. The belief that such a man will be sad/condemned, anti-social and unfulfilled is becoming less important. About two-fifths of both urban and rural husbands felt sad, guilty and afraid about their last extramarital sexual relation. The

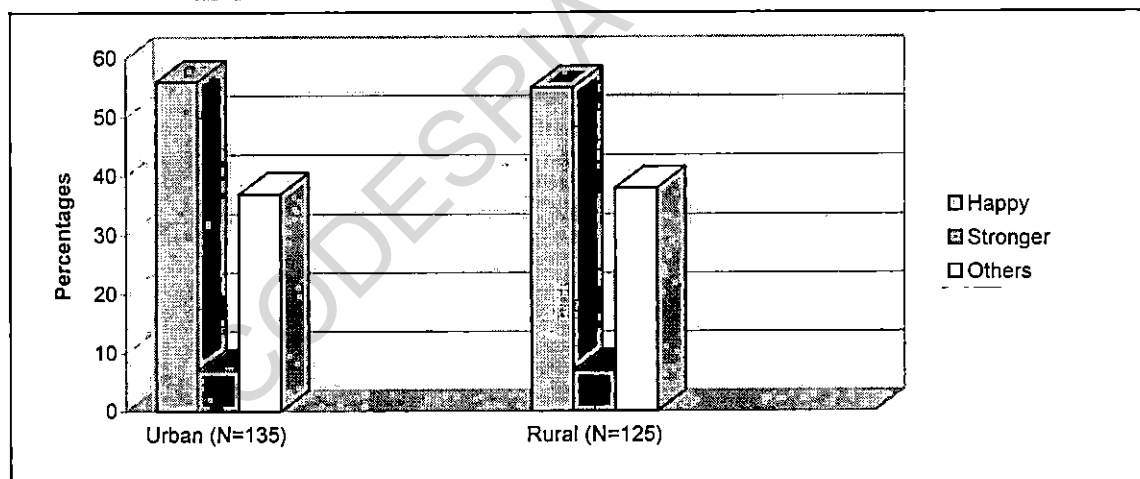
responses of the husbands as discussed in this paragraph are presented in Figures 9.9 and 9.10.

Figure 9.9: Percentage distribution of husbands according to the possible feelings of a man who has just a sexual partner in his lifetime.



Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

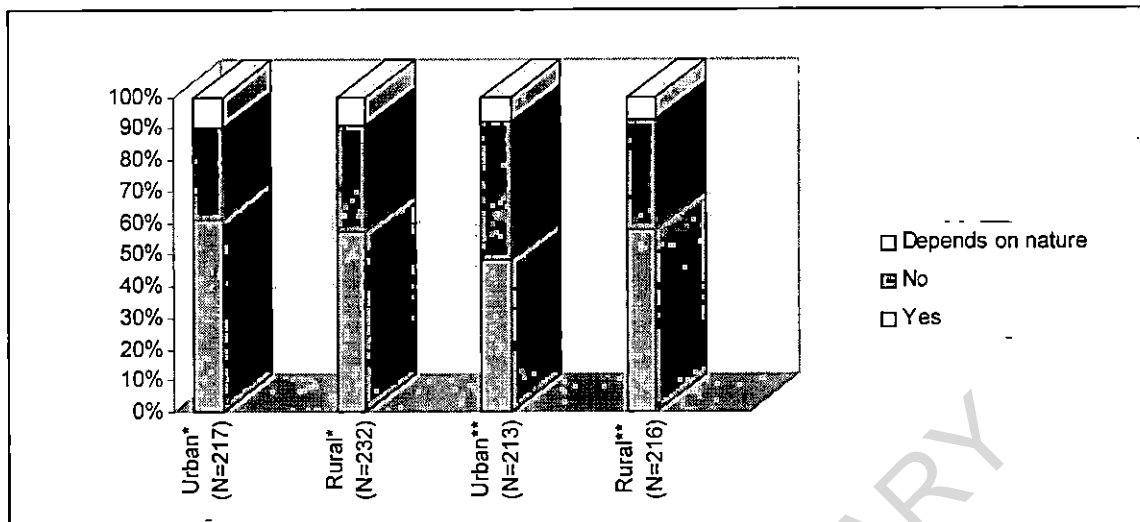
Figure 9.10: Percentage distribution of husbands according to their feelings after their last extramarital sexual act



Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

The distribution of the husbands regarding whether it is possible for men or the husbands themselves to stick to one woman in their lifetime is presented in Figure 9.11.

Figure 9.11: Percentage distribution of husbands according to whether it is possible for them and men generally, to stick to one sexual partner in their lifetime



Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

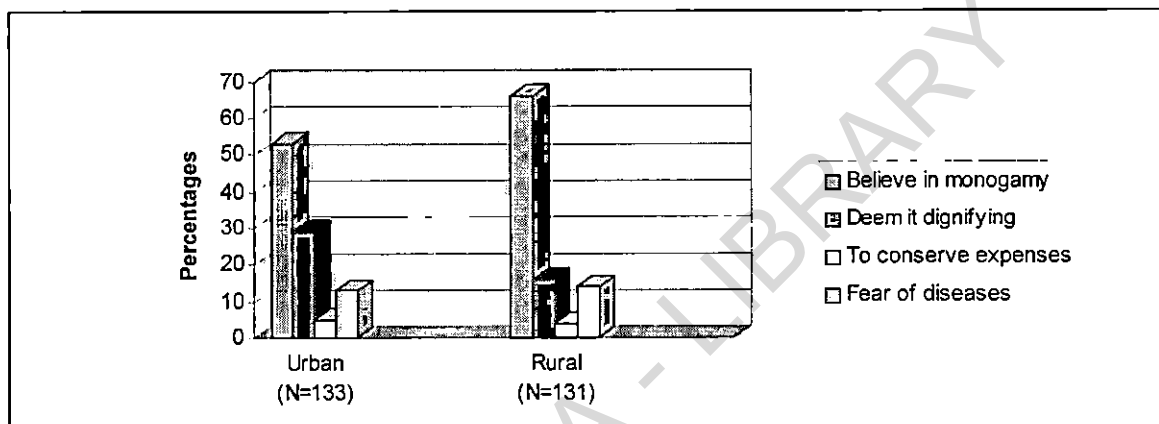
Note: *Men generally: **The husbands.

About three-fifths of both urban and rural husbands believe that it is possible for a man to stick to one woman/sexual partner in his lifetime. Quite often, expressed attitudes may tend to differ from actual behaviour. Perhaps this is one of the reasons why 61 per cent of urban husbands thought it is imaginable for a man to keep to a woman/sexual partner in his lifetime. Nearly one-half (48 per cent) are of the opinion that this may be possible for them. In the rural areas, about the same proportion of the husbands believe that a man should be able to stay with just a woman/sexual partner and that their sexual lifestyle could exemplify what they imagine.

The belief in monogamy is the main reason why the husbands are of the view that a man can have sex with just a woman in his lifetime. Slightly less than one-third of urban husbands compared to less than one-fifth of the rural ones believe that staying with a woman in one's lifetime is dignifying. Less than one-fifth of both urban and rural husbands expressed the need to avoid diseases. For those who are of the opinion that a

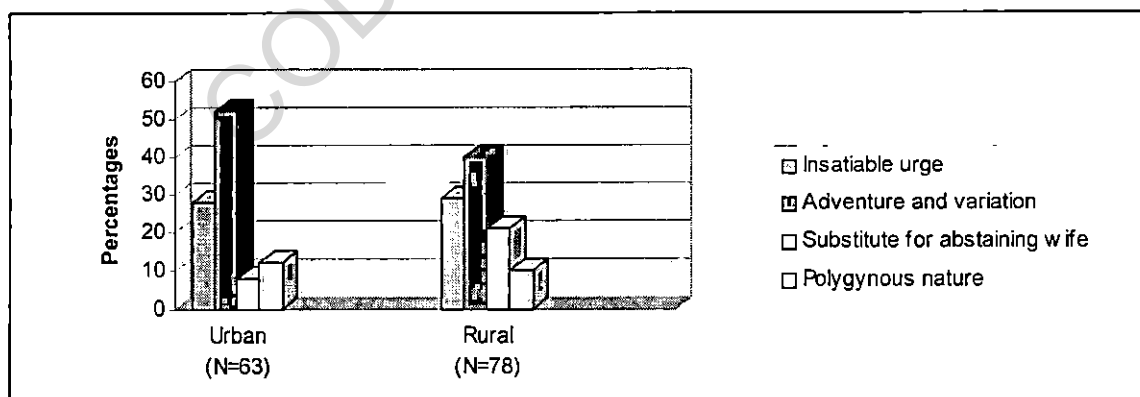
man may not be comfortable staying with a woman in his lifetime, the men's desire for variation and the satisfaction of insatiable sexual urge are the reasons given. The need for a substitute for a pregnant or nursing wife is important to the rural husbands. The responses of the husbands in respect of the reasons why it can be possible or not possible for a man to spend his lifetime with just a sexual partner are presented in Figures 9.12 and 9.13.

Figure 9.12: Percentage distribution of husbands according to reasons why it can be possible for a man to spend his lifetime with just a sexual partner



Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

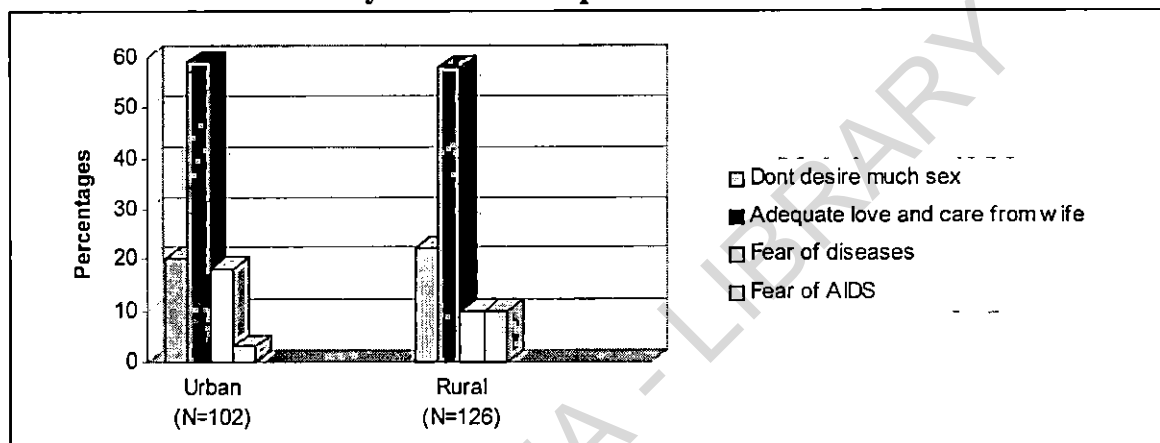
Figure 9.13: Percentage distribution of husbands according to reasons why it can not be possible for a man to spend his lifetime with just a sexual partner



Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

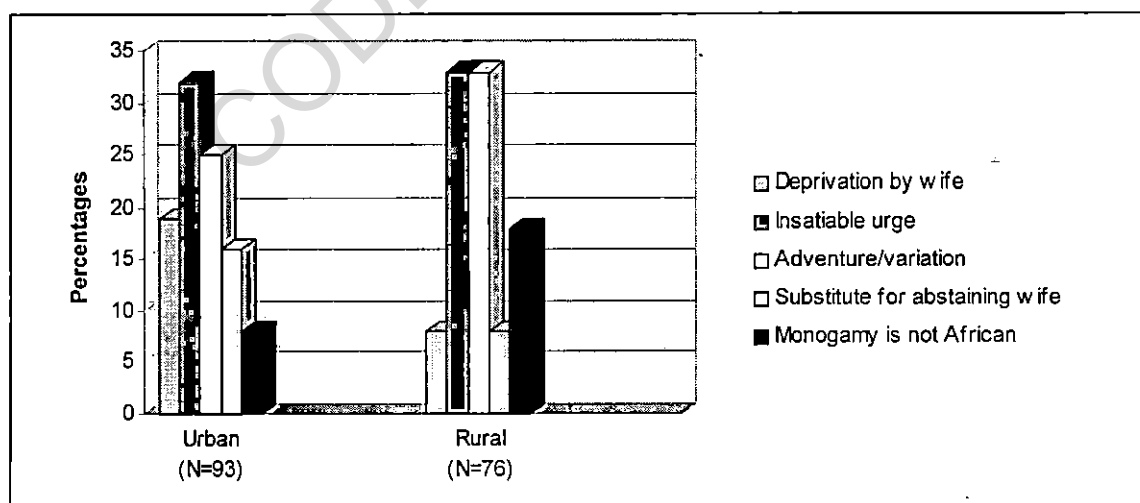
However, a significant proportion of both the urban and rural husbands are of the opinion that staying with a woman/sexual partner would only be feasible if they receive adequate love from their wives. A little less than one-quarter of them claim that they do not desire much sex. For the husbands who can not keep to a woman/sexual partner, their main reasons include the need for variation and to satisfy urge. The responses of the husbands are presented in Figures 9.14 and 9.15.

Figure 9.14: Percentage distribution of husbands according to what can make them to stay with a sexual partner



Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

Figure 9.15: Percentage distribution of husbands according to what cannot make them to stay with a sexual partner



Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

The findings of the qualitative data further confirm the reasons in favour of the possibility of a man to spend his lifetime with just a woman/sexual partner. In the opinion of a 55-year old, urban, educated and monogamously married husband,

“It is very possible for a man to be satisfied with a woman in his lifetime. This, however, largely depends on the disposition of the wife or the sexual partner. It is not only the need for sexual satisfaction that pushes a man outside of the matrimonial home. If a woman/wife neglects her responsibilities towards the husband or if she is the nagging type, the husband would always be out. And why out, if he “stumbles” on a woman, who can always provide what he is missing at home, he may be tempted to enter into a sexual relationship with such a woman”.

Another 40 year old man, monogamously married and with the post secondary education reported thus:

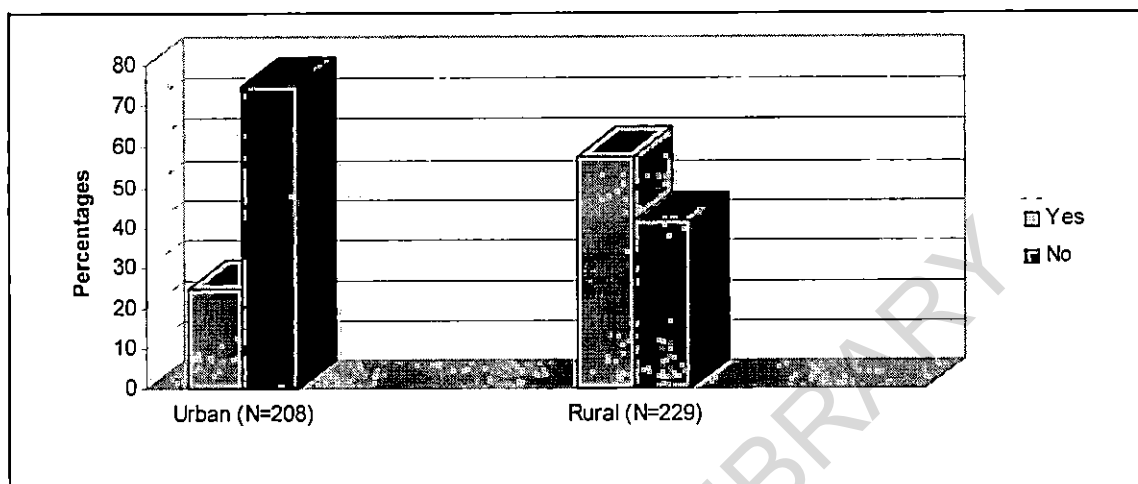
“But it is not specifically for sex that men and even women often venture into non-marital relationships. As the economic crisis bites hard, people of both sexes may want one assistance or the other from outside the marital relationship. For example, men may be out for relationships with influential women, who can assist with one contract or the other. However, as the relationship continues, sex often comes into it”.

9.2 Wives' attitude and desire

Going by the findings of this study, it appears that most wives prefer that men be monogamously married. This is evident in their responses to the question on whether men always need more than a wife. However, there are significant differences in the responses of urban and rural wives. Three-quarters of the urban wives compared to about one-half of the rural ones believe that men do not need more than a wife. Nevertheless, both the urban and rural wives largely appreciate the fact that men are different from women in the number of sexual partners that they need. The distribution of the responses indicates that more of urban wives than their rural counterparts tend to share this viewpoint. This

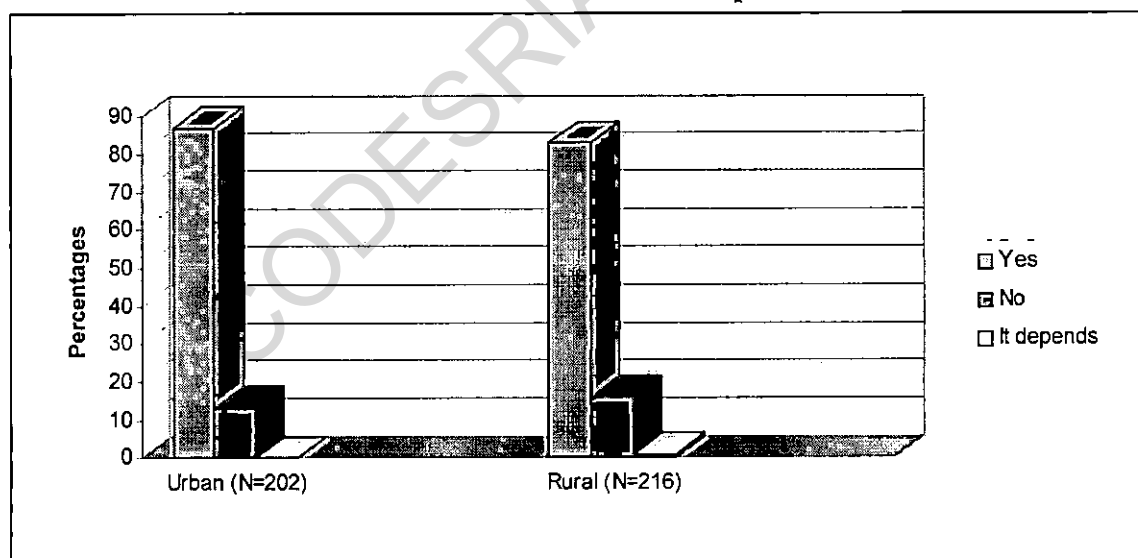
is not unexpected as Southall (1961) points it out that women in the cities are free from the gerontocratic controls of the villages. Thus, they are more likely to demand the same right as men. The positions of the wives are presented in Figures 9.16 and 9.17.

Figure 9.16: Percentage distribution of wives according to whether men always need more than a wife



Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

Figure 9.17: Percentage distribution of wives according to whether men and women differ in their need for sexual partners

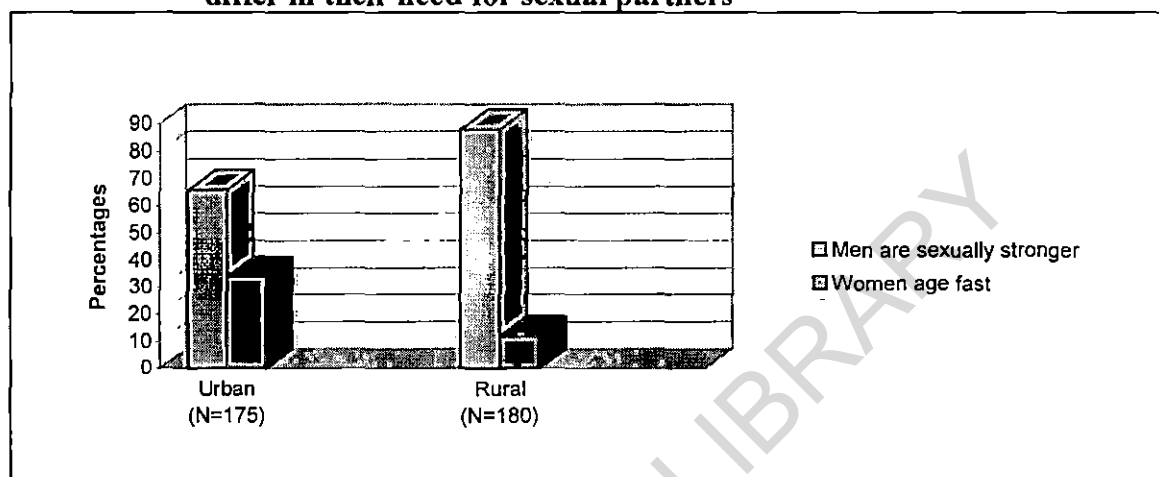


Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

The distribution of the wives according to the reasons why they believe men and women are different in their need for sexual partners are presented in Figure 9.18. There

are urban-rural differentials regarding the wives' explanations for why men and women are considered different in their need for sexual partners. The cultural explanation was more important to the rural wives while their urban counterparts are more apprehensive of the fear of premature ageing.

Figure 9.18: Percentage distribution of wives according to why men and women differ in their need for sexual partners



Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

The opinion of the wives in the in-depth study largely substantiates that of the qualitative investigation as presented in Figures 9.16; 9.17 and 9.18. The response of a polygynously married, rural, 65-year-old, and first school leaving certificate holder during the in-depth study, is important in this regard. She said:

“Traditional norms largely permit a man to have more than a sexual partner. In Yorubaland, for instance, men can always have extramarital sexual partners. For a man to relate to just a woman is western. While a man can never be satisfied with just a sexual partner, their female counterparts are expected to remain within the confines of marriage. If for any reason, a woman ventures into extramarital sexual relationships she must be discreet about it. All the same, a woman can not have as many sexual partners, a man should be able to satisfy her, except if she is a prostitute. By implication, therefore, men are physiologically different from women in their need for sexual partners”.

The contribution of an urban woman to the issue is as follows:

“Men are biologically different from women in their need for sexual partners. They (men) can never be satisfied having sex with just a woman. Not even those that enter into marriage by ordinance. You see, men are very deceitful. When they tell you it is only you, do not ever believe them. May be they even need some extramarital sex since their libido appears much stronger than ‘ours’. So, a woman that do not want to die prematurely or become largely ‘spent’ (age fast) should allow the husband some extramarital sexual activities. Mind you, this is not to encourage him to have more than a wife. Let us not deceive ourselves, a man do not need more than a wife, if he wants peace for himself. To be candid, one wife is enough trouble, ‘two wives mean two troubles’ etc. This is to say, the higher the number of wives a man has, the hotter his home becomes”.

The opinion of another urban woman, 60 years old, illuminates the understanding of the ongoing discussion. She said:

“Thank you. It is a fact that a man is biologically different from a woman in his need to satisfy sexual urge. That is to say, no woman can adequately satisfy the sexual needs of the husband. Hence, husbands tend to seek for additional sexual outlets. It should be noted, however, that not every man is interested in keeping concubines. If such men can not control their urge for sex, may be it is better that they have more than a wife. Men will always need more than a wife”

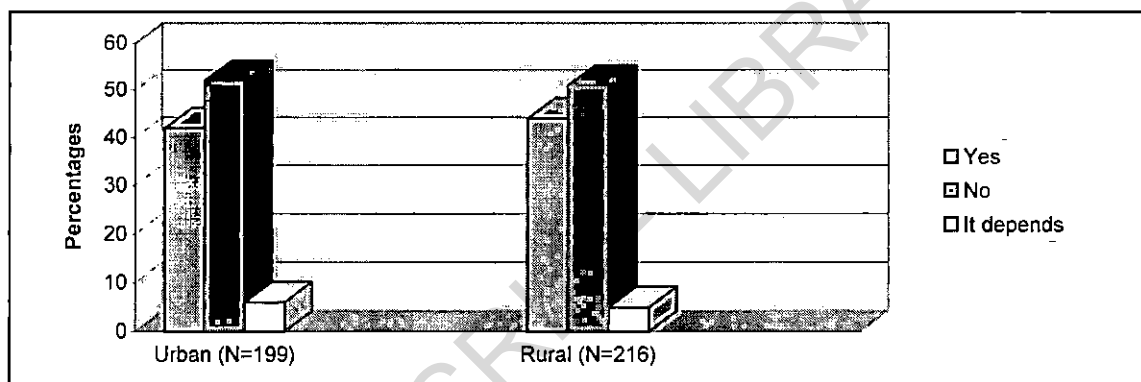
The contribution of a young and educated urban woman also throws more light on why a man will always need more than a wife. She stated as follows:

“Truly, men often believe they must have some extramarital sex. However, it is wiser for a man to keep as many women as he feels can satisfy his sexual urge as wives. This is to avoid premature death and contacting sexually transmitted infections and HIV/AIDS from casual sex”.

When the study focused on the opinion of the wives as to whether their husbands can be satisfied with them only, slightly more than two-fifths of both urban (42 per cent) and rural wives (44 per cent) think so while one-half of them do not think so. This appears consistent with the position the wives on whether or not men and women differ

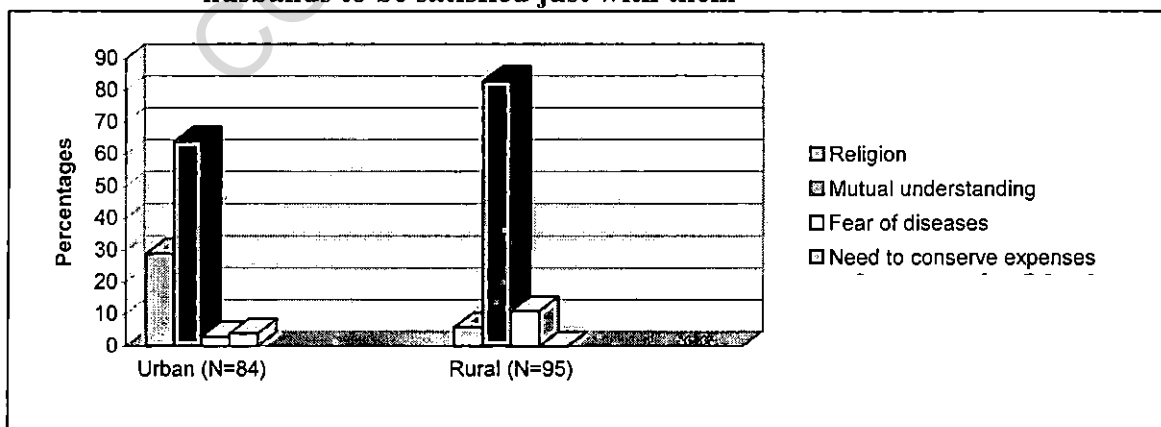
in the number of sexual partners that they need. The majority of the wives, who think their wives can be satisfied with them believe that for this to be conceivable, there must be some mutual understanding between them and their husbands. Slightly below one-third of the urban wives indicate that their religion (by inference their husbands' religion) forbids extramarital sex. Eleven per cent of the rural wives and three per cent of the urban ones express the fear of diseases. The responses of the wives on whether their husbands can be satisfied just with them and what could make this possible are presented in Figures 9.19 and 9.20.

Figure 9.19: Percentage distribution of wives according to whether their husbands can be satisfied with them



Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

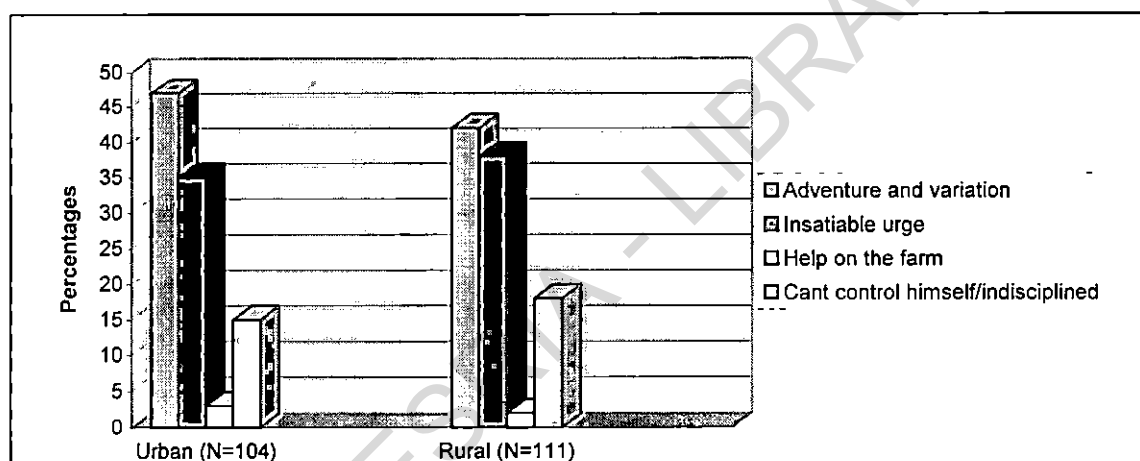
Figure 9.20: Percentage distribution of wives according to what can make their husbands to be satisfied just with them



Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

The responses of the wives on the reasons why they thought their husbands can not be satisfied just with them are presented in Figure 9.21. The need for variation/adventure, and satisfaction of sexual urge are the major reasons reported by the wives. Only 15 per cent of urban wives and 18 per cent of the rural ones emphasise the overpowering nature of male sexual urge. The need for help on the farm has become less important. This is probably indicative of the fact that it is increasingly easier and cheaper for a farmer to employ the services of hired labourers than to invest on additional wives.

Figure 9.21: Percentage distribution of wives according to why husbands cannot be satisfied just with them

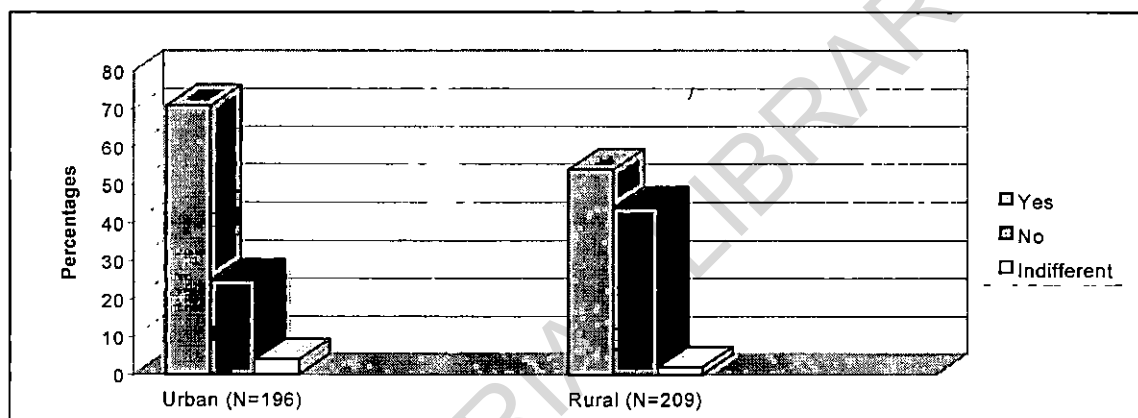


Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

The distribution of the wives according to whether they will like their husbands to be satisfied with them and the reasons for their responses are shown in Figures 9.22 and 9.23. Interestingly the responses of the wives are in accordance with the responses presented in Figure 9.19. However, it is the desire most of the wives that their husbands will be satisfied with them. Such a desire was greater for the urban wives than the rural ones. This is not surprising as it has been reported that among the elites of Ghana, a

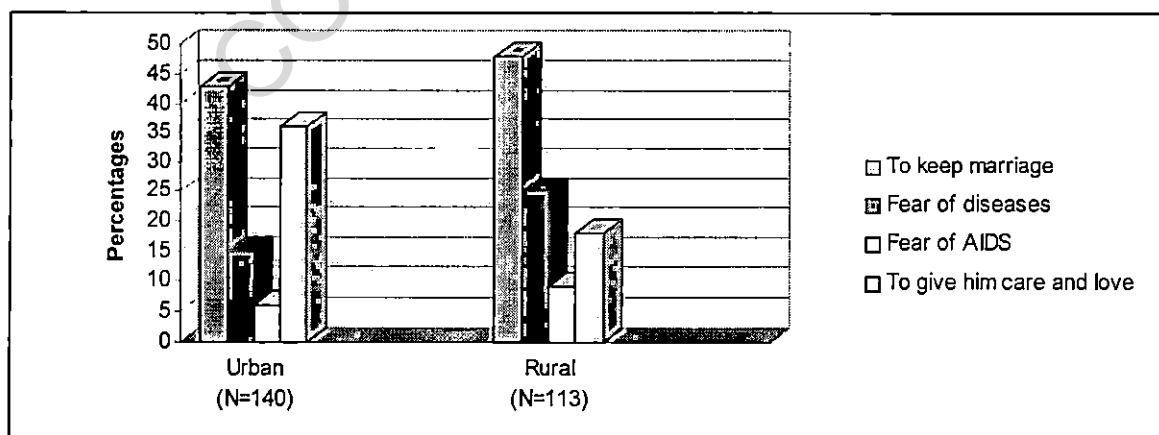
significant proportion of women yearned for a non-traditional marriage, which is characterised by more spousal companionship and this should be reflected in sexual matters (Caldwell, 1968). Slightly more than two-fifths of urban (43 per cent) and nearly one-half (48 per cent) of rural wives express the need to keep their marriage as the explanation for their desire. One-quarter of rural wives compared to less than one-fifth of their urban counterparts emphasise the fear of diseases. Less than one-tenth of both urban and rural wives mention the fear of HIV/AIDS. Less than one-tenth of both urban and rural wives mention the fear of HIV/AIDS.

Figure 9.22: Percentage distribution of wives according to whether they will like husbands to be satisfied just with them



Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

Figure 9.23: Percentage distribution of wives according to why they will like their husbands to be satisfied with them

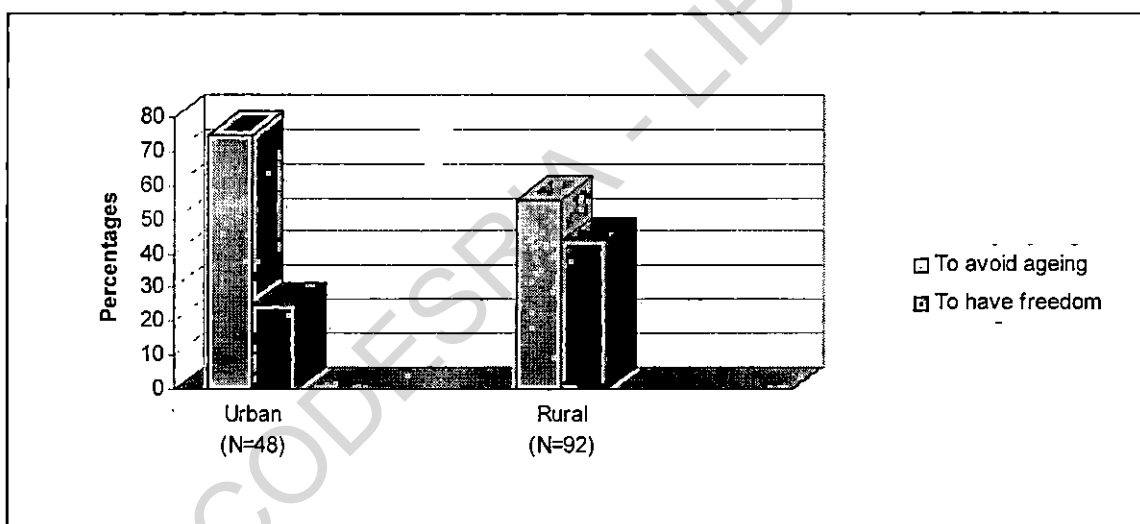


Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

About two-fifths of urban wives and less than one-fifth of the rural ones want adequate love and care to radiate in their marriage.

The reasons why the wives will not like their husbands to be satisfied with them are presented in Figure 9.24. Avoidance of premature ageing and to have their freedom are the main reasons reported. The need for personal freedom is more important to the rural wives than their urban counterparts. It is important to stress here that about one-half of the wives are traders (see Table 6.1). It is therefore assumed that they will always be away from home to buy and sell their wares. Perhaps, this explains why the need for personal freedom is of some significance to the wives, especially the rural ones.

Figure 9.24: Percentage distribution of wives according to why they think husbands cannot be satisfied with them



Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

9.3 Synthesising husbands' and wives' viewpoints

The study reveals a major difference in the perception husbands' and wives' on male sexuality. While the majority of the wives are of the opinion that men and women differ biologically in the number of sexual partners that they need, slightly above one-half

of their husbands are of this viewpoint. The belief that men are unlike women in their desire for sex tend to weaken slightly among men/husbands and to increase steeply among women/wives in comparison with the report of the 1994/95 study on a similar issue. In both studies, about two-fifths of the men/husbands are of the view that women and men are alike in their need for sex. The implication is that if women are truly as biologically predisposed to the same sexual urge as men, both would desire some extramarital sex, probably to the same degree in their bid to satiate the urge. Findings in other parts of Africa, which showed that extramarital sexual relation by wives are culturally approved and even emotionally accepted by husbands (Powdermaker, 1962) seem to lend credence to this position. However, it has been noted that this could only be true of women in certain societies (Caldwell and Caldwell, 1988). Among the Yoruba, for instance, a man has unlimited sexual freedom, while a woman is expected to have just one partner. Inevitably, the majority of the wives and slightly above one-third of the husbands believe that extramarital sex is culturally approved for men. The respondents of both sexes even believe that too much sex exposes women to premature ageing.

By inference, therefore, most of the wives tend to see the marital sex more as conjugal duty for procreation rather than pleasure. A previous study among Yoruba wives showed that 83 per cent of them did not miss sex at all during the years of post-partum sexual abstinence (Caldwell and Caldwell, 1989). It is important to stress here that Yoruba women often undergo circumcision mainly to reduce their libido, thus making sex less appealing.

Moreover, the study also reveals some similarities in husbands' and wives' attitude towards male sexuality. Indeed, the couples appreciate the traditional need for

men to have some non-marital sex. While many of the husbands, believe that a woman/their wives can never meet a man's/their sexual needs either within a year or in a lifetime; and that men/they will always have extramarital sexual partners, a significant proportion of the wives are of the opinion that they alone cannot satisfy the sexual desires of their husbands.

Although, there are close similarities between the opinion of the couples as reported here as well as in the findings of the 1994/95 study, there are differences between both urban and rural populations. For instance, the assumption that a woman would satiate the desire of a man both at a given time and over a lifetime tend to have weakened among the urban male respondents in the current study while it is still relatively undiminished among their rural counterparts. The proportion of the rural couples as well as urban wives who hold to this viewpoint is similar to that found in the 1994/95 study.

The opinion of the couples are justified on the ground that men are naturally polygynous; hence, multiple sexual partnership is a recognised physiological necessity for them. Besides, it is assumed that men must have some sexual variation and adventure since a woman can never satisfy their sexual potency. It is common knowledge that women are often sexually active for a shorter period than their male counterparts. As women reach the age of menopause; become older (not necessarily because of menopause) and grandmothers, both sexual activity and co-residence often cease in Yoruba marriages. The extent to which Yoruba marriages are so affected could be inferred from the Nigerian Demographic and Health Survey (1990), which put the proportion of female-headed households in Southwest Nigeria at 19 per cent. The survey

also revealed that by the time women reach their forties, almost one-fifth of them probably have stopped having sex.

Although there is ample evidence to show that men's extramarital sexual activity is still largely taken for granted among the population, many of the couples now believe that marital fidelity is not impossible for men. In fact, a significant proportion of the husbands indicate that a man will be happy if he has just a sexual partner in his lifetime. Complementing this view, is the burning desire of the wives to satisfy their husbands sexually. The path to this, as conceived by the couples, is adequate love and mutual understanding, which can be in the form of both emotional and "quality" sexual relationships within marriage. Be that as it may, the attainment of that great love, which can sustain marital sexual fidelity for men appears not to be a tall order as many of the husbands indicate that they value and belief in monogamy. This is not surprising as a large percentage of the couples are educated, religious and monogamously married (see Table 6.1). As such, they show preference for the European or modern ways of life, which is often depicted by the companionate/western, or as most respondents described it, the Christian-style of marriage. This declaration may not be unfounded, since an earlier study conducted in Ibadan in 1973, had suggested that husbands became more sexually monogamous when their wives were more educated and more "modern" in a range of ways, including their jobs (Caldwell and Caldwell, 1987).

9.4 Effect of couples' status on the perception of male sexuality

Lauman and Gagnon (1995) posited that the statuses of individuals will significantly shape how they conceive of themselves; their possible courses of action and

how they perceive that others facilitate or retard these self-conceptions and courses of action. On this note, socio-economic statuses are conceived as quite important in understanding the dimensions of 'who people are' and how these features shape what an individual believes he could possibly say and do or often think is appropriate for an individual who bears such social markings to say and do. Against this background, therefore, husband's and wives' disposition to male sexuality is examined in relation to their socio-economic status. Selected variables are subjected to both bivariate and multivariate analyses. The result of the bivariate analyses are presented in Tables 9.1 and 9.2 while those of the multivariate analyses are presented in Tables 9.3, 9.4, 9.5 and 9.6.

Table 9.1: Pearson correlation coefficients of husbands by socio-economic characteristics and the perception of male sexuality.

	Age	Education	Marriage Type	Religion
Sufficiency of a woman over a year	.115 (.025)	-.253**(-.042)	.193**(.270**)	.065 (.160*)
Sufficiency of woman over a lifetime	.084 (-.012)	-.198**(-.023)	.172* (.245**)	.024 (.269**)
Think men are different from women in their need for sexual partners	-.087 (.106)	-.017 (-.029)	-.173* (.027)	-.074 (.014)
Think men will always have more than a woman	-.134 (.005)	.260** (.022)	-.203**(-.146*)	-.146*(-.057)
Is having more than a woman true of you	-.092 (-.037)	.213** (.101)	-.148* (-.168*)	-.095(-.132*)
Think it is possible for a man to spend his lifetime with a woman	.108 (.006)	-.056 (-.067)	.055 (.133*)	-.013 (.167*)
Will it be possible for you to spend your lifetime with a woman	.067 (.015)	-.192** (-.019)	.121 (.261**)	.078 (.059)

Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

Note: ** P = .01 (2-tailed); *P =.05 (2-tailed)

The data on Table 9.1 show that social markings such as education, marriage type and religion exert significant influence on husbands' attitude to male sexuality. There are, however, some clear rural-urban differentials. Among both urban and rural

husbands, the belief that a woman is sufficient for a man either within a year or in his lifetime weakens with higher level of education. The relationship is, however, more statistically significant for urban husbands than their rural counterparts. Considering the relatively high literate level that obtains among the study population (see Table 6.1), it is implied that many of them will always have more than a sexual partner. This position is indicated in the significant positive association between urban husbands' educational status and the belief that men will always have more than a woman. This belief is also true of the husbands themselves. The findings of this study also reveal some statistically significant differences in the attitude of monogamously and polygynously married husbands. Expectedly, more of the polygynously married husbands compared to their monogamously married urban counterparts believe that a woman is not sufficient for a man either in a year or in his lifetime. Closely linked with this observation is the inverse relationship between husbands' marriage type and the thought that men and the husbands themselves will always have more than a sexual partner. Similarly, the belief that a man/the husbands themselves can spend his/their lifetime with a woman is stronger among monogamously married husbands than the polygynously married ones.

Analysing husbands attitude by religion reveals a significant positive relationship in respect of their belief about the possibility of the sufficiency of a woman for a man either within a year or in his lifetime. As anticipated, the findings of this study also show that the husbands who are adherents of the Christian religion are more disposed to spending their lifetime with just a woman. This is indicated in the inverse relationship between the husbands' religion and the thought that men will always have more than a sexual partner; whether having more than a sexual partner is true of the husbands

themselves as well as the significant positive relationship that obtains between their religion and the thought that it can be possible for a man to spend his lifetime with a woman.

The explanatory variables that are considered in respect of wives' attitude and desire toward male sexuality are spousal age difference, marriage type, and position among co-wives, number of marriages the women have had and their level of educational attainment. The result of the bivariate analysis of the association between these explanatory variables and the dependent variables are presented in Table 9.2.

Table 9.2: Pearson correlation coefficients of wives by socio-economic characteristics and the perception of male sexuality.

	Think men need more than a wife	Think men are different in their need for women	Think husband could be satisfied just with you
Marriage type	-.160* (-.237**)	.053 (-.079)	.249** (.074)
Position among co-wives	-.157* (-.134)	.039 (-.023)	.176* (.094)
Number of marriages	.035 (.000)	-.047 (.121)	.082 (-.145*)
Education	.216** (.005)	-.068 (-.024)	-.172* (-.039)
Religion	-.337** (-.122)	.055 (.048)	.307** (.007)

Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

Note: ** P = .01 (2-tailed); *P = .05 (2-tailed)

Although statistical tests did not reveal spousal age difference as having any significant association with either the wives' attitude or desire towards male sexuality, the other explanatory variables exert some influence. There are, however, some notable urban-rural differentials. In both the town and the villages, a significant inverse relationship is observable in the association between marriage type and the thought that men need more than a wife. With this, the study has shown that the monogamously married women compared to the polygynously married ones are of the opinion that men

do not need more than a wife. The study also reveals that the lower the position of a woman among co-wives the weaker is her belief that men need more than a wife. It should be noted, however, that the majority of the polygynously married wives are the first among their co-wives (see figure 6.1). The result of the bivariate relationship as discussed here appears to confirm the popular expression among the Yoruba, that "*Orisa je n pe meji obinrin ko d'enu*", meaning "*a woman's prayer to god for a co-wife never comes from the depth of her heart*".

An inverse relationship is observed when the disposition of the wives to whether a man will always need more than a wife is examined by religion. To a large extent, the Christians have a contrary opinion. The striking aspect of the bivariate analysis of wives' attitude to male sexuality is the significant positive relationship between their educational status and the belief that men will always need more than a wife. A plausible explanation for this cannot be dissociated from the fact that husbands are usually more educated than their wives (see Table 6.1). Besides, the finding confirms an earlier literature, which suggests that men who might have been monogamously married, but have later in life become more educated or highly placed in the society, may consider it expedient to look for another wife who will be appropriate to their newly acquired status (Karanja, 1987). Another corresponding evidence of the analysis is the statistically significant positive relationship between marriage type; position among co-wives and the desire of urban wives to satisfy their husbands.

To this end, it is obvious that the explanatory variables are capable of explaining couples' perception of male sexuality. Nevertheless, multivariate analyses are considered necessary to further clarify the correlation. The results of the multivariate analyses are

presented in Tables 9.3; 9.4; 9.5 and 9.6.

Table 9.3: Multivariate Tests for husbands' perception of male sexuality

Effect	Value	Urban			Value	Rural		
		F	Hypothesis df	Sig.		F	Hypothesis df	Sig.
Intercept	.540	16.890 ^a	8	.000	.541	14.280 ^a	8	.000
Age	.055	.837 ^a	8	.572	.119	1.637 ^a	8	.124
Education	.071	1.097 ^a	8	.370	.062	.796 ^a	8	.608
Marriage type	.054	.827 ^a	8	.581	.141	1.988 ^a	8	.056
No of past wives	.007	.099 ^a	8	.999	.080	1.056 ^a	8	.400
Religion	.032	.473 ^a	8	.873	.139	1.960 ^a	8	.060

Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

Note: a. Exact Statistic

Design: Intercept + Age + Education + No of wives + Religion + No of past wives

Table 9.4: Multivariate tests of Between-Subjects effects^a

	Urban					Rural				
	R ²	Adjusted R ²	df	F	Sig	R ²	Adjusted R ²	df	F	Sig
Sufficiency of a woman over a year	.057	.019	5	1.484	.200	.038	-.008	5	.830	.531
Sufficiency of a woman in a lifetime	.031	-.009	5	.773	.571	.081	.037	5	1.840	.111
Think men and women differ	.012	-.029	5	.289	.918	.033	-.014	5	.706	.620
Think men will always have extra sex	.102	.065	5	2.773	.021	.052	.006	5	1.140	.344
Is this true for you	.063	.025	5	.651	.152	.074	.029	5	1.658	.151
feeling after last extramarital sex	.040	.000	5	1.008	.416	.149	.108	5	3.647	.004
Is it possible for a man to have a sexual partner in lifetime	.047	.008	5	1.215	.306	.035	-.011	5	.752	.586
Is it possible for you	.042	.003	5	1.072	.379	.110	.067	5	2.558	.032

Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

Note: a. Source is corrected model

The results of the multivariate analyses confirm those of the bivariate analyses. However, the net effects of marriage type and religion are more statistically significant for an explanation of the perception of the rural husbands and all the wives (both in the town and the villages). While religion is statistically significant in explaining both urban and rural wives' desire, education is significant in the villages. The findings of the multivariate analyses also show that spousal age difference is a significant explanatory variable for the desire of urban wives while marriage type is to their rural counterparts.

Table 9.5: Multivariate Tests of wives' perception of male sexuality

Effect	Value	Urban			Rural			Sig.
		F	Hypothesis df	Sig.	F	Hypothesis df	Sig.	
Wives Attitude								
Intercept	.000	- ^a	0	-	.833	9.948 ^a	8	.000
Marriage type	.291	1.796 ^a	8	.111	.784	7.274 ^a	8	.000
Spousal age difference	.036	.163 ^a	8	.994	.403	1.352 ^a	8	.288
Education	.161	.837 ^a	8	.577	.140	.325 ^a	8	.944
No of marriages	.000	- ^a	0	-	.282	.787 ^a	8	.621
Religion	.606	6.719 ^a	8	.000	.425	1.478 ^a	8	.241
Position among co-wives	.267	1.594 ^a	8	.162	.493	1.946 ^a	8	.122
Wives Desire								
Intercept	.156	9.811 ^a	2	.000	.195	9.956 ^a	2	.000
Marriage type	.003	.170 ^a	2	.844	.059	2.591 ^a	2	.081
Spousal age difference	.083	4.823 ^a	2	.010	.028	1.202 ^a	2	.306
Education	.002	.127 ^a	2	.881	.084	3.770 ^a	2	.027
No of marriages	.011	.594 ^a	2	.554	.011	.466 ^a	2	.629
Religion	.043	2.388 ^a	2	.097	.133	6.283 ^a	2	.003
Position among co-wives	.007	.351 ^a	2	.705	.006	.263 ^a	2	.770

Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

Note: a. Exact Statistic

Design: Intercept + Marriage type + Age difference + Education + No of marriages + Religion + Position among co-wives

Table 9.6: Multivariate tests of Between-Subjects effects^a

	Urban					Rural				
	R ²	Adjusted R ²	df	F	Sig.	R ²	Adjusted R ²	df	F	Sig.
Wives Attitude										
Think men need more than a wife	.386	.313	5	5.274	.001	.357	.189	6	2.127	.089
Think men and women differ	.185	.088	5	1.911	.113	.494	.361	6	3.735	.010
Think you can satisfy husband	.416	.346	5	5.974	.000	.143	-.080	6	.641	.696
What can make husband satisfied	.200	.105	5	2.102	.084	.269	.078	6	1.409	.254
Feel if unmarried son live with a girl	.115	.010	5	1.094	.378	.356	.188	6	2.121	.090
What would you do	.137	.034	5	1.315	.268	.214	.008	6	1.041	.425
Feel about son visiting sex workers	.118	.013	5	1.122	.363	.173	-.042	6	.804	.577
What would you do	.042	-.072	5	.368	.867	.198	-.011	6	.947	.481
Wives Desire										
Would you like to satisfy husband in his lifetime	.054	.001	6	1.021	.416	.193	.135	6	3.309	.006
Why would you like to satisfy husband in his lifetime	.073	.021	6	1.406	.219	.123	.059	6	1.934	.085

Source: Survey of gender differences in the perception of male sexuality, 1999.

Note: a. source is the corrected model

The adjusted R-squared values presented in Tables 9.4 and 9.6 also indicate that some statistically significant proportion of the husbands' (men's) and wives' perception of male sexuality as well as wives' desire can be explained by the explanatory variables.

To this end, therefore, the propositions that: (1) wives often desire that their husbands are satisfied with them in their lifetime ; (2) there is no significant gender difference in the perception of male sexuality; (3) social status is significantly related to the perception of male sexuality can be said to have been firmly established.

Summary

This chapter draws on couples' beliefs, attitudes, perceptions and reactions to male sexuality. The results have shown that the traditional belief that men need some non-marital sex is still firmly upheld in Yoruba society. However, the focus as to the reasons for this have shifted from the need for a substitute during the traditional long period of post-partum abstinence to the desire for sexual variation and enjoyment. This is partly a testimony to a decline in the duration and partly a confirmation of the high level of contraceptive use that is being experienced in Southwest, Nigeria (Nigeria, 1992; Caldwell, et al., 1992; Renne, 1993).

Moreover, it is increasingly clear that marital fidelity is not impossible for men. A significant proportion of the husbands believe that a man will be happy if he has just a sexual partner in his lifetime, and many of the wives expressed the burning desire to satisfy their husbands sexually. The path to this, as conceived by the couples, is adequate love and mutual understanding. This chapter has also shown that husbands' and wives' perception of male sexuality is a function of their socio-economic characteristics. It appears, however, that there are no statistically significant gender differences in the perception of male sexuality.

Summary and conclusion

The main objective of this study has been to examine gender differences and similarities in the perception of male sexuality. Based on the identified gaps in knowledge in previous studies (Orubuloye *et al.*, 1997a; 1997b), this study set out to determine the similarities and differences in husbands' and wives' perception of the social, attitudinal and behavioural aspects of male sexuality. Recognising the multi-dimensional nature of male sexuality, a combination of both qualitative and quantitative evidence is used in the study in order to attain its objectives and to answer some of the research questions. The qualitative evidence is employed largely to support and explain the quantitative findings.

10.1 Discussion of findings

The findings of this study have shown that a high rate of male non-marital sex obtains in the society. This is largely to satisfy the desire for companionship; the naturally pressing and overpowering sexual urge rather than the need for a substitute during the post-partum sexual abstinence. Although a significant proportion of male sexuality occurs with the fear of catching sexually transmitted infections including HIV/AIDS, many men and women are less apprehensive about the consequences of their sexual behaviour. The prevailing belief among the urban men about infections is that when one is selective and careful in his choice of sexual partners, he is not likely to contract an STI and even HIV/AIDS. Besides, some of the men claim that they are

indifferent to diseases, primarily because they use condoms and are sometimes selective about the choice of sexual partners.

Although the traditional sanctions on wives' monitoring their husbands' sexual behaviour is still largely upheld, the society is beginning to embrace some changes. The findings of the study indicate that the society is gradually changing from one where wives absolutely have no say in matters relating to husbands' sexuality. Indeed, a significant proportion of the spouses believes that wives have a right not only to know but also to interfere in husbands' extramarital sexual activities. In confirmation of this claim, some of the wives are actually aware and have attempted to exercise some control on their husbands' extramarital sexual activities. Although the control is not stern, as much of it is in the form of advice and admonition, such control has influenced some of the husbands in a way. The ability of a woman/wife to interfere, know, and be aware of her husband's extramarital sexual activities is largely a function of spousal religion and educational status.

The majority of the mothers believe that their sons are sexually active. Nevertheless, a smaller proportion of the mothers than was reported in the 1994/95 study knows the details about their adolescent sons' sexuality. The majority of parents will attempt some control on their sons' sexual behaviour. However, it appears that mothers' control is relatively more effective than fathers'. Parental attitude to daughters' sexuality is universally negative, while those who choose to become sex workers are difficult to control. This is so, because many parents are not aware that their daughters are into commercial sex.

Another central finding of this study is that a significant proportion of the respondents acknowledges that a woman is sufficient for a man over a year as well as in a lifetime. This is largely to keep their marriages, for fears of catching STIs and AIDS. The need for sexual adventure/variation, the polygynous nature of men, sex being a physiological necessity, that men can be too strong and that women can become uncooperative are the reasons why men can not be satisfied with a woman. Husband's need for extramarital sexual relation during the wife's post-partum sexual abstinence is no longer important, primarily because the duration has been shortened considerably and condom use has also increased greatly.

The study has also shown that it is possible for men/husbands to stick to a sexual partner in a lifetime. Indeed, the belief that such men are anti-social and unfulfilled is gradually declining. The popular standpoint, however, is that a man/husband, who continues to have sex with just a woman in a lifetime will be happy. Similarly, wives are becoming predisposed to the thought that their husbands can be satisfied with them only. Most wives, especially those in the urban areas, now desire that their husbands should be satisfied with them. This is to keep their marriages intact, for fear of diseases and AIDS and to give room for care and love to radiate in the home.

It is obvious from the findings of this study that there are more gender similarities than differences regarding the perception of male sexuality among the study population. Indeed, the only issue upon which the perception of the spouses seemingly differ is whether there are biological differences in men's and women's need for sex. The majority of the wives compared to their husbands upheld the opinion that men and women differ biologically in the number of sexual partners they need. The major reason for this could

be located in the socio-cultural milieu of the people. On the whole, the study has shown that gender perception of male sexuality is influenced by spousal socio-economic characteristics.

Although there is ample evidence to show that men's extramarital sexual activity is still largely taken for granted among the population, many of the couples now believe that sexual behavioural change is not impossible for men. It is certainly no doubt that the double standards on male and female sexuality may abate with modernisation, and especially in the course of the popular trend towards monogamy. However, the change may be slow and this may not be healthy for the society with the current threats of STIs and AIDS. There is, therefore, a pressing need for intervention strategies that will cause a significant change in male sexual behaviour, since this is about the only feasible and known route to curbing the spread of HIV/AIDS in Nigeria. Some possible intervention strategies that may be considered in this regard are presented in the next section.

10.2 Intervention strategies/policy implications

The possible interventions for the control of male sexuality as presented in this study are multifaceted. This is because the need for sexual behavioural change as a solution to the problem of HIV/AIDS both in Nigeria and Ekiti district requires a culturally, socially and economically based approach. Basic to the presentation of the policy implications that have emanated from the study, however, there will be a cursory look into the HIV/AIDS situation in Nigeria.

Although an understanding of the real levels of HIV infection and confirmed AIDS cases is low, owing to the unwillingness to submit to diagnosis and the likelihood

that the victims and their families will hide their sero-status, it is no doubt that an HIV/AIDS epidemic is real and has taken root in Nigeria. AIDS is not yet curable. It is, nevertheless fast becoming a manageable condition in the developed nations. The administration of antiviral and retroviral drugs has made it possible (in developed countries) to reduce mortality from AIDS; improve the quality of life of HIV victims and redefine HIV/AIDS as a chronic rather than an invariably fatal disease. For Africans, however, the available therapies are seemingly beyond the reach of the generality of the population and will remain so unless they are subsidised by the State.

Realising this fact, both governmental and non-Governmental organisations have been committed to getting out HIV/AIDS messages to the people. This has successfully created the awareness of HIV/AIDS among the population. In addition, both Government and NGO programmes are more successfully providing condoms. This has largely increased the use of condoms in the society. In many parts of South-western Nigeria, the use of condoms have increased significantly since August, 1997, owing to the demise of Fela Anikulapo-Kuti, who died of complications arising from infection from HIV/AIDS.

A review of International Literatures, both specialist and popular, confirms that condoms are the only secured form of protection against HIV transmission (Whiteside and Fransen, 1999). By implication therefore, the use of condoms in an HIV/AIDS epidemic is a behavioural change in the right direction. Nevertheless, use of condoms has its attending problems. In much of the developing countries and in Nigeria in particular, condoms are often not used correctly. Condoms are often old or have expired their potency or have been stored too long under severe weather conditions. Despite this inadequacies, many are used more than once. Hence many often tear in the course of

sexual debut. Besides, most men do not use the condoms consistently. There is often shortage of supply and problem of cost. More importantly, when the overpowering urge for sex strikes, events tend to move closely and quickly that the condom is forgotten. The third and most serious problem is that most men think they are “immunized” against the risk of catching HIV/AIDS once they are selective in their choice of sexual partners. It is generally believed that if a man is careful in selecting a sexual partner he thinks he knows so well and finds her seemingly innocent, he is likely to underestimate the possibility of his partner’s involvement in multiple sexual relationships. Hence, the man is not likely to insist on a condom. Besides, condoms are not generally acceptable within marriages, even when husbands are known to have multiple sexual partners. To this end, therefore, the use of condoms, though is significant in the call for behavioural change, the resultant change may not be fast enough in rolling back the AIDS epidemic.

Inevitably, therefore, efforts will have to be directed at more effective forms of behavioural change in an AIDS epidemic. One of such is marital fidelity, which is both a culturally and socially based solution to the problem of AIDS. It should be stressed here that the society is gradually changing from one where wives have no say in matters relating husbands’ sexuality. Moreover, husbands are increasingly predisposed to the belief that a man could be satisfied with a woman in a lifetime. Therefore, intervention/educational programmes that will weaken the socio-cultural and traditional perception of male sexuality are inevitable. One of such AIDS education should be targeted at men and must specially emphasise the risks and dangers of multiple sexual partnership. This could be organised at the community level, especially through the

neighbourhood, professional groups or the smaller social networks composed of family or friends.

As much as men could be held responsible for changing their respective sexual behaviour, it has to be with full co-operation of women as partners (Panos, 1998). Hence, educational efforts should target women on assertiveness and encourage female empowerment. Governmental and non-Governmental organisations have a role to play in this respect. The aim of most of these Organisations is specifically to promote the socio-economic status of women, could be pursued vigorously such that the self-esteem and the status of women would improve. To a large extent, an improvement in women status will encourage the ability of a wife to participate/interfere and possibly to exert some control on their husbands' sexual activities and more importantly to discuss reproductive health issues or negotiate safe sex with husbands or refuse sex if needs be. After all, health personnel recommend monogamous marriages and wives' control over their husbands' sexuality and keeping sex within marriage as the most effective ways to avoid STIs and HIV/AIDS.

It has been shown in this study that the trail to marital fidelity is mutual understanding, adequate love, care and affection. A call for a positioning of marital fidelity as achievable and sustainable, which in turn may strengthen family ties and emphasise the piety of marriage is inevitable. The call for marital fidelity as a core ingredient for stemming and preventing the spread of HIV/AIDS will not suffice if spouses do not acquire the appropriate knowledge and skills that are needed. Thus, couples should be educated/informed on the need to turn to marriage counsellors rather

than the traditional line of consultation, for guidance and assistance in handling family problem. Women will also need to be provided with both the cognitive and behavioural skills required for making the home happy and inviting to their husbands. Besides, wives should be educated on the need to devise ways of enhancing marital fidelity and turning it into a desirable state of being for men.

Considering the patriarchal nature of the Yoruba society with which this study is concerned, one cannot realistically expect male behavioural change to be driven by female rights and needs. There should be some recognition of self-interest and the gender-biased attitude to male sexuality. As an analyst concluded, "overall, the central obstacle to prevention of the spread of HIV/AIDS among heterosexuals in South Africa seems to be a lack of shared goals for men and women and the assumption that gender needs are oppositional (Miles, 1993). On this note, therefore, it should be realised that much of male extramarital sexual activities are borne out of the need for pleasure, enjoyment and variation and; that men and women differ in their need for sex (see Chapter nine). If these facts are not recognised in marriage, marital fidelity may remain a tall order for men/husbands. Thus, educational/intervention programmes should be targeted at advancing practical AIDS preventive and control measures instead of the old-fashioned morality. Such programmes, which should incorporate community and peer group based information, education, communication and counselling (IECC) services, may help to encourage women to create normative but mutually fulfilling marital sexual relations. In this regard, "quality" and pleasurable sexual relations rather than the cultural belief that sex is a conjugal duty for procreation need to be emphasised.

Basic to achieving quality marital sexual relations, couples should be informed on the psychosocial and biological determinants of human sexuality. Such information can be in the form of sex educational programmes through print media, broadcast media, video and computer technology. Sex therapy publications to assist couples in overcoming specific sexual dysfunction may also become widely available. In addition to all these sources of information, couples and individuals can undergo short and long term marital counselling and sexuality therapy with a wide variety of specialists.

Moreover, both governmental and non-governmental organisations should emphasise more on consolidating the family and encouraging parents to take the art of parenting seriously, such that children can grow up in a loving environment. It is assumed that this will reduce the menace of street children and commercial sex. Furthermore, vulnerable young children and adolescents should be taught the skill needed to refuse sex or negotiate for safer sex.

Sex education is important in reducing physical risk. There should be some comprehensive educational programmes on sexual and reproductive health issues as well as the meaning and functions of sex. This can be incorporated into the curricular of colleges and universities. Such educational programmes are better initiated at the onset of adolescent and should involve both sexes. It has been shown that general education to change sexual behavioural patterns have not yielded successful results (Wijejaratne et al 1993). Hence, sectoral education could be adopted instead of the focus on the general population. In this effort, focus on peers and the use of peers could be better. Interpersonal communication is also a realistic prevention and control strategy in an AIDS epidemic.

Since Ekiti State is highly literate, schools should also be involved in the clamour for male sexual behavioural change in an AIDS epidemic. Schools are to provide, not only the appropriate knowledge, but also the skills and attitudes that permit effective communication, responsible decision making and the development of healthy human relationships. This can be achieved through health educational programmes. It is suggested that such education should commence for the young ones prior to their first sexual experience. This would enable them to learn to protect themselves and others from infection. Such school AIDS programs have been successfully adopted in Thailand. In the rural areas of Thailand, over 300,000 teachers were trained for the purpose (Viravaidya, 1992).

As shown in Table 6.1, it appears that most spouses are religious. Indeed, the majority of the population studied are Christians. It is, therefore, assumed that if they internalise the Christian values, they will be chaste. This agrees with Southwold's (1973) observation. This implies that the religious faith has a role to play. The religious bodies, especially the Church, must emphasise and encourage, more intensively, those Christian values that promote marriage sanctity. More importantly, church organisations should stimulate more discussions, which can prevent the spread of HIV/AIDS among church members.

It has been reported in some earlier studies that the major and significant obstacle to change in male sexual behaviour, even in an AIDS epidemic, is attitude to death (Awusabo-Asare et al., 1999; Caldwell, Orubuloye and Caldwell, 1999; Orubuloye and Oguntimehin, 1999a). In much of West Africa, the belief is that life on earth is not eternal. Whether one likes it or not, the phenomenon death will strike one day, since we

are only sojourners on earth (Awolalu and Dopamu, 1979; Fortes, 1983). To many Christians and Muslims alike, death should be seen as an act of God. Indeed, religious preachers often emphasise eternal life and joys to come after physical death. Consequent upon this, everyone who has internalised religious values on the belief of life after death will be comforted by the conviction that even if they suffer here on earth or die young they will make heaven. The consolation provided by the belief in life after death is often shrouded in the expression such as “it is God who gives and takes away” or ‘we love you but God loves you most’. This is not to dismiss the fact that all deaths are usually received with heavy hearts and that death associated with sexual misconduct is often condemned religiously. It should be noted, however, that the cause of a death may not be disclosed. What appears more important to Christians and Moslems alike is that everyone aspires to be with God in heaven or paradise. Although, no one wishes to die or go to God prematurely, the Yorubas believe that it is better to die young than to live a long miserable life on earth. This is shrouded in common expressions such, “*ka ku l’ewe, o san ju k’a d’agba di radarada*” meaning “*it is more honourable to die young than to live to a despicable old age*”

Considering the concept of destiny as well as the proper and pre-ordained time to die, therefore, many men are holding fast to the belief that once it is the appointed time to die, nothing, not even change in sexual behaviour could do the magic. If it were not, however, one could afford to take risks of any form, (including indiscriminate sexual behaviour) with impunity. Besides, it is a widely acknowledged belief that it is a male’s destiny to be faced with problems/hardships and difficult situations. This is inherent in

the expression, “*ibi t’o ba le la n b’omokunrin*” meaning “*a man should always be confronted with challenging situations*”.

To this end, therefore, most men are of the opinion that it is life and not death that is important. Consequently, it is not uncommon for campaigns in favour of male sexual behavioural change to be rebuffed on the ground that it is life and not death that is important. Such reactions are often shrouded in expressions such as, “*aye laa se k’a to s’orun*” meaning “*life is here to be lived and enjoyed and not to be overshadowed by fear of death even if it is from AIDS. After all, death is inevitable*”.

Awareness of AIDS is high in Nigeria (Caldwell *et al.*, 1999). It has not led to a significant change in male sexual behaviour. The major reason adduced for the unserious attitude of people towards the disease is their inability to identify the disease with specific deaths. Although AIDS statistics are occasionally published in the print media (newspapers), there are no indications that fellow town’s men or well-known identities have died of the disease. Besides, when people die, the cause of death is hardly revealed. It has been suggested, however, that the experience of HIV/AIDS is important for a change in attitude and sexual behaviour (Ntozi and Ahimbisiwe, 1999). This has been the case in Uganda and may well be so in Nigeria. Considering the relatively low level of HIV/AIDS in Ekiti State (National AIDS Surveillance, 1999); the long latency period of the infection (Boerma *et al.* 1997; Caldwell, 1997) as well as the fatal effect of an AIDS epidemic, the option of seeing family members, friends, neighbours, and work-mates among others, being infected and dying of AIDS as a route to expected sexual behavioural change, would not be the best. Rather there is an urgent need for an appropriate intervention to curtail the spread of AIDS in Nigeria and in Ekiti in particular.

The lackadaisical attitude of the Nigerian men to death is partly because Nigeria is a high mortality society. Estimated crude death rate is put at 13 deaths per 1,000 people, while the life expectancy at birth 53 years for men and 55 years for women (Population Reference Bureau, 1999). Indeed, hundreds of Nigerians die daily and many other diseases such as malaria, typhoid fever, cholera and other circumstances such as traffic accidents, violence, civil strife, assassinations among others, result into sudden and unexpected deaths. A recent attempt by African Governments to roll back malaria, is a right step towards a reduction in mortality level. This will place the HIV/AIDS epidemic in its rightful place. Besides, the healthcare system appears not effective to combat these causes of death. The net effect of this is that Nigerians seem not to fear death even if it is from AIDS.

Sullivan (1991) and Owa *et al.* (1993) noted that adverse economic conditions have resulted into a continued increase in morbidity and mortality rates in many African countries in the last two decades. It is probably true to argue, in a similar vein, that the pace of mortality decline has been very slow in Nigeria since the adoption of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) in the 80s. The Nigerian Government and policy makers have important roles to play in promoting positive attitude towards the call for male sexual behavioural change. It is generally believed that when the economy is revamped, life would be considered worth living, people's attitude to death will change, the fear of death arising from AIDS will be rife. Given this scenario, the call for male sexual behavioural change would possibly become more effective and may well be the antidote for the curtailment of the AIDS epidemic.

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APPENDIX A

Definition of Concepts

AIDS: Is Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome. It is an infectious disease spread by a virus. It is a syndrome because it reveals itself through several signs and symptoms. These include gross weight loss which accorded it the name 'slim' in East Africa. Deficiency means not enough. So, Immune deficiency means not enough immunity. The immune system of the body are the armed forces within the castle. If an enemy (germs) should get into the body, under normal conditions, these armed forces are aroused at once to fight and defeat the enemy. But if for any reason, there is immune deficiency (that is, the troops are weakened or depleted in number), then the enemy just ransacks the place and the castle is finished. This is just what the AIDS virus does to the body. (See Kanotey-Ahulu, 1989).

Gender: Gender is a crucial aspect in the study of sexual networks. It refers to the roles and relationships in a specific society or culture that are ascribed to women and men. Gender is therefore socially determined by the people and it varies from one society and culture to the other. Gender is said to be "a social construct" because it is created, supported and reinforced by societal structures and institutions. It encourages inequality and also legitimises it. Gender is not permanent nor is it universal. It is based on mutable stereotypes of male and female behaviours and capability that are often associated with sex. They are also affected by age, social class, ethnicity, education and technology. Crises such as wars and natural disasters such as famine, floods, earthquakes etc. causes gender roles to change as men and women are forced to adopt new roles to ensure survival. Gender roles often constitute a constraint to both men and women by limiting

opportunities available to them for self advancement but it often has a more repressive impacts on women, restricting their participation in societal development to the general detriment of humankind at large.

Gender means different things to different people. Thus, it has been defined in a variety of ways, both in research and among the general public. An early definition of gender was meant to distinguish social and biological aspects of the differences between women and men (Riley, 1997). In this thesis, a definition that focuses on the biological aspects of women and men had been adopted. Hence, gender is being used to mean sex.

HIV: Is Human Immune Deficiency Virus. It is the Virus that causes AIDS. It is able to destroy a T lymphocyte. This AIDS virus belong to a family of several relatives. Thus, it was given different names as identified by the Americans and the French. The French uses "LAV" in their publications on AIDS while the Americans use "HTLV III" and the rest of the world writes "LAV-HTLV III", so as not to offend either the French or the Americans. The International Committee on the Taxonomy of viruses decided in late April, 1986 that as the "LAV" and the "HTLV III" were found to be one and the same thing, the term HIV should be recommended for universal usage.

The HIV, like all retroviruses, is quite extraordinary in that it is endowed with the ability not only to reproduce itself but to direct the genetic material of the invaded lymphocyte to produce more viruses. That is, once a lymphocyte is infected, a continuous virus production line has been established, such that any stimulus which normally should make the T lymphocyte get up and fight rather produces more invading troops. So, insidiously, but steadily, the body's defences are ruthlessly undermined and destroyed; the skin, the intestinal lining, the lining of the air passages, the white blood cells (the germ

fighting cells), the germ fighting proteins produced by the white cells. All these are weakened and almost neutralised. This being the case, enemies (germs) that would normally not have a chance against the body then pluck up courage and storm in after the body thus causing skin infection and tumours, violent diarrhoea, gross weight loss and lung infection (pneumonia) (See Kanotey-Ahulu, 1989).

Perception: Essentially, this refers to the impression of others, which determine the decision we make about their personalities and the kind of persons they are. It is the cognitive component of attitude. Thus, it has been used in this study to mean attitude

Rural and Urban: The communities classified as urban in this study could well be classified as semi-urban or even rural if compared with other relatively more developed communities. It should be noted, however, that classification of communities into either rural and urban has always been a matter of degree rather than kind. Generally, communities are better placed on a continuum. It is along this continuum that communities will be measured in terms of their rurality or urbanism in comparison with each other (see for example, Maine 1861; Durkheim 1949; Tonnies 1940; Redfield 1947; Becker 1950; Tumin 1973). Against this background, therefore, two main criteria have been employed in this study to classify the communities into rural/urban. The community classified as urban is the Local Government Headquarters and has a population of more than 20,000 people, thus meeting the definition of urban in the Nigerian context.

STIs: This refers to the sexually Transmitted Infections. The term is now preferred to the older term 'venereal disease' or 'STDs'. STIs include gonorrhoea, syphilis, non-specific urethritis, trichomoniasis, herpes of the genitals, genital warts and candidiasis among others.

Virus: Is the tiniest but the most dangerous and powerful kind of germ that invades our body system. While most other germs like bacteria just move around in the body, a virus burrows right into the cells that constitute the tissues of the body. So, as the majority of antibiotics and similar drugs do not usually get into the cell interior, they are rendered useless and powerless against viruses. But some of the body's armed forces include some white blood cells called "T" lymphocytes - 'T' because they are first produced in the bone marrow. Then, they have to go to a small gland called the thymus for further training and equipment before standing guard in the corridors of the body (i.e. the skin, intestines, lungs) and in the guard rooms (spleen, lymph nodes). The equipment of some of these lymphocytes includes the ability to destroy any body cell carrying a virus. Thus, what antibiotics can not do because they can not get at the virus inside the cell, T lymphocytes can do, by destroying the whole cell carrying the virus. These are known as "cytotoxic T cells".

TABLE III: SUMMARY RESULTS OF HIV PREVALENCE IN ZONE A (SOUTH EAST)

STATE	SITE	SITE STATUS	TOTAL SAMPLE	NUMBER POSITIVE	% HIV	95% C.I
ABIA	UMUAHIA	MC	300	7	2.3	1.0-4.6
	ABA	OMC	207	8	3.9	1.8-7.2
	TOTAL		507	15	3.0	
ANAMBRA	AWKA	MC	298	25	8.4	5.6-12.0
	EKWULOBIA	OMC	300	11	3.7	1.9-6.3
	TOTAL		598	36	6.0	
EBONYI	ABAKALIKI	MC	153	17	11.1	6.8-16.8
	ONUEKE	OMC	160	12	7.5	4.1-12.4
	TOTAL		313	29	9.3	
ENUGU	ENUGU	MC	300	15	5.0	2.8-8.1
	ACHI	OMC	164	7	4.2	1.7-8.5
	TOTAL		464	22	4.7	
IMO	OWERRI	MC	300	18	6.0	3.1-8.5
	ORLU	OMC	284	28	10.0	7.2-15.0
	TOTAL		584	46	7.8	
REGIONAL TOTAL		2448	148	6.0		

Minimum Value: 2.30
 Maximum Value: 11.1
 Median Value: 5.2

TABLE IV: SUMMARY RESULTS OF HIV PREVALENCE IN ZONE B (SOUTH WEST)

STATE	SITE	SITE STATUS	TOTAL SAMPLE	NUMBER POSITIVE	% HIV	95% C.I
EKITI	ADO EKITI	MC	300	5	1.7	0.5 - 3.8
	IKOLE EKITI	OMC	284	8	2.8	1.2 - 5.5
	TOTAL		584	13	2.2	
LAGOS	IKEJA	MC	300	21	7.0	4.4 - 10.5
	EPE	OMC	220	14	6.4	3.5 - 10.4
	TOTAL		527	35	6.7	
OGUN	ABEOKUTA	MC	300	3	1.0	0.2 - 2.9
	IJEBU - ODE	OMC	298	12	4.0	0.2 - 2.9
	TOTAL		598	15	2.5	
ONDO	AKURE	MC	293	8	2.9	1.2 - 5.3
	ONDO	OMC	301	9	3.0	1.4 - 5.6
	TOTAL		594	17	2.9	
OSUN	OSOGBO	MC	300	8	2.7	1.2 - 5.2
	Ilesa	OMC	300	14	4.7	2.6 - 7.7
	TOTAL		600	22	3.7	2.1 - 5.5
OYO	IBADAN	MC	300	7	2.7	1.2 - 5.2
	BAKI	OMC	300	13	4.3	2.3 - 7.3
	TOTAL		600	21	3.5	
ZONAL TOTAL			3496	123	3.5	

Minimum Value: 1.7

Maximum Value: 4.3

Median Value: 3.5

The lowest HIV prevalence in the South West was found in Abeokuta (1.0%) in Ogun State and the maximum in Ikeja (7.0%) in Lagos State. The median HIV prevalence in this Zone was 4.3 percent.

The median HIV prevalence in the South West Zone was higher in outside major city sites (4.3%) than in major city sites (2.7%).

TABLE V: SUMMARY RESULTS OF HIV PREVALENCE IN ZONE C
(NORTH WEST)

STATE	SITE	SITE STATUS	TOTAL SAMPLE	NUMBER POSITIVE	% HIV	95% CI
JIGAWA	DUTSE	MC	299	6	2.0	0.7-4.3
	HADEJIA	OMC	301	4	1.3	0.4-3.4
	TOTAL		600	10	1.7	
KADUNA	KADUNA	MC	298	24	8.1	5.2-11.7
	KAFANCHAN	OMC	299	45	15.1	11.2-19.8
	TOTAL		597	69	11.6	
KANO	KANO	MC	300	11	3.6	1.8-6.5
	RANO	OMC	300	15	5.0	2.8-8.1
	TOTAL		600	26	4.3	
KATSINA	KATSINA	MC	299	9	3.0	1.3-5.6
	FUNTUA	OMC	299	5	1.7	0.5-3.9
	TOTAL		598	14	2.3	
KEBBI	BIRNIN KEBBI	MC	300	12	7.3	2.1-8.9
	ARGUNGU	OMC	300	10	3.3	1.6-6.0
	TOTAL		600	22	3.7	
SOKOTO	SOKOTOI	MC	300	8	2.7	1.2-5.2
	DOGON DAJI	OMC	300	8	2.7	
	TOTAL		300	8	2.7	
ZAMFARA	GUSAU	MC	299	5	1.7	0.6-3.9
	TALATA - MARAFA	OMC	298	11	3.7	1.9-6.5
	TOTAL		597	16	2.7	
ZONAL TOTAL			3892	165	4.2	

Minimum Value: 1.3
 Maximum Value: 15.1
 Median Value: 3.2

The minimum HIV prevalence in the North West was found in Hadejia (1.3%) in Jigawa State and the maximum in Kafanchan (15.1%) in Kaduna State. The median HIV prevalence in this Zone was 3.2 percent. The median HIV prevalence in major cities and outside major cities were 3.0% and 3.5% respectively.

**TABLE VI: SUMMARY RESULTS OF HIV PREVALENCE IN ZONE D
(NORTH EAST)**

STATE	SITE	SITE STATUS	TOTAL SAMPLE	NUMBER POSITIVE	% HIV	95% C.I
ADAMAWA	YOLA	MC	310	17	5.5	3.2-8.6
	MUBI	OMC	290	13	4.5	2.4-7.5
	TOTAL		600	30	5.0	
BAUCHI	BAUCHI	MC	300	16	5.3	3.1-8.5
	AZARE	OMC	299	2	0.6	0.1-2.4
	TOTAL		599	18	3.0	
BORNO	MAIDUGURI	MC	300	13	4.3	2.3-7.3
	BIU	OMC	300	14	4.7	2.6-7.7
	TOTAL		600	27	4.5	
GOMBE	GOMBE	MC	299	10	3.3	1.6-6.1
	KALTUNGO	OMC	300	18	6.0	3.6-9.3
	TOTAL		599	28	4.7	
TARABA	JALINGO	MC	300	12	4.0	2.1-6.9
	ZING	OMC	300	21	7.0	4.4-10.5
	TOTAL		600	33	5.5	
YOBE	DAMATURU	MC	353	9	2.5	1.2-4.8
	GEIDAM	OMC	184	1	0.5	0.0-2.0
	TOTAL		537	10	1.9	
ZONAL TOTAL			3535	146	4.1	
		<i>Minimum Value:</i>			0.5	
		<i>Maximum Value:</i>			7.0	
		<i>Median Value:</i>			4.5	

The minimum HIV prevalence in the North East was found in Geidam (0.5%) in Yobe State and the maximum in Zing (7.0%) in Taraba State. The median HIV prevalence in this Zone was 4.5 percent.

The median HIV prevalence in major cities and outside major cities in the North East Zone were 4.2% and 4.6% respectively.

TABLE VII: SUMMARY RESULTS OF HIV PREVALENCE IN ZONE E (NORTH CENTRAL)

STATE	SITE	SITE STATUS	TOTAL SAMPLE	NUMBER POSITIVE	% HIV	95% CI*
BENUE	MAKURDI	MC	300	38	12.7	9.1-17.0
	OTUKPO	OMC	300	63	21.0	16.5-26.1
	TOTAL		600	101	16.8	
KWARA	GARKI	MC	300	24	8.0	5.2-11.6
	GWAGWALADA	OMC	300	19	6.3	3.9-9.7
	TOTAL		600	43	7.2	
KADUNA	LOKOJA	MC	300	11	3.7	1.8-6.5
	ANKPA	OMC	300	20	6.7	4.1-10.1
	TOTAL		600	31	5.2	
KWARA	ILORIN	MC	358	11	3.1	1.5-5.4
	OFFA	OMC	240	8	3.3	1.4-6.5
	TOTAL		598	19	3.2	
KOSOF	LAFIA	MC	300	41	13.7	10.0-18.1
	MEGGON	OMC	340	18	5.3	3.5-7.3
	TOTAL		640	59	9.2	
KATSINA	MINNA	MC	300	27	9.0	6.0-12.8
	WUSHISHI	OMC	300	13	4.3	2.3-7.3
	TOTAL		600	40	6.7	
KADUNA	JOS	MC	321	25	7.8	5.1-11.3
	SHENDAM	OMC	299	14	4.7	2.3-7.3
	TOTAL		620	39	6.3	
TOTAL			4158	331	7.9	

Minimum Value: 3.1
 Maximum Value: 21.0
 Median Value: 7.0

The lowest HIV prevalence in the North Central Zone was found in Ilorin (3.10%) in Kwara State and the maximum in Otukpo (21.0%) in Benue State. The median HIV prevalence in the zone was 7.0 percent.

The median HIV prevalence in major cities and outside major cities in the North Central Zone were 8.0% and 6.3% respectively.

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TABLE VIII : SUMMARY RESULTS OF HIV PREVALENCE IN ZONE F
(SOUTH-SOUTH)

STATE	SITE	SITE STATUS	TOTAL SAMPLE	NUMBER POSITIVE	% HIV	95% C.I
AKWA IBOM	DYO	MC	300	35	11.7	8.3-16.9
	ESSIEN UDIM	OMC	300	40	13.3	9.7-17.7
	TOTAL		600	75	12.5	
BAYELSA	YENOOGA	MC	287	9	3.1	1.8-6.3
	BRASS	OMC	282	14	5.0	3.0-8.8
	TOTAL		569	23	4.0	
CROSS RIVER	CALABAR	MC	300	19	6.3	3.9-9.7
	IKOM	OMC	300	16	5.3	3.1-8.5
	TOTAL		600	35	5.8	
DELTA	WARRI	MC	299	10	3.3	1.8-6.1
	AGBOR	OMC	300	15	5.0	2.8-8.1
	TOTAL		599	25	4.2	
EDO	BENIN CITY	MC	300	12	4.0	2.1-6.9
	AUCHI	OMC	244	20	8.2	5.1-12.4
	TOTAL		544	32	5.9	
RIVERS	PORTHARCOURT	MC	300	14	4.7	2.6-7.7
	BORI	OMC	290	3	1.0	0.2-3.3
	TOTAL		590	17	2.9	
ZONAL TOTAL			3482	207	6.0	

Minimum Value: 1.0
 Maximum Value: 13.3
 Median Value: 5.2

The lowest HIV prevalence in the South South Zone was found in Bori (1.0%) in Rivers State and the maximum in Essien Udim (13.3%) in Akwa Ibom State. The median HIV prevalence in this Zone was 5.2 percent.

The median HIV prevalence in the South South Zone was higher in an outside major city site (5.3%) than in a major city site (4.3%).

4.2.1 VARIATION IN HIV PREVALENCE BY ZONE

TABLE IX: HIV PREVALENCE BY ZONE

Zones	HIV PREVALENCE
South East	5.2
South West	3.5
North West	3.2
North East	4.5
North Central	7
South South	5.2
National Median Prevalence	5.4

Examination of the prevalence rates in Tables I – VI reveals considerable variation around the national median rate of 5.4 percent. This variation occurs both across zones and even more significantly across the states within zones. While some of the inter-state variation might be due to sampling variation, undoubtedly there are very real differences due to behaviour. Focusing on these areas allows one to identify "hot spots" that deserve critical attention.

Table IX summarizes prevalence by zones while Figure 1 displays in mapping format the variation across zones. The two western zones had the lowest overall HIV rates with the South West at 3.5 percent and the North West at 3.2 percent. Within these two low HIV zones, however, prevalence ranged from a minimum of 1.7 percent in Jigawa to a maximum of 11.6 in Kaduna state.

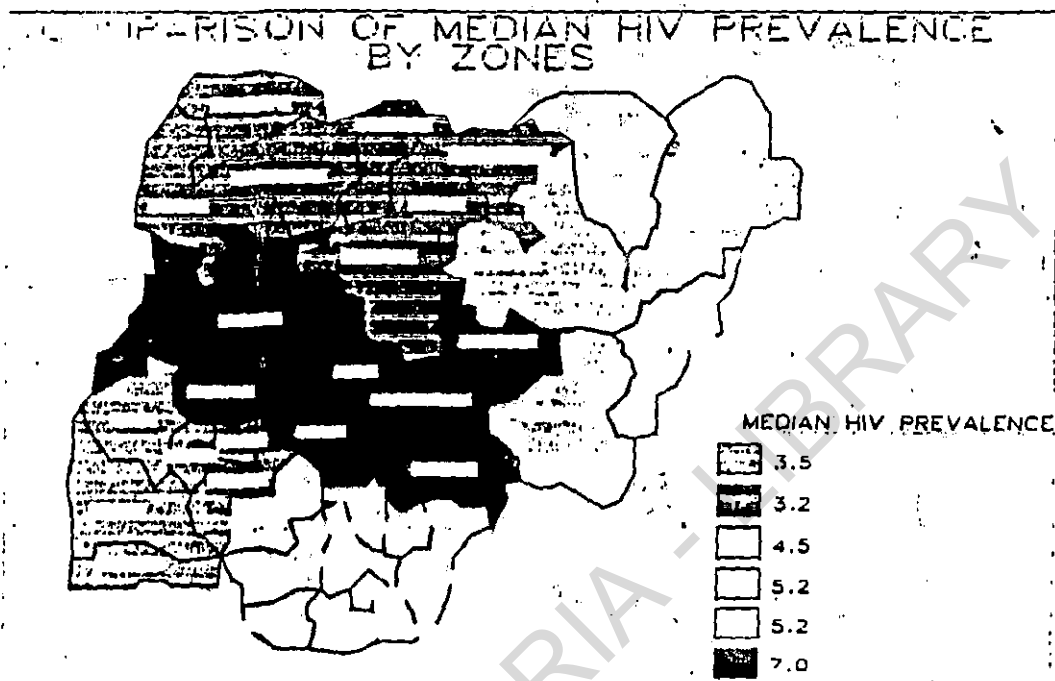
The North Central Zone had the highest overall HIV prevalence rate at 7 percent. Within the zone, Benue state weighed in with the highest state prevalence rate for the country at 18 percent, more than three times the national median. Also contributing to the high zonal rate was Nasarawa with a rate of 10.8 percent. Despite these high rate states, Kwara state had a rate of 3.2 percent, which is below the national figure.

Major City versus Outside Major City

Another dimension of interest when looking at the pattern of HIV is the location of respondents. In other countries, HIV is seen as an urban disease. While this survey has not explicitly examined an urban – rural dichotomy, some light is thrown by using the major city and outside

major city differentiation. Referring again to Tables I – VI, we can see that across zones, the median HIV prevalence rate is higher in the major city in three out of the six zones, suggesting no clear pattern. Looking at all states regardless of zone, it can be seen that in only 13 out of the 36 states and the FCT is the major city prevalence rate higher than that in the outside major city sites. This suggests that in Nigeria the HIV problem is not concentrated strictly in urban areas.

Figure 1:



APPENDIX C

THEMES FOR IN_DEPTH INTERVIEW SESSIONS

Introduction

- ◆ Greetings and introduction of self and the purpose of the study and tape recording.
- ◆ Introduction of interviewees (ages, names, religion, marital status, type of union, etc.)
- ◆ Assurance of anonymity

Major Themes

- ◆ General knowledge about the traditional sexual norms that operate in Yoruba society.
- ◆ Detailed explanation on the operation of the identified norms for both male and female.
- ◆ Views about the current general pattern of sexuality in Yoruba society.
- ◆ Detailed appraisal of male sexuality within the current pattern.
- ◆ A comparison of the current pattern of male sexuality with what obtained in the past.
- ◆ Opinions about spousal rights with respect to male sexuality.

APPENDIX D

MALE SEXUAL BEHAVIOUR AND ATTITUDES TO MALE SEXUALITY

INSTRUCTION: Interview monogamously and polygynously married males, 15 years and above

SECTION A: BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. How old are you?
E jowo e to omo odun melo?.....
2. What is your level of education?
Ibo lo ga ju ti e ba eko yin de/iwe melo ni e ka?.....
3. What is your occupation?
Iru ise wo ni e n se?.....
4. What is your marital status?
Iru ipo wo ni e wa niti igbeyawo.....
5. To which ethnic group do you belong?
Lati inu eya wo ni e ti wa?.....
6. What is your religion?
Kini esin yin?
7. How many wives do you have presently?
Iyawo melo ni e ni (ti won ba lodo yin bayii)?
8. How many wives have you had, that are no longer living with you now?
Iyawo melo ni e ti ni, sugbon ti won ko si lodo yin mo bayii?

SECTION B: QUESTIONS ON SEXUAL BEHAVIOUR AND ACTIVITIES

1. Do you think sex with one woman is sufficient for a man, over a year?
Nje o ro wipe nini ibalopo pelu obinrin kan fun odidi odun kan je ohun ti o to fun okunrin?.....
2. If Yes, why (explain fully)
Bi o ba je beeni, kini di ti of fi je bee? (se alaye lekun rere).....

Sociology Department,
University of Ado-Ekiti, Nigeria.

November 28, 2001.

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3. If No why? (explain fully)
Bi o ba je beeko, kini di ti o fi je bee? (se alaye lekun rere).....
.....
4. Do you think sex with one woman is sufficient for a man over a life time?
Nje e ro wipe nini ibalopo pelu okunrin kan fun gbogbo ojo aye je ohun ti o to
fun okunrin?.....
5. If Yes, why? (explain fully)
Bi o ba je beeni, kini idi ti o fi je bee? (se alaye lekun rere)
.....
6. If No why? (explain fully)
Bi o ba je beeko, kini di ti o fi je bee? (se alaye lekun rere).....
.....
7. Do you think men are different from women in the number of sexual
partners that they ?
Nje e ro wipe iyato wa laarin okunrin ati obinrin ti aba ni ka wo iye awon ti o ye
ki won ba lo?.....
8. If Yes, why? (explain fully)
Bi o ba je beeni, kini di ti o fi je bee? (se alaye lekun rere).....
.....
9. If No why? (explain fully)
Bi o ba je beeko, kini di ti o fi je bee? (se alaye lekun rere).....
.....
10. When did you last have sex with someone other than your wife?
Nigbawo ni e ba elomiran yato si iyawo yin lo kehin?.....
11. Why did you do it?/ kini idi re ti e fi se bee?
.....
.....

12. What were the circumstances?
kini awon ohun ti o se okunfa re?
13. Did you know the woman?
Nje e mo obinrin naa ri?
14. If Yes, how did you know her?
Bi o ba je beeni, bawo ni e ti se moo?
15. Where did you know her?
Nibo ni e ti moo?
16. Did you pay her anything?
Nje e fun ni ohunkohun (owo tabi nkan miran)
17. Was she related to you?
Nje arabinrin naa ba yin tan ?
18. If Yes, what relationship?
Bi o ba je beeni bawo ni o se je si yin?
19. **At that time, was your wife:**
Ni akoko ti a n soro re yii, se iyawo yin:
- a. menstruating/ Nse nkan osu?
- b. pregnant /Wa ni ipo iloyun.....
- c. abstaining from sex after the birth of a baby?
nyago fun ibalopo lehin ti o sese bimo?.....
- d. just refusing to have sex?/ko lati ba yin lo po.....
- e. Why was she refusing sex?
Kini idi re ti o fi ko lati baa yin lo po?
-
- f. Did your wife know that you had sex with someone else?
Nje iyawo yin mo wipe e ni ibalopo pelu elomiran?
- g. If Yes, did she say anything?
Bi o ba je beeni nje o so ohunkohun?

- h. What did she say?
Kini ohun ti o so?
- 20a. Did you think there was any chance of catching a disease?
Nje e ro wipe o seese wipe ki eniyan ko arun nipase iru ibalopo bayi?
- b. If Yes, why?
Bi o ba je beeni, kini idi re?
- c. If No, why not?
Bi o ba je beeko, kini idi re ti o fi je beeko?
- d. If Yes, what disease?
Bi o ba je beni iru arun wo nii eniyan lee ko?
- 21a. Did you do anything to reduce the risk?
Nje e ti se ohunkoun lati dekun ewu ti o wa ninu kiko arun yii?
- b. If yes, what have you done?
Kini e ti se?
22. How did you feel after this experience with other person?
Bawo ni o ti ri si ninu okan yin lehin ti e ni ibalopo pelu elomiran yii?
- 23a. Why did you feel the need for an extra-marital partner just at that time? (explain fully)
Kini idi re ti e fi ro wipe e nilati ba elomiran lo po ni asiko ti a nsoro re yi? (se alaye lekunrere).....
.....
.....
- Does your wife ever say anything about having sex with women (other than wives)?
Nje iyawo yin samba maa nso ohunkoun nipa ibalopo yin pelu awon obinrin miran (yato si awon iyawo yoku).....
- 24a. If Yes, what does she say?
Bi o ba je beeni, kini o saba maa nso?
- b. What do you say in response?
Kini eyin naa ma nso lati dahun?

- c. Does what your wife say influence what you do?
Nje ohun ti iyawo yin maa nso yii ko maa ni ipa lori bi e ti nhuwa si/ati ohun ti e nse?
- d. If Yes, how?
Bi o ba je beeni , lona wo?
- 24e. If No, why not?
Bi o ba je beeko, kini idi re?
25. What did you last go to a bar/hotel/brothel to meet a woman?
Nigbawo ni e ti lo si ile oti/itura/asewo kehin lati ni ibalopo pelu obinrin?
26. Why did you go there?
Kini idi ti e fi lo sibe?
27. Did you have too much to drink there?
Se e ri oti mu nibe daradara?
28. Did you enjoy it?
Nje e gbadun re?
29. Were you afraid of disease?
Se aya fo yin wipe e le ko arun?
30. Did you do anything to protect yourself from disease?
Nje e se ohunkohun lati dabobo ara yin kuro lowo arun?
31. If yes, what did you do?
Kini ohun ti e se?
32. What were the circumstances?
Kini o se okunfa re, ti e fi ni lati dabobo ara yin?
33. Why did you need to go to a bar/hotel just at that time for a girl?
(explain fully)
Kini idi re ti e fi ni lati lo si ile oti/itura/asewo ni asiko ti a nso yi nitori obinrin?
(dahun lekurrere).....
.....
- 34a. Do you think men will always have more than one woman?
Nje e ro wipe gbogbo igba ni awon okunrin maa nnilo ju obinrin kan lo?

- b. If Yes, why? (explain fully)
Bi o ba je beeni, kini idi re? (dahun lekun rere).....
.....
- c. Is this true in your case?
Se eleyi ni se pelu yin?
- d. If Yes, why?
Bi o ba je beeni, kini idi re?
- 35a. If men spent all their lives just having sex with one woman, how would they feel?
Bi awon okunrin ba nba obirin kan lo fun gbogbo ojo aye won bawo ni won yoo ti mo lara si?
- b. Would it be possible?
Se yoo seese?
- c. If Yes, why?
Bi o ba je beeni, kini idi re?
- d. If No, why not?
Bi o ba je wipe beeko, kini idi re?
- e. Would it be possible for you?
Se eleyi yio sese fun yin?
- f. If Yes, why?
Bi o ba je beeni, ki ni idi re?
- g. If No, why not?
Bi o ba je beeko, kini idi re?
- 36a. Do you think a wife has a right to know and approve of her husband's sexual activities outside marriage?
Nje e ro wipe iyawo ni eto lati mo ati lati fi owo si bi oko re ti nba awon obinrin miran lo po ni ita?.....
.....
- b. If Yes, why?
Bi o ba ri bee kini idi re?

- c. If No, why?
Bi o ba je wipe beeko kini idi re?
- 37a. Do you think a husband has a right to some sex outside marriage without his wife interfering?
Nje e ro wipe oko ni eto lati ba obinrin miran lopo lanipe iyawo re da sii?.....
- b. If Yes, why?
Bi o ba je wipe beeni kini idi re?
-
- c. If No, why not?
Bi o ba je beeko, kini idi re?
- 38a. If your daughter earned a good income in Lagos through sexual activities and was careful not to let people in this village/town/community know, how would you feel about it?
Bi omo yin obinrin ti o mbe ni Eko ba ngbowo goboyi nipa sise ise asewo, ti ko si je ki ara ile ti o wa ni ilu/ileto/abule yii gbo nipa re, bawo ni yoo ti ri ni okan yin?
.....
- b. Would you think it was better than her being unemployed, poor and hungry there?
Nje e ko ni ro wi pe eleyi san ju pe ki o ma ni ise lowo, ki ise masi, ki ebi si maa pa?.....
- c. Would you hope she would send you some of the money?
Nje e ko ni maa ni ireti wi pe yoo fi die lara owo naa ranse si yin?.....
- d. Would you do anything about your daughter's engagement in commercial sex?
Nje e maa se ohunkohun nipa pe omobinrin nse asewo?.....
- e. If afterwards she came back well dressed with lots of money and start a business in this village/community, how would you feel about it?
Lehin gbogbo nkan ti omobinrin yin ti se ni Eko, bi o ba pada wa ti o mura bi eniyan pataki pelu opolopo owo ti o si bere owo sise ni ilu yii, bawo ni yoo ti ri lokan yin?.....
- f. If she did this, do you think she would likely make a good marriage?
Bi o ba le se eleyi, nje e ro pe o seese fun lati le gbe ile oko?

FEMALE ATTITUDES TO MALE SEXUALITY

INSTRUCTION: Interview both young and old monogamously and polygynously married women

SECTION A: BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. How old are you?
E jowo e to omo odun melo?
2. What is your level of education?
Ibo lo ga ju ti e ba eko yin de/Iwe melo ni e ka?
3. What is your occupation?
Iru ise wo ni e n se?
4. What is your marital status?
Iru ipo wo ni e wa niti igbeyawo?.....
5. How many times have you been married?
O ti to igba melo ti a ti gbe yin ni iyawo?.....
6. To which ethnic group do you belong?
Lati eya wo ni e ti wa?.....
7. What is your religion?
Kini esin yin?.....
8. How many wives does your husband have now?
Iyawo melo ni oko yin ni bayi?.....
9. What is your position among your husbands' wives?
Kini ipo yin laarin awon iyawo oko yin?.....
10. How many children do you have?
Omo melo ni Olorun ti fi se ike yin?
11. How many of them are living?
Melo ninu won ni o wa laaye?.....
12. How many of them are dead?
Melo ninu won ni o ti se alaisi?.....
13. How many of your sons are above 16 years of age?

Melo ninu awon omo yin okunrin ni o ti ju omo odun merindinlogun?.....

14. How old is your husband?
Oko yin to omo odun melo?.....

SECTION B: QUESTIONS ON ATTITUDE TO MALE SEXUALITY

- 1a. Do you think men need more than one wife?
Nje e ro wipe awon okunrin nilo ju obinrin kan lo?
- b. If Yes why?
Bi o ba ja beeni, kini idi re?
- c. Do you think most husbands have sex with women older than their wives?
Nje e ro wipe opolopo awon oko maa nni ibalopo pelu awon obinrin ti o ju iyawo won lo ni ojo ori?.....
- d. If Yes, why?
Bi o ba je beeni , kini idi re?
- 2a. Do you think your husband ever goes to other women (except other wives) ?
Nje ero wipe oko yin maa nlo si odo awon obinrin miran yato si awon iyawo yoku?.....
- b. If yes, why do you think he does this?
Ti o ba je beeni , kini e ro wipe o nfa ti won fi nse eleyi?
- c. Does he do this when you have a baby?
Se won samba maa n se eleyi nigba ti e ba sese bimo ni?
- d. What do you do when things are like this?
Nigbati oro ba ri bayi kini e maa nse?
- e. What do you say to him when things are like this?
Kini e samba maa nso si oko yin nigbati oro ba ri bayii?
- f. If nothing, why not?
Biko ba si ohun kan ti e maa nso, kini idi ti o fi ri bee?
- g. What does he say to you?

Kini oko yi saba maa nso si yin?.....

3a. Do you think he ever goes to prostitutes?
Nje e ro wipe won (oko yin) samba ma nlo si odo awon asewo?

b. If Yes, why does he do this?
Bi o ba je beeni, kini idi ti won fi se eleyi?

4a. Do you think men are different from women in their need for different sexual partners?
Nje e ro wipe iyato wa laarin okunrin ati obinrin ti a ba ni ki a wo iye awon ti o ye ki won ba lo po?

b. If Yes, why the difference?
Bi o ba je beeni, kini idi abajo iyato yii?

5a. Do you think your husband could be satisfied just with you all his life?
Nje e ro wipe eyin nikan le te oko yin lorun ni gbogbo ojo aye won laije wipe won n wo ita fun obinrin miran?.....

b. If Yes, what can make this possible?
Bi o ba je beeni, kini ohun ti o le mu ki o seese?

c. If No, why can it not be possible?
Bi o ba je beeko, kini idi re to ko fi ni seese?.....

d. Would you like this?
Se o wu yin wipe ki eyin nikan le te oko yin lorun ni gbogbo ojo aye won?

e. If Yes, why would you like it?
Bi o ba je beeni, kini idi ti eleyi fi wu yin?

f. If No, why would you not like it?
Bi o ba je beeko kini idi re ti ko fi wu yin?

6a. If AIDS come to this village/town/community, do you think your husband would stop going to other woman?
Bi arun ko gboogun ti a npe ni AIDS ba de si adugbo/abule/ileto/ilu yi, Nje e ro wipe oko yin le mara duro lai je pe won nlo si odo awon obinrin miran yato si iyawo won?.....

b. If Yes, why will he stop?

Bi o ba je beeni kini idi ti won yoo fi mara duro?

.....

c. If No, why would he not stop?
Bi o ba je beeko kini idi re ti ko fi ni mara duro?

.....

7a. Can you think of anything else that might make men have sex only with their wife?
Nje e ro wipe nkan miran wa ti o tun le mu ki awon okunrin fi ara mo iyawo won nikan lai je wipe won ni elomiran si ita?

b. If Yes, what is this thing?
Bi o ba je beeni, kini nkan naa?

c. When might this happen?
Nigbawo ni eleyi le sele?

8a. Do you think a wife has a right to know of her husband's sexual activities outside marriage?
Nje e ro wi pe iyawo ni eto lati mo bi oko re ti nba awn obinrin miran lo po ni ita?

.....

b. If yes, why?
Bi o ba je beeni, kini idi re?

c. If no, why?
Bi o ba je beeko, kini idi re?

9a. If someone told you that your unmarried son was living with a girl, how would you feel about it?
Bi won ba so fun yin pe omo yin okunrin ti ko tii gbeyawo n gbe pelu obinrin, kini e maa ro nipa re?

b. What would you do?
Igbese wo ni e maa gbe/kini e maa se?

c. If someone told you, he had been to a prostitute, what would you feel about it?
Bi won ba so fun yin, wipe omo yin okunrin lo si odo asewo, kini e maa ro nipa re?

d. What would you do?
Kini e maa se sii/ kini igbese ti e maa gbe?

FOR MOTHERS OF ADOLESCENT SON (13-16 YEARS OLD)
IBERE FUN IYA AWON ODOMOKUNRIN BII OMO ODUN METALA SI
MERINDINLOGUN

- 1a. Do you think your son has sex with girls?
 Nje e ro wipe omo yin okunrin maa nsaba ba odomobinrin lo po?
- b. Do you say anything to him about this?
 Nje e gbe eleyin ko loju?
- c. If Yes, what do you say?
 Bi o ba je beeni kini e so?.....
- d. Does he take any notice?
 Nje omo naa ko ibi ara sii?.....
- e. Does his father say anything to him?
 Nje baba re saba maa nsoro si?
- f. If Yes, what does his father say?
 Ti o ba je beeni, kini baba re saba maa nso?.....
- g. Does the boy take any notice?
 Nje omo naa saba maa nkobi ara sii?
- 9a. Do you think your son ever goes to prostitute?
 Nje e ro wipe omo yin okunrin maa nlo si odo awon asewo?
- b. If Yes, why?
 Bi o ba je bee kini idi re?
-
- c. If No, why not?
 Bi o ba je beeko, kini idi re ti o fi je beeko?
-
- d. What do you say to him about this?
 Kini e so sii nipa eleyi/Bawo ni ese gbe eleyi ko loju?

e.	Does he take any notice? Nje o kobi ara si ibawi yi?.....
f.	What does he say to you? Kini esi ti o fun yin?
10a .	Do you ask your son what he has been doing when he has been out? Bi omo yin okunrin ba jade losi igboro, n je e maa nbeere ohun ti o lose?.....
b.	Do you think mothers should control their son's sexual activities? Nje e ro wipe o ye ki awon iya omo gbiyanju lati dekun bi awon omo won okunrin ti nba obinrin lo po?
c.	If Yes, why? Bi o ba je beeni kini idi re?
d.	If no, why not? Bi o ba je beeko, kini idi re?.....
11a.	Would it be possible for you to control your son's sexual activities? Se eleyi yo seese fun yin lati dekun bi awon omo yin okunrin ti nba obinrin lopo?
b.	If yes, why? Bi o ba je beeni, kini idi re?.....
c.	If no, why? Bi o ba je beeko, kini idi re?.....
FOR ALL REpondENTS.	
12a.	Do you think a wife has a right to know and approve of her husband's sexual activities outside marriage? Nje e ro wipe iyawo ni e to lati fowosi bi oko re tinba awon obinrin miran lo po ni ita?
b.	If Yes, why? Bi o ba je beeko, kini idi re?
c.	If no, why? Bi o ba je beeko, kini idi re?.....
13a.	Do you think a husband has a right to some sex outside marriage without his wife interfering? Nje e ro wipe oko ni eto lati ba obinrin miran lo po ni ita lai je wipe iyawo re

ndasi?

b. If yes, why?
Bi o ba je beeni, kini idi re?.....

c. If no, why?
Bi o ba je beeko, kini idi re?

14a. If your daughter earned a good income in Lagos through sexual activities and was careful not to let people in this village/town community know/how would you feel about it?

Bi omo yin obinrin ti o ngbe ni ilu eko ba ngbowo goboyi nipa sise ise asewo ti ko si je ki awon ara ile ni ilu/abule/iletoyi gbo nipa re, bawo ni yoo ti ri ti e ba gbo?.....

b. Would you think it was better than her being unemployed, poor and hungry there?

Nje e ko ni ro wipe eleyi san ju pe ki o ma ni ise lowo, ki owo masi ki ebi si ti nje e ko ni maa pa?.....

c. Would you hope she would send you some of the money?

Nje e ko ni maa ni ireti wipe yoo fi die lara owo naa ranse si yin?.....

d. Would you do anything about it?

Nje e ma se ohunkohun nipa re?

e. If Yes, what would you do?

Bi o ba je beeni, kini e maa se?

f. If, afterwards she came back well dressed with lots of money and started a business in this village, how would you feel about? Lehin gbogbo nkan ti omo yin ti se ni Eko, bi o ba pada wa ti o mura bi eniyan pataki pelu opolopo owo ti o si bere owo sise ni ilu yii, bawo ni yoo ti ri ni okan yin?.....

.....

g. If she did this do you think she would likely make a good marriage?

Bi o ba le se eleyi, nje e ro pe o seese fun lati le gbe ile oko pe?.....

.....

