



HOWARD COLLEGE

**“A Sociological Exploration of Sexual Relationships and Intimacy amongst
a Select Group of Participants in an Informal Settlement: A Case Study of
Cato Manor, Durban. “**

BY:

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ABSTRACT

Humans have a general desire to belong and to love, which is usually satisfied within an intimate relationship. These relationships involve feelings of liking or loving one or more people, romance, physical or sexual attraction, sexual relationships, or emotional and personal support between the members. Sexual relationships and intimacy are very important in family life and societal stability, because they are the outcome of complex interactions between individuals who are conscious of belonging to organized groups and who behave according to a system of learned rules communicated through symbolic language. Thus, the outcome of sex and intimacy, for many groups, globally, is procreative marriage, even though modern sexual arrangements have a distinctive character, which sets them apart from pre-existing systems. In developed countries world sex cohabitation is something that is not shun upon, unlike in traditional societies, because as married couples, cohabiting men and woman have similar cultural traits, as they have rather similar social backgrounds and are often of the same cultural level.

In traditional patriarchal societies, like Africa, the male is viewed as apprehensive towards intimacy, while the female is seen as having a great capacity to commit herself to love and to be intimate. It is in this context the study of family life, love and intimacy is studied within an informal human settlement context. The assertion is that irrespective of the nature and type of human settlements, intimacy, sexual relationships are universal human needs, and this study aims to ascertain as to whether this holds true within the context of informal human settlements. Informal human settlements by their very nature are compact, densely populated, deplete of basic infrastructure and lack privacy. It is characterized by shack dwellings, made from a host of materials within proximity with each. Given this physical characteristic of informal settlement, it is assumed that residents of these settlements are prevented from leading normal family lives. It constrains the expression of one's intimacy, sexual relationship and family life which this study hopes to unfold.

DECLARATION

I, Sandisiwe Macozoma, declare that this thesis is my own work and has not been submitted in any form for another degree or diploma at any university or other institute of tertiary education. Information derived from the published and unpublished work of others has been acknowledged in the text and a list of references.

Signature of Student

Signature of supervisor

Date

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“A good life is one inspired by love and guided by knowledge.” (Bertrand Russell).

“It is our choices, that show us what we truly are, far more than our abilities.” (Albus Dumbledore, J.K. Rowling, Harry Potter).

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Chapter One

Introduction

1. Introduction

It is said that we live in a time where traditional definitions of basic institutions are being challenged based on new values that are promoted by the rise of technology. This is said to be the same for South Africa, particularly in Durban and other more advanced cities. Warren Smith (1996) asserts that rural poverty and expanding industries in Durban resulted in the increased migration of Africans to Durban and the rapid growth of informal settlements. Informal settlements in South Africa came about due to industry expansion, which saw an increase in rural-urban migration. Informal human settlements are, therefore, recognised as an inadequate form of housing, characterised by structures that are constructed with a variety of materials, including corrugated iron, plastic, timber, and metal sheeting (Charlton & Marx, 2003). KwaZulu-Natal accounts for 24% of all informal settlement households in the country (Housing Development Agency, 2012: 12). The Housing Development Agency's Land and Property Information Systems (LaPsis) estimates that KwaZulu-Natal has 670 informal settlements; whilst the National Department of Human Settlement (NDHS) estimates that there are 647, of which 546 are in and around the eThekweni Municipality (Housing Development Agency, 2012: 15).

Due to the above, as well as health and public service problems that the people in the informal settlements face, many studies that have been conducted in informal human settlements have predominantly focused on HIV and AIDS and its effects on the socio-economic impact on the lives of people. However, what these studies do not highlight is the nature and form of sexual relationships and intimacy that those afflicted by this pandemic experience, although informal human settlements comprise of a large segment of the population exposed to this sexually transmitted health condition. The aim of this study is not to investigate the nature and extent of the HIV/AIDS pandemic, but to explore how the living conditions in informal settlements directly or indirectly contribute to forms of sexual relationships and intimacy that contribute to the family and marital stability. A study conducted by Chakraborty (2012:3) indicates that most of the people living in informal Indian settlements of Calcutta, like many other informal human settlements in the Sub-Saharan region, comprise of large joint families, constituting many generations within a one-room home. There is growing evidence that although such a

physical environment militates against stable sexual relationships and intimacy affecting family and marital stability due to the lack of private space, comfort, and social convenience, very little is known about the sexual reproductive health of people living in informal human settlements (Wekesa, 2012:20). It is against this context that this study seeks to understand how informal human settlement shapes intimacy and sexual relations impacting on family and marital stability.

1.2 Background and Context of the Study

Informal settlements are said to be ridden by poverty, where it is estimated that up to seventy per cent of South Africa's poor people may be in a structural poverty trap and lack the means to escape poverty over time (Charlton & Marx, 2003). Informal settlements are said to be ridden by lack of proper sanitation, water, electricity, ventilation, food and storage space (Richards et al., 2007, 376). People confined to the informal settlements have difficulty in living up to the ideal standards of family life, considering the physical, social, and economic limitations imposed on them. Living in informal settlements means that, due to lack of proper basic human services, many of the people living in these structures suffer health risks and infections, that are related to the lacking services. This is not to say that some countries' informal settlements haven't improved, as in the case of India, where their urban slums have undergone rapid social change since economic liberalization in the mid-1990s (Chakraborty, 2012).

The United Nations (1982) acknowledged that a "homeless" person is not only someone who lives on the street or in a shelter but can equally be someone whose shelter or housing fails to meet the basic criteria considered essential for health, human, and social development. These criteria include security of tenure, protection against bad weather and personal security, as well as access to sanitary facilities and potable water, education, work, and health services (Speak, 2013:145). Thus, in this research, the physical environment of Cato Manor is one of the main focal points for the study, as it has a role to play amongst its dwellers, in the stability of sexual relationships and marital stability.

Broadly, socio-psychological needs are intrinsic to human nature and are met diversely through a myriad number of mediating variables such as education, income, and occupation. More importantly, the type of housing one occupies, and the extent to which basic services are accessible will determine the quality of life one experiences. In so far as sexual relationships and intimacy are concerned, just like health and housing, they are viewed as very important

social-psychological components for marriage and family stability. Adequate shelter is not only a human right but the basis for human relationships, the free development of the individual, and for playing an active role in the social and cultural life of the community (Springer, 2000:475).

Social relations in this context, as with informal human settlements, constitute the politics of space (Ramphela, 1993,186). This is mainly due to the impact space has on relationships and family structures, and satisfaction within these structures. Space is said to play a pivotal role in the maintenance of relationships and families, as it allows members to feel safe and awards them solitude. Furthermore, Horton & Hunt (1980) assert that the sex drive is one of the building blocks for human social life, as each drive consists of a set of recurrent tension states, such as lack of employment and health related difficulties, which impels people to activity to relieve the tension. Thus, Giddens (1993) argues that the way in which people seek to satisfy their sexual needs seem to be culturally learned and not genetically implanted. This is said to be true of any society, where cultural values still govern the community, and as such, this is true of the informal settlements.

Housing is said to be the determinant of quality of life, where satisfaction is measured at individual, household and community level (Magagi & Majani, 2006, 2). Massey (1994) argues that there is a profundity of the connection of space and place with gender and the construction of gender relations. Furthermore, Amayunzu-Nyamongo & Magadi (2006) assert that the poor living conditions in informal settlements, coupled with economic problems, predispose the residents to critical problems relating to sexual behaviour. Limited space is said to impact negatively on intimacy, mainly due to the fact that there are more people living under the same roof. This not only limits the time between the couples, but time with their off-springs. Informal settlements are characterised by one bedroomed structure, where overcrowding and lack of space are a norm (Hunter, 2007, 690). It is, thus, apparent that this may cause a certain level of discomfort, as neighbours will not only know what is transpiring at their neighbour's house but also children may become curious about what is happening.

Giddens (1993) argues that although different Christian sects and denominations have held divergent views about the proper place for sexuality in life, the dominant view of the Christian church was that all sexual behaviour is suspect and is to be kept to the minimum needed to secure reproduction. These views have, however, changed slightly, as people are now exploring their sexuality, not necessarily for child-rearing, but for its mere pleasure. The same can be

said about life in informal settlements and the way sexuality and intimacy are expressed in creative ways. For example, Xulu (2012) asserts that in the case of men having their wives or girlfriends over at the hostels, as would be expected in informal settlements as well, they would use some material, such as a bed sheet or curtain, to cover the corner where their bed was located so that they may have some privacy. This material that is used is called *umdiyadiya*.

The gendered role within informal human settlements is no different from that of formal settlements with men in many cases taking the role of breadwinners, whilst females if unemployed stay at home and nurture the family. It can be argued that the location/context/geography of informal settlements play a significant role in the construction of gender identities (Xulu, 2012: 145). In keeping with traditional patriarchal societies, like in Africa, males tend to feel intimidated in not taking on their provider role, fearing intimacy and a loss of control, while females are seen as having a great capacity to commit herself to love and to be intimate (Turner & Helms, 1988) as a form of support to their husband or partner under such a trying physical condition. Amuyunzu-Nyamongo et al. (2007) observe that most people living in the slums (informal human settlements) are engaged in seasonal and short-term jobs such as casual work, small scale/petty trading, and self-employment to improve on the quality of their family life. In meeting their material needs so that they can fulfil their family and marital responsibility, a gendered role is prevalent with women investing in equipment to sew, cook and make crafts, whilst men appear to concentrate on more intensively capitalised activities such as construction, repairs, and transport (Charlton & Marx, 2003).

Leslie & Morgan (2011:17) assert that with the increase of job loss in the 1970s, there was a great decrease in marriage within the African society such as in South Africa, as many men could not afford *lobola*, the bride price. Consequently, Dush et al. (2003:539) observed that unmarried heterosexual cohabitation had become a common phenomenon in industrialized societies across the world, and this has been observed within many informal human settlements in South Africa, and other places.

1.3 Rationale for the Study

The study of sex and sexuality in developing countries is almost considered taboo. This is more so in traditional societies where strong religious beliefs, norms and values are prevalent. In more homogenous societies, attitudes with regard to sex and sexuality are more likely to be influenced by certain dominant value dispositions. Similarly, attitudes and responses will vary

between rural and urban settings with the latter presenting a more liberal perception and attitude towards sexuality.

In the South African context, given the diversity brought upon by race, perceptions, and responses to sex and sexuality is likely to vary for the different race, education, and class groupings. Whites given their emancipation resulting from higher educational levels and westernisation are more likely to hold liberal attitudes and responses. Amongst the coloured community, levels of education may be regarded as a factor in how individuals respond to matters concerning sexuality. Within the Indian community, the extent of religiosity within the family structure and the type of family may be a determining factor on the way individuals respond to matters on sexuality. In so far as the African community is concerned, traditional notions of family and marriage, may serve as determinants in the way individuals respond towards sexuality. There could be both rural-urban dimensions intervening on how such attitudes are shaped and responses formulated. Given the diversity of the South African population, one can anticipate no uniform factor that shapes perceptions and responses towards sex and sexuality. Each racial group is influenced by a set of peculiar intervening variables on how attitudes towards sex and sexuality are played out in an everyday living context.

As mentioned earlier, research on sex and sexuality can be sensitive in nature; it is more than expected that studies of this nature would not be undertaken. In the South African context, studies of this nature are virtually non-existent, which makes this study of scholarly interest in the social sciences.

1.4 Major Objectives of the Study

The main aim of the study is to achieve the following:

- explore the meanings and perceptions of sexual relationships and intimacy among a select group of informal human settlement dwellers;
- ascertain whether there is a relationship between the type of human settlement and intensity of intimacy and sexual relationship;
- to determine whether there is a relationship between the type of human settlement and the extent to which participants in the study enjoy marital stability; and
- to explore the factors in the informal human settlement that contribute to marriage enrichment.

1.5 Assumptions Upon Which the Present Study is Based

The basic assumption of the study is premised on the following statements:

- That the meanings and perceptions of sexual relationships and intimacy among the study participants are no different from those living in formal human settlements;
- Marital stability for the study's participants is determined by the type of human settlement they live in; and
- To explore the factors in the informal human settlement that contribute to marriage enrichment.

1.6 Key Critical Questions

The research attempts to answer the following questions:

- What are some of the coping strategy used by informal human settlement dwellers to meet their intimacy and sexual relationship needs?
- What are some of the challenges in meeting intimacy and sexual needs within informal human settlements and the impact it has on marital and family stability?
- How do participants in the study locality perceive their quality of intimacy and sexual relationship in informal human settlements?
- Given the physical constraints prevalent in informal human settlements, is there much difference in the way that intimacy and sexual relationship is expressed and defined when compared to those living in formal settlements?

1.7 Significance of the Study

Majority of the existing literature done on sex and sexuality in the informal human settlement in South Africa is HIV/AIDS-related, as Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) accounts for over 68% of the total HIV burden and 70% of new infections (Wekesa, 2012:12). Because there has been a lack of research on the individual determinants of sexual behaviour and behaviour change, and the diverse social, cultural, economic, and political factors that potentially influence or even shape sexual experiences (Parker & Aggleton, 1999:2), this study intends to explore the relations between sexual relationships and intimacy as experienced in an informal human settlement. Studies of this nature are rare primarily because the issue of sex and sexuality is a sensitive and personal matter, given its taboo nature in society. The significance of this study is to explore the area of the sexual expression in an informal settlement and its impact on

marital stability so that more concrete assumptions can be formulated for further research in this area.

1.8 Theoretical Framework

One of the aims of this study is to explore the meanings and perceptions of sexual relationships and intimacy among informal settlement dwellers, and for this reason, the social exchange theory will be looked at. The social exchange theory claims that people make choices that are informed by the cost and the benefit of those choices. This can be seen with many informal settlement dwellers, as women try to find suitable husbands and partners of a better status as this will not only improve on her quality of life, but for the family as well.

Hunter (2002) asserts that sexualities are unstable and are produced through men and women's practical engagements with shifting economic, cultural and spatial conditions and relations. For Malinowski (1922) and Marcel Mauss (1925), social exchange was rooted in the notion of reciprocity and social obligation, whilst for Cook & Rice (2003) social exchange is defined as the exchange of activity, tangible or intangible, and rewarding or costly, between at least two persons. This can be observed in informal human settlements, where the cost of living is already high for many, and majority of the people that are not married find cohabiting more cost effective, since most have children and the partner's salary/wage assists them with the day to day running of the household.

According to John Scott (2000), basic to all forms of rational choice theory is the assumption that complex social phenomena can be explained in terms of the elementary individual actions of which they are composed, whilst Elster (1989), explains that the elementary unit of social life is the individual human action. To explain social institutions and social change is to show how they emerge as a result of action and interaction between and amongst individuals. This can be viewed predominantly in marriages, where there is not only interaction amongst spouses, but with the off-springs and as well, as they get taught about their environment, and what is expected of them, as with gender and sexuality, that is not only socially learnt, but is also guided by positive and negative sanctions, thus seen as socially applied forces which reward or restrain behaviour (Giddens, 2001:108).

In the past, for women to have more than one sexual partner was an abomination, as they had to hide their extramarital affair, whilst in the current days, the sexual climate has changed as

women tend to see it as a survival strategy (Xulu, 2012: 147). Thus, all contacts among men and women in informal human settlements rest on the schema of giving and returning the equivalence (Simmel, 1908:387). For Homans (1961), social behaviour and the forms of social organisations, like marriage, produces social interaction (for instance a date) by showing how A's behaviour reinforces B's behaviour (in a two-party relationship between actor's A and B) and vice versa. In some of the informal human settlements, women have to bear children for their partners and at times, move in with them so as to reinforce their relationship. According to Blau (1964), social exchange can be observed everywhere once we are sensitized by this conception, it is not only in marked relations but also in friendship and even in love, and for Lawler & Thye (1999) social psychological theory assumes self-interested actors who transact with other self-interested actors to accomplish individual goals that they could not achieve alone. This is done to sustain the not only the relationships and its benefits, but that of the family as well. The main reason for this would be the benefits that one perceives from the relationship and the future it brings for its actors.

Hunter (2007) further argued that women approach transactional relations not as passive victims, but in order to access power and resources in ways that can both challenge and reproduce patriarchal structures. This can be observed in many of the relationships that occur in informal human settlements since institutions like marriage and family life is a transacted arrangement dependent on a multitude of sociological variables that contributes to its stability. Whilst this may be the case from a western perspective, in a developing national context with high levels of couples transacting a relationship, be it marriage or cohabitation can indeed enjoy stability through intimacy and sexual relationships given the constraints imposed by the physical environment.

1.9 Research Methodology and Approach

According to Marshall & Rossman (2011:1), "qualitative research methodologies have become increasingly important modes of inquiry for the social sciences." Qualitative research tends to explore the deeper significance that the subject of the research ascribes to the topic. Considering that little is known on the subject matter of sexual relationships and intimacy in informal human settlements, a qualitative study of this nature will help explore and unfold a deeper understanding of how it contributes to family and marital stability in such environments. Specifically, a qualitative study of this nature will explore the meanings and perceptions of

sexual relationships and intimacy among informal settlement dwellers, thus highlighting how the physical environment shapes sexual relations impacting on family and marriage stability.

Research design is considered as the 'blueprint' for research that deals with what questions are to be asked in the study, what data is relevant, what data to collect, and how to analyse the results. According to Morgan (1983:68), the life history methodology (often used by phenomenological sociologists) offers an interpretive framework through which the meaning of human experiences is revealed in personal accounts, in a way that gives priority to individual explanations of actions rather than to methods that filter and sort responses into predetermined conceptual categories. As de Vos (2002:298) explains, unstructured interviews are at the root of understanding the experience of other people and the meaning they derive from that experience. Such a methodological approach will provide valuable and deeper insight into this study when analysing data obtained from the informal human settlement dwellers about their family lifestyles, intimacy, and sexual relationships.

For the purpose of this study, the researcher will identify potential participants for the study using a non-probability sampling method, based on the purposive sampling technique. As de Vos (2002) explains that purposive sampling helps select cases with a particular characteristic - some features or processes that are of interest to answer a research question. Such a sampling technique is relevant for the study, considering the sensitivity of the topic under investigation which is dependent on identifying voluntary research subjects who meet the profile of being expert participants i.e. those participants who are married according to civil and customary law but due to force of circumstance live and pursue their family life within an informal human settlement. For the purpose of this study, 66 participants from the Cato Manor informal settlement participated in unstructured interviews through a snowball sampling technique in which the first respondent identified potential participants who will participate voluntarily in the study until the desired sample size was attained. These participants were both male and female, married either through civil or customary law. Such an approach to the study is aptly explained by Cresswell (2007), who asserts that purposefully selecting participants or sites best helps the researcher understand the problem and the research questions. A pilot study was conducted using five participants in order to test the measuring tool for reliability and validity.

In this study, as a tool to analyse data, the interpretive analysis was used. According to Terre Blanche & Kelly (2002), interpretive approach to data analysis presumes that people's subjective experiences are real, that we can understand other's experiences by interacting with

them and listening to what they tell us. In this respect, De Vos (2002) states that the data collection process will involve noting regularities in the setting, or the people chosen for the study. Thus, the themes that will emerge from the interviews will be noted in respect of recurring ideas or language, and patterns of beliefs that link the participants to the research locality. A notebook was carried, so as to record forms of communication, such as body language, and any other salient messages and observations.

1.10 The Field of the Study

The study falls within the sub-discipline of social psychology since it explores social-psychological components of sexuality and intimacy that contributes to marital stability in a human informal settlement setting. It is anticipated that a wide range of social-psychological factors contributes to marital stability, which will be explored through the study of a select group of participants. The study is premised on the assumption that marital stability does not only emanate from the interaction of sociological factors but is also mediated by several psychological factors that participants bring into the relationship as individuals.

1.11 Limitations of the Present Study

Given the lack of literature on the topic under study, compiling a conceptual framework provided a major challenge. There are no localized studies on the subject matter, and even those that exist are largely confined to contexts that are dissimilar to the study's locality. However, where necessary, the literature review of this dissertation was adapted and reanalysed to the local study situation.

During interviews, there was significant interruption and intrusion from the grandchildren and other family members of the participants, as space was limited within the informal dwellings. There was also significant interruption, and at times, the inability of the researcher and respondent to hear each other, as the music coming from the neighbour's informal dwellings tended to be too loud. This necessitated constant rephrasing of questions and seeking repeat responses from participants in the study. Identifying voluntary participants who meet the criterion for the study posed a challenge. To surmount this challenge, the researcher used a snowball sampling technique to identify participants referred by those who have participated in the study before.

1.13 General Structure of the Study

This dissertation comprises of six chapters. The first chapter comprises of the introduction, where a short description of the study is presented containing the problem statement, aims, objectives, and key questions of the study, and finally, the methodological approach that has been used. The second chapter focuses on the literature review on family life, marital stability, and sexual intimacy. The third chapter focuses on the theoretical framework that will form the basis for the analysis and interpretation of data. Chapter four focuses on the methodological approach used in the study, its strengths, and weaknesses, including a profile of the study's locality.

Chapter five focusses on the analysis and interpretation of field data, and it links to the theoretical framework founded for the study. Lastly, chapter six provides a summary and conclusion of the study derived from the findings and suggestions on the way forward to enrich family and marital stability within an informal human settlement context.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

2. Introduction

This chapter will be focusing on unpacking the concepts of intimacy and family life, and the impact or role they have in marriages and family stability. The issues informal housing in developed countries, and in more developing traditional societies, will also be discussed further, also taking into context the role the environment has on couples, their intimacy, marriages, and the families in general.

2.1 Defining the Concept of Home and Homelessness

Homelessness has become a social problem that is seen as unmanageable, expensive, and more disturbingly is without a ready solution (Bassuk & Geller, 2006: 781). Sommerville (2013: 384) states that homelessness is multi-dimensional, as it is not only a matter of lack of shelter or abode, a lack of a roof over one's head, but involves various aspects of their daily lives, such as sanitation and health. This is mainly due to the fact that homelessness affects not only the social state of the individual experiencing it, but their health and mental livelihood as well. Homelessness is an elusive concept and a difficult concept to define, as it has a multiplicity of definitions.

Springer (200: 476) explains that each and every society has varying perceptions of what homeless individuals or households are. This is true, as different societies explain homelessness according to their social and economic standards. In this respect, Ndlovu (2005:4) asserts that the difficulty in defining homelessness partly lies in the fact that it is much a relative, as well as a subjective state of being, as it is something, we can all relate to when we see it, however, the subjective reality for those who experience it is another aspect altogether. Homelessness, in the South African context, defines not only the people living in the streets, but those living in informal structures, with limited basic human services.

Adato et al. (2006: 227) states that in the South African context, the socio-economic polarization pattern that was created by apartheid created a world of inequality, that closed off upward economic mobility for certain race groups, which is said to have a contributing factor to homelessness. The polarization saw the rise of informal settlements in the urban areas, as they were the source of employment for many off the poor. The place where a home is located

is said to be vital for a family, as it brings individuals a sense of purpose, closeness, and community, by providing better access to employment, services, and schools. (Nhlapo, 2013: 38).

Kellette & Moore (2003:124) assert the correlation between being homeless and the broader experience and meaning of a home are important since they fulfil certain expectations and pleasures that only a home can fulfil. It is also argued that the accomplishment of being able to attain a home is said to be an important symbol of adulthood, for many societies, because it symbolises independence and responsibility (Beguy et al., 2011: 321). Therefore, Nhlapo (2013) views the home as a place where one can dream and think about one's relations with other people, places and time; a place where safety and stability are a norm and gives individuals the sense of securing a place in the world. Having a home, consequently, means the next stage in adulthood, and the responsibilities that come with it, such as rearing a stable family and attaining marital stability and freedom.

Kellett & Moore (2003) assert that owning a home gives the owner, and those close to them, independence and freedom from the outside world. A home gives its occupants a sense of security and control and also affords them the sense of confidentiality and overall mental, emotional, and physical well-being (Nhlapo 2013: 37). Therefore, a house is not only a roof over one's head, but also a sanctuary, where there is a sense of freedom, mental and physical wellbeing, and most importantly some privacy and peace. Ndlovu (2005:8) suggests that homelessness is constructed, and as such is seen as a societal and structural problem, requiring social responsibility, and large-scale state intervention and this is mostly due to the fact that the home is linked to a place of security, a sense of belonging, and the context of one's identity. The place that one is born and raised has, to a major degree, an impact on the person's entire moral compass, social identity and, moreover, their outlook in life. A safe and secure home is not only seen as a vital human right, but the foundation of all human relationships, as it gives the people a chance to play an active role in the social, political, and cultural aspects of the community (Springer, 2000:475). Thus, Tipple & Speak (2003: 338) presents various key indicators of having a home, and that having lodging, secrecy, roots, a family life, sentimental values and bliss. These indicators are said to carry certain meanings for the people living in them, such as affection and the balminess that they may bring, privacy and the nature of security they give, the relation with others and with themselves. A lack of a home is thus believed to have some effect on the marital stability of these people living in the streets, as intimacy is sometimes affected by the environment.

2.2 Defining the Concept of Intimacy, Sexuality, Marriage, and Family Stability.

2.2.1 Intimacy

Intimacy is a more fluid term to sex, as it extends its focus to aspects of fertility, marriage, love, and the main genital pleasures (Hunter, 2010: 3). For Rathus, et al. (1997:648), it is the feelings of closeness and connectedness that are marked by the sharing of innermost thoughts and feelings, characterised by attitudes of mutual trust, caring, and acceptance. However, Yoo (2013: 2) explains that intimacy is multi-faceted and believed that the emotional and sexual facets need more assessing. Intimacy is a fluid term, which is not only limited to the physical and the emotional sharing between married couples, but also the sharing of information and intimate relations that are between family members, parents, and their off-springs; and extended to friends and extended family members.

Intimate relationships are, therefore, seen as important, as they are the context in which gender identity is created, re-created, and understood (Anderson & Witham, 2011:96). This is mainly due to the fact that gender development plays a vital part in a variety of aspects of the individual's life, as the talents they try to cultivate; their understanding of themselves and others, and the socio-structural opportunities and constraints they encounter are predominantly created by societal gender-typing (Bussey & Bandura, 1999: 677). Through intimate relationships the actors learn what is socially accepted and expected of them, whilst cultivating their values and norms. In every relationship, there are roles and expectations that must be played, met, and accepted, such as men seen as the ones that are meant to be breadwinners and women to be child rear's and homemakers, and these roles are said to impact the creation, possession, and attainment of intimacy. It is now widely accepted that sexuality is not a trans-historical phenomenon, as sex in developed countries has become a central part of being or the self (Hunter, 2010: 36). Furthermore, it is through their body and their sexuality combined with natural elements influenced by each civilisation, that subjects (people) become conscious of them, and then form their relationships with others (Muchembled, 2005:9). Intimate relationships are said to play a significant role in life and marital satisfaction, meaning it is vital for the topic to be researched more in informal settlements, where space is limited and is overcrowded.

Rathus et al. (1997: 191) suggests that in developed countries, emotional features, such as warmth, commitment, loyalty, truth, and compassion are seen as far more important than physical beauty or desirability in a prospective partner for a meaningful, long-term relationship, though that may not be the same for many African societies. In many traditional African and

Asian traditions, marriage was either arranged or approved of by the parents, depending on what the spouse had to offer, that is, bearing as many children as possible for women and provision and safety for the male, whereas in developed countries, personal choice is more at play. Kersten & Kersten (1988:40) explain that there are individual prerequisites to intimacy, such as a positive self-concept, vulnerability, admission of personal dependence, trust, and so forth, there are also interactive factors affecting intimacy, such as mutual empathy, exclusivity, companionship, and so forth, whilst situational factors are also present. These factors include, but are not limited to, spatial factors and time factors, and they are said to be vital to the stability of the relationships and intimacy.

2.2.2 Sexuality

The subject of sex and gender includes a wide array of theoretical issues and ethnographic topics. These topics include homosexuality, conceptions of femininity and masculinity, marriage systems, healthcare, nutrition, and fertility, among others (Grinker & Steiner, 1997: 498). Sexuality is as much about the symbolic meanings, imageries, rights, and make-believe, as it is about the physical: the way in which we view, understand, and act out the various sex methods and customs (Weeks, 1985:3). Human sexuality is not only limited to heterosexuality, but also seen more as socially acceptable, as there are gays, lesbians, bi-sexual, and transgender people, even though many societies, especially traditional societies, see these forms of human sexuality as a form of social deviance. In South Africa, LGBTI (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and intersex) people are frequently discriminated against, through sexual and criminal acts, because of the gender identity or sexual orientation of the person (Nel & Judge, 2008: 20). For the purpose of this research, heterosexual relationships will form the focus of the study.

The terms gender and sexuality are said to be interlinked, as gender comes with social and sexual expectations, and sexuality is concerned more about the expression of sexual feelings and behaviour. One learns their sexual scripts and expectations from their immediate family, and society at large, and that is mostly observed in what is socially acceptable or sanctioned. On the other hand, for Grinker & Steiner (1997), sexuality is considered as a symbol pertaining to gender and to eroticism. It is invested with culturally defined variable meanings, and gender-defined roles that are not the product of biology, but that of social construction, through social interaction. Westbrook and Schilt (2013) emphasize that under an identity-based gender ideology, people can identify and categorise themselves with the gender group they identify with, as long as their claims are legitimized and accepted by others, such as friends and family

members. Many women, men as well, aspire to be or act like someone they look up to, and this is usually someone of the same sex, where gender meanings and roles are learned and further perpetuated, such as women learning to take care of their families from their mothers or other older female members, and men learning to be providers for their families. These expectations are imposed upon new members of the community, in formal structures, as it is in informal settlements.

The most dominant definition of sex, in developed countries, is that of two categories, male and female, and as such philosophies on sexual characteristics followed the typical contrasting masculine and feminine behavioural patterns (Paul, 2004:3). However, Tamale (2011: 11) asserts that investigating sexuality without looking at gender is futile, as they go hand-in-hand, in that they are both culturally and socially created to maintain power relations within the societies. However, Westbrook & Schilt (2013: 33) point out that in face-to-face interactions, the process of gender determination takes place, where one person offers certain details about their gender and the other person interprets that information and then places them in their rightful gender category. This is true of many societies, as the sexual scripts and attitudes are learned from one generation to the next, through shared experience, communication, and the accepted social behaviour, and attitudes and values that go with it. To go against these expectations would mean that you will be a social outcast and will be sanctioned.

Sex is an innate-indispensable-human activity, even though sexual attitudes and practices are learned (Eisler, 1996:22). Paul (2002:2), however, argues that sex is defined as a natural dichotomy, rooted in biology and evolution and that it is typically unquestioned, and viewed as fixed. Thus, Aggleton & Parker (1999: 129) argue that sexual meanings are constructed in social interaction but are socially created. Social interactions are, therefore, seen as a means of not just understanding sexual meanings, but to also explore them with other people. It is only through social interaction with others, that one will learn what is expected of them in these interactions.

LeVay & Valente (2002: 198) explained that sexual attraction is intrinsic to the person experiencing the attraction, and that sexual orientation is an important variable, as it plays a vital role in the understanding and acting upon the sexual scripts sent and received. The expression of sexuality is, therefore, said to be closely related to how the person perceives themselves (Kesselman, 2003:119). It is said that for a person to be in a compatible romantic relationship with another, is through the understanding of the self and the needs that arise from

being in that relationship, as relationships are also seen as a form of learning more about the self. Relating with one's partner is said to play a vital role in the manner in which the couple communicates with each other and in the manner in which they resolve their differences.

For Rathus et al. (1997:208), romantic relationships undergo stages of development, which is where rewards are socially exchanged, so as to maintain the relationship, as opposed to dissolving it. Therefore, sexuality encompasses the need to convey love and tenderness, and at the same time, physical desire (Bauer et al., 2007: 65). It is, therefore, vital to understand the different aspects of sexual expression, as in developed countries, by holding hands a couple may be deemed as expressing sexuality, whereas in the more traditional societies, the gifting of a woman with a beaded bracelet, would have been seen as such an expression. According to LeVay & Valente (2003:3), most sexual behaviour takes place in the context of relationships; thus, it is suggested that sexual relationships are central to many people's lives. Socio-cultural norms in many African societies forbid women from coitus, often until marriage, whilst allowing the males to be sexually free (Beguy et al., 2011: 320).

Muchembled (2005:10) explains that sexual pleasure was not illicit in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, especially as individuals were closely supervised by their peer groups and various tutelary bodies, yet by the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries celebrated the discovery of pleasure and that of the right to sexual enjoyment, in developed countries. Kesselman (2003:119) attests that the sexual revolution of the 1960s signalled for many a loosening of restrictions on sexual behaviour for both men and women, though double standards for male and female sexuality had persisted. Though there had been the loosening of restriction on sexual expression and experience, there were still societal restrictions on gender behaviour and values, as women were still expected to behave in a certain manner. Culture makes it inappropriate for women to suggest condom use with their partners, especially where it is associated with infidelity and disease, as they fear being seen as promiscuous (Langen, 2005:188). Harrison (2008: 176) explains that in heterosexual relationships, women often lack the power to negotiate when, with whom, and how to have sex. This is true of many African societies, where male sexuality is not policed as much as their female counterparts, where females are expected to be faithful and submissive, and the males are not ostracized as much for having multiple partners.

Established gender roles influence young people's socialization, and the development of social norms and expectations surrounding sexuality (Harrison, 2008: 176). This is mostly because

they are usually mandated by culture and society. Beguy et al. (2011), however, argues that early adolescent sexual behaviours, which is said to be of concern within the informal human settlements, includes a variety of factors, such as family and individual features, the level of education and family structure, and other factors such as attitudes and peer-based behaviour towards sex and the family finances. These and many other factors are a cause to further understanding the expression and understanding of sexuality in informal human settlements.

2.2.3 Marriage

Giddens (2001) states that marriage is a publicly sanctioned, recognized, and appropriated unification of two adult individuals. When individuals marry, they become affiliated with one another and form a family bond between the two families and a wider range of kinship. Though this may be the case for Giddens, marriages are said to have evolved, from what was previously traditionally accepted. This is true of many societies, South Africa too, where traditionally the parents had a say in their children's spousal partner choice and where the entry into the marital stage was determined by the family and the traditional bodies of that era. Because marriage is associated with other crucial changes, such as financial and autonomous independence, and due to the fact that many children are born in a marital setup, it is considered a pivotal entry into adulthood (Beguy et al., 2011: 320).

Argyle & Henderson (1985: 124) state, however, that marriage is very different from other relationships, as it is intense, sexual and more importantly, it embraces many aspects of life and is intended to be permanent. Unlike relationships, marriages tend to unify not only the couple, but their extended family members as well. Marriages are thus said to comprise of households, and for Hunter (2010: 13), the general term for household could mean either an individual or group of individuals that share the essential components of life together, from sharing the daily meals to the payment of services, and that importantly they can be made up of married couples and/or cohabiting heterosexual and homosexual couples, which can consist of one family living in one house, whilst some stretch their families between homes in other areas. For many societies, families comprised family members living in close proximity of each other, sharing food and household chores, whereas in developed countries it is comprised of the couple and their immediate family with little emphasis on the extended family members. This definition plays an important role in understanding the dynamics that families in the informal settlements undergo, as issues of space and privacy affect them immensely.

Marriage in developed countries is signified by a nuclear family, where two adults live together with their off-springs or adopted children, whereas in the more traditional societies, marriage is associated with a larger affiliation of networks, where extended family members, either the married couple, and their children can live in the same house or in close proximity with one another (Giddens, 2001:173). This is true of many families in the informal settlements, as many of the extended family members live with relatives, when seeking employment in the urban areas. These differences in the structures of the families are said to be vital in the rearing and nurturing of children, and more importantly, in the manner in which the married couple interacts. For many societies, the chief reason for marriage, and for many - the only reason- is to have children, since it is believed that they will carry on the line and maintain the strength of the lineage, and subsequently their clan (Gibbs, 1965:20). This is mainly true of many traditional societies, where marriages were more about kinship and keeping the family lineage, as opposed to developed countries, where marriages are based on love, romance, and companionship.

In families, just as in the workplace and in any other social institutions, expectations, and behaviour differ by gender and are reinforced by cultural beliefs that affect how family members carry out their daily activities (Bird & Melville, 1994:50). This is true for both developed countries and the traditional societies, where there are prescribed behaviours for both gender roles and expectations, such as the way the woman carries herself and the man provides and protects his family. Thus, Turnbull (1976: 253) asserts that in Africa, the family serves as a model for wider social relationships, ultimately embracing the whole society, be it a band, tribe, or nation, and that this feeling of kinship is complemented by a sense of spiritual unity brought about by the focus of ideological attention upon the natural environment, taking it also as a model from which to fashion social and intellectual order.

In the traditional family, the husband was often the breadwinner and was able to pursue his ambitions, whereas his wife played the secondary role of running the home, with little avoidance of domestic duties (Argyle & Henderson, 1985: 152). The increasing rate of premarital sex and childbearing, and the magnitude of men and women marrying at a later age, if at all, shows that marriage is losing its meaning as a symbol of adulthood (Beguy et al., 2011: 321). Garret-Peters & Burton (2015: 242) asserts that low-income mothers delay marriage, and it is mainly due to economic, structural, and relationship factors, such as the limited number of men to choose from. This illustrates some of the relationship and marital issues that people in the low-income household's face, such as the impact of structural and economic factors in the

relationship or marriage, show that declines in marriages are being recorded for this group of individuals.

2.2.4 Family Stability

Carrillo (2011:75) theorizes that the family has been defined as the fundamental communal cluster that is categorized by affectionate relations, mutual exchange, unity, and occasional fights. Dyk (2004: 122) asserts that low-income and poor-working families are unlike the middle-and upper-income families, as they experience different stressors in their daily lives and these may include, but not limited to, high rates of unemployment, substance abuse, low levels of education and so forth, which in turn affect the stability of the family. These characteristics and daily stressors are vital in the maintenance of stability and longevity of the family and the relationship between the spouses and the extended family. Lee & Ono (2008) state that partners connect efficiently, when they share their source of income equitably, which is said to improve companionship, whilst Pinderhughes (2002: 277) suggest marital stability is all in the way wives have successfully managed their husbands' sensitivity to power threats, with women being supportive in many ways. The stability of the family is not limited only to spouses being or acting a certain way, there are other factors, such as the household work, and finances, for example, that play a significant role.

Lee & Ono (2008) assert that spouses are content when domestic responsibilities are shared equally. Kailapasathy & Metz (2012: 791) asserts that since women were given a chance to be in the public sector, negotiating one's roles and tasks (such as cleaning, washing, and childcare) with their spouse is vital, as these critical features help deal with the structural demands of family and work-life. This now shows trends where not only are women given the option to choose their spouse, but that men that share in the house chores share happier and peaceful homes. When there is a commitment to the exchange relationship, the people engaged in the exchange are most likely to negotiate the expected roles, when faced with a problem, to reach a win-win situation (Kailasapathy & Metz, 2012: 792). Lee & Ono (2008) further argues that division of labour that is based on gender roles is vital in the marriage, as it causes interdependence within the union, as each spouse will depend on the other with the tasks that they are not specialized in, which, in turn, is said to stabilise marriage in some societies.

Literature on family shows that many families adjust their economic difficulties, through pooling their financial resources, through marriage or cohabitation, for the best possible outcomes (Hernandez & Ziolo-Guest, 2009: 358). The ever-rising scarcity of resources and

money among families, including the increasing property costs and family dysfunction, are said to feature in the evolution of the homeless family (Wood et al., 1990: 1052). The cost of having and maintaining a house seem to play a major role in the stability of families and relationships, as having a place to call home is said to strengthen relationships and the family as a whole. Lee & Ono (2008: 1218) state that a well-developed family revenue, formal or informal, will have a positive bearing in the family's overall quality of life and stability. Therefore, finances are an important factor in the stability and longevity of the relationship and the family as a whole, as lack of finances could result in arguments and that would not be conducive for family stability.

2.3 The Nature and Extent of Homelessness Internationally and Impact on Family Stability and Marriage.

Tipple & Speak (2003: 337) states that the total number of people believed to be homeless, worldwide, is projected to be sitting between 100 million and one billion. Robertson & Lahiff (1999: 211) argue that the issue of homelessness presents itself at three levels in society, and that is mainly at an individual level, communal and social structures, where the homeless can be characterized by their level of education and employment history and skills, issues related to mental illness or substance abuse, and the common alienation that leads to the withdrawal from society and familiarity with the street philosophies. Though homelessness is something that affects individuals that are experiencing it, it is something that affects the society that they live in, mostly because the trends and behaviour that comes from being homeless affect society, through the social ills, such as substance abuse and early sexual experiences, that manifest within that society, that later impact social and family policies. Zlotnick et al. (1999) state in their study that the majority of their participants were regarded as homeless because they lived in unconventional lodging, be it a dilapidated building structures, vehicles, or outdoors; some were placed in emergency shelters, where the government subsidises the rental or with extended family members and friends. Therefore, homelessness is not only limited to those people living on the streets, as those people living in informal housing, shelters, or abandoned buildings are also seen as homeless because their living structures are not deemed safe and healthy for one to live in.

In the affluent industrial countries of Europe, it is projected that 15 million people live in low-cost and quality homes, whilst another two million depend on government grants for the homeless (Kellelte & Moore, 2003). Homelessness is not something that affects the third world

and developing countries only; it is a phenomenon that affects the first world countries too, even though they have provisions for their homelessness, unlike most developing and third world countries. In the United Kingdom (UK), in 1966, the Ministry of Housing circular broke new ground by emphasizing that losing one's home was potentially damaging social and personal experience (Dallos & McLaughlin, 1993:234). For several decades, particularly the 1970s, the action chosen to alleviate the problem of homelessness was the construction of large housing projects on the outskirts of the city and in this process, the city extended and replicated housing clusters that were disjointed from the consolidated urban grid (Medrano & Spinelli, 2013: 40). The provision of shelter meant that people had access to better living arrangements and that they can better focus on attaining employment and schooling for children, if at all. In the UK, the Housing (Homeless Persons) Act of 1977 marked a landmark in British housing policy, since it established homelessness as an integral part of the housing system and ensured that housing authorities had statutory responsibility for homelessness (Dallos & McLaughlin, 1993:238). This form of protection and provision for the homeless may be true for the first world countries, however, in developing countries and third world countries, this truth may just be different, as the economy may not allow for such provisions and protection, where battles in the provision of shelter for the homeless is still imminent.

Medrano & Spinelli (2013:39) argue that in developing countries, like Brazil, urbanization, which was due to advances in industrialization, caused housing shortages in the country, and one of the problems local authorities experienced in responding to the needs of the homeless people was that homelessness was primarily treated by the central government as a welfare issue (Dallos & McLaughlin, 1993:237). This and other social, economic, and political reasons thus attributed citizens living in slums, as Medrano & Spinelli (2013) stated that in Brazil, the low-income population is not supported by efficient social housing programmes and is left with no option but to live in slums. Many African states suffer the same fate as those in Brazil, as rapid economic growth prompted migration from the rural areas to the industrial areas, where housing was a daily issue. Rural-urban migration in China was created by the lack of employment opportunities in the rural areas and the fast-financial development of the inner cities (Kennett & Mizuuchi, 2010: 113), thus further perpetuating homelessness. For Dallos & Mc Laughlin (1993: 229) family life and social policy have to overlap, because it is crucial to critically analyse and explore issues where the family and social policy, as a system of support, have broken down; where community and family have failed to deliver, and where the state

policies have struggled to cope in a context of crisis management, which is often squeezed through lack of resources and political will.

Kennett & Mizuuchi (2010: 113) argues that the fast-paced social and economic changes that developed in China saw an increase in the apprehensive employment dynamics, from an increase in unemployment to underemployment, which resulted in insecurity and social exclusion. This has a major effect not only on the community, but the family structure that has to be sustained, at the height of unemployment and the ever-changing risks, insecurities, and exclusions. The housing privatizations of the 1990s dramatically changed tenure structures and made access to social housing very difficult (Habitat, 2013:76). Traditional forms of poverty in China are connected to not having a stable income, employment opportunities, and a family (Kennett & Mizuuchi, 2010: 113). There are underlying causes of homelessness, such as links between unemployment, poverty, housing, and welfare, especially in relation to public policy and these links are said to have an effect on the quality of life.

Dallos & McLughlin (1993: 259) state that the impact of homelessness can be potentially devastating to its victims, as it is a vicious circle of deprivation that can result in unemployment, physical and mental ill health, poverty, delinquency, drug addiction, prostitution, with new risks and vulnerabilities; and whilst homelessness has its own unique pressures and stress-related effects, loneliness, frustration, and despair, is a norm for the homeless. This not only shows the impact homelessness has on the individual but on the family that now must take care of the individual, when they too could be poor, and more importantly, this emphasized the impact of informal settlements to health, social, and other service delivery related issues that are taken for granted by many. Health-related issues that the homeless are bound to go through include, among other things, seizures, pulmonary disease, arthritis, and other conditions such as hypertension and diabetes, which are said to be ineffectively taken care of or go undetected for long (Hwang, 200: 230). Besides the physical and mental issues related to homelessness, the risk of sexual abuse and children being placed into foster care is another reality that the homeless have to take into consideration (Bassuk & Geller, 2010:782). Due to the scarcity of funds and disease detection, prevention, and therapy could prove to be difficult for the homeless (Hwang, 2000:230). Homelessness, therefore, does not only affect the social aspect of the people experiencing it, but their health as well, which makes their experience a tad bit more interesting to research and, hopefully, find solutions.

Thrane et al. (2006:1118) argues that homes that lack structure and guidance can set a precedent for running away from home at a young age. Cultural affiliation with homelessness, to a major degree, signifies identifying oneself with the homeless philosophies, and the norms and values that come with it (Robertson & Lahiff, 1999: 212), and this is true of many of the people living in areas such as Cato Manor, where you find that there are generations upon generations of the same family that grow up in these type of structures. Torro & Warren (1999: 127) further assert that insufficient financial income is tricky, as it puts many people at the risk of being homeless. Thus, Bassuk & Geller (2010:781) assert that attaining a house increases a variety of things, such as stable lodging, managing situations within the home, and other services that pertain to family unity and preservation, whilst Robertson & Lahiff (1999: 212) argues that disaffiliation, which is associated with homelessness, involves a disturbing life experience, broken relationships with other people, and a high suspicion of others. Therefore, it is not only important to feed and house the people that were homeless, but also to re-integrate them back into society.

Moore (2000:210) further explains that home is attributed to centrality; continuity; privacy; self-expression and personal identity; and social relationships. Thus, home is seen as vital for the homeless, as 'at-hominess,' involves the aspects of owning a home that we usually take for granted, such as comfort and the escape from the outside world, which one visits (Manzo, 2003). This is re-iterated by Fichter & Quadflieg (2006) (cited in Nhlapho, 2013: 35) who concedes that relocating the homeless was found to have a profound impact on the overall well-being of the people, especially their mental stability. Home could therefore be an elusive term to the people living in the informal settlements, as there is little to no privacy in their households, due to many people living under the same roof.

2.4 The Nature and Extent of Homelessness in Africa and Impact on Family Stability and Marriage.

It is said that migration trends in Africa have been mostly shaped by the region's concentric zoning due to colonisation and the borders imposed by the colonial powers that were in charge of this (Tienda et al., 2006: 15). This saw the rate of urbanization in Africa increase in the late 1960s and early 1970s, to an extent where many African urban cities now display one of the world's fastest rates of population increase (Obudho & Mhlanga, 1988: 5). The increase in migration was mainly due to the fact that there was now a need for employment, as cattle were no longer the way of battering and cities were being developed, which meant that manual labour

was needed and those who lived in rural areas went and sought out work in the cities. Instead of being a hub for development and wealth, many African cities have become a harbour for unskilled or semi-skilled, vulnerable, and low-wage population of workers (Davies, 2006: 175). Thus, the expansion of informal settlements in Africa is said to be the result of the rapid increase in urbanization (Obudho & Mhlanga, 1988: 3). As a result of seeking employment in the city centres, the people had no form of formal housing, resulting in them squatting with other relatives or erecting informal housing, where there were no relatives to assist with housing.

According to the UN-HABITAT, Ethiopia has the highest number of slum dwellers, at 99.4 percent, with Chad at the same percentage, Afghanistan at 98.5 percent, Nepal at 92 percent, Bombay has between 10 and 20 million informal settlement dwellers, followed by Mexico and Dhaka, at 9 to 10 million each, and then Lagos, Cairo, Karachi, Kinshasa-Brazzaville, Sao Paulo, Shanghai, and Delhi, between 6 to 8 million each (Davies, 2006: 23). Tienda et al. (2006) observe that under colonial rule, the basic prerequisite was to exploit the agricultural and mineral goods the country had, which saw an increase in the forced transferral of employees, both within territories governed by a single colonial power and between colonial enclaves governed by different colonial powers. As the cities transformed and were being developed, the need for labourers increased, which saw a rise in in-migration, internally within South Africa and from other Southern African Development Community (SADC) countries as well. This is similar to the time when gold was discovered in South Africa, which saw a rise in the people of the surrounding countries moving there. Slum and informal settlement dweller settlements presently constitute a living environment for at least one-third of the urban population in all African countries, and they are growing at the rate of 15 percent per annum (Obudho & Mhlanga, 1988: 6). O'Connor (1991), however, argues that among the poorest groups in Africa, we should certainly now include many groups who have fled from war or terrorism in their countries, as it is estimated that there are about 4 million refugees in tropical Africa, many of whom are living in temporary camps in conditions of extreme poverty, despite some international assistance, some are surviving in the rural border areas with the help of the local population. This goes to show that homelessness had a totally different meaning to the more developed countries, as the meaning and significance differ, and so do the classifications. Sixty percent (60 %) of Kenya's population is perceived to live in informal settlements, where houses in these congested living areas are made up of temporary structures, where an average of three people live in a one-bedroom structure (Amayunzu-Nyamongo & Magadi, 2006: 144).

Informal settlements in Africa, or better known as 'slums', are characterized by a combination of dilapidated or unstructured or unsafe housing, congestion, disease, insufficient and safe water and public health, lack of ownership, poverty and vice; and mostly equates to economic and social marginality (Davis, 2006: 22). Lack of proper shelter and sanitation is said to classify one as homeless, however, in Africa, there are other contributing factors, such as poverty which affects the African people predominantly, as they are the majority. Thus, O'Connor (1991) asserts that in Sudan, there are many people who are destitute, partly as a result of either drought or war, whilst in Kenya and Nigeria, there are some who would be destitute, without the support of their extended families, either as a result of extreme pressure or due to their failure to find a means of livelihood in the city. This phenomenon is prevalent in the African culture, where family members house you until one is able to stand on their own two feet.

A typical slum settlement may consist of flimsy, frail housing, which is constructed of dilapidated waste material, some with mud walls and thatch-roof, where there is no public drainage or sewerage system in place (Obudho & Mhlanga, 1988: 8). Amayunzu-Nyamongo et al., (2007), in their study, stated that one of their participants explained that they would not be living in an environment that exposes their off-springs to hazardous risks, were it not for her financial scarcity. There are many reasons that cause people to end up being homeless. Some are structural, whilst others are based on the level of education and options available for progress and success. Whilst urban squatting was triggered by factors such as migration of refugees, the search for subsistence in urban areas and opportunism could be seen as another reason (Obudho & Mhlanga, 1988:9). As a result, O'Connor (1991) states that many of the urban poor engage in criminal activities, so as to make ends meet and whilst most thieves appear to be male, illicit brewing of alcoholic drinks is a female-dominated activity in many cities, often combined with prostitution, as more women are pushed into it as a source of income.

The issue of informal human settlements came about due to a need that was prevalent in many developing cities, not only in South Africa but in Asia and Africa as well. Bassuk & Geller (2010:781) argue that people that are regarded as homeless are scattered in various areas, not only the rural areas but the urban areas and suburbs also, which demonstrates the widening gap between the poor and the rich and the plight of inexpensive property. Rogerson (1996: 169) asserts that racial inequalities, in urban South Africa, show a vast difference between the rich and the poor, through the living standards and the residential circumstances faced. The quality of homes and services available to the people living in the informal settlements shows the

economic, and at times, the educational level shows the magnitude of the gap between the rich and the poor. Many underprivileged people occupy vacant land in urban areas to build homes for their families, which, in turn, becomes informal settlements (Nhlapo, 2013:23). The scourge of informal human settlements in South Africa shows that there is a need for more research on the issues that prevail within these homes, as the lack of services and proper infrastructures could have an impact on the quality of life for these people and their families.

In rural Africa, most people live in a house, but in urban Africa, the majority of households live in just one room, usually in a single-story building, with other households occupying the adjacent rooms (O'Connor: 1991: 118). Chakraborty (2012: 197) explains that the phenomenon of one-roomed 'bustees' (informal housing) is common in India's Kolkatta, where at least one room shares a thin wall with another. This phenomenon is also found in South Africa, where due to lack of housing, families must share the space that they have attained in the informal settlements to house the extended family members, whether they are in search for employment or in need of medical facilities. As stated by Amuyunzu-Nyamongo et al. (2001), in their study, participants reported that congestion denied them privacy. In a home where there are more occupants than there are rooms means that peace and privacy are not something easy to come by, which could affect intimacy and the way of interaction and relating. O'Connor (1991) further states that the room that the urban African often occupies is usually shared by a family of four, five, and even six family members and are at times most likely to have a brother, sister, niece, or nephew living with them. This phenomenon could have an impact not only on the level and quality of intimacy between spouses (as having extended family members limits the time spent together) but the child-rearing capabilities, as space plays an important role in peace and stability.

2.5 The Nature and Extent of Homelessness in South Africa, and Impact on Family Stability and Marriage.

The relatively high financial disparity in South Africa, post-apartheid, is indicative of the high poverty levels which have not been seen in any other upper-income country (Adato et al., 2006: 226). During apartheid, African people were allowed to live in racially designated areas only to sell their labour to urban industrialists owned by Whites. They were subjected to various forms of control measures in terms of their movements in urban areas (Cross et al., 2010:13). This saw laws, such as the Pass Law, which was a form of internal passport system, passed by the then apartheid government that sought to control the migration of black people to the cities,

which later became a housing issue, as formal houses were not available for them. As a consequence, black people constructed shacks on the fringes of the city in light of the housing crisis that persisted. By the 1970s, for instance, many women faced the threat of being arrested in urban areas, under the influx-control law, which prohibited them from visiting their husbands in the urban areas, as they left their children with extended family members to join their husbands (Richter & Morrell, 2006:74). This was due to the fact that men were the only people that were mostly allowed into the cities for employment, with a limited number of women working as helpers in urban areas, which allowed people housing.

Schensul (2009) explains that communities living in informal human settlements possess inadequate roads and have little access to public services, these areas are mostly overcrowded, with high levels of law-breaking and coming into conflict with the law and little access to health services and schools, with an enormous number being unemployed. Informal human settlements are characterised by lack of education, sanitation, proper human structures, water, and other commodities that are needed daily. This characterisation is something the South African government terms 'service delivery', which has, to date have not been provided fully resulting in daily protests by poor communities. Nhlapho (2013) argues that in South Africa, hostels make up 5.2% of all households, with the informal settlements comprising 13.5%. The number of people living in informal housing structures is increasing by the day, as more and more people are attempting to get employment closer to the cities and places of employment and better opportunities. By the end of apartheid, 35 percent of informal settlements in Durban were backyard dwellings in formal areas, many of which were in townships, 55 percent were on the outer edge of African townships, and the final 10 percent were even farther away, with no connection to African urban areas (Schensul, 2009: 36).

Marx & Charlton (2003) argue that in view of racial separation, it brought about extreme destitution and hardship for the vast majority of the African population and similarly high expectations for the everyday comforts for the White population. The differences, in the standard of living and education, between the black people and the white population is still evident to this day, where majority of the white people live in secure structures in safe suburban homes, whereas majority of the Black people still live in poverty and strife, in townships and with many living in informal houses. Preceding 1994, a great many people did not possess houses, and most families were living in informal housing, disgraceful informal settlement

dweller settlements, or terrace rooms, which stripped away the pride of the people (Nhlapho, 2013:16). These types of homes meant that they were not conducive to family living, as there were not enough rooms for the children, and the policies out in place did not allow for men to have their families in the cities unless they were employed.

Schensul (2009:4) explains that in Durban, during the apartheid era, many African men lived mainly in hostels, which were usually close to all the facilities that would get them to work, housing younger African men and that the ratio of men compared to their female counterparts was 2:1 in the 1950s. This meant that for almost a year, rural women were at liberty of running the home and raising the children, with little consideration to the spouses rekindling their intimacy after such periods (Ritcher & Morrell, 2006:74). These long periods of absence, to some extent, has had an impact on the family life and relational issues between the couple and the children, respectively.

Though that may be the case, the provision of housing to the urban poor, in post-apartheid South Africa presents a new challenge to the new South African government, mainly since the housing backlog is estimated to be over three million units and rising (Mc Donald, 1998: 449). As a result, destitution combined with lack of formal family structure and employment opportunities for young people in informal settlements, has been related to an expanded danger of association in hostile social practices such as drug abuse, hazardous sexual practices, and a higher probability of dropping out from school (Ndugwa et al., 2010: 300). These behavioural and social issues experienced by the people living in the informal settlements are not issues that can be ignored, because if they are left ignored for long, they will fester to other more serious issues, such as the increase in crime, the spread or transferral of diseases and increase in drug use. Due to this reason, the African National Congress (ANC), which was the first black democratically elected party, embarked on drafting a new policy, the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), which sought to reduce poverty, through redressing the inequalities and injustices of the past (Aliber, 2003:475). These included, but were not limited to, addressing issues of education, housing, and people's rights. This is despite the way that formative imbalance in Durban, were conceived out of over an era of racialized state, and monetary arrangement, and systematized onto space through the inescapable arranging of politically-sanctioned racial segregation (Schensul, 2009:3). The National Economic Policy in the post-apartheid government embraced the liberal position of the purported Washington Consensus with the selection of the GEAR (Growth, Employment, and Redistribution) program in 1996 (Adato et al, 2006: 227), which was seen as a recipe for economic growth,

however, it was to some extent not too successful. This policy replaced the widely pronounced RDP which was purported to serve as a foundation to correct the socio-economic imbalances of the past for all black South Africans.

One of the major programmes of the post-liberation government was to address the chronic shortage of housing, which was dubbed as RDP houses. It was based on the provision of free houses subsidised by the central government to accommodate the growing number of illegal informal settlement dwellers (Richter & Morrell, 2006:73). More policies, such as the social grant policy were put in place to assist the South African population that lived below the poverty line. People living in informal settlements depend on these social grants, on informal financial markets and, some households rely on members of their family that transition between formal and informal jobs (Adato et al., 2006: 239), which assists in the daily running of the household. Numerous families and youngsters would not have survived or flourished were it not for the care of grandparents, who shared their social grants with other family members and relatives to nourish kids, pay school fees, and purchase transport coupons with the goal that individuals could get the chance to work and become contributing members of the family or household (Richter & Morrell, 2006: 75). Xulu (2012) thus asserts that there is a list of survival strategies that majority of the families employed in the informal human settlements for survival, such as engaging in formal business, participating in informal work, dependence on social grants, engaging in the illicit sexual economy, crime, and informal modes of financial saving i.e. *Stokvel's* and *umholiswano* (collective saving scheme).

The hardships of living in informal settlements in many respects cause strain on family life and inevitably results in the breakdown of the family resulting in homes being female-headed if not child-headed.

2.6 Link between Physical Environment, Intimacy, Sexuality, Marriage, and Family Stability.

The environment into which a person is born, and to a large extent, raised in, is said to play an important role in their physical and emotional growth and maturity. The informal urban settlements have an important significance to its dwellers, as that is the place that determines who they are, what they do, and more importantly who they know (Nijman, 2010: 4). Therefore, the term 'home' has been associated with different concepts, such as geography, and for other researcher's such as Meth (2003) home is thought to be connected with formal material

substance, and a space of security offering detachment from the outside world. However, in South Africa, one can never look at families without looking at the creation and the impact of having a home, regardless of the environment. It is, thus, said in view of individuals' living condition, a home can grant its occupants with a superior feeling of self-esteem (Nhlapho, 2013: 38). Therefore, Dowling and Fitzpatrick (2012) state that home, imaginative or material, is concerned with personhood, our sense of being in the world. However, for Meth (2003) home is related to security, with commonplace and defensive limits, with the family, the prohibition of undesirable others, with protection, and a sanctuary in a cutthroat world. This is to say that a home is not only important for shelter but for relationship building and maintenance, for learning more about the self and the relationships that are forged in society. Brownson et al. (2001) explain that the neighbourhood setup and characteristics, including parks, sidewalks, and beautiful scenery, heavy traffic, and hills, play a role in physical activity. Therefore, the environment plays an important role in intimacy, between the spouse and children, because where there are comfort and space, there is bound to be some semblance of peace, at the same time improving the mood between the people.

Kellett & Moore (2003) argue that the connection amongst vagrancy and the experience of a home go as one because, in the creation of the scene, the point of building a house is to make a home. Creating a home is not only about having a roof over one's head, but also the ties, bonds, and relationships created within that household, and the society at large. Dowling and Fitzpatrick (2012) state that a home is that dwelling structure that brings about the emotional, social, and personal aspect of one's life, and more importantly, a sense of belonging. Nhlapho (2013) remarks that the home interfaces people, family units, social structures, and groups together. This is mainly because the environment that one is brought up in plays a significant role in, not only who they are, but also who they interact with. Nijman (2010), therefore, explains that for those looking at informal settlements from the outside, will see the congested housing that may not be conducive for human habitation, however, for those on the inside, territoriality plays an important role in terms of safety, identity, belonging, community, status, and the political affiliates one gets to belong to. This is to say that, though we may perceive certain realities that informal human settlement dwellers go through in a certain way, for them it is their reality, which is perceived totally different from what the outside understands it to be, for instance, the fact that some marriages thrive regardless of the fact that the spouses live in these settlements.

Privacy and having private space are something that many take for granted, as a given right and privilege, but for those living in the informal human settlements that may be not the case, and this has to have some form of impact on the nature and forms of intimacy, within the household. Home is, therefore, an illustration for encounters of satisfaction, assurance, solace, and having a place where there has been an accentuation on positive connections to places (Manzo, 2003: 49). Moore (2000: 210) explains that privacy, security; family; intimacy; comfort, and control are always attributed to the concept of home. The perks that come with having a home is not a reality that many experiences, as privacy and intimacy could take a dent between the spouses and other family members, as overcrowding is one of the main features of living in informal human settlements. Thus, Lewicka (2010) argues that social elements are for the most part more basic for connection when contrasted with physical components, and that this divergence particularly alludes to home connection, more so than neighbourhood (community) connection, and this is because of the way that nearby securities and ties are made, more at home than they are in the group. Valentine & Hughes (2012) however, explain that a home is a place of convergence, where family members must transition from individual lives, into negotiating the family intimacy and the shared space and time. Therefore, for intimacy to happen with ease and comfort, there has to be some amount of privacy, space, and time, which plays an important role in self-disclosure, intimate expression, and emotional satisfaction.

2.7 Conclusions

Homelessness in Africa is especially different from developed countries, as it is not a phenomenon that affects the middle class, but mostly the poor, many of which are displaced due to wars and famine. These natural disasters and displacements do not affect the immediate families alone, as some people have to move to areas that are believed to be better than the ones they currently live in, but it also affects the entire country and continent. This phenomenon did not only create a crisis for the governments in these cities (as housing became a problem), but also the families that had to be displaced, which to some level affected the family kinship relations and created some level of social exclusion. The impact these displacements have can be seen in the different family structures that exist now within these communities, as some aspects of the family life tend to be compromised, as the issue of space impacts on the relationships formed and sustained.

There are family aspects that are at play in the homelessness arena, as the homeless and those living in informal human settlements still have rural-urban migration links, where their families still take care of their children when they are away. This is also believed to be true about the people living in the informal settlements, as generations of families have been born in these areas, and kinship relations are still applicable, where it is possible. This is mainly due to the fact that in Africa, the extended family unit is still big, as opposed to developed countries, where it is mostly unclear. As seen from the above-mentioned, home is said to be an important factor in family stability, as it not only makes the spouses bond better, but it also has a positive impact on the general well-being of the entire family.

Chapter Three

Theoretical Framework

3.1 Introduction

Compiling a theoretical framework on human sexuality is a daunting task, especially in light of the fact that there is no concrete sociological theory that explains it. However, insight into human sexuality can be drawn from mainstream sociological theorists such as structural functionalism, critical sociology, feminist theory, symbolic interactionism, and queer theory. Through the lens of these theories, one can gain insight into the sociological dimension of human sexuality. This chapter of the dissertation will unpack the various theoretical frameworks related to the study of human sexuality and on marriage and relationships. Though the research will look at theories, such as structural functionalism, feminism, and symbolic interactionism, the main theory that will be of paramount importance for this research is that of social exchange. Human sexuality will be unpacked, linking it to social exchange theory, and the various impacts it has on relationships and sexuality.

3.2 Sociological Perspective on Human Sexuality

3.2.1 Structural Functionalism

Functionalism in sociology covers a wide range of authors and schools of thought, who, nevertheless tend to share several central tenets (Baert, 1998: 37), with major distinctive contribution with the view that where social order, in a society, is viewed as a consensual assertion, reflecting shared esteems and standards, as it ties the group together (Farganis, 1996: 227). Functionalists are more inclined to consistency rather than change, uniformity rather than diversity; where heterosexuality is still regarded as supreme (Stein, 1989: 1). Thus, social norms and values are important to functionalists, as they pertain to socially acceptable behaviour and ways to carry oneself, but also to sexually accepted and valued scripts. Weis (1998: 106) explains that the relative power of both sexes lies in the influence they possess over social institutions. Therefore, sexual desire is said to be socially organized, as societies determine how it arises, its forms and modes of expression, 'who' is meant to have it, and rather more importantly, the manner in which one type of specific desire, heterosexual congress, displays some form of inconsistencies within society (Martin & George, 2006: 108). Stein (1989: 5) explained that the functionalists explored sexuality through the connections between

social structure and sexuality, as every society shape, structures, and constrains the development and expression of sexuality within its people. These features are said to have an influence on the relationship and marital formation, as they impact on many more other factors such as social order and acceptable behaviour and sexual expression norms, which are usually tied to heterosexual behaviour. Until recently, heterosexuality was seen as the natural and default state, where it was the norm, that other sexuality was believed to diverge from (Denton, 2016: 57). Therefore, intimacy, sexuality, family, and relationships, can be seen as a form of structural-functionalist paradigm, where there is certain gender-based expectations, such as legitimisation of kinship and family obligations through the heterosexual family are kept for social order and communal bond, and more importantly, for social cohesion and order.

The sexual impulse is said to be powerful and capable of complex socialization (Stein, 1989: 5). This notion is, however, governed by issues such as language, structure, symbols, institutionalized power, and so forth, which are said to impact on power related to relationships and marriages. Denton (2016: 61) explained that the use of language, symbols, and other forms of representation, between individuals and structures, demonstrates the exercise of power. Sexual interests and desires of men are, therefore, usually said to be at odds with that of their female counterparts, in that the male sexual agenda focuses on aggression and oppression (Weis, 1995:105). The use of power is not something that is exercised only in the public sphere, but it is also shared within relationships and family structures, and these were of interest with the functionalist theorists, as the power dynamics between those who have it and those that don't, and the structures that govern that, are said to have an impact on the relationship dynamics. Weis (1998: 106) also points out that heterosexual desires are seen as organized around eroticized submission and dominance, where institutions such as marriages are centred on men having sexual dominance over their women and their counterparts provide the sexual pleasure and domestic labour, which has tended to be problematic, as more same-sex partners are getting into the institutions of marriage. This is also because men have always had the upper hand, compared to their female counterparts, over resources and the accumulation of it. This implied that the social practices ought to not be judged by any characteristic or thoughtful standard that included individuals' intentions, rather watching the real group would be more insightful (Ritzer & Smart, 2001:142). This may, to some extent, cause some form of exploitation and conflict between the spouses that has power over the one that doesn't.

Stein (1989:5) asserts that sexual behaviour and expression are organized around the family, as institutions such as families and religious affiliation govern the sexual norms within

societies. Martin & George (2006: 108), however, state that many researchers often overlook and/or ignore the importance of sex in relationships and/or between spouses within family structures, even though heterosexual desire was seen as the driving force, as sex is not only about the act per se, but the bond that is created between the spouses, which, in turn, has an impact on the entire family and its stability. Weis (1998: 106) asserts that the structural functionalists ought to be credited for uncovering the truth that sexuality isn't generally established in adoration, closeness, and sentiment and that issues of power and struggle are regular highlights of sexual connections. Therefore, studying the sub-systems of areas such as Cato Manor would give a better understanding into how the people function as a whole to keep the place functioning and at a place of continuity, within its own moral and institutional code.

3.2.2 Critical Theory

Critical theory, as explained by Marx, is the self-clarification and understanding of the current struggles and wishes of the age; however, it aims to ask questions and identify and design models that are informed by identification and interest (Meehan, 1995: 21). Giddens & Turner (1987) clarify that the critical theory was understood as a theory that was constantly aware of the social context of emergence and its practical application. However, Buechler (2014: 13) asserts that critical sociology looks at the familiar phenomenon in new ways to better understand beyond the obvious and publicly approved view; it criticizes the facades of social structures and explores their unintended consequences and hidden functions. Critical sociology is important in the understanding of sexuality and its expression, as it can look at the historical aspects of it and, therefore, compare the current trends in the phenomenon. Critical theory is, therefore, linked with materialism, which is concerned with the happiness of humans, and how this happiness can be attained through transformed material conditions of existence (Bronner & Mackay-Kellner, 1989: 59). Held (1980) states that each of the critical theorists kept up that albeit all information is truly adapted, truth cases can be normally arbitrated freely of prompt social interests, for example, class and human sexuality. Human sexuality is also seen as important, as it brings about marital and/or family bonds, therefore in critical theory, sexuality is something that needs to be constantly reviewed in the social context, especially in times where globalisation and the internet have brought people closer than previously envisioned.

Denton (2016) explains that even though a person may identify themselves as heterosexual, they may indulge in same-sex sexual practises sometimes and that those feelings or behaviour

may not indicate that a person is bisexual or in denial. The social policing of sexualities is done in many societies, and it often involves being accused of homosexuality, which is marginalized, in societies where the norm is heterosexuality, where erotic desire and emotional bonds are linked to the opposite sex (Buechler, 2014: 155). This is mainly because sex and sexuality are no longer being practised in traditional scripts, where it was mainly a tool for procreation because with modernisation came sexual freedom and more lax regulations to human relationships. In spite of the fact that critical theory is made generally out of feedback of different parts of the social and scholarly life, its definitive objective is to uncover all the more precisely the idea of society (Giddens & Turner, 1987: 276). Sexual and gender activism, in the 1960s and 70s, saw changes in society, as traditional notions of sex and sexuality, were being challenged, which forged new forms of intimate relationships and demanded changes in institutional policy (Denton, 2016: 57). How (2003) states that in our modern world, various forces are set in opposition to, but interlinked with, each other; science and technology, emancipatory or destructive; culture as stimulating or tranquilising; art as progressive or regressive, and so forth. It is, however, highlighted, that the central element in the sexual revolution was the internet, and the proliferation of the various forms of cybersex (Garlick, 2011: 222) and this is mainly due to the fact that we live in a global world, where the sharing of information is easily accessible, regardless of where one is. These changes in the ways and means of communicating and intimate relationships saw changes in the formation and maintaining of relationships, which differed to the traditional notions.

Sexuality is understood to have a vital influence on human life, as it conveys the potential for a new life, and encourages closeness and holding, and also share joys, and to a larger degree has the potential to fulfil a number of personal and social needs (Diamond & Huebner, 2012: 54). Denton (2016:57) asserts that heterosexuality, which is seen as a norm in many societies, functions as a political institution. Buechler (2014: 49), however, argues that due to colonization, human needs have been monetized and bureaucratized, to an extent where these needs are met, dependency on the system increases and so does its power. This phenomenon is seen in many relationships, where money and having access to resources increases the dependency of those who do not have it, on those who do, which to some extent has an impact on the power dynamics within the relationship. However, with sex and sexuality becoming more prevalent in the mainstream culture, in print media, digital media, and to a large part on the internet (Garlick, 2011: 221), the need to understand sex and sexuality increased in contemporary critical studies. This brought about an in-depth understanding of sex and

sexuality in the current times, as opposed to what was traditionally believed of many societies. This because access to this information was vital in the understanding and assisting of this society in expressing and understanding intimacy and the expression thereof.

3.2.3 Feminist Theory

Feminism can be understood as the revolt against a society that is patriarchal in nature (Turner, 1994: 95). Feminism is, therefore, a theory that focuses on anything female, from their treatment at home or workplace, and/or the social and sometimes political issues they face in their daily lives. First-wave feminists focused on everything woman, from the nurturing and rearing of children to the lack of women in the workplace, the financial impact, or lack thereof, of running a home and in the African context, the female children attaining education and allowing women to own homes, without a spouse or a male counterpart. Mandell (1995) explains that feminism is organized around the idea of socially, economically, and politically eradicating race, class, and sexual domination of females, so that self-development starts. Adam & Allan (1995), however, state that the significant worry for some feminist anthropologists was methods of understanding that don't diminish ladies to the position of voiceless things, however regarding them as subjects in their own particular right and qualified for their own voices. Therefore, feminism focuses on the issue's women encounter from their daily activities, from being voiceless in decision making, to the attainment of education and the sexual liberation of women. It is always women's sexuality that has been policed and regulated, in ways that their male counterparts aren't (Jackson & Scott, 1996: 3). This is true of many societies, where certain actions by women are deemed distasteful, whereas when done by their male counterparts it is praised, for example, the act of having more than one sexual partner, which could see women labelled as loose, but a great achievement for men.

Annadale & Clark (1996) state that the common thing that feminists agree upon is the fact that patriarchy privileges men and uses their body as a standard, where it is fashioned upon values that are characteristic, such as good health and strength, and women's bodies, in comparison, seen as deficient, mostly associated with illness and lack of control and intuitive reasoned action. Weis (1998) adds that some feminist theorists argue that sexuality, including lesbianism, is a social development of male power, as in that it is characterized by men and constrained upon ladies. This is evident in many societies, where a female is frowned upon if she is deemed doing something that is considered manly, such as initiating sexual relations, relationships, or marriage, as this is seen as something that men should initiate. Feminist work

on human reproduction has been the centre of sociological work and has inevitably informed sociological work of gender and health (Annadale & Clark, 1996: 18). This was mainly due to the fact that, according to Mandell (1995), liberal feminism was the philosophy and principle based on individual liberty, where they believed that everyone should be allowed to exercise the freedom of choice, without the law or society imposing or restricting them. Reay (1997), therefore, remarks that questioning and re-evaluation of the concept of shared oppression that unites all women, has transformed feminism. However, Weis (1998) emphasizes that the earlier feminists viewed patriarchy as harsh to ladies' sexuality and focused on the need and significance of the sexual opportunity, delight, and rights for ladies. The questioning and re-evaluation were an important aspect to the daily lives of women, as their daily contributions to society were now evaluated, not based on culture or religion, but according to the value and worth of the goods and services that the women were providing in society; which later saw the rise in gender equality issues, where women were given more flexibility than historically.

3.2.4 Symbolic Interactionism

In sociology, the self and character, as the individual and the gathering, have been considered by various powerful sociologists through symbolic interactionism (Adams & Marshall, 2004: 430). Longmore (1998: 45) explains that society and the self are two sides of a similar coin, as there cannot be a self without others, as no individual can exist separately from society. Symbolic interactionism can, therefore, be loosely defined as a sociological approach that focuses on understanding the meaning rather than the causation of social and sexual behaviour (Elliott & Turner, 2001: 95). Meaning, in society, is brought about by the shared norms and beliefs that a community share. For Hyde & DeLamater (2006), symbolic interactionism depends on the principle that human instinct and social request are side-effects of symbolic communications that happen among people. Meaning that all human behaviour, including sexual behaviour, is symbolic, as it is associated with various activities, with different meanings (Longmore, 1998: 44). This is true for all human beings, as we are taught what it means to be a man or woman, male and female, spouse or sibling, child and adult, how you are then expected to interact, socially, and more importantly, how to interpret these symbols shared within different groups.

Mehaan (1995) asserts that societies produce themselves symbolically, and this can be achieved through maintaining and transmitting the numerous and elaborate norms and patterns of interpretation linguistically, from one generation to the next. Symbolic meanings vary from

one society to the other; however, language plays an important role in the understanding and communication of these symbols. Language is, therefore, said, to not be the normal wonder which simply happens to gatherings of individuals, yet takes after a settled requesting, utilizing certain semantic principles and codes, for what can be stated, how one might say, and how it produces meaning to the next person (Bacchi & Evaline, 2010: 141). Communication can be said to happen at many levels, including body language and is therefore seen as important as the use of words, because meaning is made by differentiating the various meanings that are given to certain signs and symbols and more importantly, the interpretation of these signs and symbols. Benzie & Allen (2001) theorize that human beings construct their world according to their individual perceptions of that world. Longmore (1998: 46), however, explains that human beings create and recreate roles, depending on the situation at hand, and that each of us does this differently. This also shows that one can never look at the individual without looking at the environment they live in and the roles they play in each other's lives, as they have an impact on each other, and therefore transmitting to the whole community. This phenomenon is seen in family structures and relationships, where one has many roles to play, simultaneously, such as being a spouse and a parent at the same time.

For symbolic interactionists, human behaviour is not determined by internal forces, such as instincts and desires, but by a reflective, socially derived understanding of the internal and external stimulus present (Burbank & Martins, 2010: 27). Behaviour, like sexual desire, is managed and controlled by the community that the individual finds themselves in. Every society has its symbols that are acceptable and not, such as sex and sexuality, where heterosexuality is seen as natural versus homosexuality, which is normally frowned upon, and these symbols play a vital role in how people interact with their partners and their respective communities. Waskul & Plante (2010) state that sexual scripts are produced, shared, and reinforced, by culture, through norms that serve as a blueprint guide to sexual behaviour. This can be observed even in the manner in which children are raised, where they are taught about their gender and sex roles and expectations. Structural symbolic interactionists, however, assert that sexuality is a social construct, which teaches people about sexual behaviours and how to interpret them culturally (Longmore, 1998: 46). Without the proper scripts that define the situation, no sexual intimacy will probably happen (Waskul & Plate, 2010: 151). Therefore, symbols such as words, body language, and so forth play a major role in the creation of sexual scripts; however, these scripts must be socially acceptable and understood for them to be acted upon. Symbolic interactionists state that individuals create social order through their patterned

interactions while simultaneously social order organises and lends structure to individual experience and subjectivity, whereas the term social structure is used in a very specific sense by exchange theorists, in that it refers to the associations of exchange relations among actors, not only individuals, but collectives too, along whose lines valued resources are passed (Inglis & Thorpe, 2012: 107). Though choice of partner and sexual expression may be thought to be an individual choice, symbolic interaction is of the view that society and the symbols found in those societies play a major role in the choice and action, as there are socially guided sexual scripts that the individual has to follow, if there is to be harmony and unity within the community.

3.2.5 Social Exchange Theory

There are many theories on human behaviour and the reason behind it, but for this research, none explain it better than social exchange theory, which is founded on varying rewards and sanctions as the base assumption. Wischniewski et al. (2009) state that within human social groups, there is a spectrum of individual behavioural morphs and they differ in attitude towards exploitation of resources and contribute to the welfare of the family and the community at large. Nunkoo & Ramkissoon (2012) explained that the social exchange theory is based on the idea that human conduct or social communication is a trade of action, substantial and impalpable, especially of prizes and expenses. Exchange is an important aspect of human behaviour because even as children, behaviour that is deemed good and/or positive is acknowledged or even praised, and one that is not, is sanctioned. This then teaches the children interacting at that time, who grow up internalising this, that good behaviour is rewarded, and not so good behaviour is sanctioned. Because the social exchange is entrenched in the financial hypothesis and modified for the study of the social psychology of groups, the focus is placed on the costs and benefits of the relationship and its satisfaction (Ward & Berno, 2011: 1557). People sometimes engage in behaviour that is deceitful, such as lying, to mask certain attributes about them, such as feelings, knowledge, whereabouts, and plans, to maximise their benefits (Marelich, et al., 2008: 27). This behaviour is not only found within the family structure, but within relationships, as people will weigh the cost of full disclosure about a situation, and if they deem it a loss, then they may try other options available to them. Social exchange theory assumes that self-interested actors, who transact with other self-interested actors, do so to accomplish individual goals, that they cannot achieve alone (Lawler & Thye, 1999: 217). Therefore, staying in an informal human settlement could be seen to have an impact, in the way

in which people interact with people who might be deemed as beneficial in their lives, and this can have an impact on the levels of satisfaction of the relationship.

Society and humans interact on a daily basis, and this exchange impacts on both parties, as one manoeuvres the other in search of utilising it to their best capacity. The exchange theory conceives society as fundamentally born of exchange relations among actors, and it also regards the exchange as the product of the transactions occurring between concrete individuals and also between individuals and collectives (Inglis & Thorpe, 2012: 133). Nunkoo & Ramkissoon (2012) subsequently theorize that individuals engage in an exchange process once they have judged the rewards and the costs, and will enter relationships in which they can maximize benefits and minimize costs. Therefore, Sprecher (1998: 32) explains that exchange theories are vital in understanding sexuality within the relational level, as this may help to explain why some people choose their sexual partners, which partner determines the sexual activity among each other, sexual satisfaction, and so forth. Therefore, understanding the exchanges that happen within relationships and the private spaces are important to the social exchange theorists, as this impacts the quality of the relationship and sexual expression. Barnett et al. (2011: 350) explained that sexuality is social interaction, as there are culturally specific notions about expected behaviour and more importantly, the significance of those behaviours. These expected norms and behaviours not only govern the people, but they also teach them what is sexually expected of them, where behaviour that is acceptable is praised and sexual behaviour that isn't, such as incest, is sanctioned or even cast out of the community. Sex is a cost, along with certain attributes, that can be used to gain or maintain relationship-related benefits and resources (Marelich et al., 2008: 28). Delamarter (2003: 53) asserts that these expenses are basically seen as far as option exercises or openings inevitable by the performing actors included. Therefore, Sprecher (1998: 32) theorises that in many relationships, sexual rewards and costs are sometimes exchanged for other resources, such as intimacy, favours, love, and money. As a result, many relationships thrive because both parties must deem their relationship or sexual relationship, as more beneficial to them, with fewer sanctions and more rewards, as this is paramount to the stability of the relationship.

The exchanges that occur in relationships are not only monetary, qualities such as communication, affection, household responsibilities, and so forth, play an important role in the quality of exchanges that occur within relationships and households. Kailapasathy & Metz (2012: 793) assert that in partner exchange relationships, attributes such as affection, loyalty, contributions in the household, and respect assume a critical part in the fulfilment of the general

relationship and sexual relationship. It is, therefore, said that the social division of labour is facilitated by exchange, which, in turn, shows the power struggles in relationships, as the negotiation process shows the relative dependence of the partners (van de Rijt & Macy, 2006: 1455). How couples negotiate their roles and expectations in the relationship affects the relationship itself and the sexual expression, as one is either feeling understood or not, which either improves or diminishes the sexual expression within the relationship. Contemporary models of female sexuality theorize that females are persuaded to participate in sexual exercises to accomplish closeness, instead of unconstrained physiological want, unlike their male counterparts (Rosenbaum, 2009: 38). However, Baumeister & Vohs (2004: 340) ascertain that culture has always endowed female sexuality with value, whereas male sexuality was viewed as worthless, therefore seeing sex as a commodity used by females on males. This was seen in traditional societies, where the bride price increased if the woman was a virgin, and this and the fact of reproduction played an important role in choosing wives traditionally. Rosenbaum (2009: 41) explained that sexual activity or intercourse is a commodity that can be utilized as a reward that can be offered or held back, in exchange for good behaviour. Kailasapathy & Metz (2012) added that negotiations at home, and work, also plays an important role in structural role definition, as this requires the individual to negotiate their demands. This is true of many societies, where a woman's body is valued, as they are responsible for reproduction, whereas their male counterparts, other external features, such as resources, are more valued than his looks; therefore, this theory seeks to explain what the researcher is hoping to understand the impact of intimacy and satisfaction in marriages and relationships in the informal human settlement of Cato Manor.

3.3 Towards the Sociology of Human Sexuality

Sexuality is a focal part of being human all through life and includes sex, sex category and parts, sexual introduction, sensuality, joy, closeness, and is concerned with breeding (WHO, 2006: 10). We live in a sexualized world, where sexual imagery and desirability is readily presented and available, whether in relation to the self, or the other (Hawkes, 1996:1). Christopher & Sprecher (2000) explained, however, that woven in many close relationships is sexuality, which is, in many societies, sanctioned in marriage and explored by many when dating. Within many societies, sex and sexuality are policed by family members and the community at large, from its expression, to where it is expressed. Sex and sexuality are words that tend to be used interchangeably, where the former looks at the biological differences

between males and females, and the latter focuses on the behaviour and desires that respective males and females choose to associate themselves with, such as heterosexual, gay, lesbian behaviour and so forth. Sexuality is said to promise oblivion, pleasure beyond endurance; however, sexuality has many layers, masks, disguises, rituals, but monetary dissolution is always sought, the dissolution of the 'I' into 'we' (Milligan, 1993: 1). However, Henslin (1971: 1) explained that the sociological point of view that is shared by many is that though it is the individual who engages in the given sexual act, that it is their group membership that governs and/or shapes and influences the forms of sexual behaviour enacted. Therefore, sexuality is not just affected by the connection of the biological and the mental, but the social, monetary, political, social, moral, legitimate, verifiable, religious and profound factors also (WHO, 2006:10). These different aspects of sexuality play a vital role in the expression and experience of sexuality, as different levels impact on different things.

Restrictions on sexuality and the expression of sex, have always been a norm in many societies. In all societies, there are sexual norms that approve of some practises, while discouraging others (Giddens, 2001: 125). There have always been orthodox sexual themes that have been in place, but the nineteenth century saw a trajectory towards anxieties about unregulated sex, the manifestation of women's sexuality and the consequences of the non-procreative and same-sex sexual desires (Hawkes, 1996: 10). It is said that a society, in which protection is utilized to conceal sexual-sensual personalities from open concern and social resistance will be described as a society in the condition of sexual imperatives (Schneider, 2005: 5). Many of our societies are classified as states of sexual constraint, as there are rules and regulations, from the constitution and the laws to religious and cultural expectations and sanctions, which govern sexuality and the act of sexual desire. Hunter (2012) added that sexuality is not a trans-historical phenomenon, as it is, in the last few hundred years, a central part of our being. Talking about sex and sexuality without explaining that it has always been governed by religious groups and society, from monogamous marriages and sexual acts, usually expected after marriage, would be doing injustice, as these institutions and others have worked tirelessly to control it.

If sexuality was once characterized regarding heterosexuality and monogamy, with regard to conjugal relations, there is currently a developing acknowledgment of differing types of sexual conduct and introduction in a wide assortment of setting (Giddens, 2001: 124). Henslin (1971: 3) explained that although sexual behaviour is biologically based, it is, however, membership in the different sexual groups that shape or gives direction to the sexual drive one has, as the differing groups have their varying sets of expectations as well as patterns of reinforcements

of values of beliefs. Even though many religious groups and institutions have practised the regulation and restriction of sex and sexual behaviour, it has been noted that there has been transformation and liberation of sex and sexuality in the present day. Even the liberalization of sexual attitudes brought on by the much talked about sexual revolution of the 1960s had limited effects when it ran against stalwarts of conservative morality (Erber & Wang-Erber, 2001: 144), where heterosexual behaviour and attitudes are accepted easier than any other form of sexual orientation. Thus, Giddens (2001) theorized that for people, a sexual act is significantly more than organic, it is representative, reflecting our identity, and the feelings we are encountering. For this reason and other morally charged reasons, the restrictions that were put in place in many first world countries, have been loosened, as the rights of those in the homosexual communities have been the right to express their sexuality without harm and these changes have brought about more understanding of the study of sexuality and sex, and the impact it has on relationships.

3.4 Social-psychological Dimensions of Human Sexuality.

Freud's theory of neuroses focused on the premise that man's fate is hinged on the conviction of their primitive instincts and the inhibitions and controls learned through the family and the socialization process (Henslin, 1971:11). Hyde & DeLamater (2006) go on to explain further that, while psychoanalytic and socio-biological theories are based on the notion that much of human sexual behaviour is biologically controlled, it is also quite apparent that much of it is learned. Most of what we know, about the various societies we grow up in, are things that have been taught to us, from the way we carry ourselves, to the social expectations and morals. Socialization, in an expansive sense, incorporates the inclinations that set up and keep up relations amongst people and that guarantee the combination and regard of people as members inside a general public that directs practices as per societal codes (Adams & Marshall, 1996: 431). Social constructionists, however, suggest that the concept of sexual orientation is a culture-bound invention, designed to categorize people (Eber & Wang-Erber, 2001: 154). Gender socialization is, therefore, guided by positive and negative sanctions, and socially applied force, which reward or restrains behaviour (Giddens, 2001: 108). Freud discussed at length the impact social coherency has on the individual's capacity to control their sexual instincts, and how by doing so they can create a family environment, where the children can be kept from undisciplined desires and expressions (Henslin, 1971: 11). This is another form of socialization, as the children learn from a young age that sex and sexuality are expressed in

the family context. Sexual behaviour and scripts are mostly learned in the homes, as they are socialized according to their genders and their respective social expectations, sanctioning sexual behaviour that is deemed unacceptable to social coherence and approving to what is seen as normal.

A multidisciplinary perusing of family relations and human advancement writing has brought about a few general suppositions about the idea of socialization as a basic need to guarantee individual and social survival (Adams & Marshall, 2004: 430). Crompanzano & Mitchell (2005) assert that exchange convictions direct the connection between participative choice creation and acknowledgment of gathering standards and fulfilment with advancement openings. Consequently, evolutionary approaches to sexual behaviour argue that the current patterns that exist have been associated with the historic notion of reproductive success (Christopher & Sprecher, 2000: 1000). Even though the evolutionary approaches see successes in reproductive success, these successes are based more on societal survival through accepted norms and shared values. Therefore, a multitude of research papers have concentrated on the hazardous conduct related with sex and sexual conduct, yet little research has been directed on adjusting the sexual dangers and advantages of sexual contact in overhauling the ideal physical and mental prosperity of the general population (Diamond & Heubner, 2012: 55). An aspect that has been overlooked by many researchers is the fact that sexuality and sexual behaviour is learned, through the socialization process, where society determines the sexual behaviour and acts that are approved or sanctioned; thus, it is evident that all human actions are learned and that the individual considers the outcome based on various factors.

3.5 Sexuality as Part of Human Nature.

Sociologists helped us understand that sexual contents decided quite a bit of what was thought to be common social qualifications of male and female; in light of the fact that from the time they are new-conceived babies, the conventional content for young men was physical - fearlessness, durability, intensity, quality, control, predominance and forcefulness; while young ladies were scripted to be delicate, expressive, responsive, touchy, and agreeable (Balswick & Balswick, 2008: 16). Gender and sexuality are said to be characters that we are socialized into, because we are taught from a young age what it is to be a girl or boy, and how these gender roles and expectations are perpetuated. This in part shows that gender is socially constructed, through the patriarchal privileges that men receive in society, where they are deemed stronger and more capable than their fragile female counterparts (Annandale & Clark,

1996: 19). The most socially accepted sexual context is that of marriage, as sex and marriage are morally and legally linked, therefore deemed as not a social problem (Christopher & Sprecher, 2000: 1001). This behaviour can be observed in different societies, where men are expected to court the woman and is the initiator of sexual advances, and women who initiate coatis are frowned upon. Hawkes (1996) however, explains that once the familiar is taken in with the unfamiliar, when it comes to human sexuality, one starts to question the notion of heterosexuality as a given and what constitutes itself. Diamond & Heubner (2012) asserts that the connection of sexual conduct with other natural, mental, and social wonder has guided outcomes and connections to the relationship, instructive status, substance abuse, et cetera. Human sexuality is an important factor that impacts on the relationship and intimacy in the relationship, though it is not limited to heterosexuality, the notion that it has a direct impact on the physical and psychological importance proves that it is an important aspect in the maintenance of sustainable relationships.

Churches have, however, always viewed sex as ugly and evil and that was to control sexual interaction among people, yet in the height of the Renaissance, artists began to treat sex as a natural desire and an expression of love and life (Tang et al., 2013: 213). Religion and law creators have always had an interest in the control and monitoring of sexuality, as it has a direct impact to not only morality but social cohesion also. Gay and lesbian scholars have, in the past three decades, critically challenged the supremacy of heterosexuality and the negative construction of other erotic alternatives to the orthodox (Hawkes, 1996: 2). The reprimand of homosexuality as un-Christian, un-Islamic or un-African sometimes are given prominence in the media (Obadare, 2015: 63) Culture and religion play an important role in human sexuality and sex, as they produce not only in the act, but through social symbols that are either seen as socially acceptable or are sanctioned. The control and monitoring of sexuality and sexual acts were not confined to state regulation or the construction of institutionalized family and gender relations but were also opened to scrutiny, whilst the sexual act was morally redefined to its social rather than its individual consequences (Hawkes, 1996:3). For many centuries sex and sexual acts were governed by the churches and organized institutions to mainly maintain monogamous heterosexual relationships, as this has always been deemed a norm and initially people who had sexual desires and expressed this outside of what was deemed as the norm was frowned upon, but recent research has revealed that there have been changes in attitude when it comes to people who share different sexual desires.

3.6 Traditional Notions of Sex

Culture might be characterized as the totality of comparable and reciprocal educated implications kept up by a human populace, or by an identifiable portion of a populace, and transmitted starting with one age then onto the next (Tang, 2013: 227). Acknowledged sorts of heterosexual conduct shift generally between various societies; which is one way in which we realize that most sexual reactions are learned as opposed to inborn (Giddens, 1989: 191). Social contrasts may arise out of various authentic, political, and ecological foundations (Tang et al, 2013: 230). In Victorian times, for instance, females were denied their sexuality, although the twentieth century saw the rise of the female's entitlement to sexuality. It had been characterized as her own sexual wants (Oakley, 1985: 99). Their restrictions on female sexual wants and expression can also be seen in African societies where cultural practices like genital mutilation, still occur, which is believed to minimize sexual pleasure for the females, whilst their male counterparts are said to receive maximum sexual pleasure.

It is through a culture that males and females come to realize which images and questions connect with sexual importance and incentives (Balswick & Balswick, 2008: 16). Tang et al. (2013: 232) states that in traditional China, just as in many traditional societies, talking about sex is deemed as inappropriate. This is mainly since behaviour is learned and socialized from a young age and more importantly, that it is governed by societal sanctions and approvals. This behaviour is observed in many traditional societies, where women are said to be seen and not heard; therefore, women must be silent and operate in a manner where they are more in the background than in the forefront of sexual expression (Weeks, 1985: 4).

According to Balswick & Balswick (2008), a man's sexual reaction can be comprehended partially by social and social moulding. They (2008) remark that the fact that females were viewed as less sexual than males, what social researchers found, was generally because of the more noteworthy sexual restrictions set on females when contrasted with guys. These restrictions on women are still prevalent in society today, as women will be shamed and called names when they have multiple partners as compared to their male counterparts. According to Sherfey's (cited in Baumeister & Twenge, 2002:166), the sex drive of the human female is normally and intrinsically more grounded than that of the male, and it once represented a capably destabilizing danger to the likelihood of social request. Early scholars, for example, St. Thomas Aquinas, affirmed that sexual joy is constantly seen as wicked which reflected the requests of a man-controlled society and manifested little worry for female joy (Tang et al, 2013: 231). This is still the case for many traditional societies, where women do not have voices

on their sexual desires and fantasies, as they may be deemed loose, and where men still determine and control the sexual acts and pleasures.

Balswick & Balswick (2008) state that men more than ladies had unhindered states of mind that allowed more indiscriminate connections, while ladies more than men had confined mentalities that tended to lean toward conferred and monogamous sexual connections. Sex was not viewed as a fundamental need, but rather existed only to increase social acknowledgment and more imperatively, sexual exercises that fit with existing social prerequisites were viewed as legal; else, they were viewed as treachery and apostasy (Tang et al, 2013: 232).

3.7 Modern Notions of Sex

In line with their dualistic view on the mind and the body, the Puritans felt that sex was primarily a matter of the spirit succumbing to the flesh; consequently, in the eighteenth century many colonial communities had strict prohibition exchanges of affection such as kissing and holding hands, even for married couples (Eber & Wang-Erber, 2001: 143). Thus, in medieval Europe, the desire was largely reprimanded by political and religious experts (Tang et al, 2013: 231). Many cultures consider sex as a fact of life like eating and drinking, but in the American way, it is best done in a climate marked by darkness, drawn curtains, and hushes silence (Eber & Wang-Erber, 2001: 143). Even though many religious institutions tried controlling and prohibiting affection, changes in the consummation and expression of sex and sexuality eventually saw their attempts futile. The sexual unrest that started in the primary portion of the twentieth century was followed in later years by unrest in reclassifying sex, and the mix of these two progressive changes has increased the many-sided quality of understanding sexual advancement in current social orders (Balswick & Balswick, 2008: 15). Trumbach (1998) describes the emergence since the eighteenth century of a new sexual system in specifically modern and Western societies, which had subsequently come to have a profound influence on many other sexual cultures (Weeks, et al., 2003: 11). Views of sex change in this era, as sex was now being viewed as something to be enjoyed and not feared as sinful. In the period from 1500 to 1800, developed countries started to challenge Christian esteems and initiated the epochal move toward the individualistic, libertarian, and lenient states of mind towards sexuality that is more typical today (Tang et al., 2013: 231). This awarded many women, as well as men, to express and enjoy sex and sexuality for the purity of it, and not for religious or procreational responsibilities. From the 1960s to the 1980s, a growing majority of people in the developed world began to consider sex to be a source of excitement, joy, and an expression of love (Tang et al., 2013: 231).

The chief proponents and beneficiaries of the sexual changes of the post-war world were undoubtedly men; as entrepreneurs of the new sexual opportunities, as laid-back indulgers in the liberated lifestyle promised by the likes of Playboy or simply as voyeurs (Weeks, 1985: 25). Unpretentious and not so unobtrusive sexual messages and allusions in the media, TV, music, motion pictures et cetera, produced debate over the issue of free discourse versus oversight on issues concerning sexual behaviour (Balswick & Balswick, 2008: 13). These changes did not only affect the males but had a positive impact on the female's lives, as it was well in the 20th century, where women had access to birth control, where they could enjoy sex without guilt or worry (Tang et al., 2012: 231). Sexual identities, such as homosexuality were more prominent, as people didn't have to hide their sexuality, behind closed doors, as policies and human rights allowed them the freedom to express them freely. The extension of same-sex marriages in California, USA, saw many other people from out of that state, coming to sanctify their marriages there, where later the acceptance of same-sex marriages was documented in their public policies (Archibald, 2009:1).

3.8 Restrictions on Sexual Relationships.

Marriage is said to be the only context where sexual intercourse and expression is universally approved, whereas sexual behaviours and attitudes are learned from outside the marriage (Call et al., 1995:639). Sexuality is both given to us by God and created by man (Milligan, 1993: 2). Religion emerges as the 'do' and don'ts in various aspects of sexual behaviours, such as cognition, desire, frequency of experience, and pleasure (Yahyauoi et al., 2013: 31). Religion and culture play an important role in governing sex and the desires that come with it, as people are taught from a young age that they were born in sin. Marital institutions, just like religious ones, control sexual relations and embolden responsibility between partners, as this dedication has beneficial outcomes, for example, on life partners' well-being (Stutzer & Frey, 2006: 326). It is conceivable that in this social setting, sexuality may progressively be directed by religion, yet with more extensive neighbourhood variety (Pedersen, 2014: 542). Unlike developed countries, in Islamic culture, Islam does not allow a woman to be alone with a man who is not her kin; thus, any type of dating is completely forbidden (Moore, 2011: 5). This is mainly due to the fact that women are not permitted, by their Holy Qur'an, as they are at times seen as the causes of temptation. Though marital sex is applauded, in many religion and societies, non-marital sex is frowned upon and advised against, these restrictions are put in place for various reasons, and they differ within each society.

Yahyaoui et al. (2013), remarks that religion exerts an influence on behaviour. It is possible that in many cultural contexts, sexuality may increasingly be regulated by religion, but with broader local variation (Pederson, 2014: 542). This is mainly due to the fact that religion and culture are some of the institutions where sexuality is policed at every turn, mostly for females than their male counterparts. The positive correlation between restrictions on marrying and the amount of non-marital sex also lay behind the efforts of the medieval Roman Catholic Church to encourage people to marry young in order to reduce the incidence of masturbation, fornication, and homosexuality (Posner, 1992: 244). This type of restriction is kept in place, so that no form of fornication or dating may occur, and that sex is practised within marital unions. Moore (2011) asserts that an Islamic man is allowed to be polygamous according to the Qur'an, while women are only to have one husband; in fact, he can have four wives, while also pleasuring himself with any of the slave girls or women that he possesses. In the Jewish religion, the sexual code is thought to be sponsored by religious assents, so infractions are not simply a wrongdoing, but rather a transgression which may irritate the god; conversely there is an example not normal for anything so far considered, in which the sexual demonstration is felt to have otherworldly and even celestial hugeness, it ought to be performed just with adoration, subsequent to doing the suitable preliminary and purging ceremonies (Taylor, 1953: 225). It is evident that Churches and Mosques, and cultural norms and values, imposed certain rules and laws on marriage and social relations, which predominantly abided to the Holy Book and its teachings, as societies were threatened by a loss in morals, as they perceived it.

3.9 Sexual Relationships and Marital Stability.

One of the essential fundamentals of social exchange theory is that connections advance after some time into putting stock in, faithful, and shared responsibilities (Cromapanzano & Mitchell, 2005: 875). Gottman & Levenson (1999) found emotional patterns of interaction predictive of conjugal dependability or disintegration, and in addition, inevitable conjugal fulfilment of those couples who remained wedded. Marriage is one of those institutions that need to be studied, as there are various lessons to be learned, from sexual frequency to the longevity of relationships. The method of reasoning for concentrated conjugal fulfilment originates from its centrality in individual and family prosperity, from the advantages that accumulate to society when solid relational unions are shaped and kept up, and from the need to grow exactly faultless intercessions for couples that avoid or mitigate conjugal misery and separation (Bradbury et al., 2000: 964). Social exchange, therefore, alludes to wilful activities

of people that are propelled by the profits they are relied upon to bring, and commonly do in truth receive from others (Cook & Rice, 2003: 55). Erber & Wang-Erber (2001) predict that expressing sexual preferences and fantasies, as well as sexual pleasure, can shape the experience in important ways. Earlier research finds that sexuality inside a marriage is a vital part of conjugal quality and steadiness, while, normally, different examinations found that higher sexual fulfilment or recurrence is decidedly connected with conjugal dependability (Yabiku & Gager, 2009: 983). Yoo (2013) states that couples with a high level of intimacy tend to be highly satisfied and maintain stable relationships. Therefore, sexual relations are not only important for the marital union, but for the general mental and physical health of the individuals in the relationship.

The part of sexual recurrence in partnerships, is an essential territory of study, as current research found that sexual relations positioned as the second most hazardous issue, in the wake of adjusting employment and family, among a national case of youthful wedded couples (Yabiku & Gager, 2009: 983). Eber & Wang-Erber (2001) stated that amid the early involvement of a relationship, men and ladies alike have a tendency to depend intensely on non-verbal signs, apparently, to battle off the likelihood of dismissal or its potential effect. Correspondence or reimbursement in kind is presumably the best-known trade (Crompanzano & Mitchell, 2005: 875). These exchanges are said to impact the relationship in a positive or negative manner, where it can bring about changes in the interaction between the couple. Olsson et al. (2005) theorize that sexuality has normal fluctuations during different phases of life, in which childbirth is one of those phases. The issue of sexual habituation tends to cause some problems for some couples and may cause lack of passion (Konrich, 2012: 27). These changes within the household mean that there are other factors, such as the needs of the new member, that need to be taken into consideration, unlike before the arrival of the child, having other family members in the household could have negative factors for the married couple. However, Nicolosi et al. (2005) assert that though there is an interest in sex and sexual expression, in the middle age, sexual problems can arise, as these people have had a long-life expectancy and as a result may suffer from illnesses that could affect their sexuality. Issues of new members in the family and issues such as erectile dysfunction, especially if left untreated, are said to have a negative impact on the relationship, as sexual intercourse and expression are said to make the bond between the couple even stronger, therefore studying the impact of sexual frequency and the issues that may occur after a while, is vital in understanding the issues faced by couples and the resolution styles they may have.

3.10 Intimacy as a Factor in Sexual Satisfaction.

The word intimacy, originally, comes from the Latin word *intimus*, which means innermost or deepest and can be defined as a process in which two adoring individuals share as uninhibitedly as conceivable in the trading of emotions, contemplation, and intimate activities (Masters, et al., 1992: 310). The nature and procedure of shaping close connections have changed in essential courses during recent decades (Sassler, 2010: 557). This is not to say that intimacy is only shared by only couples in a relationship, but can also be shared between parents and children, friends, and the family at large, and more importantly, it plays a vital role in the formation of intimate relations between couples, as it is said to have an impact on the relationship and sexual satisfaction in general. Intimacy, therefore, symbolizes closeness and/or interdependence, where human lives, and experiences are intertwined, including tension, contradictions, and imbalances of power exist, just like any form of reciprocity (Bray, 2008: 151). Therefore, Sassler (2010) theorizes that the most common thread unifying all relationships is the need for intimacy. This is true of any relationship, be it mother and child, or doctor and patient, the need to be fully understood and to share varying intimate moments with other people, solidify, and at times, strengthens many relationships.

Since intimacy depends to a large degree on exclusivity, on what each person discloses or shows only to the other, relationship intimacy is a crucial factor in the stability of many relationships (Kersten & Kersten, 1988: 57). Partners who remain faithful to their spouses and are emotionally and sexually satisfying are said to be in happier marriages. Intimacy is also said to include a yearning for something shared, a tale about both oneself as well as other people that will turn out special (Berlant, 2000: 1). Intimacy, therefore, is not only important in the formation of the relationship, but throughout the entire marriage and with the off-springs as well, as it not only solidifies the marital bond through shared thoughts and feelings but also stabilizes the family relations. Nimtz (2011) states that small, positive acts of kindness, repeated over time, can make a big difference on the long-term success of marriages and relationships, and this is mainly due to the fact that positive reassurances have a positive effect on the person receiving it. The acknowledgment that compensating sexual connections have positive impacts upon a person's feeling of self and general prosperity is entrenched by numerous scientists. Given that sexual encounters and connections are profoundly held up inside socio-political settings it is essential to inspect whether sexual fulfilment is the same mental marvels crosswise over people who have differing access to control inside the sexual

space and in the public arena all in all (McClelland, 2014: 75). Therefore, intimate relationships have an impact on one's mental and physical health.

Yoo (2013), however, explains that intimacy is multifaceted, and also stressed that emotional and sexual intimacy, in many relationships, was a very important tool in investigating intimacy. Unlike in the traditional societies, where sex was mainly for procreation, the new mantra of healthy modern couple's sexuality incorporates desire, pleasure, eroticism, and satisfaction (McCarthy & Wald, 2012: 310). Manshai et al. (2015) found that marriage satisfaction is considered as one of the main components of emotional stability between the couple. According to Matthew et al. (2011), the part of sexual fulfilment has been, as it were, featured as a figurative gauge of relationship fulfilment, demonstrating that sexual fulfilment is key in a close relationship, potentially even represents the deciding moment for some connections and relational unions. However, Konrich et al (2012) state that romantic and sexual scripts are often highly gendered outside marriage and suspect that they remain so within marriage. This is mainly the fact for those in relationships, as both men and women are expected to act in certain socially acceptable ways, women as submissive nurturers and men as the protective breadwinners, as it has been for many years before. Nimitz (2011), on the other hand, asserts that the de-industrialization of marriage saw an emphasis on personal choice and self-development, negotiable and flexible roles, individual fulfillment and open communication and confrontation of problems. Looking at a community like Cato Manor, and the socio-economic challenges that people face there, research on marital and relationship satisfaction is vital as some of the challenges they face, such as space, could have an impact on the way and means of relating and expressing intimacy.

3.11 Nature, Forms, and Extent of Intimacy

Intimate relationships are said to play a vital role in one's development and relationship formation. Gillies (2003) define intimate relationships as a broad and fluid term that encompasses different associations with friends, family, sexual partner, and kin. Social relationships are said to play an important role in emotional development and not only does it refine and strengthen the links, feelings, and what happens in that particular environment, but more importantly, it also contributes to the development of attachment (Carstensen et al, 1996: 227). However, Scharf & Maysless (2001) points out that romantic relationships are an integral part in both the adolescents and the young adults, as it is an avenue where they define themselves, their identity and sexuality, which makes it a major source of happiness or anxiety.

Spencer & Pahl (2006, cited in Chambers, 2017) explains that personal communities involve private intimate and active bonds between kin, friends, neighbours, as well as workmates, as these are the bonds that help with the everyday stresses of life. Though Furman (1999) explains that romantic relationships are embedded in the fundamental need for humans to form and maintain close relationships. This is not to say that these are the only forms of relationships, as relations between parent and children, kin bonds, friendships, also have their own form of intimate relations.

Mackey et al. (2004) state that satisfying relationships are vital to the well-being of the couple and that of the family as a whole, as they are a buffer to the daily stresses of work and life. Bernie-Porter & Lydon (2013), however, maintain that sexuality and intimacy are linked in romantic relationships and this is mainly due to the fact that sexual desire and activity are the main activities that differentiate romantic relationships to equally intimate but platonic ones. One of the main prerequisites of being in an intimate relationship is said to be the acquisition of identity and, more importantly, the emotional detachment from relationships with their parents (van den Broucke et al., 1995: 227). The detachment plays an important role, as both parties within the couple have learned all that they could about intimacy and relationships from their parents, and that they will now create their own meaning and expressions. Many researchers also found that intimacy in friendships, as well as in marriages, self-disclosure and emotional support, as well as acceptance and trust, play a vital part in the stability and durability of the relationship (Birnie-Porter & Lydon, 2013: 237). Jamieson (1999), however, states that we are capable of having intense, intimate relationships that are not sexual and at the same time, have sexual relationships that are devoid of intimacy. This shows the different patterns and forms of intimate relationships, as a parent can have an intensely intimate relationship with their child, or even between friends, and relationships devoid of sexual relations.

Intimate relationships play a vital role, not only in the development of human interaction but is also important in the old age, as it plays the role of support and having someone always around. Scharf & Mayseless (2001) highlight that as a person's age increases, the importance of romantic relationships as a tool for support, through friends and family, still remains important. Though there may be differences in these relationships, the one thing that remains the same is the fact that relationships become more intimate once increased confidential information is shared between partners (van den Broucke et al., 1995: 225). This closeness not only brings the couples closer but also plays a vital role in the perceptions that the couple has

of the relationship because mainly the couples know each other's intimate needs and desires and can thus provide those needs and the human connection they both desires.

3.12 Factors that Contribute to Intimacy

There are many factors that contribute to intimate relationships that either has a positive or negative impact on the relationship and the couple as a whole. Issues of self-disclosure and expression of affection between the intimate people, their compatibility, cohesion, identity, and more importantly, their ability to resolve problems, is said to be an important factor in intimacy (Laurenceau et al., 1998: 1238). Many studies have found that intimacy is a basic human need; however, self-disclosure; mutual validation, love, and care are some of the means and concepts that improve relations (Yoo, 2013:11). However, Troy (2000) asserts that the measure variable, used by many applied researchers, when it comes to relationship's relate-ability and satisfaction, is usually general communication, sexual communication, and interaction. These measures once mastered, are said to not only intensify the relationship but also solidifies the relationship between the individuals in the relationship, as their needs and wants are communicated, thus having a harmonious home and family.

Desai & Patoliya (2012) posit that better communication and interaction build more intimate relationships between couples, which, in turn, leads to trust, sexual satisfaction, and a stronger marital bond. Communication in a marriage or relationship is an important factor that contributes to intimacy, because when couples share their inner-most truth, then whatever they experience together, affords them the chance to communicate better and solidify their relationship. It is said that well-differentiated effective marriages or systems are said to be those that can balance the on-going tensions of separateness or connectedness (Sabatelli & Bartle-Haring, 2003: 160). Wachs & Cordova (2007) explain that the emotional challenges that pertain to maintaining intimate relationship require that all couples negotiate sensitive and vulnerable experiences that occur, such as fear, anger, sadness, and the likes, in relation to their relationship. Effective communication, also understood as open and honest conversations between the partners, is said to play an important role in relationship satisfaction, including conflict resolution (Mackey et al. 2004:13). Therefore, the quality and skills of communication are said to be vital, and the lifeblood of successful relationships (Troy, 2000: 222). When couples are better able to communicate their true feelings about something, then they usher in more trust and connectivity, as it is believed that good communication strengthens the relationship.

Laurenceau et al. (1998) theorized that the sharing and communicating of warmth, obligations, and exercises, and giving and getting support is a focal piece of closeness, although sexual contact is viewed as critical in relationships with individuals of the contrary sex and more by men than ladies. Contemporary researchers, such as Konrich et al. (2012) found that marriages, nowadays, are more egalitarian, where gender-based roles are performed by both parties, and that, more importantly, this trend has had positive effects on the marriage. Thus Desai & Patoliya (2012) highlight that a major change that they have found is the sharing of marital responsibilities between the couples, unlike in the past. This came about with the global changes, that saw women in the workplace, where their daily focus was not on the family only but also on their careers too, unlike in the traditional societies, where a woman's place was in the kitchen, and this meant that couples were better able to negotiate their responsibilities within the household and family.

3.13 Intimacy and Marital/ Family Satisfaction.

Intimacy is said to play a vital role in the satisfaction and longevity of a relationship and/or marriage, as it impacts on the stability and sexual and intimate relationship. Marriage fulfilment is a standout amongst the most unmistakable variables that influence family execution (Kalantari et al., 2012: 2691). Kornrich et al. (2012) assert that sex, which plays a significant role within the relationship, is understudied. However imperative, it is part of marriage, proceeding to be a focal region of spousal concern and struggle; sexual action is connected to conjugal fulfilment, yet there have been a couple of late endeavours to comprehend the association of sexual recurrence in marriage. Manshi et al. (2015:5) states that nowadays there is much evidence in support of the importance of sex and sexual health, and it impacts on the quality of life. Though there have been issues with understanding the sexual frequency in marriages, and the importance of sex within a marriage or lack thereof, sexual intimacy and frequency seems to have been central to the debate of many research studies that were concerned with marital satisfaction and dissolution. Kalantari et al (2012) portray similarity and marriage fulfilment as a state in which couples frequently feel cheerful and content with each other; this happens through common love, dealing with each other, acknowledgment, shared comprehension, and need satisfaction including sexual requirements. Lawler & Thye (1999), therefore, theorize that joint action reaffirms and reinforces social solidarity as a result of the common feelings and emotions it produces. In spite of the fact that talks of affection could be found in pre-current social orders, Giddens asserts that when pre-present day people

groups thought of adoration, their referent was not to sentiment, but rather to desire: to a widely inclusive sexual fascination for another that was troublesome seeing that it removed the person from the unremarkable, creating a break with routine and obligation (Gross & Simmons, 2002: 353). This highlights the plight of modern couples and their need to connect, both emotionally and sexually, as this impacts on the quality of their relationships. Therefore, sexual relations, among other things, are important to the shaping of stability and longevity of marital stability and satisfaction.

Intimacy and marital satisfaction are not only impacted by the sexual and emotional connection, but also by the shared responsibilities within the household. Sexual issues are positioned the top of the line in any marriage life; adjustment in sexual connections, and in sexual drives in both genders, are among the most remarkable purposes behind joy and achievement in marriage life (Kalantari et al., 2012: 2691). However, Kornrich et al. (2012) express that examination demonstrates that when men accomplish more housework, spouses' view of reasonableness and conjugal fulfilment tend to rise, and couples experience less marital conflict; as claims that couples who share housework have more sex. Many researchers have shown that this sharing of housework not only helps minimize the stress on the one partner but also increases the time spent together, as the duties are shared and clear time for intimacy. However, Manshi et al (2015) theorize that there is a relationship between sex and continuous satisfaction of relationship, and that satisfied wives report more harmony among sexual activity that they want and sexual activity that they experience. This shows that the level of family function, both for the males and the females plays a significant role in sexual and marital satisfaction. For the most part, for a sexual undertaking to be experienced totally and attractively it ought to be joined by warmth and love; and this happens commonly; fulfilment in sexual issues is joined by enthusiastic fulfilment (Kalantari et al., 2012: 2692). Therefore, in any relationship, though the sexual relationship is important, communication, affection, and intimacy are ranked as important for the stability and marital bond of the couple, and of the family.

3.14 Conclusion

This chapter aimed to unpack the various theories and opinions on sexualities and sexual expression, such as the feminist and critical theories, as these theories hold some opinions about sex and sexualities, within communities. These theories were discussed in detail, and they

unpacked the various beliefs and ideas about the role and impact of sexualities. Previous research on issues and impacts of sex and sexuality were discussed in detail, as various societies hold various views on the restrictions and expression of sex and sexuality. The role and impact sex and sexuality play in society, and the roles and restrictions bestowed upon societies and females, in general, was explained in detail.

Chapter Four

Research Methodology

4.1 Introduction

A fundamental aim of this study is to explore the meanings and perceptions of sexual relationships and intimacy among informal settlement dwellers. To investigate this, it becomes necessary to adopt an appropriate research design. Hence, this chapter explains the methods and procedures that were used to collect data. The chapter commences with a review of the research design that was used in the study, followed by the procedure used to select participants for the study, an outline of the study population, the tools that were employed to collect data, the ethical considerations, and the principles of confidentiality and anonymity that were observed in the study.

4.2 Qualitative Research Design

The main aim of qualitative research is to study human action in its natural environment, as this allows the researcher to gain more insight into the social values and norms of that society. Social science research is concerned with people and their life context, and with the philosophical questions relating to the nature of the study, their values that underpin human judgments and activities (Somekh & Lewin, 2005: 1). The need for social researchers to make assumptions about groups and communities under study in their natural context makes qualitative research an appropriate research design to investigate and describe human action in data (Black, 1993:1). It is in this context that social science research comprises investigating all aspects of human activity and their interactivity.

This study is sensitive in nature and located in a particular social and spatial context. The sensitivity of this study is contained around questions that probe human sexuality issues amongst participants that live in a vulnerable community. Issues of sexuality are often considered to be personal in nature, and in some communities, it is not spoken about openly whilst in others, it is considered taboo. To investigate an issue such as this requires a research design that can probe, with sensitivity, matters relating to human sexuality. It is in this context that a qualitative design has been chosen to investigate the underlying expression of features

of sexuality within an informal settlement context. It may be argued as to why a quantitative research design was not considered for this study. Quantitative research designs are known to demand a large sample size, and it is costly to administer and provides minimal assurance that the selected participants will provide appropriate responses about their sexuality. In contrast, qualitative research designs study participants in their natural settings and probes deeper and underlying issues which otherwise cannot be shared openly.

Qualitative research designs aim to collect non-numerical data, which aims to explain the perceptions and meanings of the participants involved, which entail communicating with participants and comprehending their meaning from their perspective. Schneyvens & Storey (2003: 57) state that qualitative research pursues to comprehend the world through interaction, empathy, and interpretation of actions and perceptions of its participants in their natural habitats. The main aim for using a qualitative approach is not to gather statistics on people, but to speak to and understand people's perceptions, mainly because the goal is not to predict, but rather to describe the human behaviour. Denzin & Lincoln (1994: 2) state that qualitative researchers interpret the phenomenon in terms of the meanings that people bring with them in a study. On the other hand, quantitative researchers familiarize themselves with the study or concepts to be studied and generalize the hypothesis to be tested (Golafshani, 2003: 597). Therefore, conducting the research in the comfort of the participant's space was the best decision for the researcher in this study, as this allowed the participants to speak openly and without any fear of judgement. This allowed the researcher to have a better understanding of the participants and their family backgrounds and life experiences and the meaning of their perceptions of sexuality and intimacy.

According to Babbie (1995: 83), research design addresses the planning and designing of a scientific enquiry, and the specific details vary according to what one wishes to study. In this respect, Bickman & Rog (1998: 85) highlight that in qualitative research, unstructured approaches are vital as they allow the researcher to focus on a phenomenon at hand. Collecting data means that the researcher had to decide on the techniques that would best allow her to receive the information that will best answer the research questions at hand. For this purpose, the researcher chose to use semi-structured interviews with couples, in the informal settlements of Cato Manor, Durban where questions of intimacy and sexuality were discussed in detail. This type of interview allowed the participants to provide a deeper understanding of their sexuality and intimacy.

Qualitative research designs are also used in contexts where very little is known. It is often used to explore a social phenomenon with a view to making more generalizable assumptions of the issue that is being studied. Since very little is known about sexuality and intimacy in an informal settlement context in South Africa and in the continent, the study is exploratory in nature as it provides baseline data upon which a more concrete hypothesis can be formulated if future research is considered in this field. Unlike western societies where there are liberal notions to sex and sexuality, in the African context, such matters are seldom spoken about and /or considered taboo. This is mainly because religion and socio-cultural factors play an important role in restricting open conversations on sexuality and intimacy. It is in this context that an exploratory study of this nature can add value in an area where very little is known (Peil et al, 1982:11).

Terre Blanche et al. (2006:44) states that an exploratory study, employs a more open, flexible, and investigative approach to research, as it challenges to understand new dimensions into a unique phenomenon. This allows the researcher to conduct in-depth interviews with the participants and probe about their intimacy and sexual relationships in the informal settlements. Given the sensitivity of the study, this approach to data collection helped participants to be put at ease as they converse about their experiences. It allows for the formation of good rapport so that the participants place trust in the researcher in sharing information.

4.3 The Study Locality

This study took place in an informal settlement in an area called Cato Manor. Cato Manor is located 5km outside the Central Business District (CBD) of Durban. There are several reasons as to why this study locality was chosen. The area was chosen due to the convenience of accessibility as it is located within close distance to the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Howard College Campus. Furthermore, it is one of the largest informal settlements within the immediate perimeter of the city and a well-established old informal settlement of which parts of it have been formalised through new housing projects.

Cato Manor has a long and painful socio-political history. In the colonial period, indentured Indians whose servitude as labourers had expired used the area for market gardening purposes (Makhathini, 1994: 4). People of African and Coloured origin also lived side by side with the indentured Indians (Maharaj, 1997: 141). For almost 100 years (1870-1960), Cato Manor was the most important significant urban social space for Black people within proximity to the

White colonial city (Pithouse, 2016:241), whilst the indentured Indians over this period established itself as a community which co-existed with other race groups. With the Afrikaaner nationalist party coming into power in 1949, the Group Areas Act (GAA) was implemented in the 1950s, which sought to separate people according to their races. The GAA was the most vicious racial policy, which uprooted settled communities and resettled them in racially defined areas outside the perimeter of the white city (Popke, 2000). Durban was the first city to have implemented the GAA. The community of Cato Manor was forcefully removed and relocated to townships such as Chatsworth for Indians, KwaMashu for Africans, and Wentworth for Coloureds.

Cato Manor remained undeveloped for more than three decades. Even though this was the case, the land was later invaded by Africans around the 1980s in search for better employment opportunities due to widespread poverty prevalence in the rural areas, and the political violence that gripped the Province of KwaZulu-Natal. As a consequence, Africans built informal settlement structures for themselves and their families, in Cato Manor. Once again, the Durban City Council removed the informal settlement dwellers, which caused a political uproar, and the area continued to be invaded by Africans from all parts of the city and the province. Upon democracy in 1994, Cato Manor was identified as a lead Presidential project for development into a formalised housing settlement. It was identified as one of the key areas in Durban for urban reconstruction and development and encouraging economic development amongst people that were negatively impacted by the apartheid policies (Khan & Maharaj, 1998: 197). Although some attempts have been made to develop the area into a formal human settlement, a significant section of the area continues to remain undeveloped, to this day. Cato Manor, with its history of segregation and discrimination, continues to be characterised by high levels of poverty and inequality (Gray & Maharaj, 2017: 2). To date, the development of Cato Manor has not been completed and a significant section of the area being characterised by informal settlements. It is within these informal settlements that this study is located.

4.4 Sampling

Conducting a research study means that one also considers the area where the research will take place and the sampling methods that will be utilised, to be considered to have valid research. Hancock et al. (2007: 21) explained that sampling could happen at several stages of the research project, whilst collecting the data and while interpreting and reporting on it. Sampling, and whom the sample will consist of, also needs to be taken into consideration.

Choosing a place to conduct a study is as vital as choosing the study sample that will be observed for the study. There are various sampling strategies available to qualitative researchers (Miles et al., 2014: 32). In this study, non-probability sampling was used, and the participants were purposively selected through the snowball sampling technique. Snowball sampling is dependent on one participant referring the researcher to another (Hancock et al., 2007: 22), whilst purposive sampling helps select cases with particular characteristic; certain features or processes that are of interest to answer a research question (de Vos, 2002). Purposive sampling was particularly selected because the researcher chose the sample according to the elements that contain the most characteristics that will answer the research question. These characteristics include aspects such as the participant's marital status and that they have children and have been residing in the area for a period of five (5) to fifteen (15) years. When the researcher mentions their marital status, in this research, it is inclusive of people that are married, traditionally or through developed countries/ religious union, not excluding those who have been cohabiting for longer than five (5) years.

Studies in an informal settlement can be risky in terms of one's safety. This is because the community views outsiders suspiciously when they hang around their habitat. The researcher obtained permission to enter the community and undertake the research through the counsellor, who is the community leader in the informal settlement. Permission and guidance were given by the counsellor, along with contact of the NGOs that work within the community. Assistance, in terms of safety was given to the researcher, with the help of community members linked by the counsellor.

In addition, the selection of the sample was facilitated by the fact that the researcher worked in the area on a community project which made her familiar with the inhabitants in the study locality and came to understand their culture and social organisation. The researcher was familiar with both the research locality and its inhabitants, which played an important role in facilitating the selection of the sample. The Durban Christian Centre (DCC) runs this community project, where they run soup kitchens in various schools and areas, in and around Durban. Through this community project, the researcher approached potential participants to participate in the study. Initially, there was resistance from the first four potential participants to whom the research was familiar with. However, a fifth respondent was approached who volunteered to participate in the study. On completion of the study, this respondent was asked to recommend possible persons that might want to participate in the study. Three names and shack numbers were provided, which set in motion a snowball effect regarding the number of

participants volunteering to participate in the study. This process of snowballing led to 47 (20 males and 27 females) potential participants identified to participate in the study. Out of the 47 participants, 30 participants comprising equal numbers of male and females who were between the ages of 25- 55 were selected to participate in the study. The size of the sample was within the principles identified for qualitative forms of research. In this instance, Miles & Huberman's (1994: 27) assertion that qualitative researchers typically utilize small samples of people, fixed within their context, and are studied in-depth, provides justification for the sample size for this study.

4.5 Semi-Structured In-Depth Interviews

Knowing the appropriate method of enquiry for a study is one of the most vital parts, as it guides the researcher to the most beneficial method of gathering the information, they need to answer their research questions. For the purposes of this research, semi-structured interviews were utilized. Hancock et al (2007:16) states that semi-structured interviews entail open-ended questions that are based on the questions that the researcher wants to cover. These semi-structured questions also help to guide the researcher when conducting their research. The use of open-ended questions provides the researcher latitude in the form of responses elicited. Often time, semi-structured interviews are seen as a form of conversation that helps to build rapport with the participants. The informal conversation helps the respondent to be put at ease for the interview. Given that this is a sensitive study that looks at sexuality and intimacy, it demanded greater time for the researcher to win the confidence of the respondent. In this way, the researcher managed to get the perceptions, notions, and lived experiences of the participants and the manner in which they go about meeting their sexual and intimate relations, within the confines of the informal settlement spaces. In some instances, the discomfort was noted as the participants were older than the researcher. In the Zulu tradition, young people do not engage with older people on issues relating to sexuality and intimacy. In such instances, participants were asked at the beginning of the interview as to whether they would be comfortable to engage in a conversation about sex and intimacy. Where the participants displayed discomfort, the respondent was assured that this interview would inform an academic scientific study and no names of persons or their details will be made public, and it is for purposes of research only. They were also given the option of not continuing with the interview. The number of participants that declined to participate in the study was alarmingly high. Of the 87 participants approached to participate in the study, 47 declined. Almost all these participants felt that their

sexuality and intimacy was a personal issue and should not be spoken about to people, especially strangers.

Language barriers with some of the participants were encountered while undertaking the interview. Not all participants could converse in the English language, and hence, the researcher had to conduct the interview in the isiZulu language, which is the native language of indigenous people in the city of Durban. The researcher transcribed and translated these research interviews that were conducted in the comfort of the respondent's homes. Another barrier to the study was the privacy afforded to the participants during the interview. In informal settlements, the proximity of the shacks and the thin walls that separates shacks made it difficult to conduct interviews at any hour of the day. In this instance, interviews were conducted when neighbours and schoolchildren were out of the settlements during mid-morning.

4.6 Ethical Considerations

When conducting research, apart from the various steps that need to be followed, is conformity to ethical standards. This study was subjected to the Ethical Clearance protocols of the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN). Ethical considerations in studies that involve human subjects and vulnerable groups are paramount as they need not bring any harm to their physical and mental well-being. Within each field of study, there are various means of protecting the researcher as well as their participants. In this study, Mason's (2002: 53) assertion is apt in that it was vital that people were seen as a data source, mainly because they are the main source of knowledge, experiences, and/or feelings, which may prove to be vital to the study. Since people are the source of data and their experiences vital to the research, it becomes imperative that the researcher endeavours at all time to protect their identity and dignity.

Moral accuracy of the research project must be considered by the researcher in relation to the people they interact with, be it the gatekeepers or the participants (Boeije, 2010: 44). In this respect, Denzin & Lincoln (2008: 142) state that extreme care needs to be taken when conducting interviews with participants so that no harm comes their way. This was done through the introduction of the researcher and explaining to the participants the nature and context of the study. They were also informed that the information that they share with the researcher would be for research purposes only. In addition, they were also informed that if they experience any discomfort in the course of the interview, they could opt out of the

interview. In this study, all 30 participants agreed to participate in the study, and none of them decided to opt out of the study. It was observed that all participants were comfortable with the researcher and spoke with ease about issues of sexuality and intimacy. The fact that the counsellor had previously alerted the community to the study also assisted the researcher gain the trust of the community.

4.7 Informed Consent

When conducting research, one of the vital steps is ensuring that the research participants understand what their role is in the study. The universal principle of honesty, justice, and respect is vital in ethics when collecting data (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008:143). This enables the participants to make an informed decision as on whether they should participate or not in the study. This also tabulates the means in which the participants will be protected and how the data collected would be saved and protected. In this study, participants were informed that they had to engage in an agreement between the researcher and themselves in order to proceed with the study. They were informed that this agreement provided protection to both the researcher and the researched. All participants in the study agreed to sign an informed consent form.

The informed consent form indicated that participation in the study was voluntary. In being voluntary in nature, participants could choose not to take part in the study. If they choose to participate in the study, they are at liberty to withdraw from the study at any point should they feel uncomfortable to continue. In addition, if there were any questions that they wished not to respond to during the interview, they should bring this to the attention of the researcher. The consent form also contained a confidentiality clause which was guaranteed. This means that no one apart from the participant, the researcher, and the supervisor will know about their participation in the study. Participant's names will not be used anywhere in the study. Pseudonyms will be used in the research report to ensure anonymity and confidentiality. Participants were also informed that for the ease of the study, the interviews will be taped, and should they not wish for the interview to be recorded, they could inform the researcher.

4.8 Data Analysis

Once data was collected from the field, the next step was to translate it from the isiZulu language to English for those interviews undertaken in this form. The analysis focussed by organising the data thematically, making reference to visual and non-verbal interaction, as well as the environmental and structural factors that impacted on the behaviour of the participants.

A notebook that was carried by the researcher during field work recorded observations such as communication patterns, body language, and facial expressions, and were extracted and merged with data emerging from the individual interviews.

Miles et al. (2014: 47) states that the handwritten field notes that are taken, along with the audio recordings, must be converted into analysable text, which then needs to be utilized to draw and verify conclusions and the use of computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software is said to come in handy when analysing data. The use of computer software assisted in the management of the data collected from the field. In this study, the Nvivo computer software was used for data analysis. Nvivo is a software for analyzing qualitative data, which is used for research data management and analysis within the research field. Kelle (1995: 1) explains that it was only in the 1980s that qualitative researchers understood that computer-aided software's could assist them with their research management and operation. The use of computer software has enabled the researcher to manage large sets of data better. Before the data was captured onto the software, it was coded which assisted the researcher to record recurring themes from the interviews, in their respective order, as per the shared meanings and perceptions of the participants, and importantly their understanding and shared values.

4.9 Conclusions

In this chapter, the research methodology that was adopted to conduct the empirical component of the study was described in detail. Careful consideration was given to all aspects of the research process and procedures used in the study and was narrated as clearly as possible as the research process unfolded. The research design, construction of the research tool, sampling method, participation of participants in the study, data collection and analysis procedures, ethical considerations, informed consent, gatekeeper's permission, and limitations of the study were highlighted. Each of these components was discussed in some detail and where possible were consolidated with the standardised and universal principles of research methods as prescribed for the social sciences.

Chapter Five

Analysis and Interpretation of Data

5.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to analyse and interpret data collected from the research locality where the study was conducted. It reflects on the findings of the 30 in-depth interviews, which were conducted in the informal settlement of Cato Manor. The interviews were conducted in the comfort of the participant's own homes (informal homes) so that they could feel comfortable and relaxed. The data was collected in September and October 2017 and audio recorded. Thereafter, the data was transcribed and broken down into themes for ease of analysis.

The chapter will tabulate the demographic profile of the participants, their perception of intimacy, the nature and degree of intimacy experienced by the participants, and their commitment to their marriages and/or relationships. The nature and quality of family life amongst the participants and their perception of life, as lived inside the informal settlement, will be discussed in this chapter. The perceptions held by the participants about their social reality in their relationships with their families was significant for the researcher and the purpose of the study.

5.2 Description of the Study Sample

The sample comprised of married and cohabiting African couples that reside in the informal settlement of Cato Manor. This informal historical settlement is situated almost 5 km's from Durban's Central Business District (CBD). The geographical landscape of South Africa has always been influenced by Apartheid laws (Gray & Maharaj, 1997: 135), and these landscapes have had a profound effect on the current family, household, and social issues that South Africa faces. With that said, matters of marital stability and relational intimacy were vital to observe in this informal settlement. The exchange theory conceives society as fundamentally born of exchange relations among people, and it also regards the exchange as the product of the transactions occurring between concrete individuals and between individuals and collectives (Inglis & Thorpe, 2012: 133). The researcher had the privilege of speaking to the participants, in the comfort of their own homes, where they could share their experiences in private, without the prying ears and eyes of their neighbours. This was vital to both the researcher and the

participants, due to the nature and the sensitivity of the study topic and the anticipated responses, therefore giving the participants the privacy needed to respond. It was vital to understand the sample population, as there were criteria's that the participants had to meet, such as their age and marital status, their period in this community, their stay with children and other family members.

5.3 Demographics Profile of Participants.

The study consisted of 30 married and cohabiting couples, of ages between 25-55 years old. These participants participated in the study since they met the study requirements, which required for them to have resided in Cato Manor for a period of five (5) to fifteen (15) years. The names used by the researcher for analysis, are not those of the participants, pseudonyms were given, to differentiate between the couples. In cases where the graph represents "Mam'/ Bab'/ Gog'/ Sis," it was to show, who amongst the couples, was more vocal than the other. The researcher noted that it was easier for the female participants, amongst the couples, to speak openly about the diverse topics that the researcher was focussing on than it was for the male participants.

Table 1 Age Distribution and Number of Participants Living in the Household

Participants	Male	Female	Number of people in a household
Shenge's	52	49	4
Sithole's	40	32	7
Sipho's	45	41	6
Gladwell's	55	49	7
Sbusi's	54	51	7
Amahle's	44	43	6
Bongizwe's	55	49	5
Celiwe's	53	49	5
Deluwe's	40	37	7
Jiya's	42	30	5
Lindwe's	41	38	4
Lizwe's	41	38	5

Buzo's	50	40	7
Ntombela's	42	32	8
Sibonile's	43	42	7
Shange's	46	45	7
Siphiwe's	38	35	4
Thando's	37	38	7
Thembile's	41	38	5
Zihlali's	39	31	5
Zwide's	40	40	4
Madliwa's	35	32	5
Radebe's	30	28	5
Busizwe's	33	32	3
Dladla's	32	25	4
Lindi's	28	25	4
Sinothile's	29	26	5
Pamla's	25	25	3
Xulu's	32	31	4
Kwasa's	36	31	5

The table displays the respondent's age groups and the number of people that reside with them in their homes. In terms of the age distribution of participants, 20% of the participants were from the age categories of 50-55 years, 40% between the ages 40-49 years, 30% in the 30-39-years old age group, and the remaining 10% in the 25-29-year-old bracket. Understanding the impact and dynamics that age may have relating to their partners, the participants with a significant age difference stated that:

"We have quite a bit of an age difference and unfortunately we have never had that unfortunate luck of it, being an issue." (respondent 10)

"There is a 10-year gap between us and we have never had a problem with the age difference. I have always preferred older men, they have direction." (respondent 13)

"No, we have never experienced that. See, we all know what is expected of us." (respondent 20)

"No, we have never had issues because of our age difference." (respondent 4)

"Besides him looking older than he is, and being strict, like a father figure, we have never had any issues with our age difference." (respondent 30)

The participants stated that the age difference between them, as a couple, doesn't have an impact on the way they relate to each other, as their cultural roles are clearly defined in their households and relationships. They mentioned that, like any other couple, they have normal differences, such as raising the children, but that they find the means of resolving their issues.

Religious and cultural norms and values were mentioned by a vast majority of the participants, as the glue that holds their families together, as well as communication between the spouse and the children.

Since age and marital status were part of the criterion that the participants were accepted for the study, 5 of the couples stated that they were currently in their second marriage, and it was noted that, this was stated, predominantly amongst couples who were over the age of 40 years. In some instances, their previous partners either passed on or were no longer together due to divorce or separation. For those that have separated, assorted reasons were provided, such as the lack of space in the household, lack of intimacy, and infidelity. Some of the responses in this respect were:

“See, I have two children from another man, who passed away, and even though he passed away, my current partner and the previous one, share the same surname.” (respondent 9)

“I stayed single for some time, after the mother of my children passed on, but now there is someone in my life, uMama.” (respondent 1)

“You see, the older children are not his, their father passed away.” (respondent 13)

“We separated, after finding out that he was cheating, as I had suspected, but that he has started another family with that woman.” (respondent 16)

“My first wife passed on, and we had the 3 older children with her, and now we have 2 in this relationship, then it’s the two of us.” (respondent 2)

5.3.1 Marital Status

This theme is meant to be a representation of the number of participants that were either married or cohabiting when participating in the study. It is noted that more than half of the participants were married to their partners, for a period of five (5) years and longer, and that the remaining were cohabiting with their partners for 6 years and longer. These couples shared a child or more with each other, with 30% were staying with children from previous relationships and extended family members or their children.

Of the people that participated in the study, more than 15 of the participants that were married, with 7 of the couples married traditionally, where *lobola* (bride price) is paid for the bride, by the groom’s family. This is said to unite the families, as this union is said to not only unite those who are alive but the ancestors as well. The remaining handful were married in a civil union, where they are legally recognised as a married couple. These civil unions were said to be officiated by their various religious institutions, such as Shembe Nazareth Baptist church

(known as Shembe), the Zion Christian Church (known as ZCC), and the Seventh Day Adventist (SDA) church. These religious institutions are also said to govern the social and marital issues that arise, where the couples receive their relationship and marital counselling. It was noted that the older (38-50) generation, was married, compared to the younger generation, which was cohabiting. Of the older generation that is cohabiting, it was observed that it was those who had lost their previous partners.

5.3.2 Residence before Cato Manor

It has been observed that most of the people that reside in this informal settlement are African in origin, with varying ethnic backgrounds and rural homesteads, with a small number of the participants having been born in the informal settlement. It was observed that a vast majority of the participants came from rural KwaZulu-Natal, with a smaller number from the Eastern Cape and the least number being migrants beyond the South African borders. These participants stated that they originate from places such as Maphumulo, Mtubatuba, kwaHlabisa, eMzinto, Lady Smith, eShowe, Illovo, Mandini, Mzinyathi, Nkandla, in the province of KwaZulu-Natal and from places like Flagstaff, Bhizana, Lusikisiki, Mt Frere, in the Eastern Cape. The remainder of the 10% is said to be from neighbouring countries like Zimbabwe and Mozambique.

Majority of the people came into the city driven, by lack of employment opportunities and to further their education. Many stated that either a family member or extended family member moved into the area before them, therefore giving them a form of emotional support when navigating through unfamiliar territory in the city, as many were not accustomed to the urban lifestyle. These family members are the same support structure that the couples use, when, for instance, in need of a child-minder, or when a need for privacy arises. The researcher observed that though a majority of the participants are in-migrants that have adapted to the urban lifestyle more than half of them still believe in the cultural norms and values to which they conform to and raise their children in.

5.3.3 Number of People in the Household

Based on Table 1, the average number of people, living in each household, in the informal settlement of Cato Manor, was 5. The size of the household may be attributed to the different family member's resident in the household. These comprise their siblings, their children,

grandparents, grandchildren, and children from previous marriages and their own children. The narratives below provide some insight as to how the household is constructed.

“Let’s see, its uMama (wife), me, then my sister, three, then its small children.” (respondent 3)

“It’s my wife and I and 5 children.” (respondent 2)

“Basically, it’s us, 2 children and my 4 grandchildren.” (respondent 5)

“I stay with the father of my children and our three children and then my sister’s daughter, she is 19 years old, and then my husband’s brother’s son, his parents passed on, he is 17 years old.” (respondent 13)

“Let’s see, it’s the two of us, our four children and two grandchildren, in this house.” (respondent 6)

Considering the number of people resident in the household and the average size of a shack being 24 square meters, it comes as little surprise that these participants live in overcrowded homes. Given the limited living space, sleeping arrangements in the shack are negotiated according to age, gender, and biological relationships that members share in the household. For instance, children of a certain age group would sleep in the same designated space for them in the kitchen space, their parents sleep in the next ‘room’ divided by a curtain or cardboard, grandchildren slept next to grandparents, and the youngest child will sleep next to the parent.

5.4 Perceptions of Intimacy

Intimacy is said to be shared and experienced in many forms, where for some receiving roses or being taken to a movie on a special occasion will be an expression of intimacy whilst for some sharing an intimate night together may have a greater meaning of affection. Notwithstanding the form in which intimacy may be expressed, culture plays an important role as to how and the form that intimacy takes in so far as its expression. In this study, 70% of the participants felt uncomfortable expressing their intimacy in public as they frowned upon as it was contrary to their traditional values. This response was most popular amongst those participants who were 38 years and older. Some stated that culturally and religiously, the children are not meant to see their parents being intimate in any manner or form; as a result, their parents hardly even kiss each other, where children are present. The participants who were younger than 37 stated that they either had to be creative in the way they express themselves in front of the children, such as the husband kissing the wife after kissing the child, before leaving for work.

Sex and the expression thereof are regarded as something that was secret and private, where no one is meant to know when it occurs, nor are they meant to hear about it. This view was shared by 21 of the participants; however, the remaining 9 participants believed to the contrary and expressed their intimacy as and when the need arose. The 21 participants that believed in this view were above the ages of 33 and the people aged from 25-32, were not of the same view. These younger couples believed that, when it was conducive for them to be intimate, then they will be, regardless of the proximity of the homes and the neighbours and their children hearing it all. The 'older' generation (33-55) stated that being heard by other people, when intimate, whether they are married or not, was something that was shameful to them and that being aware of the presence of their neighbours and their family members, was vital to them.

About 20 of the 30 participants, stated that they spend intimate moments with their partners and their children, through watching television or watching movies as a family. In these moments, it was stated that it was the time in which the family discussed things that they like or dislike and sharing the events of the day. The married couples also stated that the way the couples carry themselves also impacted on their intimacy. That a married man or woman, must carry themselves with '*inhlonipho*' (respect and humility), from the way they dress, to how they interact with other people of the community, and the way in which they present and represent their family. These cultural and/or religious values govern the way these couples interact with each other. Matters of intimacy and sexual expression are governed by these norms and values, as well as the issue of space defines whom intimacy is expressed and enjoyed.

5.5. Nature of Privacy Enjoyed by Participants.

Privacy is said to play a major role in the expression and satisfaction of intimacy, especially between the couples, as much as for the family at large. About 24 participants stated that they had no form of privacy in their homes, as there were other family members present in the house that they needed to consider, and that lack of space affected their intimate time together. They had to resort to "stealing moments" when the children and other members of the family were fast asleep or in the early hours of dawn. The proximity of the neighbours was said to affect the respondent's privacy, as they could not do, or say anything, without the neighbours hearing it, which is said to impact on their communication and sexual expression.

“You can never be totally sure that they are asleep, but you assume that people are asleep for sure at that hour; and even though it is that late, there is still no freedom like you would get at home.” (respondent 1)

“You are not completely free. No, you will be starting, and a child wakes up here and goes to the other side and switches on the light, you end up stopping because you can’t continue, they are up. (respondent 20)

“It is not comfortable at all, but we have accepted it all because we stay here, however, it does not make it right and it isn’t.” (respondent 27)

“If we are real, a man would end up leaving in a case where we aren’t intimate. Where he has to look at his beautiful woman, until the year ends, just gawking... we also have the dining room, and when we want to feel free to be intimate here, we go there because no one sleeps there.” (respondent5)

About 18 participants stated that on days where their spouse is off duty, which is mostly on the weekend, then they manage to spend some quality time, whilst the children are gone to play with others in the community. Sundays were said to be the best day to have some privacy, as there are usually soccer matches in the community field, where the children and some adults go, therefore giving the couples some time together. Since a clear majority of the participants have family members in the vicinity, the care of the children was said to be rotated amongst these family members, to get some form of privacy. This was done through the family member asking for the children overnight, or for the weekend, or the children asking their parents to go visit their friends or relatives for that limited period.

5.6 Nature and Degree of Intimacy Experienced by Participants

5.6.1 Satisfaction with Intimacy

Intimate relationships are important, as they are the context in which gender identity, which is created, re-created, and understood (Anderson & Witham, 2011:96). Satisfaction is said to play a significant role in the stability of the marital relationship, and, in turn, to the family. It was observed that more than 15 of the participants were not satisfied with their intimacy, and the main reason that was mentioned was the lack of privacy and space. Even though the couples managed to make moments for themselves, they stated that they could not be free as they

wanted to be, as there were other members of the family present in the house, and the fact that neighbours were close by, resulted in the fear that they could hear everything that happens in their households. Of the married couples, over 19 of them stated that, though sexual intimacy has its place in marriage, they could not be as free as they would have been, had they been in their rural homesteads, where most of them travel to have some privacy and intimate time.

Since space and privacy were an issue for these couples, 11 of the couples stated that they had to travel to their rural homesteads, where they have privacy, for them to enjoy their conjugal and marital right. Some stated that they could stay without being intimate with their partners for long periods of time, for two weeks to a month, before going to their rural homestead for some privacy and unrestricted expression of intimacy.

5.6.2 Periods of Intimacy

The proximity of neighbours and the children and lack of privacy was said to play an important part in the decision to be intimate at certain times. Issues of periods that are convenient for couples to be intimate had to be considered, as they play a pivotal role in understanding their needs. Kersten & Kersten (1988:40) explain that there are individual pre-requisites to intimacy, such as positive self-concept, vulnerability, admission of personal dependence, trust, and so forth. There are also interactive factors affecting intimacy, such as mutual empathy, exclusivity, companionship, and so forth, whilst situational factors are also present. For the most part, about 24 of the participants expressed that the only time that they could be intimate, was at night, since children are normally asleep at this time, and so are the neighbours. Though it was stated that the area they live in “never sleeps,” they stated that they had to be more considerate and be inaudible to those close by, which by some was defined as not being “free” with their partners and/or spouses.

Intimacy, during the day, was something that was seen as impossible. The main reason cited by 21 couples for the lack of intimacy during the day was the lack of space, within the households and the proximity to the neighbours, where they could hear all that is happening within and between their walls. The fact that there were children and other family members who were present during the day was also cited, including the neighbours that can drop by the house in any part of the day. On the contrary, 11 participants stated that they could be intimate any time of the day, as the use of television and radio to camouflage the noise was used to create an intimate space. However, some frowned at this as it was known in the settlement that

when television and radios were switched on loudly, then it became apparent that couples were engaging in intimate activity.

Communication is something that is regarded as vital in many relationships, be it to express desires or self-expression. About 12 couples in the study reported that they communicate, via WhatsApp messaging or text messages, about their desires for that day and/or night. This form of communication enables the couple to create some form of intimate time or be ready once everyone in the household is asleep.

“Yes, we speak about it, because at other times, you will find that I am not in the mood, and he must not make me feel forced to do it, and there are children here too, you see? And there are chances that you might make noise to an extent that the child wakes up, so we must talk about it and have an agreement, before it happens.” (respondent 20)

“We talk about it during the day, so that we are ready. Yes, he, or I, will maybe say, that today I, misses our intimate time together.” (respondent 28)

“We usually like...because he is not on WhatsApp, we will send each other messages on that day, when either one of us wants to be intimate.” (respondent 14)

“It doesn’t happen willy-nilly, we talk about it. Yeah, we talk and decide when we will be intimate.” (respondent 22)

This shows that couples realise the importance of sexual expression and the message it conveys to the partner he/she is sensitive to their need/or the importance of sexual expression to be gratified. This also shows that communication, in physical or social media form, plays a significant role in understanding the environment they are in, whilst considering their partner’s needs.

5.6.3 Quarrels Caused by Intimacy Related Issues

The predominant theme, with regards to being intimate, was the lack of space for intimacy and though 13 couples stated that there were no issues that arose from the lack of frequent intimacy they desired, 13 stated that there were arguments that arose from this. The participants that stated that they had no issues mentioned that they understood their circumstances, and as a result, they travel to their rural homesteads to have the frequency and intimacy they desired. They mentioned that the proximity of the neighbours, coupled with their family members, meant that there would be a strain in their intimate time together.

“No, we do not fight over something like that, if I say I do not want to be intimate, I do not want to then.” (respondent 25)

“It becomes bad I don’t want to lie sometimes, because you see that, I feel like he is always looking at the fact that I am getting it somewhere and look at the fact that maybe he is also getting it somewhere where he feels free you see that.” (respondent 19)

“Yes, that sometimes happens, and we fight about it. You sometimes find he wants to be intimate at that moment and knowing men, he cannot be patient, unlike females, you find that I say no, and at other times you find that the child wants to watch a movie and you force them to go to sleep, you think that they are asleep, but they aren’t.” (respondent 18)

“It’s part of all these problems, because they are so close, so you must try your own way of keeping your happiness as quiet as possible.” (respondent 12)

“Yes, it has its strain, however there isn’t much we can do because we don’t have any other option, there’s nothing we can do. We try though.” (respondent 1)

About 13 participants that stated that issues would arise from their lack of frequent intimacy stated that verbal arguments occasionally arose between them, but that they would find means of resolving that argument. Some stated that this caused a strain in their relationships, as one partner wouldn’t trust the reasons provided for the lack of intimacy. Though this strain was mentioned, they stated that, understanding the circumstances they lived under was important to them, as they could not be freely intimate with children and other family members being around in the house. The participants stated that their best option, when these quarrels arise, is to either send the children to the rural homestead, in order to create that intimate time together, or they go to the rural homestead instead.

5.7 Participants Commitment to Relationship

Commitment is important in many relationships, as it lays the foundation for the stability of the relationship, and, in turn, solidifies the relationship between the spouses. There are several factors that are said to play into the decision to commit, including, but not limited to, intimacy and sharing between the couples. When the said factors are impeded upon, then mistrust and dishonesty can arise in a relationship. The study noted that 17 of the participants admitted, to at least one member of the couple, having cheated, having stated that this was due to lack of and/or insufficient time with their partner. The minimal and/or lack of intimacy within the couples caused by the environmental impacts of living in Cato Manor resulted in some of the partners finding someone else, usually someone that doesn’t live in the same area, usually with their own place.

About 9 couples claimed that they knew when their partner had someone else in their lives and that about another 3 ended up with children out of wedlock. This has, to a major extent, caused

mistrust amongst the couples, as many said they were still trying to work out some of the issues pertaining to cheating although, in reality, the real cause was the lack of space and privacy for intimacy.

5.8 Nature and Quality of Family Life

5.8.1 Time Spent Away from the Informal Settlement

Bonding as a couple or as a family is said to have a positive impact on the health and sanity of those experiencing these moments. Therefore, it was important for the study to take note of the experiences that the participants and their families have outside of the informal settlement, to create these moments. The study notes that about 12 participants took time outside of the informal settlement with their families, to find moments to be intimate. This was done once a month, by those families with at least one member of the family having a steady income. Some of the areas that the participants said they visit were Suncoast casino, Ushaka marine world, that they go to movies and eat out thereafter, at fast-food restaurants like Wimpy and McDonald's.

About 18 of the participants stated that they do not go out because they are financially unsound to afford going out as a family. The main reason stated was the lack of employment or part-time employment, which could afford to sustain their daily needs and their children's education. They stated that they substitute going outside of the informal settlement by arranging dinners and parties, within the informal settlement, where they can enjoy their time with the family and their neighbours. This not only shows the communal spirit but the family values that these participants and their families have, regardless of their living conditions.

5.8.2 Social Contact with Family

Family interactions and bonds are said to be a character-building structure, for the off-springs, but a support structure for the parents. Therefore, ascertaining the social contact that the participants had with their families was important. The study observes that over 25 of the participants still maintained social contact with their families in the various rural areas they originate from. The participants who are financially able stated that they visit their families at least once a month. Those with less than stable employment stated that they visit their families

at least twice a year, but that in the month of December, they are guaranteed to be home with their families. The participants stated that they are still in contact with both the male and female's families, as this was important for them in rearing their children. Social contact, when there are family traditional and social ceremonies, are some of the things that are said to keep the families in close contact and for emotional and familial support.

About 5 participants stated that they no longer have any family members, as most either passed on or have parted ways with their families, through family disputes. These disputes have caused these participants to stay away from their families, claiming that they have their own families' welfare to consider when dealing with these extended family disputes.

5.8.3 Family Celebrations and Gift Sharing

Family celebrations are said to bring the families closer, as those are the times that families get to share intimate moments and celebrate each other. Some of the positive responses were that they shared gifts and celebrated time together as a family, and on important days, such as birthdays, family dinners, and/ ceremonies. More than 26 of the participants stated that they buy a cake and share gifts as a family and that this cake buying, at times, depended on their finances and the way they extend the moment with their neighbours. Finances were said to determine how each birthday is spent, and that even though they shared gifts as a couple, the focus was mostly on celebrating the children's birthdays, more than theirs.

"No, it's not something I vowed to do every year, it sometimes happens, when the finances allow for it to happen, then I buy something, according to the dates and then she gets it like that. There is no rule that stipulates that it must happen at all costs." (respondent 1)

"Yes, we do, we celebrate the children's birthdays, all the time. He celebrates his...I don't know (laughs) I really don't, because we always make sure that we celebrate the children's, he celebrated his, this year. I have never thought about going all out and celebrating, even when they suggest it, I always decline." (respondent 18)

"We do the kid's birthday, a lot. Also, if it's my birthday maybe he comes from work he just surprises me even if I forgot maybe let's say I just see a phone when maybe my phone was old, and he says happy birthday." (respondent 19)

"Quite a lot, if it someone's birthday, for instance, we celebrate that too. Giving each other those presents, and other things too, and if there is someone is going somewhere, some game of sport, of some sort, we support them in that, because the sport that we like the most is soccer. Those are the things that bind us as a family in this house." (respondent 2)

"If there is someone's birthday in this house, we buy a cake and come back and eat it and give to the neighbours as a gift we don't have any get together you can see there is no space here." (respondent 26)

Even though issues of space were mentioned by about 15 of the participants, stating they could not go all out and host their families and neighbours the way they would want to; however, they still do what is feasible to them, at those moments. Sharing meals seemed to be a concept that was reported by over 25 of the couples, and the sharing of gifts were determined by the availability of money. The remaining 5 participants stated that due to financial constraints, they had not shared gifts nor celebrated any birthdays, stating that they were not permanently employed and that celebrating days such as birthdays is a luxury in their perception. They stated that the most important thing for them was to have a meal at the end of the day and that the children get educated. This shows that, regardless of the environment that these participants live in, family bonding and sharing is as important to them, as any other family living in formal settlements.

5.8.4 Aspects of Marriage/ Relationship Enjoyed the Most

Marriage and relationships are said to be fulfilling when most of the expectations are met for both parties. The study noted that 24 participants stated that the most fulfilling aspect of being married or being in a long-term relationship with their partner was being a parent. Parenthood and spending time with all their children, where possible, was stated as the most gratifying facet of life for them in the informal settlement. Having family and their offspring grow and instilling the values and morals they need was something that brings joy to them.

Beyond the familial aspect, the participants stated that it was difficult to celebrate their unions, living under the circumstances, to a point where anniversaries are not even celebrated. The couples, however, stated that they are happy about the fact that they can communicate with their partners about issues they face, and making decisions together was also another aspect that was revered the most. This was because, although they live under difficult circumstances, they still have dreams for their families and their children so that life will be better for them in the future. They have hopes that their children will advance in life as they grow up.

5.9 Perception of Life if Lived Outside the Informal Settlement.

The perceptions of the couples about living outside the informal settlement someday may be considered hopeful. Issues that were pertinent to the rearing of family members, such as space and sanitation, and vital to building a stable home, were challenges stated by the participants. Issues of better health and sanitation were mentioned by more than 24 participants, as many

stated that they fell ill often, and this was due to drain blockages, that were usually outside their homes. About 17 participants mentioned the fact that they can never keep their homes as clean as they would like to, due to neighbours not always being as vigilant about how they dispose of dirt resulting in the area being infested by rodents. Home for these participants meant that their health would improve, thus being better able to take care of their off-springs and family members.

To live in a formal settlement meant that they could have control over their children's livelihoods and be able to assist with certain aspects of their lives, such as homework and behaviour. At the same time, being able to have private and intimate moments with their partners. Approximately 18 participants stated that they would be able to communicate better with their partners, as having their bedroom meant being able to have a private conversation, without the other members of the family present in the room, as they had to go to their rural homesteads to have these conversations.

Since Cato Manor had people of diverse cultural and ethnic backgrounds, 19 participants stated that living outside of the informal settlement meant being able to instil the family and cultural values and norms that they wanted their children to have. The participants mentioned that staying in the informal meant that children are taught one thing, and at the same time are taught the opposite when they are outside the door. This ambivalence in child-rearing practices was a concern amongst most participants as they felt at times, they had no control over how children socialized. Children were exposed to sexually explicit behaviour and unsavoury language, and drug and alcohol consumption. It is in this context that they felt living outside of the informal settlement was important for them, as it not only affected their intimate relationships as a couple, but also their family cohesion and stability, and the moral fibre of their family and community.

5.10 Conclusion.

The interviews collected from the field were analysed and interpreted. It was presented in the form of different themes that answered the main objectives of the study. These themes were formulated from the interviews conducted in the respondent's homes. The demographic profile of the participants, which included their age, marital status, and the number of people that lived in the household was presented. Perceptions of intimacy from the respondent's point of view was illustrated, and the nature and extent of intimacy that they experience in their homes was

analysed and interpreted. The nature of privacy that the participants enjoyed expressing their intimacy was discussed in detail and how it impacted on their commitment to their relationships was examined. Since this study aimed at couples that resided with their children in the informal settlement. The nature and quality of family life were also observed and detailed, including the perceptions that the participants had if they had to stay in a formal settlement.

Chapter Six

Key Findings, Conclusion, and Recommendations

6.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to present the conclusions which were drawn from the study's aims and objectives. The aims and objectives of this study were to explore the meanings and perceptions of sexual relationships and intimacy among the informal settlement dwellers of Cato Manor, Durban. One of the objectives of the study was to understand how intimacy shapes sexual relations and its impact on marital and family stability. The other was to explore some of the coping mechanisms adopted by the informal settlement dwellers, to sustain intimacy and sexuality. Understanding these objectives were pivotal for this study, as little is known about sex and intimacy tendencies amongst informal settlement dwellers in South Africa and other parts of the world with similar socio-economic contexts. Discussed in this chapter, will be the conclusions drawn from the study, the strengths of the study, followed by the limitations of the study, and finally, recommendations drawn from the study.

6.2 Key Findings

In this section of the chapter, findings of the data and previous literature will be discussed in detail. Since little is known about a study of this nature, literature that was on hand was reviewed, where previous information about studies conducted in this field was reviewed before the findings of the primary study was discussed. It is important to review and integrate what was observed in studies conducted in other parts of the world. This was to better understand the patterns and trends of intimacy in these types of settlements and how they shape family structures and social relationships.

6.2.1 Findings Drawn from the Literature Review

The study was undertaken in an area called Cato Manor, less than 5 km from the Durban's central business district (CBD). Cato Manor is characterized by a lack of housing and proper sanitation, roads and infrastructure, where overcrowding is a norm. Nhlapho (2013) views the home as a place where one can dream and think about one's relations with other people, places and time; a place where safety and stability are a norm and gives individuals the sense of securing a place in the world. This is to say that a home is not only a 'roof over the head' but

that it plays various roles in the development of relationships and the sustenance of families and marriages. I was noted in the study that lack of space impeded negatively on the sustenance of marital and family relationships. This was mainly because there were more people living in the same household, including extended family members and children. Schensul (2009), however, explains that communities, defined as informal human settlements, such as Cato Manor, possess inadequate roads and have little access to public services, are mostly congested, with prominent levels of law-breaking and little access to health services and schools, with an enormous number of its population unemployed. The place where one is born and raised has, to a major extent, an impact on the person's entire moral compass, social identity and, moreover, their outlook in life. Kellette & Moore (2003:124), therefore, asserted that the correlation between being homeless and the broader experience and meaning of home is important since they fulfil certain expectations and pleasures that only a home can fulfil. The congestion and lack of adequate housing are said to have an impact on sexual relationships intimacy and family life, as there are many people living under the same roof or adjacent to each other separated by materials that do not provide adequate privacy. Given its informal structure, constructed out of metal, plastic, cardboard, and other recyclable materials, these do not provide for a conducive environment for family life, intimacy, and sexual relationships. Children growing up in this environment are not only physically disadvantaged but also impacted socio-psychologically.

6.2.1.1 Intimacy

Yoo (2013: 2) explains that intimacy is multi-faceted and believed that the emotional and sexual facets need further assessment. Intimacy is a fluid term, which is not only limited to the physical and the emotional sharing between married couples, but also the sharing of information and intimate relations that are between family members, parents, and their offsprings; and extended to friends and extended family members. Intimate relationships are, therefore, seen as important, as they are the context in which gender identity is created, re-created, and understood (Anderson & Witham, 2011:96). Intimacy, therefore, plays an important role in partner and parent-child relations. This is mainly due to the impact intimacy has on sustaining marriages and families and the role it plays in sustaining these relations. Kersten & Kersten (1988:40) explain that there are individual prerequisites to intimacy, such as positive self-concept, vulnerability, admission of personal dependence, trust, and so forth. There are also interactive factors affecting intimacy, such as mutual empathy, exclusivity, companionship, and so forth, whilst situational factors are also present. These factors include,

but are not limited to, spatial factors and time factors, and they are said to be vital for the stability and intimacy of the relationship.

6.2.1.2 Sexuality

Sexuality is as much about the symbolic meanings, imageries, rights, and make-believe, as it is about the physical: the way in which we view, understand, and act out the various sex methods and customs (Weeks, 1985:3). The terms gender and sexuality are said to be interlinked, as gender comes with social and sexual expectations, and sexuality is concerned more about the expression of sexual feelings and behaviour. One learns their sexual scripts and expectations from their immediate family and society at large, and that is mostly observed in what is socially acceptable or sanctioned.

Sex is an innate indispensable-human activity, even though sexual attitudes and practices are learned (Eisler, 1996:22). Paul (2002:2), however, argues that sex is defined as a natural dichotomy, rooted in biology and evolution and that it is typically unquestioned and viewed as fixed. Thus, Aggleton & Parker (1999: 129) argue that sexual meanings are constructed in social interaction but are socially created. Social interactions are, therefore, seen as a means of not understanding sexual meanings, but to also explore them with other people. LeVay & Valente (2003:3) explain that most sexual behaviour takes place in the context of relationships; thus, it is suggested that sexual relationships are central to many people's lives. Socio-cultural norms in many African societies forbid women from coitus, often until marriage, whilst allowing the males to be sexually free (Beguy et al., 2011: 320).

Established gender roles influence young people's socialization, and the development of social norms and expectations surrounding sexuality (Harrison, 2008: 176), and this is because they are usually mandated by culture and society. Beguy et al. (2011), however, argues that early adolescent sexual behaviours, which is said to be of concern within the informal human settlements, includes a variety of factors, such as family and individual features, such as the level of education and family structure, and other factors such as attitudes and peer-based behaviour towards sex and the family finances. This and many other factors are a cause to further understanding the expression and understanding of sexuality in informal human settlements.

6.2.1.3 Marriage

Giddens (2001) states that marriage is a publicly sanctioned, recognized, and appropriated unification of two adult individuals. When individuals marry, they become affiliated with one another and form a family bond between the two families and a wider range of kinship. Although this may be the case for Giddens, marriages are said to have evolved from what was previously traditionally accepted. This is true for many societies including South Africa where traditionally parents had a say in the choice of their children's spousal partner and where the entry into the marital arrangement was determined by the family and the traditional systems of that era. Because marriage is associated with other crucial changes, such as financial and autonomous independence, and because many children are born in a marital setup, it is considered a pivotal entry into adulthood (Beguy et al., 2011: 320).

Marriages are thus said to comprise of households and for Hunter (2010: 13), the general term for a household could mean either an individual or group of individuals that share the essential components of life together, from sharing the daily meals, to the payment of services. Importantly, they can be made up of married couples and/or cohabiting heterosexual and homosexual couples, which can consist of one family living in one house, whilst some stretch their families between homes in other areas. For many societies, families had comprised of family members living near each other, sharing food and household chores, whereas, in developed countries, it comprised of the couple and their immediate family. In families, just as in the workplace and in any other social institutions, expectations and behaviour differ by gender and are reinforced by cultural beliefs that affect how family members carry out their daily activities (Bird & Melville, 1994:50). This is true for both developed countries and the traditional societies, where there are prescribed behaviours for both gender roles and expectations such as the way the woman carries herself, and the man provides and protects his family. Thus, Turnbull (1976: 253) asserts that in Africa, family serves as a model for wider social relationships, ultimately embracing the whole society, be it a band, tribe, or nation, and that this feeling of kinship is complemented by a sense of spiritual unity brought about by the focus of ideological attention upon the natural environment, taking it also as a model from which to fashion social and intellectual order.

6.2.1.4. Family Stability

Carrillo (2011:75) theorizes that the family has been defined as the fundamental communal cluster that is categorized by affectionate relations, mutual exchange, unity, and occasional fights. Dyk (2004: 122) asserts that low income and poor-working families are unlike the

middle and upper-income families as they experience different stressors in their daily lives and these may include, but not limited to, high rates of unemployment, substance abuse, low levels of education and so forth, which, in turn, affect the stability of the family. These characteristics and daily stressors are vital in the maintenance of stability and longevity of the family and the relationship between the spouses and the extended family. When there is a commitment to the exchange relationship, the people engaged in the exchange are most likely to negotiate the expected roles when faced with a problem, to reach a win-win situation (Kailasapathy & Metz, 2012: 792). Lee & Ono (2008) argue that division of labour that is based on gender roles is vital in the marriage, as it causes interdependence within the union as each spouse will depend on the other with the tasks that they are not specialized in, which, in turn, is said to stabilise marriage in some societies.

Literature on family suggests that many families adjust their economic difficulties through pooling their financial resources, through marriage or cohabitation, for the best possible outcomes (Hernandez & Ziol-Guest, 2009: 358). The ever-rising scarcity of resources and money among families, including increasing property costs and family dysfunction, are said to feature in the evolution of the homeless family (Wood et al., 1990: 1052). The cost of having and maintaining a house seem to play a major role in the stability of families and relationships, as having a place to call home is said to strengthen relationships and the family. Lee & Ono (2008: 1218) stated that a well-developed family revenue, formal or informal, will have a positive bearing in the family's overall quality of life and stability. Therefore, finances are an important factor in the stability and longevity of the relationship and the family, and the lack of it could result in arguments which would not be conducive for family stability.

6.2.1.5. The Link between Physical Environment, Intimacy, Sexuality, Marriage, and Family Stability

The environment into which a person is born and to a large extent, raised in, is said to play an important role in their physical and emotional growth and maturity. The informal urban settlements have an important significance to its dwellers as that is the place that determines who they are, what they do, and more importantly, who they know (Nijman, 2010: 4). Therefore, the term 'home' has been associated with different concepts, such as geography, and for other researcher's such as Meth (2003), home is thought to relate to formal material substance, and a space of security offering detachment from the outside world. However, in

South Africa, one can never look at families without looking at the creation and the impact of having a home, regardless of the environment.

Dowling & Fitzpatrick (2012) state that home, imaginative or material, is concerned with personhood, our sense of being in the world. However, for Meth (2003), home is related to security and boundaries with family members, whilst being able to keep out the undesirable people, with protection and a sanctuary in a cutthroat world. This is to say that a home is not only important for shelter but for relationship building and maintenance, for learning more about the self and the relationships that are forged in society. Whereas, Brownson et al. (2001) explain that the neighbourhood setup and characteristics, including parks, sidewalks, and beautiful scenery, heavy traffic, and hills, play a role in physical activity. Therefore, the environment plays an important role in intimacy, between the spouse and children, because where there are comfort and space, there is bound to be some semblance of peace, at the same time improving the mood between and amongst people. Nhlapho (2013), therefore, remarks that to comprehend human conduct, physical wellbeing, and social condition should first comprehend the natural hypothesis that interfaces people, family units, structures, and groups. This is mainly because of the environment that one is brought up in plays a significant role to not only who they are but also who they, in turn, interact with.

Meth (2003) contends that individuals' encounters of space are race, class, and sex-based. Hence, individuals who live in informal settlements challenge and appreciate private space. Nijman (2010), therefore, explains that for those looking at informal settlements from the outside, will see the congested housing that may not be conducive for human habitation. However, for those on the inside, territoriality plays an important role in terms of safety, identity, belonging, community, status, and the political affiliates one gets to belong to. This is to say that, though we may perceive certain realities that informal human settlement dwellers go through in a certain way, for them it is their reality, which is perceived totally different from what the outside world understands it to be, for instance, the fact that some marriages thrive although the spouses live in these settlements.

Privacy and having private space are something that many take for granted, as a given right and privilege, but for those living in informal human settlements, that may not be the case, and this must have some form of impact on the nature and forms of intimacy within the household. Home is, therefore, an illustration for encounters of satisfaction, assurance, solace, and having a place in places where there has been an accentuation on positive connections to places

(Manzo, 2003: 49). Moore (2000: 210) further explains that privacy, security, family, intimacy, comfort, and control are always attributed to the concept of home. The perks that come with having a home is not a reality that many experiences, as privacy and intimacy could take a dent between the spouses and other family members since overcrowding is one of the main features of living in informal human settlements. Valentine and Hughes (2012), however, explain that a home is a place of convergence, where family members must transition from individual lives into negotiating the family intimacy and the shared space and time. Therefore, for intimacy to take place with ease and comfort, there must be some amount of privacy, space, and time, which plays an important role in self-disclosure, intimate expression, and emotional satisfaction.

6.2.2 Findings Drawn from Primary Research

There are various themes that were generated from the data collected from the research locality. Various themes arose from the data, such as the perceptions of intimacy held by the informal settlement dwellers, the nature and degree of intimacy experienced by them, the nature of privacy enjoyed, their commitment to their relationships, the nature and quality of family life, and finally, their perceptions of life lived outside of the informal settlement. The key findings on these themes will be discussed in detail in this chapter.

6.2.2.1 Demographic Profile of Participants and the Social Structure of Family Life

Wischniewski et al. (2009) assert that within each social stratum there is a spectrum of individual behavioural morphs and they differ in attitude towards exploitation of resources and contribute to the welfare of the family and the community at large. Therefore, understanding the demographic makeup of the participants was vital for the study. This profile provided an in-depth understanding of the respondent's characteristics that define them and the contexts in which they act and behave. The study noted differing behaviours, within the various age groups and the differing marital patterns. Nunkoo & Ramkissoon (2012) explain that the social exchange theory is based on the idea that human conduct or social communication is a trade of action, substantial and impalpable, especially of prizes and expenses. However, marriage is said to be the only context where sexual intercourse and expression is universally approved, whereas sexual behaviours and attitudes are learnt from outside the marriage (Call et al., 1995:639). The study, therefore, comprised 30 married and cohabiting couples, residing in

Cato Manor, for a period between 5-15 years, with ages ranging from 25-60 years. Although the participants, in general, had a wide age range, the differences in age ranges between couples was between three and ten years. The participants did not have any issues with their age difference, with some stating that it is how they prefer their relationships.

There are various factors that play a role in the social exchange, for one to deem it acceptable for their benefit, depending on the environment and society. Social exchange theory assumes that self-interested actors, who transact with other self-interested actors, do so to accomplish individual goals, that they cannot achieve alone (Lawler & Thye, 1999: 217). The younger generation was not as pedantic about their age differences and, at times, the females were slightly older than their partners. The differences in age was not an issue amongst participants as it is culturally acceptable that males are older than their female partners in relationships. The women that are with older men stated that they felt more protected with the older men and that there is a form of respect that emanates from having them in their lives. Where the women were older, “knowing that he was the man of the house” was reiterated often, meaning that the men were never made to feel the age gap in any form.

The exchange theory conceives society as fundamentally born of exchange relations among actors, and it also regards the exchange as the product of the transactions occurring between concrete individuals and between individuals and collectives (Inglis & Thorpe, 2012: 133). It is in these transactions that one learns what is expected of them, in the relationships and family life as well. In the African community, gender roles and expectations are not communicated openly, but rather, as a ‘general rule,’ it was accepted that one knows their ‘role’ within the relationship and the family. This general rule of thumb meant that one knew what was expected of them, in the relationship, as well as within the family structure. Therefore, Nunkoo & Ramkissoon (2012) explain that the social exchange theory is based on the idea that human conduct or social communication is a trade of action, substantial and impalpable, especially of prizes and expenses. It was observed during fieldwork that tradition and culture were important to the residents of the informal settlement and that religion and tradition defined the relationships in the households.

Social exchange theory assumes that self-interested actors, who transact with other self-interested actors, do so to accomplish individual goals that they cannot achieve alone (Lawler & Thye, 1999: 217). In many African traditions, marriage is seen as a rite of passage, where a myriad of rituals and ceremonies are conducted, before the couple can be deemed married.

Rituals such as *lobola* (bride price), to other rituals such as *umembeso* (*groom's family gifting the bride's family*) and *umabo* (*bride's family gifting the groom's family*) to accept the bride and groom to their respective families, are observed. This exchange between couples and families is the fundamental of exchange theory; the exchange is regarded as the product of the transactions occurring between concrete individuals and also between individuals and collectives (Inglis & Thorpe, 2012: 133). This study found that the young couples, 38 years and younger, (44%) were predominantly cohabiting, with a small number of them married, compared to the older couples. Amongst the older couples between 38-60 years, they were largely married, with a very small number cohabiting. This was because they had spent a longer time in the relationship, and over time was able to save money to perform the ritual of *lobola* (bride price) and other rituals. Comparatively, younger participants were either unemployed or maintained part-time jobs which did not allow them to formalize their marriages culturally, unlike their older counterparts who have invested in their relationships. Further, they were relatively new in relationships and needed time to decide as to whether they would like to commit to marriage. Of those older couples that were cohabiting, various reasons were given, such as the demise of a partner or the dissolution of previous marriages/relationships. Amongst those that were culturally married, almost all of them were legally married. Those that weren't legally married were 'married' according to their various religious and cultural values or rituals. These marriages were officiated in their various churches and places of praise, where the couples begin their journey of marital life.

Nunkoo & Ramkissoo (2012) theorize that individuals engage in an exchange process once they have judged the rewards and the costs and will enter relationships in which they can maximize benefits and minimize costs. Cohabitation sees two people sharing a life, like a married couple, even though they are not officially married. These unions, at times, produce children and a family structure that these off-springs need. In this study, those participants that were cohabiting made up an average number of 6 years, whilst a few cohabited more than six years up until fifteen years. The number of years spent cohabiting is probably because they could not afford the bride price or were just not ready to commit to marriage.

Barnett et al. (2011: 350) explains that sexuality is social interaction, as there are culturally specific notions about expected behaviour and, more importantly, the significance of those behaviours. The participants stated that although their families knew about their relationship and living arrangements, their lack of employment and financial constraints has been the contributing factor for not formalising their relationships either traditionally or through civil

union. Focusing on getting better and more stable employment, and more stable homes for their families, was paramount for the younger couples, than being married for now. Moreover, they shared modern values and norms where there was no pressure for them to consummate their relationships, traditionally or through civil union.

Despite those participants living in relationships that were not formalised, it was observed that activities such as child rearing, household-related issues, budgets, and relationships with extended family members were fulfilled. Notwithstanding this, the couples found a means of resolving their differences and co-existing as a family unit. Adherence to religious and cultural norms and values were found to be an important factor that bound them as a family unit. These norms and values defined the social structure of families, the way they communicated as parents and families and the nature and extent of social cohesion prevalent within the family and the broader community in the informal settlement. It was observed that though a significant number of participants stated that they were in stable relationships, given their living conditions, a small number reported otherwise. It was also observed that a significant number of participants reported that they were in their second relationship, and this trend was prominent among the participants who were 40 years and older. Reasons provided for this trend was a lack of space in the shack that resulted in the lack of intimacy, which led to one of the partners finding accommodation in another informal settlement or within the research locality. Given that there were on average, five (5) persons living in any given household in the informal settlement, the issue of space, privacy, and freedom of movement and expression were infringed upon. Of the participants that knew about their partner's infidelity, most opted to focus on their parental duties, instead of being preoccupied with their partner's infidelity. The death of a partner, infidelity, social problems such as alcohol and drug abuse, and lack of financial support, were some of the reasons mentioned that led to the dissolution of marriage or remarriage.

Most of the informal settlements in South Africa are predominantly inhabited by people of African origin with varying ethnic backgrounds. They also originated from different rural homesteads and from peri-urban areas in the city. In this case, Cato Manor is no different. Many of the participants were in-migrants from rural KwaZulu-Natal and surrounding provinces, such as the Eastern Cape and Johannesburg. These participants migrated from their rural homesteads in search of better employment and educational opportunities. Many reported that a family member moved into the informal settlement before them and that over time, they moved in as well. It was observed in the study that family played a pivotal role in the

participants' lives as they fulfil various roles, when needed, such as emotional support, helping them to move into different parts of the city, providing them with shelter, introducing them to social networks and providing support so that they could sustain a living in the informal settlement. In addition, family members served as a strong source of support as they helped to care when they are sick and fulfil child minding roles when the need arises. Although the participants have integrated into an urban lifestyle, more than half of the participants maintained their cultural norms and values, suggesting that they have not acculturated from their traditional cultural norms and values.

The concept of home has been discussed in many disciplines, stating the assorted reasons for its importance, and the impact it has on the emotional and mental health of its inhabitants. In an ideal world, home is associated with safety, familiarity, and protective boundaries, keeping unwanted people out and with privacy and sanctuary in a heartless world (Meth, 2003: 318). For the residents of Cato Manor, their homes may be an informal structure where there is a lack of proper sanitation and infrastructure. Notwithstanding such deficits, they consider this to be their home where they are provided with sanctuary and a place where they maintain familial and marital responsibilities. The household size in these homes ranges from 5-8 members. Considering the size of the shack is normally between six to twenty square metres, this makes these homes overcrowded. Staying in such a small household, with such a large number of people in each house, means that the participants must be innovative in their sleeping arrangements, to ensure some semblance of privacy. This entailed children of a certain age group sleeping in designated space such as the kitchen with the parents sleeping with the younger children in the next 'room,' which is normally partitioned with a curtain, wardrobe or cardboard screen.

6.2.2.2 Perception of Intimacy

Familusi (2011) asserts that the issue of sexuality cannot be ignored in any culture given its importance in the creation of the next generation, the importance of bringing the couples closer, and the ethics that come with it. This is to say that in any culture, there are governing ethics and morals that are set to guide the people of that community in the way they act and express sexuality. Sexual intimacy is important in relationships, albeit the issues and challenges that the participants face to achieve this. It was observed that in the case of the participants, kissing and sexual acts and expressions, were perceived as private acts that the young must have no knowledge of, as this, from a cultural and religious perspective, was considered taboo. Since over 80% of the participants originated from rural homesteads, public display of affection in

this form was frowned upon. Such expression was considered as ‘un-African’ as many African societies regard sexual intimacy and relations a personal matter and taboo, to express it in public. Familusi (2011) affirms that in many African societies, sex concerns consecrated rights, and the fact that it is considered taboo, creates a form of sexual conduct, that could make one sanctioned if deviated against. Intimacy is largely seen as private and needing sequestered space to practise it. This is something that was deemed an issue in the study with the older participants, as their homes were over-crowded with limited privacy and time to themselves. The younger participants stated that they had to be creative in the way they expressed themselves in front of the children.

Sex can be at a cost, along with certain attributes, that can be used to gain or maintain relationship-related benefits and resources (Marelich et al., 2008: 28). It is, therefore, used in many aspects to govern and gain certain advantages in the relationship. The proximity of the neighbours and the size and number of people living in the household meant that the participants must be cognisant of their intimate moments and be mindful of others present in their space. Sex and the expression thereof, according to a significant number of participants, was regarded as something that was sacrosanct and private, where no one was meant to know when it occurs and neither spoken of openly. However, a small number of participants stated that they were intimate as and when they needed to be regardless of the prying eyes and ears of inhabitants in the settlement. This perception was common amongst younger participants aged between 25-37 years.

Sprecher (1998: 32) asserts that in many relationships, sexual rewards and costs, are sometimes exchanged for other resources, such as intimacy, favours, love, and money. Therefore, the use of sexual rewards and its costs may differ from one couple to the next, and what the need is at that moment. The study found that there were different means of expressing intimacy between older and younger participants. The older generation expressed that they deferred the gratification of their intimacy and sexual relations until their children were away from the settlement or on leave for a vacation at their rural homesteads. They felt that the expression of their intimacy and sexual relations near their children and their neighbours was shameful and not consonant with the African norms and values. This notion has a lot to do with the manner and the times that these participants were socialized because traditional societies socialized their societies differently to contemporary times. Children going to their rural homesteads meant that couples could express themselves more intimately and find time to themselves. These times together were regarded as the best moments because they could have, as they could

respond to each other with spontaneity and as such, allowing them an opportunity to bond together. Furthermore, some of these couples engaged in intimate practices over weekends, where they stayed over at their rural homesteads, with some sending their children and extended family members away for a weekend to another relative within the informal settlement or another settlement, or keeping their children entertained watching television. Going to the rural homestead was echoed by many of the participants as the time for intimacy for them as this meant that they could have privacy in their own private bedroom, away from the children. Even though sending the children to a family member for the weekend was viewed as one of the ways to negotiate pleasurable moments whilst some participants felt locking themselves in their homes would make their neighbours suspicious about them ‘stealing quiet moments together.

The participants expressed that within the African culture and their religious orientations it was unbecoming to dress in a sexually provocative manner as this affected the way in which they interacted with their husbands, as it crosses the boundaries of mutual respect. This suggests that matters of sexual expression and intimacy within the informal settlement community of Cato Manor are defined by certain traditional norms and values. Socialization, in its true essence, incorporates the inclinations that set up and keep up relations amongst people, and that guarantees the combination and regard of people as members inside a public that directs practices as per societal codes (Adams & Marshall, 1996: 431). Amongst married couples, the daily dress code was said to impact on intimacy, as married men and women are said to carry themselves and dress in a manner of *inhlonipho* (respect and humility). In this instance, they are dressed in clothes that are less revealing, which suggests that they are carrying themselves with respect both towards themselves and the people of their community. This is significant as they believe that they were presenting and representing their family norms and values. Therefore, gender socialization is guided by positive and negative sanctions, socially applied force, which reward or restrains behaviour (Giddens, 2001: 108).

Evolutionary approaches to sexual behaviour argue that the current patterns that exist have been associated with the historic notion of reproductive success (Christopher & Sprecher, 2000: 1000). Self-gratification within relationships was something seen as important, but that was not necessarily the case for the participants since space was limited to express one’s intimacy. Despite such constraints, participants found creative and innovative ways to adapt. This varied from sending each other WhatsApp messages expressing their desires and to having code terms for expressing their intimate desires. This, to some extent, made them feel wanted by their

partners. Therefore, communication was important as many participants stated that communicating each other's emotional needs and desires as partners helped sustain their marital and family relationship.

6.2.2.3 Satisfaction with Intimacy

For sexual intimacy to be satisfying, many factors are said to play a significant role, such as privacy and an environment that allowed for it and intimacy was said to play a significant role in the stability of the relationship. Gottman & Levenson (1999) found emotional patterns of interaction predictive of conjugal dependability or disintegration, and in addition, inevitable conjugal fulfilment of those couples who remained wedded. A significant number of participants stated that they were not satisfied with their intimacy, and the main catalyst being lack of space and privacy. Even though the couples manage to make time for themselves, they stated that they had to be considerate of other members of the family being present in the house as well as the neighbours, given the proximity of their homes. This, in turn, made a significant number of the participants frustrated because this meant they couldn't express themselves spontaneously. Many stated that nothing could replace spontaneity and privacy when it comes to intimacy, but that they had to defer it most times due to lack of space and privacy.

The method of reasoning for concentrating conjugal fulfilment, originates from its centrality in individual and family prosperity, from the advantages that accumulate to society when solid relational unions are shaped and kept up, and from the need to grow exactly faultless intercessions for couples that avoid or mitigate conjugal misery and separation (Bradbury et al., 2000: 964). Deferring intimacy in the urban areas for more than half of the participants was an option, and this meant visiting their rural homestead. Those that deferred intimacy when living in the informal settlements experienced intimacy differently as going to the rural homestead allowed them privacy and the normal comforts of a house. This was because they had a private space in their rural homesteads where they could enjoy intimate moments like those living in formally structured homes. They are unencumbered by children, prying neighbours, space, and enjoy solitude to engage in intimate relationships. It was believed that visitation to the rural homestead improved communication between couples, which had a positive impact on advancing family stability.

6.2.2.4 Negotiating Moments for Intimacy

Since it was established that the presence of children in the household, the proximity of the neighbours, and the lack of privacy in the informal settlement affected intimacy, the couples

had to negotiate intimate moments at different times and space. This entailed negotiating times to be intimate around periods of convenience. It was observed that majority of the respondent's moments of intimacy took place at night, and though this was the case, it was not the case for all nights of the week. Weekends were said to be the most difficult to be intimate as majority of the family members were home and stayed up until the better part of the night, making intimacy impossible. Under these conditions, the participants stated that it was difficult to be intimate.

Erber & Wang-Erber (2001) predict that expressing sexual preferences and fantasies, as well as sexual pleasure can shape the experience in important ways. Notwithstanding their social constraints, some participants stated that they find innovative means of creating intimate moments with their partners with some using electronic communication applications, such as WhatsApp, to communicate their desires. These conversations are said to happen during the day so that they could find means of finding that intimate time at night. This illustrates the importance of being intimate for the participants and expressing their feelings and desires to their partners, albeit not in a personal way of communication. This shows one of the innovative ways that these couples use as a coping mechanism to ensure that intimacy perpetuates itself in the preservation of their marriage and family life through technology. Yoo (2013) states that couples with a high level of intimacy tend to be highly satisfied and maintain stable relationships. On another note, some participants stated that they wait for their family members and their neighbours to fall asleep before they can be intimate, with some sending their children to visit a relative within the informal settlement, or rural homesteads during weekends and school vacations.

Issues of self-disclosure and expression of affection between the intimate people, their compatibility, cohesion, identity, and more importantly, their ability to resolve problems, is said to be an important factor in intimacy (Laurenceau et al., 1998: 1238). Although couples found creative means of being intimate, several participants expressed that quarrels over their intimacy occurred as negotiating these moments of intimacy made them restless overtime, which strained their relationship. There were various reasons provided by the participants, such as the lack of spontaneity in their intimacy as there were other factors to consider, such as the presence of children before being intimate. Over crowdedness, within the home, and the community meant that the participants could not enjoy their conjugal rights, without infringing on someone else's quietness. Since intimacy was seen as something private and not to be expressed within the public domain as prevalent in the African culture and religion, it needed

to be expressed with discretion and due consideration not to make others feel uncomfortable or embarrassed due to uninhibited expressions. Nonetheless, as participants get used to adapting to the lifestyle and culture prevalent in informal settlements, they form different coping mechanisms to form and continue with intimate relationships so that they are able to preserve relationships, marriage, and the demands of family life.

6.2.2.5 Nature and Quality of Family Life

For a society to thrive and function successfully, dedication to marital and family life has been known to be a factor that provides security and stability. Hence, marriage and family are the essential features of social organizations that raise new-born children to adolescence, and thereafter to adulthood, so that they become meaningful and contributing members of society. It is for this reason that the concept of a home plays a significant role in one's life, as it is a space where a person is socialized to form meaningful social relations with others (Tipple & Speak, 2005: 338). The family is deemed as a primary institution that is responsible for different aspects of the socialization of individual members of society. Dysfunction and dissolution of this institution (family, marriage, and home) are said to be the source of many social problems that many communities face, which indirectly affect the social equilibrium in society.

Konrich et al (2012) state that romantic and sexual scripts are often highly gendered outside marriage and suspect that they remain so within marriage. For marriages and family life to thrive, there must be social systems that are in place to assist these institutions to succeed. These include basic needs, such as housing, employment, and education. Nevertheless, in the informal settlement, these basic needs cannot be met, as there are improper housing structures, poor educational services, the prevalence of deviant behaviour, and a high level of unemployment which contributes to abject poverty. This is said to have a negative effect on the stability of family life, which, in turn, is said to impact on social and intimate relations and vice versa.

Tang et al. (2013: 232) states that in traditional China, just as in many traditional societies, talking about sex is deemed as inappropriate. Given the physical, social, and psycho-social deprivation prevalent in the informal settlement, a substantial number of the participants expressed that they were aware of their partner's infidelity. This was shared by many of the participants, and there were various reasons for understanding their partner's infidelity (lack of

personal space being the major reason). In light of the physical constraints prevalent in the informal settlement, which adversely affects privacy for the expression of intimate relationships, infidelity to some extent is tolerated under the guise of sustaining marital relationships and family life. In addition, divorce or separation are frowned upon within the cultural and belief structure of both the informal settlement dwellers and the African community at large which serves as a social safety net against the dissolution of marital relationships.

Manshai et al. (2015) state that in many pieces of research, sexual satisfaction is placed among some of the most important factors in a relationship and marital satisfaction. Despite the constraints prevalent in the informal settlements on intimacy, marriage, and family life, participants pointed out many positive elements of their lives, which made them co-exist as a family unit, under these dire circumstances. These include, but are not limited, celebrating the various milestones in their lives, including celebrating their birthdays, anniversaries, and important days such as Valentine's, Father's and Mother's Day, and spending social times outside of the informal settlement, as a family unit. These moments were said to bring the various members of the families together, giving the family time together, to share their joys/losses and achievements.

Social relationships are said to play an important role in emotional development and not only does it refine and strengthen the links of feelings and what happens in that environment, but more importantly, it contributes to the development of attachment (Carstensen et al, 1996: 227). These social times were, however, dependent on the financial means of families to afford to spend on such social moments. Those that could afford to spend on social moments outside of the informal settlement visited places such as the Ushaka Marine World, Suncoast casino, visit movie houses and eat out at fast-food restaurants in different parts of the city. The families that were financially able to afford social and entertainment outings from the informal settlement comprised of couples that cohabited. Those with limited income mentioned that they spent their family social time within the informal settlement cooking and sharing meals together. Nimitz (2011) states that small, positive acts of kindness repeated over time can make a big difference on the long-term success of marriages and relationships, and this is mainly because positive reassurances have a positive effect on the person receiving it. Most of the participants stated that it was important to involve their neighbours in these festivities because it was important for them to maintain these relationships. These moments are said to bring these families

together since they get to share time together and get a chance to express their innermost feelings, desires, and accomplishments.

Giddens (1992) explains that personal relationships, in the twentieth century, are the main tool used, by both men and women, to self-exploration and for moral construction. Sharing of gifts is something that is done when financial resources permit and where it doesn't, was through sharing special meals as a family. Although these moments are shared with family members, the couples mentioned that they wished they could celebrate these days and share meals with other family members and friends, but due to a lack of space and adequate income this was not possible. The family members that the participants wish to share these moments with were those that were in a rural homestead. These members range from parents, siblings, children, and others extended family members.

Mackey et al. (2004) state that satisfying relationships are vital to the well-being of the couple and that of the family as a whole, as they are a buffer to the daily stresses of work and life. Notwithstanding the physical and emotional hardships that the couples faced, broadly, there were positive perceptions about family and marital life and conformity to values and norms that accompanied them. The most important aspect of family and marital life that majority of the participants mentioned was bringing up their children. Since issues of space make it slightly difficult to navigate intimacy, in many of the respondent's relationships, the focus shifted for many, to rearing their off-springs and creating a 'better' future for them. This aspect of their marital lives is said to bring satisfaction and contentment. Therefore, parenting was regarded as the most gratifying aspect of marriage and family life, as living in the informal settlement was a small price to pay, for their children to have a chance to succeed and prosper in life. The presence of other extended family members is said to make the participants satisfied, even though it was for short periods.

Desai & Patoliya (2012) asserted that better communication and interaction build more intimate relationships between couples, which, in turn, leads to trust, sexual satisfaction, and a stronger marital bond. This is said to have a positive effect, not only on the couples but their immediate family as well. Family, in the African context, is not limited to the immediate nuclear family but extends to both maternal and paternal extended family members. Therefore, social contact with extended family members was vital for most of the couples, where visiting their rural homesteads brought about stability and the feeling of social connectedness. The couples that were financially stable mentioned that they visit their rural homesteads monthly, whilst those

who were financially insecure mentioned that they visited their homesteads at least twice a year. Going to the rural homesteads during the December and January vacation was traditional for the latter participants. Visiting the rural homesteads from a cultural standpoint symbolizes connectedness to their culture and ancestral lineage, which can easily be eroded with continued living in the urban environment resulting in adopting an urban lifestyle through acculturation. Rural homesteads represent places where traditional and religious ceremonies are fulfilled. This is where the family interacts with the extended family and clans and bonds are revived and sustained through social connectedness.

The study observed that although the participants accepted the social reality of living in an informal settlement, they were hopeful that one day they would advance to living out of it where they could have a better quality of life, for themselves and their families. They hoped for a bedroom for their children and more space for the extended family members to visit, private space for the couple to have intimate moments together and rooms that did not need to be changed to bedrooms later, and a garden and yard for the children to play. These were some of the aspirations maintained by the participants. Issues of parenting were important to the participants as they were concerned about their children being exposed to anti-social behaviour and habits in the informal settlement which they had very little control over. The participants having a yard meant that parents could better manage their children and have control over whom they interact with. The underlying desire is that participants wished for a better chance of building and sustaining a stable family life for themselves, their children, and the extended family away from the challenges of life in an informal settlement.

6.2.3 Conclusions

This chapter explained the main conclusions derived from the data collected from participants in the informal settlement of Cato Manor. The demographics of the participants were explained in some detail, their marital statuses, and the number of people that reside in their households was interrogated. Perceptions of intimacy were discussed, what this meant to them, and the methods they used to maintain intimacy in their relationships. Issues of overcrowding in the homes and the impact it has on the respondent's relationships was visited, with focus on the measures taken to sustain their conjugal rights and the creative steps taken to sustain intimacy, sexuality, and family life.

The impact of unemployment and its impact on marital and family stability was visited, where the study observed that those with steady salaries enjoyed better social and family time with their families, outside of the informal settlement, as opposed to those with temporary or in-between employment. The intimacy constraints were explained in detailed and the impact it has on the respondent's relationship, and more importantly, the measures taken to make time for their intimate moments.

The main aim of this study was to explore the perceptions and meanings of intimacy and sexual relationships among informal settlement dwellers. It also sets out to explore how intimacy shapes sexual relations and the impact it has on marital and family life and finally, understanding the coping mechanisms adopted to sustain intimacy and sexuality. The study revealed that the older couples in the informal settlement of Cato Manor are married both traditionally and through a civil union, whilst the younger couples cohabited for various reasons. Another aspect that was noted in the study was that majority of the people in this informal settlement were immigrants from rural KwaZulu-Natal, the Eastern Cape region and a smaller number, from surrounding African countries, such as Mozambique and Zimbabwe. Most of the households in this informal settlement were overcrowded with households made up of 3-8 persons.

Notwithstanding the physical constraints that the participants faced on a daily basis, they managed to make innovative means to achieve their conjugal rights. These included waiting until all members of the household were asleep before being intimate, with some differing their sexual gratification until they could visit their rural homesteads, where they have more freedom for intimate expression. Visiting the rural homesteads was determined by the availability of financial resources, with those with stable income visiting their rural homesteads monthly and those without, at least twice a year. It was noted that, although their living environment was characterised by informality, participants adhered as far as possible to their traditional norms and values when it came to matters such as intimacy, sexuality, and family life.

They adopted various methods to maintain a sense of family life in an environment that is socially hostile. The values and norms that they adopt towards sustaining family life may be considered no different from those living in formal environments. This entails their educating their children and maintaining stable and functioning homes and families. Many married participants stated that although they may lead an urban lifestyle, their values and norms were still grounded in tradition, which was extended from their rural homestead. Contrary to the

view that an inadequate living environment contributes to family instability and marital dissonance, this study has shown that the participants negotiated their family and marital lives so that they can co-exist as a family unit. This includes receiving support from extended family members, through taking care of their children over the weekend or sending the children to the rural homesteads, where the couples could have some intimate time to themselves. These coping mechanisms are but some of the creative means of sustaining their marital and family lives, and at the same time creating strong bonds, considering the negative impact of the environment in which they must nurture a healthy and functional family.

6.3 Limitations

In every study that a researcher decides to get into, there are various limitations that they may encounter. These limitations vary according to the study, and at times, it could be logistics and/or the participants themselves. Since the study was conducted in an area that has people that are predominantly traditional, speaking openly about sex and sexuality was a taboo. The researcher had to find ‘respectable’ means of asking them about issues pertaining to intimacy, as many of the older participants found it ‘uncomfortable to some extent. The discomfort was mainly because the researcher was female and younger than the participants. This was overcome by reassurance that what was shared was for “our ears only” and occasional humour, which eased the participants immensely, with the assistance of knowing what was deemed inappropriate to speak about.

Cato Manor is an overcrowded area, where there is a minimum of five (5) people per household, as this was established by the study. Xulu (2012) asserts that overcrowding is bad, and privacy is scarce at the informal settlements, as informal settlements are generally very close to each other, one could hear all kinds of sounds and noises from emanating from neighbouring households in the informal settlement. All participants had to be interviewed during weekdays as gaining access to them over the weekend could be unfruitful, since every member of the family was at home. Gaining access to both partners, without an appointment, could yield no results, as one or both partners could not be home at that time.

6.4 Recommendations

As this study has shown, overcrowding has an immense adversarial impact on intimacy in the informal settlements, where it has the potential to affect family life and stability. Understanding

the impact overcrowding has on marital and family stability in an informal settlement context is important; therefore, more studies need to be conducted to understand this phenomenon. Having a formal structure or home could have a positive impact on marital life and family stability for the families and people residing in the informal settlements. Although the people of Cato Manor expressed their shacks are their homes, they also expressed that raising their children in a formal human settlement could improve the lives of their children, and that of their extended family as well. The Municipality of Durban needs to take proactive steps to provide transitional houses to informal settlement dwellers so that they can advance to formal housing settlements. These transitional houses should be larger than the informal settlement shacks with subdivisions that separate adult and children living quarters. In addition, these transitional houses should not be allowed to be overcrowded and, in instances where it has the potential to be overcrowded, additional transitional houses needed to be provided.

Understanding the impact of raising children in the informal settlement would be of great scholarly value as work in this area is lacking. The psycho-social impact of life in an informal settlement on young children will not only provide insight on their development but also dawn upon the municipality to provide open spaces for children and youth for recreation so that they may be away from the squalor that characterizes informal settlement. Organised activity in these recreational spaces will provide social time for parents and adults in the informal settlement to bond intimately. Diversion programmes organised by Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and other Community Based Organisations (CBOs) over weekends where children are removed from informal settlement and engage in sporting, educational, creative arts, and drama classes, to mention a few, will also free parents of child-rearing practices so that they may invest this time on themselves and with their partners.

Appendix A: Research Questions

1. How many people live in your household? Including the children.
2. How long have you been living in Cato Manor?
3. Where did you live before moving to Cato Manor?
4. What is your age?
5. Are you married? If yes, traditionally, civil or religious?
6. How did you meet your partner?
7. What was your age when you got married?
8. Is this your first marriage? If not, can you provide a brief background about your previous marriage? Were any children born out of this marriage? How many and what are they doing now?
9. What is the age gap between you and your partner?
10. Does the age difference between you and your partner make a difference in your relationship?
11. What is your understanding of intimacy?
12. How would you describe intimacy in your household?
13. What is your perception of sexual relationships between couples/partners?
14. In your understanding, do you think that the quality of your sexual relationship with your partner enhances your marital relationship?
15. Considering your home circumstance, does it preclude you from being intimate?
Explain
16. Do you find the intimate relationship with your partner satisfying? Explain
17. At what point in the day or night do you and your partner find an opportunity to be intimate?
18. Do you find these times convenient to be intimate with each other? Why is this so?

19. Do you and your partner quarrel about being intimate with each other? If yes how often and what form does this quarrel take?
20. When you quarrel do any other members of your family or neighbours get to know about it? If yes how do you feel?
21. Considering your home circumstance, how do you and your partner go about creating this moment of privacy?
22. Where would the children or other members of the family be during this time?
23. Has your partner ever been unfaithful to you? What do you think may have lead your partner to be unfaithful?
24. Do you, your partner and children spend social time outside of the settlement? What are some of the things do you do when spending time together?
25. Do you maintain social contact with your family?
26. Do you spend time with your in-laws? If yes, how is this time spent?
27. On important occasions such as Christmas, birthdays and wedding anniversaries how do you spend your time? Do you share gifts with your partner and children?
28. Do you get satisfaction by being married and leading a family life?
29. What aspect of your marriage and family life do you enjoy best?
30. If you had to lead your married and family life out of this household how do you perceive pursuing your life in the future? What would you do differently to improve on your present quality of marriage and family life?

CONSENT FORM

I am Sandisiwe Macozoma, a student at the University of KwaZulu-Natal doing a master's degree in Sociology. I am undertaking a study on the sexual relationships and intimacy with married or cohabitating couples. The aim of my project is to understand how intimacy shapes sexual relations and contributes to marital and family stability within your housing settlement. I wish to explore some of the coping mechanisms used by you to sustain intimacy and sexuality.

I kindly request your participation in the study. Participation however is voluntary. This means that one can choose not to take part in the study. If you feel uncomfortable to participate in the study, you can withdraw at any point during the interview. If there are any questions that you wish not to respond to during the interviews, kindly feel comfortable to let me know. It is an academic requirement for me to ensure confidentiality on the information provided to me. This means that no one apart from you as the participant, the researcher and the supervisor will know about your participation in the study. Your name and identity will not be used anywhere when analysing and interpreting information you have shared in this study. Pseudonyms will be used in the research report and each self-administered questionnaire will be coded numerically so that your identity is not disclosed. The interviews will be audio recorded and transcribed into English and will be destroyed once the data has been analysed and interpreted.

Attached below is a consent form. Please fill in the blank spaces on this form and do not hesitate to seek clarity regarding the study (now, during the interview and or after the interviews).

Thanking you for participating in the study

Sandisiwe

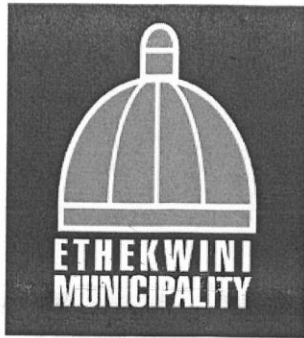
(079 059 4466)

Signature: S. Macozoma

Signature of supervisor: Prof. S. Khan

**I.....on this day of
.....2017, agree to be interviewed for the research project on sexual
relationships and intimacy within families. I understand that I will be asked any question
that the researcher finds relevant for the purpose of the study. I also understand that the
interview will be audio recorded, the tapes will be transcribed and translated into English
and that the data may be reused at a later stage for academic purposes.**

**Signed.....Date.....
.....**



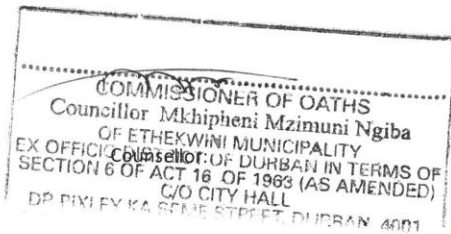
Cato Crest Community Hall
5504 Amandla Crest Way
Westridge
Berea
4091

PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN CATO MANOR FOR SANDISIWE MACOZOMA , STUDENT NUMBER: 200300911.

PROPOSED RESEARCH TITLE: A Sociological Exploration of Sexual Relationships and Intimacy: A caste Study of Informal Settlement Dwellers, in Cato Manor, Durban.

Your application to conduct research in the Cato Manor district, of Durban, has been approved. The research and questions will be limited to the Cato Crest area. Ethical considerations for the people of this community, which are vital for research, need to be prioritised.

Wishing you all the best.



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