

Sex Industry and Experiences of Female Sex Workers in Ngundu, Zimbabwe.

By

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DECLARATION

I, Ngadhi Collen Mafira student number 16023516, hereby declare that this dissertation for the Master of Arts degree (Youth in Development) at the University of Venda, hereby submitted by me, has not been submitted previously for any degree at this or any other University, and it is my own work and execution, all reference material contained therein has been duly acknowledged.

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Ngadhi C.M

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Date

DEDICATION

This research is dedicated to my mother who fought to give us good education. I love you.

ABSTRACT

Commercial sex work (CSW) has turned out to be a subject of concern in most societies. CSW occurs in most countries of the world, and has existed since ancient times. Different nations have different viewpoints with regards to prostitution. In some nations it is illegal while in others it is legal. Prostitution is regarded as a social problem that offends culture, societal morals and values and leads to the spread of Sexually Transmitted Infections (STIs). In most studies about sex work, male counterparts receive little attention but they play a role in the industry. In light of the profiled background context of the problem, this study explored the experiences of female sex workers (FSWs) at Ngundu Growth Point in Zimbabwe. This study endeavored to examine the circumstances that drive women into CSW and the impact of prostitution on the wellbeing of FSWs. The study further examined the role played by government, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and health professionals towards service delivery to CSWs. In order to understand the experiences of sex worker intersectionality and feminist standpoint theories were deployed. A case study approach involving Ngundu growth point in Masvingo was utilized. The choice of Ngundu emanated from the fact that it is located along the highway that connects South Africa with Zimbabwe, Zambia and Democratic Republic of Congo and as a result, it experiences varying prostitution encounters. Methodologically, the study followed a qualitative research path involving the use of open-ended interviews as data collection methods. A total of nine participants were interviewed that includes sex workers as well as the key informants. Data analysis was done using thematic analysis. The overall study finding was that prostitution at Ngundu is proliferating due to economic hardships where most people are unemployed and living in poverty. From the field interviews with those involved in the prostitution business, it emerged that the socioeconomic situation in the country is forcing women to be in the sex industry. The recommendation proffered is that is that the government should create employment opportunities for the people, open vocational training centres and there should be awareness campaigns targeting sex workers.

Key words.

Prostitution, poverty, female sex workers, commercial sex work, unemployment, Sexually Transmitted Infections (STI)

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women
CSW	Commercial Sex Work
FSWs	Female Sex Workers
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Syndrome
NAC	National AIDS Council
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
PSI	Population Services International
SANAC	South African National AIDS Council
STIs	Sexually Transmitted Infections
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

Commercial sex work is a controversial and ambiguous topic because of the myths, biases and misconceptions that surround it. The reasons and motivations for joining this profession are complex and cannot be reduced to a single explanation. Studies have shown that the motivations for joining are mainly based on the survival needs caused by unemployment and living in poverty (Kangiwa, 2015; Nkala, 2014). From a religious and social perspective, there is general view that sex work is an immoral and deviant behavior. Women who practice prostitution are blamed by society and the communities where they live for the spread of Sexually Transmitted Infections (STIs) on the assumption that they are vectors of the disease. Males play a role in the sex industry but their participation is under researched (Alobo & Ndifon, 2014; Schepel, 2011). The buying and selling of sex is illegal in Zimbabwe but the practice is increasing, perhaps because of the declining economy and the scarcity of job opportunities (Bhunu, Mhlanga, & Mushayabasa, 2014; Nkala, 2014). Section 81 (2) of the Zimbabwean constitution criminalises sex work as a crime against morality.

Commercial sex work (CSW) is a phenomenon affecting most societies. Globally, the problem of CSW has been a cause for concern (Kangiwa, 2015). CSW occurs in most countries of the world, and its origins date back to the genesis of mankind and can be traced back to be Before the Birth of Christ (BC) (Nkala, 2014). Sex work is the profession or exercise of rendering sexual services to another person in return for payment (Qayyum, Iqbal, Akhtar, Hayat, Janjua, and Tabassum, 2013). Balfour and Allen (2014) define sex work as an extensive range of activities which are related to the exchange of money for the provision of sexual services. Shillah (2011) is of the view that although sex is usually traded for money, it can also be exchanged for material things or in kind for example, jewelry, accommodation, clothing and food or anything that has market value. Prostitution is a multi-billion dollar business believed to involve as many as two million youth around the world (Shillah, 2011). For purposes of this study, the term prostitute refers to females who obtain money, goods, or materials of market value in trade for sexual favors. The term sex worker is used interchangeably with prostitute and sex worker being the most acceptable one. Prostitute has negative connotations and is attached with stigma and discrimination towards women who provides sexual services.

In some societies, prostitution is decriminalised and it is practiced openly whereas in other societies it is regarded as illegal and its practice may lead to prosecution. Tandi (2012), notes that countries like Germany, Peru, Switzerland and Mexico have legalized prostitution. It is estimated that there are 50 000 to 80 000 sex workers in United Kingdom (Balfour & Allen, 2014; Committee, 2016). Studies have shown that prostitution is at peak in most Asian countries and that youths under eighteen years of age contribute to the increased numbers of sex workers in the continent. Shillah (2011) notes that, youths make up 40% of sex workers in Thailand and further states that in India about one third of prostitutes are less than 18 years. Qayyum et al. (2013) note that India, Pakistan and Nepal are also vulnerable states where youth prostitution is prevalent.

In the context of many African countries, prostitution is regarded as deviant behavior and the practice leads to prosecution. This is the case for countries like Malawi, Zimbabwe and Uganda, to cite a few. African cultures discourage sex which is outside marriage and sex before marriage. This might be a way to thwart sex work. Hassan (2015) notes that in African culture ladies were not allowed to have a child before marriage and this reinforced the idea of not having sex outside marriage. Factors such as poverty and unemployment contribute in shaping the practice in most African nations, thus Adelekan, Omoregie, and Edoni (2014), note that many African women support themselves and their dependents through transactional sex work. Funmilola and Onyekachi (2015) note that poverty is the main driving force for women to participate in prostitution in the sub-Saharan Africa. Adelekan et al. (2014) adds on to say that, it is estimated that 1% to 4% of the women in numerous West African capitals are anticipated to be commercial sex workers. CSW in South Africa are estimated to be between 120 000 and 167 000 and statistics have highlighted that 90% are females, 5% males and 4% are transgender sex workers (South African National AIDS Council, (SANAC) 2013).

The Zimbabwe experience show that prostitution is illegal, although it is very common in all communities. Commercial sex work is a serious social problem in the country. Female prostitution has become a cause of concern in the country as women are being hired for sex (Herald, 2014). The economic situation in the country is dire with high levels of unemployment and people living in extreme poverty. Most people in the country live below the poverty datum line of between \$430 and \$574 for a family of five and \$96 for an individual and on less than a dollar every day (Zimstat, 2017). The prevailing economic condition in the country has facilitated the growth of the sex industry. The economic situation, coupled by lack of job opportunities and investments to start income generating projects, have forced some women to opt for sex work for survival. The current

economic situation is contributing to and creating environments which lead to the sexual exploitation of females. The economic condition of Zimbabwe, characterized by high poverty and unemployment rates, might be forcing female into transactional sex work (Bhunu et al., 2014; Nkala, 2014). In Zimbabwe sex work is regarded as immoral and is a crime against morality as stated in the constitution section (The Zimbabwean Constitution Section 81 (2)) According to Elmes (2012) the immorality of sex work in Zimbabwe is strongly reinforced by social taboos which heavily stigmatize and discourage sex work.

In Zimbabwe, the exact number of female prostitutes is neither documented nor available considering the illegality of the profession. As a result, the actual number of CSWs in Zimbabwe is difficult to ascertain. Musipiwa (2015) holds that the actual number of female sex worker in Zimbabwe is difficult to determine. It is difficult to estimate the exact number of sex workers as Balfour and Allen (2014) state that estimating the exact number of sex workers is difficult because sex workers are mostly a hidden population.

However, a Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) by the name Sisters with a Voice (SWV) reached 24 000 female CSWs with medical services in 36 different cities (Busza, Mtetwa, Mapfumo, Hanisch, Wong-Gruenwald, and Cowan, 2016). This shows that efforts are being made to locate and assist the population group with required services. Lack of statistics of female sex workers in Zimbabwe might be caused by the fact that the practice is criminalized, shameful and the stigma attached to it.

1.1 Problem statement

The socio-economic situation in Zimbabwe has facilitated the increase of crimes and deviant behavior. It has forced some women and young girls into transactional sex to sustain their livelihood. In a country where there are few occupation opportunities on the labor market and resources to establish revenue generating schemes, some women may resort to prostitution for survival. The scarcity of job opportunities on the labor market for the increasing rate of graduates, might force them to resort to CSW as a source of income or revenue for their survival. The socio-economic situation in the country has pushed females into transactional sex against their will. Poverty and unemployment put pressure on women to raise funds through any possible means. Socio-cultural factors also influence women's involvement in CSW. Structural inequalities such as social discrimination, disadvantage one group of people in favor of another. Gender-based inequalities limit women's opportunities for education and employment. This further render them

more economically dependent on men and thus indirectly reduces women's choices over her sexuality. These preliminary observations trigger the imperative to know the experiences of women as they journey through commercial sex business.

Ngundu, growth point in Zimbabwe is one area that has seen booming of commercial sex business. This owes much to its location along the highway connecting South Africa, Zimbabwe, Zambia and other parts of Africa, north of Zimbabwe. More interesting development is that women or sex workers operating at Ngundu receive varying derogatory labels by the society and are even being despised. With such short history, the study endeavored to understand the experiences faced by sex workers at the growth point.

1.2 Aim

The aim of the study is to explore the experiences of female sex workers.

1.2.1 Objectives

The objectives of the study are as follows:

- To explore the circumstances that drive young women into prostitution.
- To profile the impact of prostitution on the well-being of female sex workers.
- To find out governmental, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), and health professionals' response to female prostitution at Ngundu Growth Point.

1.3 Research questions

The following are the research questions

- What are the family factors that may lead females to prostitution at Ngundu Growth Point?
- How does financial constraints contribute to female prostitution at Ngundu Growth Point?
- What are the impacts of prostitution on the physical, social and psychological well-being of female prostitutes at Ngundu Growth Point?
- What roles played by the government, NGOs, health professionals and community members to reduce female prostitution at Ngundu Growth point?

1.4 Significance of the study

The investigation is based on the exploration of the experiences of female sex workers. The study will be informative to the society pertaining to women's involvement in prostitution, pointing out the underlying causes and the physical, social and mental effects of this scourge.

The rationale of this investigation is to generate knowledge concerning the experiences of prostitution from the viewpoint of young female involved in prostitution in a rural setting in order

to formulate policies that meet this population's needs. The study will assist various stakeholders like the government, NGO, health professionals and community members in coming up with policies and strategies that help to reduce female prostitution.

The study will empower females who indulge in prostitution and those who are not yet into sex work with the knowledge on the risks associated with prostitution. The study will assume as an educational and awareness to youth and it will also empower young females with their rights, teaching people and empowering communities to protect young females. The study serves as the background to those who want to pursue further research on the experiences of female sex workers.

1.5 Definition of terms

Prostitution: Qayyum et al. (2013) defines prostitution as a business or practice of providing sexual service in return for payment and payment might be in cash, kind or anything with a market value. According to this study, prostitution or sex work refers to the barter of sexual service for cash or anything of a market worth and the women provider being after money while the male client being after sexual gratification.

Sex work: It refers to the exchange of sexual services for money or material gain. Dewey and Zheng (2013) describes sex work as the trade of sexual services or sexualized intimacy for money. Sex work can be defined as illegal or legal adult business which involves the exchange of sexual services for remuneration or anything that has a market value (Heineman, MacFarlane, & Brents, 2012). In most cases, scholars prefer to use the term sex work to prostitution. This is so because the word prostitutes is associated with dirt, diseases, degrades sex workers and promote stigma and discrimination. The term "sex work" was coined in 1973 to replace prostitution, as prostitution is associated with dirt and loosely used whereas sex work is socially upright and regard sex workers as workers who are in an income generating project (Uretsky, 2015)

Sex-worker: In the context of this enquiry sex worker denotes to an individual or individuals participating in any sexual occupation with the aim to obtain financial reward or anything of a market value. Sex worker refers to individuals who work in sex industry and the term is usually

used interchangeable with prostitute. Heineman et al. (2012) defined sex worker as an individual who sell sexual services.

Poverty is a multi-dimensional aspect which is characterized by the lack of access to opportunities for a sustainable livelihood including income, assets, skills, knowledge, self-confidence and access to decision making (Tanga & Tangwe, 2014).

Sex buyer means any person male or female who gives another person a reward in exchange for sexual services. In this study the sex buyer refers to a male person who pays for sexual service to a female sex worker.

Sex industry is an avenue in which all the different kinds of phenomena that are related to sex selling take place and this include prostitution, porn, stripping.

1.6 Project Layout

The research will be composed of five chapters as described below:

Chapter 1

The chapter introduces the general background and conceptualization of women's experiences in commercial sex work. It contains the problem statement, research aims and objectives and the significance of the study. Some key words frequently used in the study are explained.

Chapter 2

The Chapter focuses on the literature review and theoretical framework. This chapter further discusses literature on commercial sex work, poverty and prostitution, prostitution from a human rights and legal perspectives, prostitution in a rural setting and prostitution in Zimbabwe. The intersectionality theory will be discussed as a theoretical underpinning of the study.

Chapter 3

Chapter three provides the research design and the data collection methods used by the researcher. The chapter ends by discussing ethical statement.

Chapter 4

The chapter will provide a detailed account of data analysis from field findings and the discussion of the findings.

Chapter 5

Chapter five concentrates on the summary of the findings, recommendations and conclusion.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This section reviews literature for the study covering key thematic areas. These include overview of commercial sex work (CSW), prostitution from different perspectives, causes of prostitution, effects of prostitution, prostitution in different context and sociological theories regarding prostitution. Theoretical framework of the study is going to be discussed.

2.2 History of prostitution

Prostitution is regarded as a phenomenon that has been always there and has been occurring for over centuries. Prostitution is regarded as the oldest profession (Alobo & Ndifon, 2014; Nkala, 2014; Prakash, 2013; Qayyum et al., 2013; Schepel, 2011; Trifiolis, 2014). Studies have proved that prostitution is an old profession as Qayyum et al. (2013) postulated that around 300 B.C., prostitution had been occurring and was found at places of sanctuaries, the temples, churches. However, it can be said that prostitution is the oldest form of female exploitation, slavery and violence against women and girl child (Gutiérrez, 2014). The history and origins of sex work differ from regions as different societies has its own factors that lead to the birth of the profession. Prostitution can be argued to be as old as civilization and it origins date back to the genesis of mankind.

In the Bible, Mosaic Law condemned adultery and rape with death and prohibited all sexual intercourse that was not within the Jewish law. This might be a sign that prostitution existed during this era. The Bible talks about whoredom and harlots in Ezekiel 23: 2-18 and the life of Mary Magdalene and her forgiveness by Jesus in Luke 7:36-50 and 8:1-2. In ancient Greece prostitution was regarded as an act of worship of the gods, the fusion of religion and sexuality was found. Woman could perform an act of prostitution and becomes married in an ordinary manner (Hassan, 2015).

In Nigeria prostitution is argued to be have originated when girls leave their rural homes to cities in search of job opportunities and if they could not secure jobs they resorted to sex work (Alobo & Ndifon, 2014).

2.3 Male participation in sex industry

There is little research attention on male in the sex trade yet they form a significant portion in the sex industry. Sex work as a practice involves the participation of both male and female hence it cannot be only confined to woman alone, male sex workers also exist. In discussion regarding prostitution it is commonly through the archetype of women as sellers of sexual services to men and men as buyers. Males are important when discussing the issue of sex work or sex industry as they are also participants who pay a premium for the sexual services (Alobo & Ndifon, 2014; Jewkes, Morrell, Sikweyiya, Dunkle, & Penn-Kekana, 2012; Maunze, 2009; Schepel, 2011). Generally, prostitution has been transcended largely to women offering her sexual services to a men but developments have shown than women are also paying men for sexual favours, men to men prostitution (homosexuality) and woman to woman as lesbianism (Avais, Wassan, Chandio, & Balouch, 2014; Hassan, 2015). Prostitution is regarded as a female problem, yet there are male clients who demand sexual services form women. Prostitution is stereotyped as women's problems. In most studies on prostitution, men are often left out of the debates, invisible and yet, they are the so called 'buyers of sex'. Males are the ones who seek and pay a premium for sexual services yet in the discussions they appear to be invisible. The increase of FSW may be attributed to the demand by male customers. Hence, there is a dialectical relationship between women and men when it comes to sex work. By putting much emphasis on women and limiting focus on men in discussions about sex work it is difficulty to fully understand the phenomena and a one sided analysis is produced (Jewkes et al., 2012).

There are also men who are working as sex workers in situations where wealthier women pay sexual services from these men. Sexual exploitation of males in prostitution remains hidden and cases of such incidents may not be reported, mainly due to persisting societal condemnation and stigmatization of the practice compared to female prostitution which is generally taken to be normal (Trafficking, 2014). Male participation in CSW is gradually revealed. Studies in Ethiopia have exposed the occurrence of male sex workers. In Uganda, studies have recognized an increasing tendency of young males involved in commercial sex work with older and wealthier women (Trafficking, 2014). Due to the limited job opportunities some men are willing to be

provided for by older women and thereby ending up entrapped in sex work. Male prostitution exists but is comparatively inconsiderable to that of females (Poroma, David, & Jackson, 2015).

2.4 An overview of prostitution

Prostitution is a practice which is occurring around the world regardless of it being legal or illegal, moral standings and a cultural taboo in many countries. It is a social issue that receives different legislative views and approaches thus in some countries it is legal and in others it is illegal. Governments that have legalized consenting adult prostitution tries to protect the sexual exploitation of children and to reduce the criminal activities which surrounds the profession (Committee, 2016). In Pakistan culture it is regarded a taboo (Qayyum et al., 2013). Countries that have adopted the total criminalization of sex work are trying to tackle human trafficking and improve gender equality. Some nations have adopted a mixed approach to deal with the profession where both legalization and criminalization work together simultaneously. An example is the United States where prostitution is illegal but other rural counties of Nevada the practice is permitted and brothels are regulated (Capaul, 2013; Heineman et al., 2012).

Prostitution is a practice present in every society, it occurs both in developed and developing countries. Female commercial sex work seems to be at its peak in different nations. Prostitution is at its peak, India and Pakistan being the most vulnerable states and the number of prostituted girls under the age of 16 in Nepal is estimated to be around 5,000 (Qayyum et al., 2013). In Thailand, it has been estimated that youths make up 40% of prostitutes in the country; while in India, about one third of prostitutes are less than 18 years (Shillah, 2011). In United Kingdom sex workers are estimated to be between 60 000 and 80 000 and that 2.3 million of males have paid for sexual services (Committee, 2016). Although different scholars give statistics and figures on sex work the actual size of the sex institution are difficult to get because the practice is secretive and informal. The statistics and figures in the sex industry might not be accurate because of the criminality of the institution and the stigma which surrounds prostitution (Heineman et al., 2012).

There are certain characteristics common among sex workers these include age, nomadic lifestyle amongst others. Young age is one of the characteristic found among sex worker, in most situations the population group consist of a youthful age and underage sex workers. Underage participation in sex industry can be argued to be sexual exploitation of children or minors. Kangiwa (2015) notes that sex work is prevalent among the youths who are aged between 17 and 25 years although others are older than that. In Uganda the rates of prostitution are alarming and the rates

also involves the youths. University student fall in this cohort of youths who are in transactional sex work due to financial hardships. A study in UK has shown that the average age for one to start to participate in sex work is between 20 and 24 years (Committee, 2016).

2.4.1 International sex buyer law

The sex buyer law aims at abolishing prostitution by means of targeting the demand and at the same time decriminalising those selling sexual services. This legal framework tries to address the demand of sex workers by making it illegal for a client to purchase sex services. This kind of a model can be argued that it defines sex work or prostitution as violence against women hence the adoption of the model was a way to eradicate prostitution which is the violation of human rights. This kind of a legal framework is an effort to protect sex workers against violence which is posed by the criminalisation of the practice (Levy & Jakobsson, 2014). This policy was adopted first in Sweden and other countries like Northern Ireland, Norway and France later adopted the policy. Sweden in 1999 introduced a sex buyer law which makes it illegal to pay for sex but not to be a prostitute, the government then defined prostitution as violence inflicted against women (Levy & Jakobsson, 2014). This legal framework was named the Nordic model. In Sweden the purchase of sexual services was criminalised and at the same time the sale was decriminalised. The government adopted the kind of a model in a way to end violence against women and put an end to the sexual exploitation of women and girls. The government target the clients who pay a premium for sexual services, with regards to this policy the client is said to be the one committing the crime not the prostitute. This kind of a policy aims at reducing several social ills that surrounds prostitution and practice of prostitution also. This type of legal framework intends on trying to curb the number of buyers of sexual services. The model intends to reduce the number of people involved in prostitution and sex work in general (Levy & Jakobsson, 2014; Woodin, 2014). This kind of legal framework is important in situation to reduce prostitution by targeting the purchasers than the prostitutes. Studies have shown that the introduction of the sex buyer law was an effective mechanism which has contributed to the reduction of street prostitution by half (Committee, 2016; Woodin, 2014).

In Norway the sex buyer law was introduced in 2009 under the Norwegian Penal Code. The penal code made it illegal to procure sexual services or to promote the prostitution of another person (Committee, 2016). The aim was to reduce human trafficking, reduce the size of the sex institution by reducing the demand and to reduce sexual exploitation of men and women in sex industry.

The Penal Code criminalises all the third party who lived on the earning of the prostitution and these are the pimps and brothel owners.

2.5 Prostitution in the African context

The practice of prostitution is of no boundary, it is common in every state. When discussing prostitution in African states it is important to consider the role played by colonialism. When European super powers (Britain, France and Germany) embarked on territorial colonisation soldiers were not accompanied by their spouses hence their desire and sexual pleasure was addressed through solicitation for sex from local women. Colonialism played a role in the increase of prostitution in urban centres. Labour migration into cities and towns and the scarcity of job opportunity for women pushed them into prostitution for survival (Wasosa 2011). This also paved way for the practice to be rife in African states which were colonised. Although prostitution saved a purpose to the soldiers the practice was thwarted by the colonial government and it was a way of trying to curb the practice in its early stages. Most legal frameworks which governs sex work in Africa were implemented during the colonial rule (Richter, 2013). In Nigeria elite women, African men and colonialist were against the practice and the government signed a petition in October 1923 to prevent the influx of women and girls in Lagos (Aderinto, 2010). Furthermore, Aderinto (2010) mention that in Southern Rhodesia (present day Zimbabwe) single women who travelled to urban areas were arrested and forced to be screened for venereal diseases.

In most African states prostitution is illegal, with the exception of Senegal (Ngugi, Roth, Mastin, Nderitu, & Yasmin, 2012; Scorgie et al., 2013) the practice leads to prosecution. Taking into account that prostitution is illegal in most African nations this has made it to be open and less organised Kangiwa (2015) as compared to other developed nations. In South Africa the practice of sex work and living off the proceeds of sex work is criminalised by the Sexual Offences Act and the Criminal Law (SANAC), 2013). In Nigeria prostitution is regarded as a deviant behaviour but the practice is thriving and prostitutes operate in private homes and brothels (Alobo & Ndifon, 2014). In Uganda prostitution is widespread and illegal. The Ugandan government tried to curb the situation by running a clean-up operation which targeted on arresting prostitutes and those who were found infected by STIs and were convicted (Hassan, 2015). A similar case happened in Zambia where sex workers were arrested so that prostitution will be reduced in Lusaka and to fight against the spread of diseases in the country (Meerkotter, 2012). This shows the efforts of some states towards the eradication of the profession as they see the effects of the practice. However, when discussing issues of prostitution in Africa it is important to note that it is not

prostitution per se which is illegal rather the acts which leads to prostitution are the ones which are illegal. In most African states they prohibit facilitation of sex work which includes factors like living off the earning of prostitution, brothel ownership and trafficking and there are laws that are aimed at controlling public nuisance like loitering for the purpose of prostitution and prohibition of solicitation in public (Meerkotter, 2012). In Ethiopia and Eritrea sex workers are licensed and this shows that they are they are not only tolerated but they are protected by the law (Hassan, 2015).

In many African societies poverty is one of the leading causes of transactional sex work as the majority of the people have no means of earning an income. Adelekan et al. (2014) notes that many African women support their family and their dependents through transactional sex work. In Africa poverty is one of the driving force for women to participate in prostitution since women are vulnerable victims of economic inequality and they are faced by patriarchal domination of males (Groes-Green, 2013). Lack of financial standing, limited options to earn a living is pushing women to the out edge and marginalizing them. This leads women to earn money through any means they see possible hence some might be entrapped to earn money as sex workers. People in the sub Saharan Africa survive on less than a dollar per day and suffer from malnutrition this is pushing women to raise finances for their dependants (Funmilola & Onyekachi, 2015). In most nations commercial sex work is by the problems of “sugar daddy” who use their financial possessions to lure and attract young women (Groes-Green, 2013).

2.6 Prostitution in Zimbabwe

When discussing the history of prostitution in Zimbabwe it is difficult to neglect the role played by colonialism in creating such a phenomenon. To fully understand the nature of prostitution in Zimbabwe, there is need to understand the historical context of the practice that has shaped the current situation. The practice of prostitution can be traced back to colonial time and is closely associated with urbanisation and the development of mining and farming towns (Wasosa 2011). During colonial area there was labour migration of people from rural societies to towns and cities. This led to the physical separation of families especially men who had to work away from home placing burden on women who became heads of families. The fragmentation of family contributed to the increase of prostitution as males were separated from their wives would pay for sex (Elmes, 2012). Thus, prostitution can be argued to be a necessary evil for males who were living in town without their spouses. The influx of men into towns and cities and the scarcity of job opportunities for women in towns made prostitution inevitable. Prostitution in Zimbabwe arose from the migration of women into towns and cities in search for employment (Takawira, 2016). The

absence of female employment in cities and towns forced women to find alternative sources of income for their survival.

However, the colonial government tried to reduce the influx of women into towns by way of passing laws that governs migration. Towns and cities were only meant for whites and blacks were temporary sojourners. In trying to describe a prostitute in the country there are several aspects which were taken into consideration and these include type of dressing, make up, marital status such as being single or widowed and woman's interaction with men. In the history of prostitution in Zimbabwe, the word prostitute was associated with women who were seen wearing trouser, mini-skirts and tight clothing Maunze (2009) and also to include women who work as bar attendants or those who would want to hold influential positions in organisations and politics. The word prostitute is wrongly defined in the country, it is not limited to women who trade sexual service for money but it involves women who are working in certain environments for example cross border trader, flea market sales women, female bar attenders and hair dresser.

After independence the new elected government tried to curb the issue of sex work in the country. The government launched an operation clean up that was targeting single and independent women working in the urban areas. A vagrancy laws was put in place, women were picked from the streets, hotels and cinemas and there were detained until they produce either a marriage certificate or proof of employment (Takawira, 2016).

In post-colonial Zimbabwe, the political, economic and social crisis affected the majority as most people were struggling for daily survival. Poverty rates are alarming in Zimbabwe due to the economic crises. Governmental policies for example the Indigenisation Policy and the ZimAsset contributed to the death of formal economy leading to the mushrooming of informal economy which comprises of small and medium enterprises (SMEs). Most the people were left unemployed after the closure of big companies and SMEs operate with a limited number of workers, hence the majority were left jobless. Unemployed women might resort to sex work as an alternative source for survival. Dodo (2012) thwarted the indigenisation policy for its failure to resuscitate the economy leading to the increase of social ills in the country. The fast track land reform affected the economy where both rural and urban poverty increased. The white farms were distributed to black farmers some of whom were not effectively utilising the land. This means black who were working on white farms lost their jobs and there was no production that could contribute to the development of the country. The land reform received criticism and this led the Western to impose sanction on the country. Operation Murambatsvina of 2005 saw the destruction of informal

settlements and business in cities and town. This further led to the increase in unemployment and poverty contributing to the flourishing of sex industry as many people are impoverished (Takawira 2016).

Many people in the country are unemployed and impoverished, this leads to destitution and the idea of exchanging sex for clothes, money and meals is reinforced. There are high levels of unemployment which are above 95%, 96% of the population live on less than a dollar a day and 72% lives below the poverty datum line (NewZimbabwe, 2017). The socio-economic situation in the country has facilitated the increase in social crimes with most people being unemployed and living below the poverty datum line. With the economic situation in the country a number of women are migrating into neighbouring Botswana and South Africa due to impoverishment, hardship and joblessness in their home country (Bhunu et al., 2014). The socio-economic status of the country has pushed most female to be sex workers as a means of supporting their families. Zimbabwe's socioeconomic condition has pushed women into CSW and this has contributed in the shaping the increase of the size and structure of sex industry in the country (Elmes, 2012; Nkala, 2014). The increase of sex worker population is a result of financial difficulty which influences women to procure incomes through any potential means. However, the economic pressure has an impact on the size of sex worker population.

Prostitution, keeping of a brothel and living from the proceeds of prostitution is illegal in Zimbabwe but the practice is at its peak. Studies have shown that prostitution is widespread in Zimbabwe regardless of the illegality of the practice in the country. A report by the Zimbabwe Youth Council, in collaboration with UNICEF, as quoted by the (DailyNews, 2014) notes that FSWs were found to be widespread in transit and mining towns such as Ngundu, Neshuro, Hwange and Lukosi. Severe cases were found in Hwange, which is a rural mining town where youth prostitution and child marriages were blamed for the prevalent harmful practices against children. Most of the reported cases of female prostitution were linked to bottle stores, bars, night clubs and trucks stops (NewZimbabwe, 2017). The rise in prostitution is fueled by depressed economic conditions in these small towns and increased demand for sex work from customers. Some young women indulge in sex with older man who are referred to as "sugar daddies" who provide them with money and material possessions or support. In Epworth Zimbabwe schoolgirls aged between 12 and 18 are mingling together with older CSW. A number of girls whom The Sunday Mail Extra interviewed, disclosed their parents "encouraged" them to go out at night and return with money (SundayMail, 2014).

There are many hotspot areas where transactional sex work is being practiced and these are the favourable places that offer exposure of female to their male clients. In the country sex workers operate mainly from the beerhalls, bars and night clubs and others are found in streets in avenues where they slightly undress on passing traffic so as to recruit clients (Elmes, 2012). Commercial sex work in Zimbabwe was more concentrated in urban areas, mining town and plantation for example Hwange and Lukosi, in commercial estates town like Chiredzi and Triangle, border town like Beit Bridge and Chirundu until recently where cases of such practice are reported to be found in rural areas. Studies have shown that it is now prevalent in rural areas like Ngundu, Lundi and Shangani. Obtaining the number of female sex workers in Zimbabwe is problematic considering the illegality of the profession in the country. In Zimbabwe, the actual number of female prostitutes is difficult to determine, either the information is undocumented or unavailable (Maphosa, 2013).

2.7 Prostitution from different perspectives

This section discusses prostitution in different perspectives which are the human rights perspective, religion and morality and cultural perspectives.

2.7.1 Prostitution, religion and morality

The attitude towards prostitution in many societies is defined by religious beliefs and customs. Prostitution is religiously unacceptable as it is against the belief systems of the religious people. Most religions condemn sex work and see it as immoral. Religious people view prostitution as immoral and against the morals of belief system. Morality is the judgement between good and evil and right and wrong behaviour in relation to the norms and standards of the society, a certain culture or belief system (Funmilola & Onyekachi, 2015). Morals can be argued to be principles which act as measure to check the appropriateness of human behaviour with regards to human interaction. Mdlongwa (2015) states that morality is important as it create a civilised society. Further, Mdlongwa (2015) quotes Marx's capitalism theory arguing that capitalist society exploits people and this lead the poor to disregard moral standards for the purpose of survival. Women who are in CSW are seen as immoral and they are sometimes blamed for the spread of STIs. Biblically, sex outside marriage and sex before marriage is regarded as a sin and that it is adulterous. In religion fornication is regarded as a sin and violation of social morals. Alobo and Ndifon (2014) states that the Muslim societies are against prostitution and those who are found in act are stoned to death. The Islamic religion is also against the practice of sex work (Avais et al., 2014). The majority of Zimbabweans are Christians with a small number of people who are

Muslims. The Christian belief is that sex outside marriage is a sin and hence they consider sex work to be a sinful practice.

However, not every Christians are against sex work practices as some view prostitutes to be poor, marginalised and oppressed individuals. For instance, the Roman Catholic bishop by the name Kevin Dowling in Rustenburg, South Africa who once distributed condoms to many people including sex workers. His beliefs towards sex work are that it is crucial to care for health and life than to favour catholic doctrines surrounding sexual morality. Further, the Islamic religious leaders in Morocco are trained to care and provide sex counselling to sex worker.

2.7.2 Prostitution and culture

Societies support or disapprove certain behaviours in the day to day interaction. Sex work is regarded as a deviant behaviour as the act or practice diverges from socially acceptable norms and values. Female prostitutes suffer from stigma and discrimination as compared to their male customers. The society respond negatively to prostitution and no one would like to befriend with prostitutes. Culturally, the way family view incest that the way prostitution is viewed in the society and community. In Zimbabwe, sex workers are labelled as “*hure*” (which literally mean a whore) and this degrades women (Tandi, 2012). Prostitution is a deviant behaviour which brings social and personal problems which also leads sex workers to be called with degrading names such as “whore”, streetwalker and “harlot” (Hassan, 2015; Heiberg, 2011). Traditional norms and values of Zimbabwean culture condemn sex work and that a woman should be married and sex before marriage is regarded as a sin (Tandi, 2012). The fact that criminal law condemn sex work might be resting on the immorality of the profession. In Nigerian culture prostitution is regarded as a taboo and a promiscuous activity (Alobo & Ndifon, 2014). However, it was a custom by the Qanawuri culture in Nigeria that girls would go to large cities and town as dancing girls/queens and earn money as sex workers (Hassan, 2015).

2.7.3 Prostitution from a human rights perspective

Commercial sex workers face several challenges and human rights violations in a number of settings. Commercial sex workers in Sub-Saharan Africa are marginalized, experience human rights violations and have challenges in accessing healthcare (Scorgie et al., 2011). Physical, sexual and mental harassment of sex workers is against their human rights and this makes sex workers to be a hard to reach group due to fear of victimisation. Scorgie et al. (2011) notes that

CSWs face human rights violation at the hands of police officers who assault, unlawfully arrest, ask for sexual favours and bribes or even sexually abuse them. All these amount to human rights violation. Arrested sex workers who are found carrying condoms are said to have the “evidence” that they are involved in transactional sex work. In most cases the condoms are seized by the police and this compromises the health risk of sex workers. Considering the clandestine nature of sex work, sex workers have no legal protection from threats of violence, vulnerable to arrest and abuse (Moret, 2014). Due to victimization, harassment and human rights violation of FSWs’ rights, human rights activists have tried to influence the legalization of CSW in Zimbabwe (Hahlani & Kahlamba, 2015). Tandi (2012) is of the view that CSWs are exploited and live in fear of arrest which is violation of their human rights. It is the role of the State as stated in the Constitution that it is the State’s responsibility to respect, promote and protect the rights of the citizens (Constitution of Zimbabwe 2013). But when it comes to sex work, some of their human rights are not being met.

Commercial sex work is criminalized in Zimbabwe according to the Section 8 (2) of Zimbabwean constitution on crimes against morality hence it is difficult for sex workers to get protection against harassment and discrimination. The laws which are put in place create hindrance to the care and support of sex workers. Thus, Nkala (2014) states that the Zimbabwean government has laws and criminal justice system that focuses on arresting and charging prostitutes than their male clients. Zimbabwean police officers are reported to be abusers of sex workers. Much of the attention when comes to CSW focus on women than male clients. Arresting and charging of females only leaving the male client is violation of human rights towards CSWs (Nkala, 2014).

2.7.4 Prostitution and international human rights

The purpose of the international instrument on prostitution is to see how the issue of sex work is addressed on international levels. Some scholars name these international instruments gender tools. These instruments or tools are global commitment to redress issues of gender based discrimination and gender based violence. There are tools which were put in place to address the issue of gender based violence. It seems these gender tools are more discussed and there is little effort to implement them. It can be argued that there is inconsistent or having gaps and ineffective in addressing their main aims and objectives. There are still imbalances between men and women and patriarchal societies still exist. These gender tools might not fully discuss the issue of prostitution but issues that drives women into CSW. The international instruments to be discussed are the Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the

Prostitution of Others and Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) 1979

2.7.4.1 The Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others

The Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others is a human rights tool that addresses issues of slavery, trafficking and exploitation of women in prostitution. The convention states that women who are in prostitution are not criminal but rather victims to be protected. The convention advocates for women in prostitution and punishes those who procure or leads another person into prostitution.

2.7.4.2 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) 1979

The CEDAW was adopted in 1979 and entered into force in 1981(United Nations General Assembly). The Convention tries to achieve progress for women and girls. The general principle of the Convention is that of human rights and equality of women around the world. The Convention speaks the standards that the governments have to meet in a way to end discrimination and promote gender equality (Rhoda, 2010). The Convention describes discrimination against women as any distinction or exclusion made on the basis of sex which has the effect of prejudicing the exercise, recognition and enjoyment rights by women (Yaliwe, Selebogo, & Ojakorotu, 2013). The convention places more emphasis on the effects that discrimination have on women specifically on the social, political and economic development of women in the societies. With regards to prostitution the convention states that member states should take appropriate measures to suppress all trafficking of women and the exploitation of women in prostitution. The rationale behind the convention is to curb exploitation of prostitution by third parties that is the traffickers, pimps and procurers and aimed at protecting women engaging in sex industry (Rhoda, 2010).

2.8 Causes of prostitution

The reasons why females are involved in prostitution are complex and cannot be reduced to a single explanation. Lee and Persson (2015) state that there are voluntary and involuntary factors that drive or push women into sex work. The voluntary cases include ladies who prostitute themselves out of their own accord or will because of poverty, domestic strain and financial needs. Involuntary prostitution refers to women who participate in sex industry through coercion arising out of trafficking, intimidation, abduction and deception.

2.8.1 Poverty

The key foundation of FSW may be ascribed to poverty, the intense socio-economic disparities. Women who are in sex work may be influenced by their immediate economic needs or poverty. The main origin of prostitution is ascribed to poverty, or the extreme socio-economic imbalances (Bhunu et al., 2014; Kangiwa, 2015; Nkala, 2014; Prakash, 2013). Tandi (2012) the socio-economic circumstance in Zimbabwe has left many people impoverished and this facilitated the increase in social crimes with majority of people unemployed and living below the poverty datum line. Prostitution involves the trade of sex for money or anything of market value. This implies that money is the significant feature of prostitution that they may use to get rid of their poverty. Qayyum et al. (2013) argues that prostitution is the custom or an exercise of offering sexual benefits to someone in return for payment. Kangiwa (2015) maintains that prostitution is based on economic exchange of relationships between the prostitute and the client, one participating for sexual gratification and the other for money. Hunger as a form of poverty may force women to partake in transactional sex work. Youths may participate in transactional sex work as a means of survival and this will lead them to become professionals in the sex industry (Adiele & Amorji-Nike, 2013).

Female prostitute who come from low income backgrounds might be motivate by the quest for quick money. Money is the major motivator for women who become prostitutes and they regard this profession as a potential and well-paying. In a study by Schulze (2014) notes that women who are sex workers come from vulnerable families and lack of means to sustain themselves. However, it is imperative to note that it is not only women from low economic background who indulge in prostitution because one might assume that all women from low economic family background would be prostitutes. Not only poverty can forces women to be sex worker there are also other reasons for example, the desire to have expensive outfits, delicious meals and prostitution being a lucrative business (Chirozva, 2016).

In a deteriorating economy of Zimbabwe, some parents are working abroad to earn a living, this gives children freedom, independence and there will be little supervision. Independence and self-reliance may cause young women to become more distanced from their parents. Parents spend time away from their children and there is no one to guide the children. Lack of parental supervision is an important aspect in the participation of young women in deviant behaviour and delinquent activities. Lack of supervision also contribute to lack of information on sex education especially among the youths. Parents do not have enough time to discuss about sex education with their children and such discussions are considered to be a taboo (Thobejane, 2015).

Hence poverty can be argued to be creating environment which can contribute women to participate in transactional sex work. In the circumstance of poverty, the women turn out to be an article of trade which males with money purchase sex services from. This brings to the idea that, by alleviating poverty women's needs will be met and their quest to sell sex will be reduced.

2.8.2 Financial needs

The fact that money is attached to commercial sex work, female sex workers might be in prostitution to get quick money. The motivation behind sex workers is acquiring money or materials of a market value. Tandi (2012) mention that economics plays an important role in driving a woman into prostitution. Sex workers engage in prostitution to meet their financial needs and because they are unable to find ways they can raise an income. Individual who are in sex work are in need of an income for them to support themselves and their dependants (Capaul, 2013). Females who feel that they cannot afford items they like, for instance, clothes, cell phones, tablets, iPads, chocolates, cosmetics and hairdo perhaps will earn money as sex workers. A study at Swansea University has revealed that students are into transactional sex work because of financial hardships (Committee, 2016). Women are at high risk for seduction by older and wealthier men for money and it may be so because of desperation for quick money which comes after "less labour intense" as they might call it. Considering that some women need fancy and flashy stuff it may be urged that prostitution is a way of getting quick money and source of adventure to them. Financial needs cannot fully explain the involvement of female in transactional sex work because some women might be in sex industry for other reasons apart from financial needs. (Trafficking, 2014), points out that in a study conducted on transactional sex in rural Malawi have found that young females were driven into commercial sex work not only by survival needs but also by attractive consumer goods. However, this might be debatable as Kangiwa (2015) mention that it is because of competition, greediness and dependency on men that lead some women into sex work.

2.8.3 Peer pressure

Peer pressure is the contributory factor that influences female sexuality, one might be having peers who are in sex industry hence chances are that she might be encouraged to take part in sex work. Peer pressure is often perceived as one of the most prominent influence shaping the youth's sexual decision (Thobejane, 2015). Peer pressure comes from one's peers thus it can be said friends and family can contribute in the entry into prostitution. Friends and family members

who are involved in sex work normalises the prostitution activity and create an enabling environment for the one they are grooming. As a result, the idea of earning money through sex work is strengthened. Staying in an environment where sex work is normalised contribute in the entrance in sex industry. Family members and friends who are in sex work act a role models hence the idea of earning money as a prostitute is reinforced. Peer influence is regarded as one of the factors that contribute one's entrance into sex industry (Capaul, 2013). Peer pressure occurs when an individual or individuals who are part of a group actively encourages or drive that person to do something whether he or she wants to do it. Peers might exchange information on how to make money, there might encourage each other to enter into commercial sex work as a way of getting money. In other words, female's experience with prostitution is likely to be inspired by her interpersonal network of influences. The neighbourhood in which one stays might also contribute to the entry into sex industry. Children growing staying nearer brothels are likely to become used to seeing sex work activities and they end up accepting sex work to be a normal lifestyle (Prakash, 2013).

2.8.4 Family background

Family background plays an important role in shaping women's view of prostitution and it also contributes on the age of first entry in prostitution. The family is where the child is nurtured and natured as she grows. It is to be blamed as it prepares her for better or bad future and it comes to the notion that charity begins at home. It is the family that teaches the morals and immoral of the society, thus when a mother is a prostitute she might indirectly teach or prepare her daughter to be also a prostitute. People learn from their significant others and imitate what they do, hence, if in a family there is a person into prostitution the young female will follow what she saw her significant others doing. The idea of earning money or material goods through transactional sex work is reinforced.

Parenting types such as uninvolved parents and destructive parenting are also contributing factors towards the entry into transactional sex work. Destructive parenting lead to running away of children from home and heightened involvement in divergent behaviours such as prostitution (Nkala, 2014). Domestic violence affects the growth and development of children. Young women may escape from home to avoid the emotional hardships they experience and this further expose the already vulnerable young female to prostitution.

Employed parents spend most of their time at work and they have little time with their children. Lack of attention on children exposes the youth because there is little guidance on what is wrong or right. Some parents live and work away from their home and children are left to care for themselves. Children they live the way they see fit to themselves thereby exposing them to prostitution. Family dysfunction is another influential cause of prostitution among young females. For example, unemployment of parents or the female youth is a dysfunction in the family which might results in unreliable sources of income. Lack of a reliable source of income might force female youth into prostitution as a means of getting a salary to support herself or the family.

Dysfunction family includes a child whose parents are separated or divorced, child whose parents are deceased, child living with a relative or friend, and a child whose parents are drug addicts, alcoholics, or compulsive gamblers is at risk of turning to prostitution. Kangiwa (2015) mention that female children from divorced or broken home are at high risk of engaging in sex work because of the unpleasant home environment. Parents who are drug addicts or alcoholics and compulsive gamblers have little concern with their family. This is supported by a study by Qayyum et al. (2013) have found that husbands of female sex workers who were drug addicts did not have any concern about their families. Consequently, if a female youth comes from such a dysfunctional family she might be forced to be in prostitution. Young person living in a dysfunctional family, and having a poor relationship with parents may be emotionally distanced from the parents. Family dysfunction is one of the risk factor that pushes youths into transactional sex work thereby creating dependency on sex work for survival (Wilmes, 2015).

2.8.5 Running away from home

Abuse, parental harassment, dysfunctional family life, parental drug and substance abuse and child neglect may lead children to run away from home. There is a correlation between substance abuse and involvement in family life. A habitual drug abuser may not take responsibility in the family. Children run away from home seeking emotional attachment that they could not get at home, making them vulnerable to pimps who will recruit them to be sex workers. Children might be maltreated, there might be tensions between parents and this might end up affecting the child and leads to run away (Wilmes, 2015). Nevertheless, running away from home to stay in the streets exposes the already vulnerable youth to further abuse which include child labour, trafficking, drug abuse and prostitution. It is not only family circumstances that forces youths to run away from home as Alobo and Ndifon (2014) notes that laziness might also affect the young women leading to run away from their parental homes, to live on the street and then prostitutes

themselves on the street. Living on the street is attached to the responsibility for the provision of essentials necessity, for example; food, clothing and shelter. This makes the youth to be more vulnerable to prostitution as she might not have any means to support herself on the street.

2.8.6 Childhood experiences and abuse

Women and girls drawn into prostitution perhaps have been affected by childhood experiences, for example abuse and family dysfunction. Capaul (2013); Shively, Kliorys, Wheeler, and Hunt (2012) point out that traumatic childhood experiences is a contributory factor for one to be involved in transactional sex work. Child sexual abuse also plays pivotal role in determining the growth of a child. In most cases child sexual abuse is done by the family member or by close relative, and it is called incest. In most scenarios, cases like these are gone unreported. Abuse is associated with feeling of being unloved, anger, frustration and betrayal especially when the case is committed by a person who the victim trust and thought was the one to protect her. Due to the emotions associated with abuse, young women enter in prostitution with frustration. They venture into sex work in search of love, affection and protection and they also see prostitution as an exit to unendurable home lifestyle. Childhood sexual abuse leads the already vulnerable child into sex work as a means to escape from the cycle of sexual abuse (Wilmes, 2015). Abuse at home will leads to run away and the young females might not be able to financially sustain themselves and this will make them more vulnerable to sexual exploitation. Results from the study by Swahn, Culbreth, Salazar, Kasirye, and Seeley (2016) have shown that parental abuse is also a cause of youth engagement in prostitution.

A study by Nkala (2014) shows that 10% to 84% of CSW undergo sexual exploitation, and this implies that sexual abused people are at high chances for becoming prostitutes, particularly amongst females. Ill-treated youngsters are at possibility of running away from home and at the same time are not able to sustain themselves financially leading them to remain highly susceptible to sexual exploitation. There is an assumption that if one has been sexually abused he or she puts himself or herself into abuse and that children who have been sexually abused at a tender age do not value their body as they have been betrayed by the perpetrator already. Sexual abuse has a bad psychological consequence, person who has been abused sexually might end up being sexually desensitized. Sexual desensitisation due to sexual abuse creates an individual who is likely to participate in sex work as prostitutes emotionally distance themselves during sex. Capaul (2013) mentions that there is emotional distancing and sexual act in individuals who has been

sexually abused and that the victim blame himself or herself to be a sexual object. Hence, there is a correlation that exists between sexual abuse and prostitution.

2.8.7 Lucrative business

The profitable character of sex work comes from the procurement and provision of services. Freiburger and Marcum (2015) maintains that internet offers the easy-going method for seeking and attaining prostitution services. Sex workers' websites provides them with opportunity to advertise their services. Regular jobs are time consuming and tiring whilst sex work is flexible, freelance and lucrative. A study at Swansea University, sex worker students reviewed that they could work as sex workers for couple of hours and this help them to left with more time to study as compared to work shifts (TheTelegraph, 2015). Students further state that sex work assist them in the payment of their fees and subsistence at the university. Balfour and Allen (2014) also concurs that that some students engage in sex work to help fund their studies. Sex work can be lucrative and attractive alternative when weighed against factory work and it provides large sums of money in a short space of time as compared to staying for longer hours at work. There are number of reasons why CSW is regarded as lucrative or a viable livelihood approach and these includes sex work having flexible working hours, it requires no formal qualifications and documentation (Richter, 2013). However, the issue of sex work being lucrative is debatable as it might be argued that females desire to procure money without working. Female commercial sex work might be a combination of laziness, carelessness and cowardice and that youths may resort to prostitution makes them dependent on the males to get quick money.

2.8.8 Low education

Due to economic hardships faced by the country, parents might not be able to send and keep their children in school and get better qualifications in which they can use in the labour market. Hence, the lack of training and qualifications can be a driving force into entry in prostitution because one has reduced chances of getting a decent job. Balfour and Allen (2014) states that poor education could affect one's ability to find job and this means that opportunities to earn an income are limited thus one might be forced into prostitution. A study in Qayyum et al. (2013) in Russia have shown that high levels of unemployment are the facilitating factors for women's involvement in prostitution. Results from a study in Kampala, Uganda have proved that youth who are in prostitution had never been to school as compared to those with formal education (Swahn et al., 2016).

2.8.9 Human trafficking

Forced prostitution and human trafficking are occurring daily in most parts of the world. Trafficking is understood as a process of recruiting, selling, procuring and transportation of people and is closely connected to prostitution (Sohal, 2013). Human trafficking occurs for a diversity of reasons including prostitution, source of cheap labour and forced begging. The result is that the trafficked person will be exploited this is evidenced in a study by Aloba and Ndifon (2014) in Nigeria where young female were trafficked to Italy on false promise of getting a well-paying job. There were sold into slavery and forced to prostitute themselves. Trafficking is understood as the sale or purchase of people and their transportation. The demand for prostitution or sexual services fuels human trafficking, violence against women and exploitation of children. There is a link between the demand for sexual service and increased number of human trafficking. An investigation in Spain in 2011 have proved the link between trafficking and prostitution, 1082 victims of trafficking for sexual exploitation were recorded the occurrence of trafficking for sexual mistreatment is openly linked to prostitution and 95% were foreigners (Schulze, 2014). There is a close link between human trafficking and entry into commercial sex work. Schulze (2014) mention that prostitution and pornography are the reasons for human trafficking which is linked to sexual exploitation.

2.8.10 HIV/AIDS

HIV/AIDS is another issue that is contributing to female prostitution. High deaths rate due to HIV are contributing to the entry of youths in prostitution. Most children are left as orphans without any means of support and the female may resort to prostitution for the survival of the family. Owing to high death rate due to HIV/AIDS many children are orphaned and many of them are forced to seek coping mechanisms (Mlambo, 2015). It may seem the coping mechanisms for females might be to participate in prostitution. Orphans are vulnerable as they may lack supervision, basic needs and this expose them to high risk behaviour such prostitution and criminal activities for survival. A study by Swahn et al. (2016) have revealed that being an orphan is closely associated with CSW. It is frightening that these young female sex workers are not afraid of contracting the deadly virus HIV/AIDS or falling pregnant. As young as they are, they may lack the crucial awareness about contraception and they cannot have the ability to negotiate safe sexual intercourse. Due to lack of contraception awareness and failure to practice safe sex; youth prostitution can be said to be one of the major contributing factors to the increase of sexual related diseases or infections.

2.8.11 Migration

Migration is an important feature of sex work industry. Generally the sex industry comprise of women who are highly mobile as (SANAC, 2013) notes that some sex workers operate along transport routes and others are faced by accommodation challenges and illegal migrants. The migration of people can be considered as one of the reasons for entry into prostitution. Rural populations are migrating to urban centres in search of better services, opportunities and employment. Migration of people from less developed areas to cities, towns and growth point facilitates women's involvement in commercial sex work. If there are no employment opportunity in the receiving are women might find other means of survival and prostitution might be one of the survival means. Busza, Mtetwa, Chirawu, and Cowan (2014), mention that migration is linked to the beginning in participating as sex worker and high-risk behaviour among youths. Sex workers are a highly mobile population group and this is caused by searching for better business areas. Sex workers operating in their place of origin might migrate to other areas in search of improved and better working conditions. SANAC, (2013); Richter (2013) note that sex workers might move around to other locations in quest of better prospects in the sex industry. Studies in U.S have shown that a high number of prostitutes migrate from their places of origins and operate in other places as it is reported that 60% of female sex workers are of international origin whereas locals are just 40% (John-Fisk, 2013). Migrant sex workers are however at the risk of HIV as they are constantly neglected and they are difficult to locate when it comes to health delivery system targeting this population group. A study by Richter et al., (2014) have shown that migrant FSWs are at high risk of HIV than non-migrants.

2.9 Health impacts of prostitution

Female sex workers as marginalized population group are faced with many problems within their professional activity. There are several health impacts associated with prostitution which include physical, mental or psychological and social impacts. These effects are however, not directed at female prostitutes themselves only but also to their customers or the community in which they live in.

2.9.1 Physical effects

There are many physical effects associated with CSW which include health and violence. These effects are easily visible on a person's body.

2.9.1.1 Health

Prostitution is associated with health risks and repercussions as it results in severe outbreak of venereal diseases. The effects of prostitution impact on both the female sex workers and their customer's health. Owing to the nature of sex work, STIs are an unavoidable risk. Tandi (2012) argues that prostitution is believed to be among activities that encourage the transmission of Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) as prostitutes are viewed as vectors of sexually related diseases. Unprotected sex is regarded to be the most well-known way for HIV transmission and this explains well why sex workers are considered to be taking part in the spread of infections (Mukumbang, 2014). FSWs are regarded an important population group in the spreading of STIs and HIV as compared to the general populace in many parts of the world (Ngugi et al., 2012).

Many victims may suffer critical physical ailments such as gonorrhoea or syphilis. Being a sex worker can lead to various health complications, including HIV cervical cancer, reproductive and genital problems, sleeping disorders, anemia, hepatitis and eating disorders and spreading these infections to their babies and their customers (Nkala, 2014). UNAIDS (2011) states that sex workers are at heightened risk of acquiring and spreading of HIV. It notes that, CSW have numerous clients in a brief period, multiplying their exposure to HIV and STIs. Commercial sex workers frequently face hindrances in agreeing on condom usage because of fear of victimisation and some of their clients pay for unprotected sex. Threats from customers may also affect their ability to negotiate for safer sex. It is argued that sex workers are at heightened risk of HIV infection because they have multiple sexual partners and limited chances of practicing safe sex (Alobo & Ndifon, 2014). Owing to the nature of sex work, whereby one has sex with multiple people, they are also exposed to risks of cervical cancer, gynaecological problems, chronic pelvic pain and pelvic inflammatory diseases.

Bhunu et al. (2014) is of the view that, HIV pervasiveness amongst FSW differs broadly nevertheless in certain nations, it is more than 20 times higher than the HIV occurrence of the general population. In a survey conducted in U.S. findings were that 20% of the adolescents who had been involved in CSW had an STI, as compared to 4% in the group who had not ever indulged in prostitution intended for either cash or drugs. Mtetwa, Busza, Davey, Wong-Gruenwald, and Cowan (2015) points out that, worldwide, CSW are excessively by HIV and a current analysis have realized that HIV occurrence amongst FSW vary between 10–18 times higher than that of the general population of women of reproductive age. It is men who normally seek out and

remunerate a payment for unprotected sexual intercourse and this significantly enlarges the possibilities of becoming infected and spreading of diseases.

2.9.1.2 Violence

Prostitution may lead to violence against women who are often the providers of sex to their male customers. Violence may be physical, sexual, psychological and verbal. Sex workers suffer from violence from police officers, clients, pimps or managers, health care providers and the general public (Pimentel, 2014). Customers may use methods of coercion and control which leaves the prostitute more vulnerable and worthless. Violence varies from sexual harassment, verbal abuse, stalking, rape and battering. The dilemma is that, once one is involved in prostitution violent crime such as sexual harassment, sexual exploitation and rape may be unavoidable. Shively et al. (2012) states that in USA research has discovered 73% to 92% of prostituted women experienced rape whilst offering sexual services. Sex workers experience high incidences of sexual attack, and it is difficult for them to get justice because of the illegality of their profession (Dube, 2013). The fact that sex work is illegal limits the ability of sex workers to negotiate for a safer working environment in the country (Pimentel, 2014). Violent attacks of rape reported by FSW may not be considered genuinely by the law enforcement agencies because sex workers were regarded as naturally immoral and unreliable.

The community in which these prostitutes operate suffers a lot due to issues of violence. Prostitution is usually linked to crime and community degradation. The physical health consequences of violence include injury, bruises, broken bones and black eyes. A study in Uganda has shown that 82% of prostitutes were victims of violence from their clients (Swahn et al., 2016). In some scenarios sex workers are abused in the hands of the law enforcement agencies like the police and courts who should be assisting them. Due to the criminalisation of the practice sex workers are faced with a problem to further report abuse by police. A study in Cape Town has proved that sex workers' rights are violated by the police officers and some sex workers are being raped by the police officer (Justice, 2014).

2.9.2 Mental health

Prostitution normally leads to severe lasting mental impairment, comprising of anxiety, depression, behavioral disorder, Post-Traumatic Stress Disorders (PTSD), mood disorder and substance abuse. Prostitutes might not have adequate sleep as they may possibly spend part of

their night out soliciting for clients thereby leading them to physical and mental tiredness. Heilemann and Santhiveeran (2011), notes that prostitutes may also develop or express attitudes of self-rejection and self-hatred, and feel rejected by other people, feel confused, guilt and shame and may exhibit signs of low self-esteem. Exposure to violence may play a part on the mental wellbeing of an individual. Krumrei-Mancuso (2016), states that, the violence experienced by sex workers can lead to depression and stress rather than the sex work itself. Hence, there is a correlation between violent behaviour and psychological well-being amongst FSW.

2.9.2.1 Drugs and Alcohol abuse

Female sex worker may be involved in drug and alcohol abuse and this may be caused by several factors which include avoiding shyness, coping with attending to their customers and to cope with the nature of work and work environment. Studies have shown that some prostitutes may possibly resort to drug or alcohol abuse to actually prostitute themselves without regret (SANAC), 2013; Bhunu et al., 2014). Bhunu et al. (2014) also noted alcohol and drug abuse as a causation of prostitution. He further, states that some people resort to sex work to finance their drug or alcohol addiction deeds and this results to the entrapment of females who prostitute themselves for drugs. The use of drug among sex workers can impair judgement leading to risk sexual activities and this may lead to increase in spreading of STIs and HIV. Balfour and Allen (2014) revealed that alcohol use amongst sex workers is used for a variety of reasons which includes self-medication, to help cover negative feelings associated with sex work, and to cope with experiences of selling sexual services. A study by Bhunu et al. (2014) revealed that 75% of prostitutes in Mauritius reported that they inject drug and 23% of them uses nonsterile injections posing a high risk of spreading HIV.

2.9.3 Social effects

Social effects are those effects that sex workers face in environments in which they live and include being discriminated against, stigma and challenges to achieve their life prospects.

2.9.3.1 Stigmatization

Sex work is socially stigmatized and sex workers are often severely marginalized in the society and communities they live in. Prostitution is highly discriminated, stigmatized against and most people in societies have a negative attitude towards the practice hence sex workers are marginalized. Prostitutes are stigmatized and the practice is classified under abnormal behavior

and is socially unacceptable (Heiberg, 2011). Stigma, discrimination and societal rejection have psychological effect on the wellbeing of the sex worker and as result sex workers might suffer from mental health problems. Stigma and discrimination of sex workers places them at risk of lack of provision of services from services providers. This create an obstacle to access to needed services like health and justice services (SANAC, 2013).

Prostitution causes personal, family and social disorders. The disgrace attached to prostitution, female prostitutes may have a very small number of non-deviant associates in whom to confide to. Prostitutes suffer from moral collapse and lose their status and position in society which other respectable men and women enjoy. Prostitutes may suffer from hate, avoidance and isolation in the societies they live as prostitution is regarded as immoral behavior. In Zimbabwe, prostitution is illegal and is perceived to be violating social norms, values, morals and standards. Kangiwa (2015), argues that prostitution is a deviant conduct; a state of anomie. He further argues that prostitutes have their own subculture with norms and values that are directly opposed to that of society. Kangiwa (2015) mention that Emile Durkheim coined the phrase anomie in 1897, which refers to the breakdown of shared customs. It is a situation whereby rules certainly do not regulate the behavior of members in society. Female commercial sex workers may experience severe stigma and discrimination, such as violations of their human rights, may have lack of access to protection and justice, deprivation of access to appropriate medical attention, they can be socially marginalized and economically discriminated against.

2.9.3.2 Life prospects

As a person grows he or she have prospects or hopes of his or her future life and these may include education, career, and marriage. Due to pathways that one takes some life prospects may not be achieved. In this situation, as female sex workers might have their life wishes but there might not be able to fulfil them. For example, a study by Nkala (2014) has revealed that some young female failed to write their Ordinary level exams as a result of being pregnant. Commercial sex work is rampant in Bulawayo and pupils of the age of 13 and 17, are propelled by neediness or orphanage to abscond school work so that they can join the oldest profession (Nkala, 2014). Shively et al. (2012) is of the view that, compromised health, addiction, PTSD, can narrow options for developing financially and being self-sufficient hence someone might turn into prostitution. Shively et al. (2012) point out that sex workers are found to have high-level of truancy, inadequate learning and poor occupation proficiencies. Lack of education and employment skills can narrow the chances of getting a proper employment and this may perpetuate dependency on prostitution.

Educated women might also be involved in prostitution. Balfour and Allen (2014) states that some educated female students engage in sex work to help fund their studies. Having many sexual partners as the case in prostitution may cause sexual dysfunction, gynecological problems and emotions towards prostitution might lead to disconnected feelings from sexual acts thereby affecting marriage with the chosen partner.

2.10 Prostitution from a rural context

Most studies about prostitution have shown that the practice is mainly a manifestation of urban life. However, the practice is also growing in rural communities (Hassan, 2015). The reason for low rates of prostitution activities in rural areas might be because of socialised norms which the rural people still uphold. Most studies about CSW focuses mainly in urban areas hence there is a scarcity of information on rural prostitution. Mattley, Vander Ven, and Faust (2015) unveils that there are few researches on prostitution in rural areas. Hassan (2015) states that although prostitution is more common in urban areas it does occur in rural areas. A study by Garcia and Nascimento (2014) in rural areas in Brazil have highlighted that most rural females partake in CSW whilst there are still adolescents.

In most rural area people still upholds their cultural values of male dominance and patriarchy still exist. Sexist rural societies where men dominate in everything also facilitate in the entry of women in prostitution because women have few life opportunities. Few work opportunities in rural areas and inequality between males and females in rural area contribute more to the entry in CSW (Garcia & Nascimento, 2014). Further, Garcia and Nascimento (2014) mention that it is important to first scrutinise rural women's life situation that forces them to participate in CSW and the opportunities that they have if they are not involved in sex trade. Lack of data on CSW in rural areas might be a sign that sex work is very low in rural areas as compared to urban areas. A study in Mattley et al. (2015) have shown that arrest of FSW in rural areas of America make up to less than 2% of the total annual arrest. However, this might be sign that sex work is not that common in rural areas.

2.11 Prostitution from a legal perspective

This section will discuss the legal framework and policies concerned with CSW. Legal approaches to sex work will be discussed, gender tools and the legal stance of Zimbabwe with regards to commercial sex work.

2.11.1 Models for managing commercial sex work

The laws that regulate prostitution differ in the world from country to country. There are considerable variations in the legislations that governs the sale of sexual services in different nations. The three models for managing sex work are criminalization, legalization and decriminalisation. Different approaches or perspectives are taken from legalizing prostitution, decriminalizing to criminalization. In some countries CSW is legal whereas in other countries it is illegal (Tandi, 2012). Other nations are trying to move from criminalization of sex work to decriminalise sex work.

2.11.1.1 Criminalisation

Criminalisation of sex work involves the suppression of all activities that promotes and facilitates prostitution. This includes running a brothel, soliciting for sex clients and living off the earnings of sex work. This model makes prostitution a criminal offence even when both the client and the sex workers have consented and are adults. Once a person is charged or convicted he/she will face course of the justice in form of a fine or imprisonment. Criminalization of sex work involves the penalization of participants involved in transactional sex work (Richter, 2013). Criminalisation of sex work is divided into partial and total criminalisation. In total criminalisation acts related to prostitution are prohibited and prostitution itself is prohibited whereas in partial criminalisation the law penalises activities of the third parties that is procures and pimps. Botswana and Namibia are examples of countries that criminalize CSW in Sub Saharan Africa. Zimbabwe and South Africa are trying to adopt a decriminalise approach to CSW through sex workers activist. The principle of criminalisation model is to give restrictive laws that prevent people from taking part in prostitution. Zurita (2012) notes that criminalization of sex work makes it illegal to participate in either buying or selling sexual services.

The criminalisation model works hand in glove with issues of morality and health in sex work. The moral aspect discourages sex work because of its cultural, social and religious immorality of the practice and health aspects tries to curb the issue of sexually transmissible infections. However, the criminalisation model to prostitution cannot fully suppress prostitution rather it only drives prostitutes to work in an underground way and they can also resort to other methods of operations. This can be a problem in the working condition of sex workers.

2.11.1.2 *Decriminalisation*

Decriminalisation involves the removal of all laws that criminalise prostitution and activities related to prostitution. By this, the model makes consensual adult sex work and related activities not a criminal offence. Canada (2015) states that decriminalization involves the removal of all criminal laws from sex work. It involves the removal of prohibitions and penalties on CSW and the government controls and regulates CSW an example is New Zealand. Decriminalisation of CSW occurs when all the laws that ban sex work are removed and sex work is viewed as a normal kind of work this also empower sex workers (Justice, 2014). The purpose of this kind of a model is mainly to focus on trying to respect sex workers' rights, their working conditions, health and safety. This helps in the empowerment of sex workers. However, it is important to note that it is adult consented prostitution that has been decriminalised with the model, forced prostitution and child or underage prostitution will remain a criminal offence.

2.11.1.3 *Legalisation*

Legalisation of sex work involves the regulation and tolerance of prostitution on the condition that the activity complies with conditions put forward by the state in trying to control the sex industry. Legalisation of sex work means CSW is not penalised but it is regulated and licensed, sex workers will have to go for mandatory health checks, register with the police licensing of brothels and to work in specified areas. Legalization entails that prostitution is legal and that the government regulate and taxes those who are involved in CSW. It is then an offence to operate outside the controlled legal systems (Zurita, 2012).

2.12 Zimbabwe's legal stance on prostitution

Commercial sex work is criminalised in Zimbabwe under crimes against morality and this is also in line with the social norms and value in the country which does not accept such practice. Sex work industry in Zimbabwe is secreted form the public view to avoid prosecution and being labelled. Legal framework refers to a body of law and policy that governs a thematic area (Rhoda, 2010). For this study laws and policy framework denotes to body of legislation and policy that controls CSW in Zimbabwe. Development in other countries for example Netherlands and New Zealand have seen legalisation of prostitution as a business and human right. Prostitution laws in Zimbabwe were put in place during the colonial era with the goal of reducing the influx of black women in towns. Prostitution in Zimbabwe is not clearly stated as either legal or illegal but acts or services related to sex work are the ones which are illegal like operating a brothel and soliciting

for clients (Tandi, 2012). Commercial sex work is partially criminalized in Zimbabwe hence sex workers have little legal protection on their day to day activities. The Sexual Offences Act No 8 of 2001 state that the acts of prostitution are illegal and are punishable by a fine and/or will lead to the imprisonment up to two years. CSW in Zimbabwe is criminalised under crimes against morality (Elmes, 2012). The criminalisation of sex industry in the country is a legal way or policy which is based on eradicating sex work industry. The Sexual Offence Act No 8 of 2001 defines a prostitute as a person who for money or reward:

(a) Habitually allows other persons to have extra-marital sexual intercourse with him or her;

(b) Solicits other persons to have extra-marital sexual intercourse with him or her.

The criminalization of CSW is a way by the government to eradicate such practices which is viewed as immoral. However, the criminalization of prostitution in Zimbabwe is debatable as the Constitution does not explicitly mention prostitution as a criminal offence. Section 81 (2) of the Criminal Code states that:

'Any person who publicly solicits another person for the purposes of prostitution shall be guilty of soliciting and liable to a fine not exceeding level five or imprisonment for a period not exceeding six months or both.'

Therefore, it can be argued that, solicitation for prostitution is illegal and this will make prostitution illegal. The Constitution criminalizes the solicitation for prostitution. Section 81 (2) does not prohibit being a prostitute as such, but rather criminalizes the act of prostitution. Rhoda (2010), point out that there are no sufficient grounds to arrest a person for being known to be sex worker unless there is reasonable suspicion that she is about to commit an act of sexual intercourse or indecent act in return for reward. There is much contradiction on the laws written and how they are implemented when it comes to commercial sex work. An example is where cases police confiscate condoms from sex workers thereby placing them on health risks of contraction of infections.

Loitering in town at night was once an offence as most females would be identified as sex worker who are loitering for sex work. However, the Miscellaneous Offence Act of 2004 have reversed loitering as a criminal offence (Hahlani & Kahlamba, 2015). Although prostitution is regarded as illegal in Zimbabwe, many sex work advocate group have campaigned against the criminalisation

of the practice. Tabitha Khumalo who was a member of the House of Assembly (2008-2013) mobilised sex workers in Bulawayo and made them sign a petition seeking de-criminalization of sex work (Hahlani & Kahlamba, 2015). Zimbabwean Parliamentarians against HIV and AIDS (ZIPAH), and Gweru Women AIDS Prevention Association (GWAPA) are among the organisations that advocates for the decriminalisation of sex work.

2.13 Effects of criminal laws on CSW

Numerous studies documented the harms of criminalizing sex work. Criminal laws towards CSW does not stop the practice rather it poses difficulties in the ways in which sex workers operate safely. Criminalisation of sex work has profound effects on the working conditions of sex workers, it drives prostitution underground. This makes prostitution and their clients to become a hard to reach population. It makes it difficult for sex workers to get support services such as STIs and HIV prevention and treatment. Study in Richter et al. (2014) has shown that criminalization increases discrimination, makes FSWs vulnerable to human rights violation, violence and creates challenges in accessing health care services. Tandi (2012) contends that the criminalisation of sex work pave way to discrimination and violence, and that CSWs cannot report violent crimes against them due to fear of arrest. The laws which are put in place by government to address the effects of CSW are however endangering the lives, safety, health and wellbeing of sex workers.

A study in Balfour and Allen (2014) criticized the criminalization approach as it focuses on punitive when addressing issues of sex work and placing sex workers at risk as the criminalisation will fail to address health issues of FSWs. The criminalization of sex work have effects which include increase in violence, increases challenges to access justice, affect negotiation for safe sex, increases stigma, discrimination and it violates human rights (SANAC, 2013; Canada, 2015). Criminalising sex work jeopardises the health and wellbeing of sex worker as Mukumbang (2014) notes that sex workers might end up being reluctant to seek health services offered to the general population.

2.14 Support services available for female sex workers in Zimbabwe

This section will discuss different services provided to sex workers by the government, Non-Governmental Organisation (NGOs), health professionals and other interested parties within the communities where sex workers stay. Delivering services to female sex workers by the government is complicated due to the illegality of the profession. Providing services to sex worker

is difficult because sex work is illegal in the country. It is problematic for FSWs to participate in the initiative by community members or NGOs because of fear of prosecution, stigma and discrimination. Fraser et al. (2011) states that the Zimbabwean government has laws that raise hindrances to successful HIV/AIDS prevention, treatment, care and support for FSWs. However, the government has allowed the existence of informal interest groups to assist this population group (Fraser et al., 2011). Stigma, marginalisation and discrimination of sex worker make it a hindrance towards the provision, treatment, support and accessibility of health care for sex workers (Fraser et al., 2011; Ngugi et al., 2012).

Population Services International (PSI), supported by United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and other Non-Government Organizations, help in the provision of condoms and HIV/AIDS campaigns through several media platforms and field visits. Popularly advertised is the Protector Plus Condoms, which is the most popular brand in Zimbabwe. Mtetwa et al. (2015) mention that Zimbabwe's National AIDS Council (NAC) in 2009 introduced a program which offers HIV testing, supervision for STIs, contraception, primary care, health education and access to legal advice to FSWs. NAC initiated a community mobilisation programme for FSWs and assisted in educating of health care personnel so as to decrease prejudice in health care settings (Cowan et al., 2013). The Centre for Sexual Health and HIV/AIDS Research (CeSHHAR) operates an open clinic that offers free health services to sex workers around the country (Mtetwa et al., 2015). Family AIDS Caring Trust (FACT) is presently operating the Adult Peer Education Programme which is an HIV prevention program (Maphosa, 2013). The program started by engaging 180 CSWs who were eager to exit prostitution and offer them alternatives for income generating projects that do not involve CSW as a survival strategy. This shows that despite the illegality of this phenomenon, a lot has been done to attempt to protect sex workers (Maphosa, 2013).

Community empowerment or mobilization is an approach that holds female sex worker to come together. It is an approach that is set within a health and human rights framework, it aims to increase social cohesion and collectivization of women empowering them to tackle the societal and structural systems that act as hindrances to their wellbeing and constitutional rights. Community empowerment, strives to encourage women. With regard to prostitution this can help in the increased use of contraceptive like condoms and improved consultation of health services (Cowan et al., 2013). Community mobilization focuses on collective participation so as to build confidence, improve social networking and boost personal and shared structural determinants of their vulnerability. By means of inspiring FSW to be identified as members of community with

shared interest, community mobilization can help reduce risk behaviour among sex workers and add to their protection. Mtetwa et al. (2015); Ngugi et al. (2012) note that the successfully documented community mobilization among sex workers come from India. The Sonagachi program Avahan has exhibited helpful results which include decreased susceptibility to violence, enriched interactions with law enforcement agency, and regular condom usage. Considering the sensitivity of sex work, community mobilisation may not work in some instances and these are the barriers that may limit willingness female sex workers to take part in collective activities and working towards mutual goal. Examples of barriers include fear of prosecution, stigma and discrimination from people in the community and reluctant to be identified as a sex worker.

2.15 Different sociological perspectives regarding prostitution

Abolitionist believes that prostitution is nuisance and tries to eradicate sex work. According to abolitionists target on the demand of female sexual services. The abolitionist's main argument is that prostitution reduces women to sex objects used by males and that it violates women's rights (Zurita, 2012). Abolitionists view sex work as exploitative, degrading and regard prostitution as slavery and there is dominance and control of females by males. The sex worker is reduced to a commodity which males with money purchase sexual services from (Nkala, 2014). Schulze (2014) argues that the abolitionist perspective outlaws sex work and state that it is close to human trafficking, violence and exploitation. On the other side there is the liberal feminist who believe in equal rights. Liberals view FSWs not as victims of oppression but independent business person (Begum, 2013). To liberals prostitution is a transactional agreement between the prostitute and the client.

2.16 Theoretical framework

Blanton and Kegley (2016) defined a theory as a set of assumptions postulating the correlation between variables. Theory play an integral role in a study as it helps in deepening the understanding of a phenomenon and that no single theory can fully explain a phenomenon (Blanton & Kegley, 2016). Theoretically, the issue of CSW can be understood from multiple theoretical standpoints such as liberal theory on human rights, feminist theory and the theory of poverty among others. The study is guided by the intersectionality theory.

2.16.1 Intersectionality

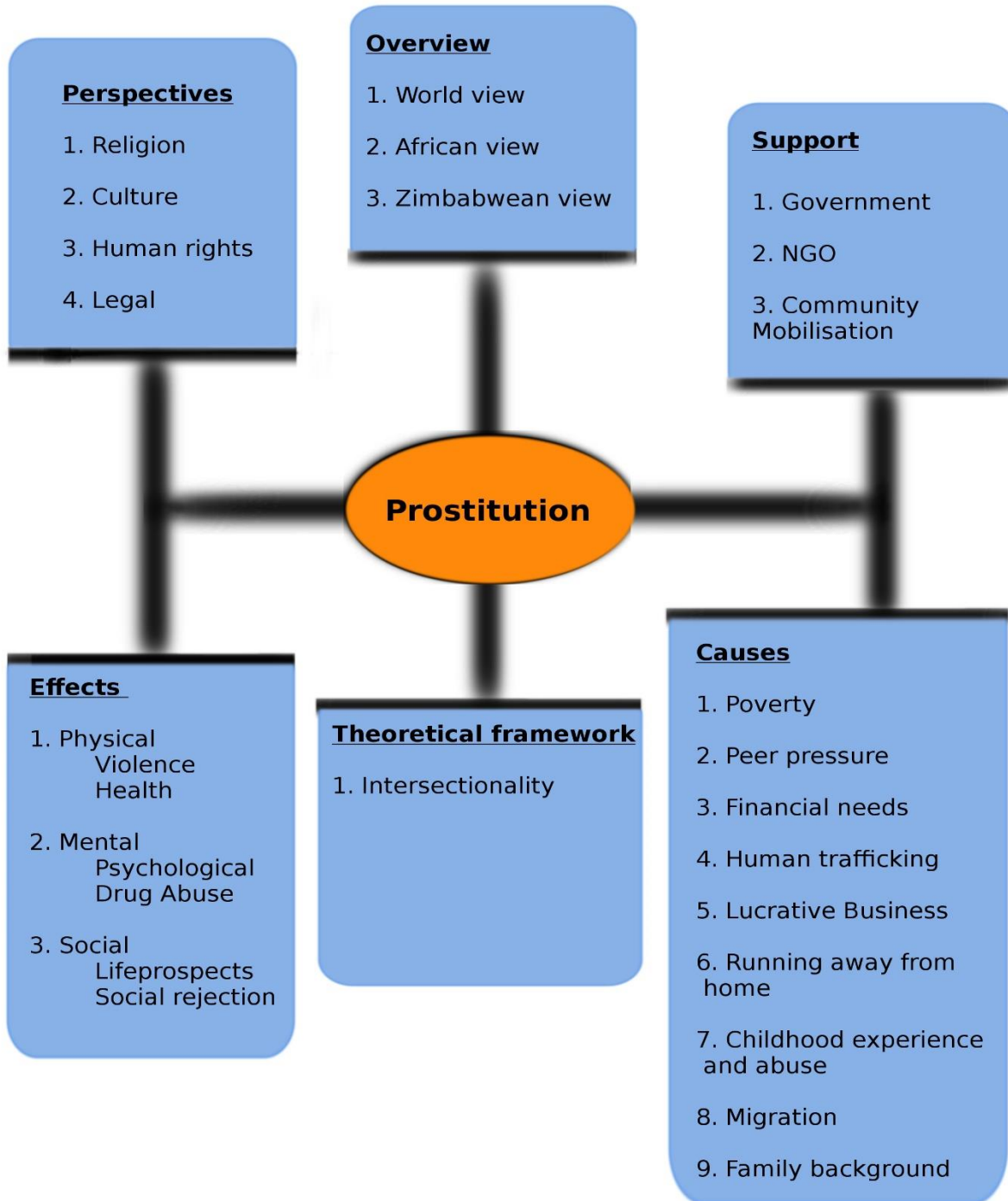
Intersectionality is the study of connections of multiple systems which leads to oppression or discrimination in an individual's life. The theory seeks to understand how biological, social and cultural modalities such as gender, ability, class, economic status, sexual orientation and race interact simultaneously in bringing about social inequality. Hesse-Biber (2013) argues that different identities intersect in shaping identity and perpetuating marginalisation, leading to oppression. Corus and Saatcioglu (2015) state that intersectionality, a term coined by Crenshaw in 1989, which means that individuals and groups of people can be exposed to numerous forms of discrimination that are often interconnected and interdependent. Intersectionality examines various interacting identity axes that affect the well-being of an individual. The theory holds that forms of oppression are shaped by one another. Intersectionality aims to address racism, sexism, class and patriarchy which creates inequalities that structure women at a disadvantaged position. Intersectionality is a framework that aims to understand the ways in which multiple identities such as class, sexual orientation, race, and gender intersect and influence the well-being of individuals (Corus & Saatcioglu, 2015).

Thus, gender discrimination and oppression can affect one's well-being thereby having positive or negative consequences on an individual. In line with this study economic discrimination of women disposes women at a disadvantage leading to abuse and dependant on males financially. Different challenges faced by women will produce a sense of low self-esteem, thereby creating vulnerability to participate in sex bartering (Garcia & Nascimento, 2014). Socio-economic marginalisation of women has profound effects which leads them to find other possible means of survival, such as commercial sex work. The marginalisation, oppression and discrimination faced by women limit their participation in many spheres of life such as employment, which leads them to participate in other activities that can earn them an income. It can be argued that women participate in CSW because of the discrimination faced. As a result, some women are pushed to engage in prostitution.

This study will also utilize a feminist approach called standpoint theory. This method focuses on the situated positions and experiences of men and women in a normal environment. This feminist approach emphasizes that it is important to value the knowledge of participants and give them an opportunity to share their experiences. A standpoint is an individual's unique world perspective; hence, it should be valued. The theoretical centre of this approach involves viewing societal knowledge as being located within an individual. The standpoint theory assumes that societies

are made up of unbalanced power relations that create inequalities by having one dominant and the other as marginalized (Creswell, 2013). Creswell (2013) further argues that there is gender inequality in which the males are dominant and powerful and women are marginalized and belittled. The feminist standpoint theory tries to develop knowledge grounded in women's experiences. Feminist standpoint theories entail that researchers must look beyond the dominant social construction of reality to give voice and understand experiences of marginalized groups.

Figure 2.1. Conceptual Framework



2.17 Conclusion

The above discussion focused on reviewing different literature on commercial sex work. It discussed the history of prostitution, prostitution from different countries, prostitution from different perspectives, causes and effects of prostitution, the model that regulate prostitution and the services available to sex workers in the country. The intersectionality theory which is the theoretical underpinning of the study was discussed.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the methods and procedures for collecting and analysing data. The chapter gives the description of the research design and methodology that was used for the study. Research methodology outlines the specific techniques utilized, measuring instruments employed and the series of activities done in making measurements. The aim of this chapter is to highlight the detailed approach and techniques employed in obtaining data for the study. Furthermore, the chapter discusses methodological issues such as study population, location of study, sampling procedures, methods of data collection, data analysis and ethical consideration to be upheld in conducting data collection.

3.2 Research approach

The researcher utilised the qualitative approach which enables the researcher to acquire more information through probing some issues. The greatest strength of the qualitative approach is its ability to have in-depth explorations and descriptions giving the researcher greater understanding of the phenomenon under study. Qualitative approach is based on exploring and having a deeper understanding of people's lived experiences. The qualitative research approach seeks to get detailed and in-depth information on the attitudes, perceptions, views and feelings on their experiences as sex workers. Qualitative researchers are mainly focused on the meaning subjects give to their life experiences, how people see their world and their day to day experience of the world (Creswell, 2013; De Vos, Strydom, Fouche", & Delport, 2011). Hossain (2011) adds that qualitative research approach can be used to fulfil the objectives of the study because it lets the subjects being studied to provide better and richer answers to questions given to them by the researcher. Qualitative research was chosen to get the respondents' meaning and experiences as female sex workers at Ngundu Growth Point.

3.3 Research design

The study is guided by the case study research design. Creswell (2013) states that case study is one of the qualitative methods in which the investigator investigates in depth a program, event, process or a phenomenon on individual or group of individuals. Babbie (2013) is of the view that a case study research design is an in-depth approach to studying a social phenomenon through an individual case. In this study, the case is Ngundu Growth Point and the phenomenon is commercial sex work. Using the case study approach enabled the researcher to have an in-depth

investigation on the experiences of female sex workers and the impacts associated with prostitution for each of the research participants. The reason for choosing Ngundu as a case study is because of its accessibility and the accessibility of participants since the area is known to be a hotspot for transactional sex work.

3.4 Location and description of study area

The study was carried out at Ngundu Growth Point in Chivi District which is in Masvingo Province in Zimbabwe. Ngundu Growth Point is situated on the busy Beitbridge-Harare road. The road connects Zimbabwe, Zambia, Malawi and Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) to South Africa. The area is a hub for transport going to two sugar producing towns, namely Chiredzi and Triangle. The growth point is a resting place and stop over for travellers like truck drivers and cross border traders hence it was chosen as a study area as it is dominated by female sex workers whose activities thrive in the area or which has become the major economic activity of the area. The location of Ngundu offer market for sex workers as the demand for sexual services might be high. This has led to the problem of sex workers in the area, mostly women and young females of school going age who compete for male customers.

3.5 Population

Population is a set of individuals or units of area study from which the researcher can choose (Neuman, 2011). The target population of this study comprises of females who are involved in prostitution at Ngundu Growth Point. The population consisted of six females who participate into prostitution.

3.6 Sample size and sampling method

A sample is a subgroup of the population selected for participation in a study (Babbie, 2013). Sample size refers to the number of elements to be included in a study. In this study the sample consist of six female sex workers. The researcher employed the non-probability sampling and snowball sampling as method of recruiting participants. Creswell (2014) defines snowball as a useful tool for collecting of data from hard to reach or hard to identify population whereby one subject suggests the other subject. Snowball sampling is the procedure of accumulation as each subject suggests other subjects. Subsequently, respondents are selected based on the referrals (Babbie, 2013).

Two male key informants and one female key informant were interviewed on the assumption that they provide richer and in-depth information to the study. One female research assistant was drawn as a confidant of the female sex workers to aid the researcher throughout the data collection process. The identification is done by a mediator for the sake of confidentiality, because prostitution is illegal in Zimbabwe.

3.7 Instruments of data collection

The researcher conducted in-depth interviews with sex workers. In-depth interviews were conducted on different occasions in a comfortable environment. Interview is an interaction between an interviewer and the interviewee and interview is based on a set of topics to be covered (Babbie, 2013; Creswell, 2013). In this study participants were interviewed with the assistance of a mediator. The researcher employed unstructured and open-ended questions during interviews. Open ended questions allow the interviewee to explain in detail what has been asked by the interviewer and gives descriptive answers that encourage discussion. A voice recorder was used as an assistive device to capture maximum information from the interviews. Data was collected from different respondents as per the agreed times with the researcher. Data collected was transcribed verbatim and after analysis the information given was destroyed. Interviews were conducted in a private location that was convenient and conducive to the respondents. The interviews were conducted in the Shona which is the language of the respondent.

After the interview with participants, the researcher conducted interviews with key informants who have knowledge about female prostitution in the area. Key informant interviews are qualitative in-depth interviews with people who have knowledge of what is going on in the community. The purpose of key informants is to collect in-depth information. The informants included professionals in the area. In this study, the key informants who participated the police officer, social worker and health professionals. The selection was based on their position, knowledge of the area and experiences in the areas of social welfare and female prostitution. Key informants provided insights on the nature of the problem and suggest recommendations for solutions.

3.8 Data analysis

Data analysis is the process of bringing order, structure and meaning to the mass of collected data (Silverman, 2013). This is the process of making meaning out of the data collected during the interviews. The raw data obtained after data collection was analysed using a combination of

thematic and phenomenological analysis. Babbie (2013) states that thematic analysis involves the examination of interview data and organizes the data into categories of themes and sub themes.

The following process of data analysis was followed as suggested by Braun and Clarke (2006):

- i. The researcher familiarized himself with the data by reading several times searching for meaning and patterns.
- ii. Initial codes were generated from the data.
- iii. Coded data was sorted into potential themes.
- iv. A set of candidate themes were developed. Themes were reviewed and refined.
- v. The researcher identified the importance of what each theme was all about and what aspects of the data each theme entails.

3.9 Ethical considerations

Ethics define what is or not legitimate to do, or what “moral” research procedures involves (Neuman, 2011). Social research makes intrusion into people’s lives and requires that people reveal personal information about themselves. The topic under investigation needs the researcher to follow research ethics so as not to cause harm to participants. Research ethics help to prevent abuses and assist investigators in understanding their responsibilities as ethical scholars. The researcher got an ethical clearance letter from the University of Venda’s Ethics and Publication Committee which granted permission to conduct the study in Ngundu area. Given the clandestine nature and sensitivity of prostitution, the researcher took precautionary measures to avoid harm to participants and not to jeopardize the aims of the research. The following ethics were upheld during data collection process: confidentiality, voluntary participation, informed consent and honesty.

3.9.1 Confidentiality and anonymity

Confidentiality is an ethical principle that protects the respondents, making sure that all their information is not disclosed. This requires that the researcher take steps to ensure research data and its sources remain confidential unless participants have given consent for their disclosure (Silverman, 2013). The respondents were assigned pseudo names to ensure that their identity remain anonymous. Regarding anonymity and confidentiality, the researcher assured the respondents that their names will not appear against the information they give and that the information has been kept confidential and only used for the purpose of the study.

3.9.2 Informed consent

Informed consent entails giving as much information as possible about research to participants so that they make well informed decisions. The purpose is to conduct research openly and without deception (Silverman, 2013) Subjects must base their voluntary participation in the research project fully knowing the possible risks that might be involved. In the study a voice recorder was be used and the researcher asked for permission from participants to record them during interview sessions.

3.9.3 Avoidance of Harm

Social science research should be done in a way that minimizes harm to individuals (Creswell, 2014). The researcher will avoid any sort of harm to the participants by stopping the interview whenever the participants do not feel comfortable and keeping their information confidential to avoid harm.

3.9.4 Voluntary participation

In voluntary participation, participants must not feel coerced or forced to participate in a study. Babbie (2013) states that the researcher must not coerce anyone into participating but participation must be on voluntary basis. Participation in the study was be voluntary because forcing respondents to participate in a study is unethical. The respondents participated without being forced but according to their own will.

3.10 Summary

This chapter explained the methodology that was used to explore the experiences of female sex workers at Ngundu growth point, Zimbabwe. It described the research design that followed in conducting the research. An overview of the research methodology and design which was used in the study was presented. The chapter also looked and discuss the ethical considerations that was employed during the data collection process.

CHAPTER 4: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the presentation and analysis of data collected, with the goal of probing the lived experiences of female sex workers. Data was gathered from primary respondents (i.e. female sex workers) and secondary or complimentary respondents who are the key informants.

In this chapter the researcher interpreted and analyzed the data that was collected from sex workers, social workers, health professionals and police officers. This process allowed the researcher to shift the descriptive events shared by the participants into a deeper understanding of the respondents' lived experiences.

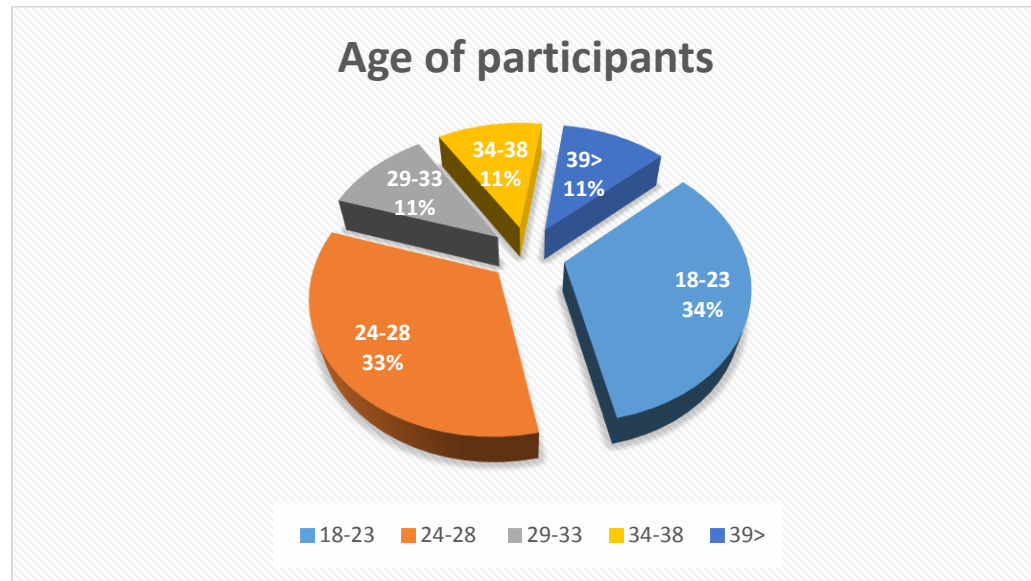
An interview guide with open-ended questions was used as data collection tool. A phenomenological study approach was employed. Thematic data analysis was used for the analysis of the data collected. The data collected was analyzed and categorized into themes and the themes which were discussed include the causes of sex work, the impact sex work on CSW's well-being and the role played by government and NGOs in response to female prostitution at Ngundu Growth Point.

This chapter begins with the presentation of the biographical data followed by presentation and analysis of the experiences of female sex workers.

4.2 Biographical information

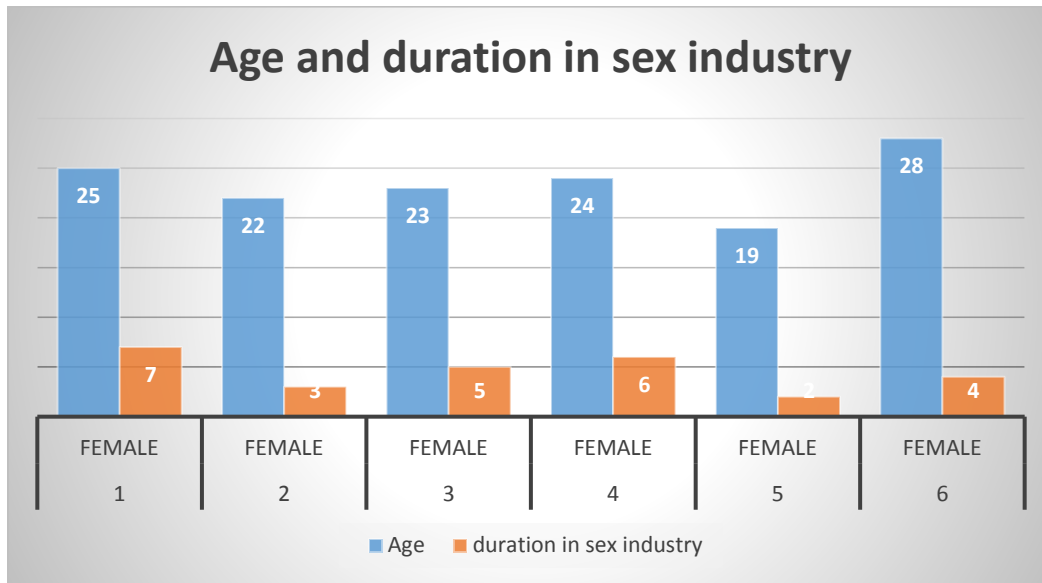
The following is the presentation, discussion and analysis of collected information pertaining age group, employment status and duration in sex industry. The following chart shows the age of participants.

Figure 4.1. Age of participants



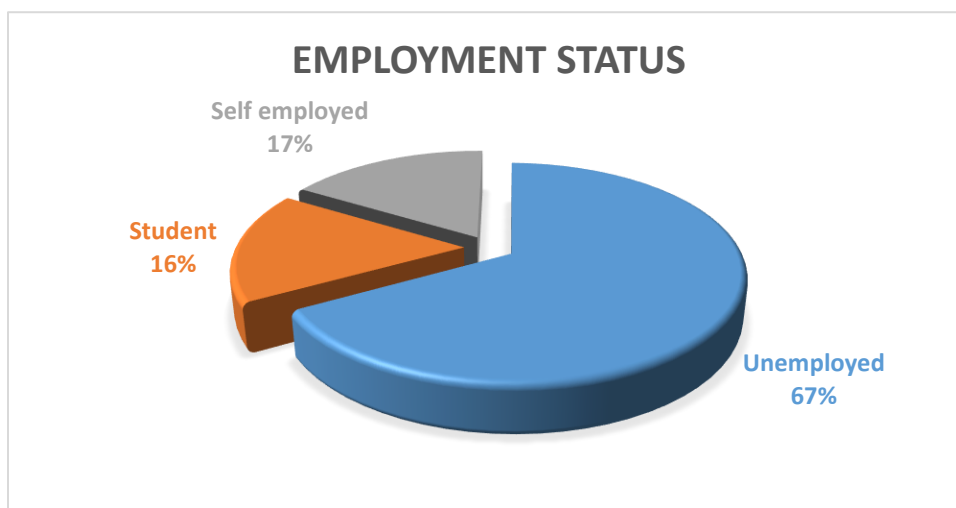
The chart above shows the age of participants in the study and the majority of the participants comes from a youthful age as evidenced by the age range of 18-39. The chart shows that the number of participants who were between the ages of 18-23 were 3 thus representing 34% of the total sample. The cohort of 24-28 consisted of 3 participants representing 33% of the sample. Age range 29-33 consisted of 1 participant thus constituting 11% of the sample. The much older age ranges were 34-38 and 39 and above were only 1 in each cohort. These groups represented 11% of the total sample and consisted of older sex worker and nurse.

Figure 4.2. Age and duration in sex industry



Presented above is the age versus duration of participants in the sex industry. All participants fall within the youthful age of 19-28 with the one 25-year-old participant having spent 7 years in the industry.

Figure 4.3. Employment status



Above is a chart representing the employment status of participants, it shows that the larger proportion is unemployed, thus 67%, while 16% represents students and the 17% represents self-employed participants.

4.3 Emerging themes

This section covers the discussion of themes emerging from the data collected. It covers the presentation, discussion and analysis of data on the experiences of female sex workers. Most of the data was focused on the reasons why women enter into sex work, the impact or effects of sex work on the well-being of sex workers and the services available for sex workers at Ngundu.

4.3.1 Theme 1 Circumstance that drive women into sex work

This section discusses the reasons that forced or motivated women to be into prostitution. The study has found that there are several factors that pushed or pulled participants into entering sex industry. The major factors that came out from the data include unemployment, abuse, financial needs, running away, negative home environment and peer pressure.

4.3.1.1 Unemployment

Most of the participants in the study mentioned unemployment as one of the factors that have pushed them into transactional sex work. When asked the question, what forced you to participate in sex industry, the participants mentioned that the economic situation was major contributory factor that pushed them into transactional sex work. Sex workers highlighted that they had no one to take of them and their dependents therefore there had to fend for themselves and prostitution was the easiest avenue that they utilize to earn a living. This is also supported by the extract below:

“The economic situation in the country has declined, industries have closed and most people are unemployed, living in poverty. Being in prostitution is not a choice but a way of earning money for survival.” (Peter)

“I am uneducated, unemployed and the easiest way for me to get money is through prostitution. There are no qualifications needed.” (Shantel)

“I used to work as a house maid and I could go for months without being paid. I was then introduced to this profession by one of my friends and I can earn a lot of money per day.” (Ngonie)

As mentioned above, the economic crisis in the country has facilitated the rise of unemployment and this is contributing to an increase in poverty levels. This has been caused by the closure of many companies which used to employ people. The closure of big companies has affected the

people of Zimbabwe in two ways; those who were already working were retrenched, and there are no employment opportunities for the youths.

Zimbabwe's policies have also contributed to the collapse of the economy, for example, the fast track land reform policy which saw the removal of whites from farms which were productive and were providing employment for people. The white farmers were replaced by blacks, some of which are not effectively utilizing the land thus there is no production on the farms.

The indigenization policy has also contributed to the meltdown of Zimbabwean economy as the policy is not favorable for foreign investment in the country. This has affected many families as there is a reduced number of employment opportunities or income generating projects for the retrenched people and the youth. This has led some women to try to earn a living through commercial sex work (Nkala, 2014). Shantel also made a remark:

"I am unemployed I tried to look for job but I could not secure one because I am not educated. I have to live as a prostitute so that I can get money to pay rental, buy food and clothes, if I do not do it I will die of hunger." **(Shantel)**

The above extract shows that Shantel tried to look for a job but all the efforts were unsuccessful. This has forced her to take sex work as a profession to survive. Most of the people are left with no options, are forced to migrate to neighboring South Africa, Zambia, Namibia and Botswana for better opportunities. The lack of skill by some of the migrants has constrained them into sex work in those neighboring countries.

With the high levels of unemployment in the country, chances are that parents are not able to send and keep their children in schools, this means that the cycle of poverty is going to remain within the family (Bhunu et. al 2014). Participants narrated that:

"It is very difficult for my parents to pay for my living expense at university, they just pay the tuition fees and the food allowance will not be enough to sustain me, there are no part time jobs for me to work hence I must find ways to procure money for me to survive at college." **(Tatenda)**

"I am a form 3 school dropout due to none payment of fees. I could not finish my studies because my parents died and there was no one to pay my fees." **(Shantel)**

The above extract shows that unemployment in the family is leading to a financial lack, thereby affecting the academic life of students. As for Tatenda who is currently a university student she is facing financial challenges towards her education. Students are forced to contribute financially to their education whilst they are unemployed. This puts pressure on female students to raise money through any means, leading some to be easily seduced by wealthier men to exchange sexual services for money. The state of affair in Zimbabwe is unbearable for majority of female students especially those from poor family backgrounds as they are forced to find alternatives to fund of their academic life. There are no local bursaries or scholarships to assist students with funding their education hence they are pushed to find other means that can provide money for sustenance and prostitution might be their option. Shantel was not able to proceed with her education due to none payment of fees; thus, financing education is a problem for most families.

Hunger as a form of poverty, caused by unemployment, also contributes to one's entry into sex work. The shortage of basic commodities may force one to earn a living as a sex worker and prostitution becomes a way of raising money for basic commodities. The prevailing economic condition has led to the unaffordability of basic goods and services such as food, water and access to better health facilities. Participants in the study have highlighted hunger as one of the factors that has pushed them into earning money through sex work. Participants explained in this way:

“Parents are not able to raise money for their families’ basic hence there is need for an alternative source of income.” (Tendai)

“After the floods at Tokwe-Mukosi dam, we were relocated to Naunetsi ranch with no food aid or money to buy basic commodities. The living conditions were terrible, I struggled to get a meal for the day and there was no intervention to assist. The food hampers that we later received were not enough to sustain me and the family for the whole month and thus I had to find alternative to raise money for food.” (Chipo)

“I used to do piece jobs to get food but the rainfall in the region is reliable hence I was forced to get another alternative to put food on the table. The food products in the rural areas are so expensive and we rely on cross border traders who bring products from South Africa which are bit cheaper.” (Ngonie)

Chipo happens to be a Tokwe-Mukosi flood victim who was relocated to Naunetsi Ranch or Chikwingwizi area without any support. The living conditions in the camp were terrible as they could not have food stuffs and the only way to survive was to find other sources. Hunger and malnutrition affected their lives till there was need for one to adopt other means of survival. The above responses by participants show that the failure to acquire basic needs is forcing them to find alternatives for them and the families to survive. Hunger creating pressure for most people to find ways to earn an income. The extremes find people earning money in a deviant and delinquent manner, and for women prostitution might be the easiest way of making ends meet. Tatenda also alluded her situation that is linked to hunger.

“Hunger at the school has forced me to adopt this lifestyle it is not a choice. I commute every day to university and sometimes my parents delay sending me money for groceries. I will be left with no option as I can go for days without food, I have to find ways to survive.” (Tatenda)

The poor economy has contributed to the unaffordability of basic needs as her parents cannot afford to fully provide her with all her needs.

Generally, high levels of unemployment have created pressure for majority of the people to earn a better and decent life. The pressure has affected men to raise money and care for the family through any possible means. This explains why some women resort to prostituting themselves for their survival and their families or dependents. Based on the experiences of the above participants, one can conclude that high unemployment rates are threatening the lives of many people in the country.

The geographical location of Ngundu is problematic. Ngundu is in region four and the region receives erratic rainfall throughout the year, chances are that agriculture is not productive consequently poverty affects the majority of the inhabitants. There is need for intervention to alleviate poverty in the region. Unemployment as a socio-economic challenge is serving as a push factor for women to engage in sex work. The level of desperation and commitment to raise one's standards of living is forcing even men to adopt sex work as a profession. Women in the area and the neighboring escape poverty by engaging in sex work. The rurality of Ngundu is contributing to the issue of sex work because of low employment rates. Girls who are after completing their secondary education are left with nothing to do. They are then forced to work in small food outlets

and beerhalls where they are underpaid and entertaining male client might a source of their income to supplement their salaries.

4.3.1.2 Financial needs

The main motivational factor for people to adopt prostitution is economic needs. Prostitution has got its pull and push factors, money is regarded as one of the pull factors in transactional sex work. Unemployment as discussed above is pushing one into CSW and with the cases of financial needs one is attracted by the love for money to be in sex industry. Sex workers are in prostitution to obtain quick money which comes relatively less work. Fixed prices are not attached to the services they render hence prostitution will be a profitable avenue to them to make money. People who engage in sex work are on the quest of meeting their financial needs to support them and their dependents. The root cause for some prostitutes to be in sex industry is not because of financial needs for survival but finance to purchase attractive goods such as expensive clothes, iPads and cell phones. Sex workers solicit clients for money in exchange for sexual services hence, it can be argued that prostitution is a way for sex workers to obtain money.

“I saw my friends making money out of sex work and I was motivated to do it. I need the money to buy nice clothes, jewellery which others of my age are wearing. It is the easiest and fast way of getting money I don’t have to work for more hours, I can get at least US\$ 20 in a single intercourse with a client.” (Cynthia)

“Money is the major motivator for women who participate in sex work.” (Peter)

“I am in prostitution to secure money to aid in my studies as prostitution provides fast cash” (Tatenda)

Some females are in sex work for financial need and independency. The extract from Cynthia shows that all her basic needs are being met hence her involvement in sex work is to finance a lifestyle that she needs and saw others living. She mentioned that her parents are both employed at Hippo Valley sugar refinery and she opted for sex work as a way to fund her own life style comparing with other youths of her age. The participant stays with her siblings whilst the parents are at work, this gives her freedom and independence at the same time she is lacking parental guidance and supervision. The participant mentioned that she adopted prostitution since her friends were also doing it thus her financial needs are not based on poverty alleviation but upgrading one’s lifestyle. Considering that some sex workers have their basic needs met they are

in prostitution for funny and adventure this shows that prostitution to some is not for them to alleviate poverty or finance their immediate needs.

One sex worker reported to be having entrepreneurial skills that they do apart from sex work. The participant revealed that she has other sources of income she does not rely on sex work rather sex work is supplementing her other income.

“I am self-employed, I have a table in the flea market. I just do this to supplement my money because at time the business in flea market is low.” (Sharon)

Noting from the above extract it can be said that not all prostitutes are in sex industry due to poverty related matters rather some are in the profession to supplement their inadequate remunerations from other career avenues or sources of income.

4.3.1.3 Peer pressure or bad mentoring

Peer pressure comes from one’s closest associates such as family members and friends and this has a good or bad influence towards one’s decision power. Peer pressure occurs when an individual or individuals who are part of a group actively encourages a person to do something whether he or she wants to do it. Capaul, (2013) notes that peer pressure is one of the factors that contribute in one’s entrance in CSW. In this study, most participants mentioned the issue of peer pressure as their contributory factor to their entry into CSW. Bad mentoring is when one receives bad information from either a family member or a friend or seeing their actions and these actions shapes one’s behavior.

Youths who comes from families where there are sex workers or who associate themselves with sex workers are at a higher chance of being incorporated to take part in CSW and the end up regarding sex work to be a normal lifestyle. Participants in the study highlighted that friends had encouraged them to be in sex work. The following extracts point out the link between peer pressure and entrance in CSW.

“I left home for Ngundu growth point where I stayed with a friend who was in the industry. She introduced me to different male friends and those males would offer me money in exchange for sex and I complied knowing my financial position”. (Chipo)

“My friend introduced me to prostitution and after some days I managed to get enough money to buy food”. **(Shantel)**

“Most of sex workers in the area are of the youthful age which show that peer pressure might be one of the contributory factors for their entry into transactional sex work”. **(Tendai)**

The above extracts highlighted the issues of peer pressure, bad mentoring and one’s interpersonal network of influence to be contributing to one’s entrance into sex work. Peers shape one’s behavior as they spend most of the time together sharing their views and reinforcing their ideas. Peers and family members are regarded as the mentors to the youth. If either a friend or a family member is in the sex industry chances are high that the youth might follow what her closest associates are doing. Family member and friends who are in prostitution normalize the idea of earning money as a sex worker.

4.3.1.4 Death of parents or breadwinner

The death of a parent and/or breadwinner in the family was one of the contributions that has forced young women to adopt sex work as their way of subsistence. After the death of parents, children are left as orphans without any means of support consequently, they must find coping strategies and the coping mechanisms for some will be the participation in the sex industry. Death of parents affect many youths as they are left lacking supervision and financial security such that they had to resort to sex work for their survival (Takawira, 2016). Child headed families lack supervision and guidance, they are more exposed to high risk behavior. This gives the children the freedom to live as they wish. Responsibilities are also affecting these youths as they are forced to care for their siblings. Swahn et.al (2016) highlighted the correlation between being an orphan and participation in sex industry.

“I started participating in sex work after the death of my parents to HIV/AIDS and there was no one to look after my siblings and me. The only way I thought of raising money was through transactional sex work.” **(Ngonie)**

I decided to be a sex worker because of problems of taking care of my siblings after the death of my parents. I had no other means to support them. **(Shantel)**

The above extracts revealed that the death of parents is a contributing factor for one to join the old profession. Orphans are left with no means of support or subsistence and hunger in the family

will push one to adopt deviant behavior as a means of survival. The prevailing economic condition in the country is also to be blame as little is done to take care of the orphans through the social services department. If Zimbabwe's economic constraints remain unresolved many orphaned children will adopt deviant behaviors as a means of livelihood, for example being involved in gangsterism, drug dealing and prostitution.

4.3.1.5 Running away from home

There are several factors that may leads youths to run away from their home and these encompasses abuse, neglect, parental harassment and dysfunctional family life. Children run away from home seeking attachments that they cannot get at home and this might lead to their abuse again buy the so-called "helpers". In most situations youths that run away from home are trapped in a number of issues like drugs and substance abuse, gangsterism and prostitution, as a way to get money for accommodation, food and other basic necessities. Youths and children who run away from home are faced with challenges through the transition and adaptation phases, this will lead them to adapt deviant lifestyle for them to survive. Participants in the study have proved the link or correlation between running away from home and entry into sex work.

It is not only abuse that can lead youths to run away from home but their zeal for independence at a tender age, running away from good mentoring to follow their peers' lifestyle. Some sex workers revealed their pathway into sex work as being caused by their delinquency behavior rather than the needs for survival.

"After failing my Ordinary level, I had to repeat but I did not want to. This did not go well with my parents so I decided to move and stay with a friend. My friend and I later moved to stay at a male friend's place and his friends would offer money in exchange for sex". (Cynthia)

"Some sex workers do not have hardships that force them to run away from home rather it because they need space and freedom that they cannot obtain at home. The clubs and bars are exciting and there is funny, that's how others start sex work". (Tendai)

The above extracts show some sex worker ran away from home where they can get good mentoring to stay in places where they can do what they cannot do at home in the presence of their parents. There are also youths who run away from good home environment to stay with friends and such kind are behavior might be caused by bad mentoring from friends. Running away

from home comes with attached responsibilities of taking care of one 's self. If one does not have a source of income he or she will be forced to adopt any behavior that can benefit himself or herself and prostitution is one of the activities. Females who run away from home, having no income are at a heightened risk of engaging in CSW as a way of generating income for their survival.

4.3.1.6 Negative home environment

Family is where a child is natured and nurtured, that's where the primary socialization is engaged. During this primary socialization that's when a child is taught on good and bad behavior, the morals of the family and the society at large. It is the family that shapes a women's sexuality, general behavior and how one conducts herself before people. There are a number of factors within the home environment that can facilitate one's entry in CSW. Some include, parenting styles and a dysfunctional family life.

Family disintegration is one of the causes of female prostitution in Ngundu. Children are growing up as orphans hence, the older person in the family takes care of the sibling. This has contributed to some youths to turn into prostitution especially females to take responsibilities to look after siblings. An uninvolved parenting style has a great effect and contributes to one's entry into sex work. Abuse in the family also leads to running away of children forcing them to be entrapped in CSW. Dysfunctional families include families where parents are divorced, child living with a friend, parents who are compulsive gamblers, deceased parents, family with alcoholics and unemployment in the family. All the above factors contribute to one's entry into sex work. This study has found out that the living conditions mentioned above pushed women in the study to take part in CSW.

“The negative home environment can influence women to get into prostitution.” (Peter)

Divorce was a factor that was raised by participants as contributing into the entry in sex work. After divorce the mothers are left as custodians to the children and they do not have a source of income chances are that they prostitute themselves for the livelihoods of their children. Children raised from a single parent who saw the mother prostituting herself might reinforce the idea of earning money as sex workers. Sex worker participants in the study indicated issues like parental abuse, divorce and separation as causal factors for their involvement in the sex work.

My husband divorced me and went to stay with another woman. I have children to take care of and they need my support so I saw prostitution as a way that could supplement my money and take care of the family.” (Sharon)

“I left home after suffering from physical and emotional abuse by my uncle. I worked hard at home but he never appreciated my works rather he and his wife would starve me.” (Chipso)

As stated by the above extracts from the participants it shows how negative home environment can contribute to the entry in prostitution. Negative home environment has a profound effect on the growth and development of an individual and thus they are also affected psychologically. With regards to divorce and death of a husband women have the obligation of taking care of the family on their own as single mothers. Lack of help to take care of the family has forced women into transactional sex work. Negative home life contributes to the running away of children from home to find other better places where they can settle, running away from home comes with responsibilities that will force one to adopt sex work as a profession.

4.3.2 Theme 2 Impacts of sex work on the well-being

This section discusses the impacts of prostitution on the well-being of sex workers, their working conditions and in the society. There are several effects or impacts of prostitution on the health of sex workers that came out from the data collected. The impacts include moral decline, social rejection, diseases, violence, psychological well-being and life prospects.

4.3.2.1 Health

Sex trade receives much criticism as most people focuses on the public health implications that sex work has. There is a misconception that sex workers are a danger to health as they spread HIV/AIDS. People see prostitutes as vectors of diseases transmission and tend to overlook that sex workers try to negotiate for safer sex and condom use. CSW is associated with many health effects that are directed to the sex worker, clients and their families and the environment at large. Due to the nature of sex work, sexual related illnesses are inevitable hazard. CSW have different sexual partners in a short period of time and thus exposing them to different kinds of illnesses. Cases of unprotected sex are happening in the practice and unprotected sex is regarded as the highest and well-known method for the transmission of sexual related illnesses. This makes sex workers an important population in the spreading of STIs and HIV. CSWs are at increased risk of acquiring and spreading of STIs including HIV as they have numerous clients in a brief period,

multiplying their exposure to HIV and STIs (UNAIDS, 2011). However, Participants mentioned that:

“I was diagnosed with different sexual related illnesses and I am afraid of getting tested for HIV/AIDS. I think I contracted the diseases through unprotected sex because some clients offer more money for it”. (Ngonie)

I contracted several STIs and I used traditional medicine that I got from a local traditional healer. I avoid going to the clinic because I heard that they ask to bring along your partner”. (Chipo)

Based on the above extracts, the participants were treated for sexually infections and this shows the high chances that sex workers have on contracting and spreading the infections if not treated. The inhabitants of Ngundu are at a heightened risk of acquiring the deadly diseases through CSW. The diagnosis of STIs shows the effects of sex work on sex workers and their clients. Chances are that if the client did not get treatment they might continue spread the diseases to other people including their life partner.

Risk behavior by clients is also posing health harm on sex workers. High risk clients will ask for unprotected sex and other will temper with the condom causing the spreading of STIs. A participant in the study mentioned cases where clients would tear off a condom after she refused to have unprotected sex. This alone indicates the risky behavior of some sex workers that might contribute in the spreading of the disease. One participant highlighted that she contracted the disease after a client asked for unprotected sex and was paying more than the usual premium.

“At times we get clients who demand unprotected sex and offer good monies in return. Due to the desperation for money we fall for anything and thus how sometimes we get STIs” (Ngonie)

“At times some clients tear off the condom and say it just happened. It is frightening because you don’t know the health status of that client especially these days of AIDS” (Shantel)

“I once had a client who pretended to be wearing a condom but he broke it in the process. The reason they broke the condom is that most of the men I encounter don’t like condoms. They mention that they prefer “nyoro” (they want it raw) and they enjoy more”. (Tatenda)

Taking from the above extract it is difficult to solely blame sex workers as vectors in the spreading of sexual related infection, clients are also to be blamed for their high-risk behavior. Male clients may demand unprotected sex, tear condoms or pay more for unprotected sex and this is posing danger on the health of sex worker, the client and the spouses.

To avoid sexual infections participants mentioned that they use protection (male condoms) in sexual intercourse with a client. They stated that each time they go out for work they always carry condoms for health reasons. Participants revealed that these days having STIs it is a shameful thing because condoms are cheap and affordable, they are also free of charge at the local clinic. Both male and female condoms are accessible at the local clinic but they shared a concern of not having the knowledge of using the female condoms.

I always protect myself from diseases by using condoms. Condoms are cheap at the bar they cost only \$0.20 (Shantel)

“Condoms are distributed for free at the clinic it appears as if most people now have protected sex. This can be evidenced by the reduction in number of STIs cases that we used to treat per week”. (Nyasha)

Sex workers indicated that they are aware of health repercussion associated with their work and they are trying as much to protect themselves against infections. They disclosed that clients are at times putting them on danger of requesting unprotected sex, tearing condoms during sexual intercourse and paying more premium for sexual services. Some participants know the health risks but they continue to have unprotected sex basing on the amount of money the client is willing to offer.

4.3.2.2 Social rejection/stigma

Sex workers face many challenges in their day to day interaction with people. They are often stigmatized and discriminated against because of their work which is socially condemned for being a taboo. Many people in the society have a negative attitude towards sex workers and the profession. Discrimination and stigma suffered by sex workers has psychological effects to the prostitutes as they might feel belittled and marginalized in the community which they live in.

Social rejection of CSWs can also create obstacles for them to access services which other women are receiving, instance health care and justice. Prostitutes may suffer from hate, avoidance and isolation in the societies they live. Stigma attached to sex industry destroys the self-esteem of sex workers as they consider themselves as misfit in the society. This will affect their relationship with their clients as clients will regard sex workers as object or instruments of sexual gratification. CSW are discriminated against as most people believe that they are already HIV positive, they are said to be vectors of STIs and no one wants to be seen associating with them.

“I suffer stigma from most married women in the area that I am currently residing. They think I am taking their men”. **(Ngonie)**

“People always gossip and say bad things about me, they say I am HIV positive they do not want to associate with me. As for I don’t care because they I don’t eat or stay at their places”. **(Cynthia)**

“People do not respect me, some call me “hure” and I have lost dignity in the community. This is affecting me and my family, my children told me of cases where other kids do not want to associate with them at school. I restrict myself and stay at home to avoid social gathering or going to church because of this”. **(Sharon)**

“Most prostitutes have fewer friends due to stigma attached to it”. **(Tendai)**

Stigma and discrimination is one social problem mentioned by sex workers at Ngundu that is affecting their interaction with others in the community. Some people in the Ngundu neighborhood do not even want to rent their house to people who are in sex work and this pose accommodation problems to sex workers. Participants state that people in the community discriminate them, gossip and say bad things about them. They name calling with derogating name like “hure” or “chifeve” (meaning prostitutes) which shows their disapproval of the practice. Although sex workers reported their experience of social rejection from community member, they never mentioned their experiences of stigma or segregation by their close friends and family members. They are then forced to be friends with people who are in the same field of work with, in a way this makes them to have fewer friends and not to have anyone whom they can confide to their experiences.

4.3.2.3 Moral decline

Most human activities and interactions are guided by moral issues which regard a certain behaviour as appropriate or inappropriate within the society. Morals of the society are defined by the norms, standards, cultural beliefs, religious beliefs and customs, this shapes what is right or wrong. Religiously, prostitution is regarded as an immoral behaviour or a sinful practice. Zimbabwe is dominated by Christians and few Muslims, they consider prostitution to be a sinful act because their doctrines believe that sex which is outside marriage system and sex before marriage is a sin.

Prostitution brings undesirable and unacceptable behavior. The practice and the kind of dressing is socially unacceptable. (Nyasha)

Prostitution is religiously, socially and culturally unacceptable practice in the community. The practice is said to be violating the norms, standards and values of the society. The extract above shows that the practice is not welcomed in the society as it brings social disorder

4.3.2.3 Violence

The nature and working conditions of sex workers leaves them vulnerable violent activities. Forms of violence include assault, rape, threats with weapons and forced to have unprotected sex. Generally, prostitution is violence against women. Sex workers suffer violence from different angles. They suffer violence from clients, pimps, health workers, police and the public. Perpetrators of violence are not only clients or service providers, sex workers themselves also intimidate each other and fight for clients. Once one is involved in prostitution, some violent crimes such as rape and sexual assault or harassment are unavoidable. Sex workers mentioned violent crimes which were committed by police such as rape and asking for bribery. The violence by the police were eradicated as the government is taking steps to decriminalize sex work through the ruling which was made in May 2015. Violence is not only directed to sex workers themselves rather it extends to the community in which the practice is taking place.

I was beaten up by a client after I asked for money before we had sexual intercourse (Chipo)

Cases of robbery and assault are the ones mainly reported although sex workers do not reveal their work status". (Peter)

The police used to arrest us, they charge you for loitering and they will leave the male client that you were with. They do not even explain the charges that you are arrested for. Some of these police officers ask for bribes in form of cash or sex and they are not supposed to do that". (Sharon)

At times a client will pick you at the bar and after having sex he refuses to pay you for the services. Sometimes he pays you before sexual intercourse and demands back his money after sex and rob you your possessions. (Tatenda)

Sex workers mentioned that they have ways they use to avoid violence with a client. The following extracts reveals the ways used to minimize risk:

I have several strategies that I utilize to minimize risks. These include having a personal judgement based on the kind of character and communication exhibited by the client, collecting money before sex, minimizing alcohol use and being with male friends (Sharon)

"We work as a team of sex workers and in cases a client refuses to pay we team up to make that client pay". (Shantel)

Participants in the study were aware of the risks of violence from violent clients who would want to take advantage of their masculine towards them. The major concern was on robbery, beating from violent clients, fights among sex workers themselves and client refusing to pay. Participants revealed that it is difficult for them to report cases of violence to the police because of fear of further victimization. If one has to report she does not mention her work status to the police or the relevant authorities.

4.3.2.4 Psychological effects

Sex work has a negative impact on the personal lives of the prostitutes. In their day to day operations prostitutes experience psychological harm and mental health issues. Some prostitutes can exhibit suicidal thoughts, anxiety, sleeping disorder, flashbacks, substance abuse, eating disorders and Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). The working conditions where they are exposed to violence and violence towards them may also affect them psychologically. In most situations they operate at night, spend the greater part of their night there, leading to mental tiredness. The stigma which they face from the public leaves them with an attitude of self-rejection, self-hurt, feel guilt, depressed and exhibit signs of low self-esteem.

Sex workers in the study did not mention any psychological or mental health problem that they have. They testified on the mechanism that they implement to cope with mental issues and stress brought about by their participation in sex industry. The coping mechanisms that use include alcohol use, smoking marijuana and use of “broncho” (*flue medication which is being abused*) among other substances. Participants has this to say:

“I drink alcohol and broncho because my male friends whom I stay with and hang around with do so. I also smoke cigarrates and weed so that I will not be shy in front of a client”. **(Cynthia)**

“I drink moderate amount of alcohol not to get drunk but relax, it helps me to have conversation with a client and to avoid shyness”. **(Ngonie)**

I do not take anything alcoholic or drug, I am afraid this might cause problems in maintaining my safety **(Tatenda)**

From the above extracts it shows that alcohol was moderately used and the use was associated with bar environment. Participants in the study used alcohol to cope with the working environment and moderate amounts were taken so that they could conduct work and maintain personal safety. There are no suicidal tendencies or thoughts, anxiety and sleeping disorders narrated by the participants.

4.3.2.5 Life prospects

Sex workers are faced with the dilemma of fully achieving their dreams and moving to self-actualization. Their working condition might hinder them to fully work towards their main objectives of their life goals. They set goals for themselves that might not be absolutely achieved. The hopes might include education, career and marriage. They might not be able to have time to concentrate on their academic life and abscond school. They might have anxiety about finding a potential partner that will accept their life history as a prostitute, their work and the long-term effects of their work on a relationship.

Sex work greatly affected my life. I cannot continue with my academic life, I missed the chance when I ran away from home. My parents were willing to finance my education. Somethings you do not to need to worry about them a lot. Will cross the river when I get there”. **(Cynthia)**

“I did not sit for my Ordinary level due to nonpayment of fees. The work that I am currently doing does not guarantee me a good future. Sometimes I think if I will be able to settle down and get married to a good husband”. (Shantel)

As alluded above the participants will not be able to continue with her academics and fears the reduced chances of having a stable relationship that will lead to marriage. Thus, sex work can affect one's life prospect in this case marriage and academic were mentioned. Academic, marriage and occupation are some of the prospects that sex worker might not be able to achieve.

4.3.3 Theme 3 Support services available for female sex workers

This section discusses the role played by different institutions with regards to CSW in the area. It aims at the services that are provided to sex workers by interested parties within the communities where sex workers stay and operate. Prostitution is illegal in the country though there are boards trying to advocate for its decriminalization. Services aimed towards sex workers are problematic because prostitutes fear prosecution, stigma and discrimination. The recent ruling made in favor of sex workers that they are not to be arrested (Takawira, 2016). There are a number of agencies that are providing services directly or indirectly to CSWs in the country. The agencies include Population Services International (PSI), National AIDS Council (NAC), Centre for Sexual Health and HIV/AIDS Research (CeSHHAR) and Family AIDS Caring Trust (FACT).

Two participants highlighted organisations that they know which are providing services to sex worker but they do not have much information pertaining the actual services which are being offered.

“I know of Sex Worker Advocacy Group that works towards the rights of sex workers in the area. We are happy of the new law by the government which advocate for us not to be arrested. The police used to arrest us but now things have changed.” (Ngonie)

“I know BHASO through a friend of a friend who happened to go to a trip in South Africa. I heard their offices are at Chivi growth point.” (Chipo)

Some sex worker in the study showed that they do not know of any organisation that is working with sex workers in the area.

“I am not aware and I don’t know of any organisation that is working with prostitutes in the area.”

(Cynthia)

“Since prostitution is illegal I do not think there are organisations working with sex worker and the government will not allow such a thing to happen”. **(Sharon)**

Participants point out the challenges they face when accessing services from the local institutions. They indicated that female nurses at the clinic suspect that sex workers might be having sexual relationship with their husbands thus at times they do not get medication. Nurses at the clinic do not attend to the health needs of the sex workers. One participant narrated the challenge the get at the clinic especially when one has been diagnosed with an STIs. She revealed that:

“If you have an STIs nurses at the clinic ask you to bring your partner along for treatment and they will not treat you until you bring him. This is forcing us to take any medication which is not prescribed or to drink herbs from traditional medicine sellers.” **(Chipo)**

Key informants mentioned the services they offer to CSWs although they are not fully directed to sex workers rather the community at large. The police as usual offer protection service to the community and the health sector provides health needed services.

“We do awareness towards issues of violence, abuse, and criminal activities currently affecting the area. We used to arrest sex workers but the new law by the government stopped that operation. I recommend that the government must do something to end this nuisance.” **(Peter)**

“Sex work is illegal in the country and it is difficult to work with them. The clinic offer treatment to sexually related illnesses and contraceptive, both male and female condoms are available for free. Sex workers do not disclose their involvement in sex work to us healthcare providers.”

(Nyasha)

The above extracts have shown that the working conditions for sex workers are not good in the country considering the criminalisation model which Zimbabwe has on prostitution. This is posing a great risk on the health and human rights of sex workers. The health worker mentioned that the services they render are for the general population, there are not designed for a specific population group. Sex workers and general population are all beneficiaries of the services offered by the clinic. The services are sexual health related and these include the following:

- STI treatment,
- HIV testing and counselling
- Condom distribution (both male and female condoms)
- Anti-retro viral (ARV) therapy and drug distribution.

4.4 Summary

This chapter presented and analysed the data collected for investigating the experiences of female sex workers in Ngundu, Zimbabwe. The data was gathered through interviews from nine participants. A combination of phenomenology and thematic data analysis was used as approaches to data analysis. Chapter five will summarises the research findings, make recommendations and conclude the study.

CHAPTER 5: RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

5.1. Introduction

Given the present economic condition and political upheaval in Zimbabwe, the country's formal economy is no longer able to employ most people hence, many are employed in SMEs. The SMEs only employ a limited number of people thus, some people are unemployed. Unemployment, food insecurity and both rural and urban poverty has affected most people thus some are forced into sex work for their livelihood. The aim of the research was to explore the experiences of female sex workers at Ngundu Growth Point in Zimbabwe. This was achieved through interview discussions with female sex workers and key informants in the areas. A qualitative approach was employed as a research methodology for the study. The aim of this chapter was to provide a summary of the study, present study findings and make recommendations based on the findings of the study.

5.2 Summary

Chapter one is mainly concerned with the introduction and background of the problem under study, purpose of the study, stating the research aims and objectives, significance of the study and the definition of operational terms.

Chapter two critically reviewed studies that were carried out by other scholars on the issue of prostitution. In this chapter literature that was reviewed was on the history of prostitution, causes, effects of prostitution, male participation in sex industry, different perspectives on prostitution and support available for sex workers.

Chapter three described the methodological approach that was employed to collect data. The research design, population, sample size, sampling methods, study area and the tools of data collection. The data was gathered through in depth-interviews with nine participants. Thematic data analysis was used as an approach of data analysis. Semi-structured interviews were used to collect the data.

Chapter four was on the presentation and analysis of the data collected. The presentation and analysis of data raised issues such factors pushing or pulling women into prostitution, the effects of prostitution, and some of the life experiences which the sex workers are facing in their day to day living and working conditions.

Chapter five provides the overview of the study, findings of the study, conclusion and the recommendations that emanates from the study.

5.3 Findings of the study

The following were the findings of this study:

- Socio-economic factors were the major contributory factors in the involvement of most women in transactional sex work. Lack of employment opportunities and income to start income generating projects are affecting the inhabitants to the extent that they are not able to afford the basic commodities. Unemployment is forcing women into sex work to earn an income and afford the basic needs. Thus, women who engage in sex work do so to generate income for their sustenance.
- There is an increase in misconceptions in the sex industry. These misconceptions have increased stigma and discrimination against prostitutes. This is hindering the efforts to develop effective interventions to effectively work with the population group. Many people have the belief that sex workers are vectors of diseases and they are the ones spreading STIs. CSW often invokes images of marginalised women who are at risk of STIs, HIV and AIDS. They are regarded as vectors of diseases; thus, most people do not want to be associated with them.
- Findings from this study have proved that sex workers try to utilise condoms during sexual intercourse with a client although there are exceptional cases of some sex workers who compromise their health safety by having unprotected sex for better monies.
- Peer pressure was one of the factors that motivated most youths to be part of the industry as they share the idea of raising money through sex work.
- Negative home environment is pushing females into CSW especially the youthful age. The negative home environment is pushing one to run away from home in quest for affection. Most female sex workers started to participate in sex industry whilst they were still teenagers and they had been affected by the death of parents.
- Sex workers suffer from social rejection from community members in communities that they live in. Sex work is attached with stigma and discrimination and service providers such as the nurses provide services to prostitutes in a discriminatory manner.
- CSW in the area are not aware of the service providers especially Non-Governmental Organisations in the areas in which they live hence there is low service uptake. It can be said that prostitutes at Ngundu lack appropriate health care, social services and human rights services.

- Sex workers do not disclose their involvement in sex industry to healthcare workers or police officers when requesting and receiving services. This is creating a stumbling block to the services which are to be rendered to them. Anticipated negative attitude of health workers and police officers makes sex workers not to disclose their work.

5.4 Recommendations

The following recommendations were made based on the findings of the study:

Policies targeting prostitution should be improved to ensure that they are effective and fully addressing the issue of sex work in the country. The government should make it clear as to which legal framework or model is being adopted by the legal institutions towards sex work practice. However, prohibition will not work as it attempt to eliminates the sources of income for women. To reduce the number of prostitutes, the government must provide sources of income for women and this will make most of the women to give up on the trade. It can be recommended that the government can focus on reducing or stopping the demand and this can be a successful. Thus, the government can adopt and implement successful policies such as the sex buyer laws such as in Sweden and Norway to reduce prostitution in the country.

Unemployment is driving most women into sex work as sex work provides immediate means of survival. If unemployment remains widespread more and more women are going to be entrapped in sex work. Therefore, policies should focus on eradicating high levels of unemployment and poverty in the country to prevent more women from becoming prostitutes. There is need by the government to create jobs for its citizen so that prostitution will be reduced in the country and will not be the livelihood strategy for women.

There is need to open vocational training centers in remote and marginalized communities to train youths (both male and female). Vocational centres should develop skills in different sectors to create employment and empower them with skills that they can use. This will capacitate women with skills that they can use on the labour market or start their own businesses.

There is need by the government through the ministry of youth to provide needed resources for youths to start entrepreneur opportunities. An example is the indigenization program which was commendable but there was need for transparency to ensure that the majority benefited. This could contribute in reducing the number of women in sex work.

The government in partnership with NGOs should set up centres that provides social services such as counselling, rehabilitation, healthcare to sex workers. They should open mobile clinic which operates at night and help in the distribution of condoms in the area.

There should awareness campaigns in most areas that target this population group. Campaigns can be done in form of road shows and dramas. Reading material problematic in the sense that some people have no time to read and the level of illiteracy. Peer educators can conduct awareness campaigns in high schools to assist youth before they engage in transactional sex work. Peer educators, behavior change facilitators and community volunteers can conduct door to door campaign on educating the community on issues related to sex work. The mobilization should be aimed on behavioral change teaching people about STIs and HIV/AIDS.

5.5 Conclusion

Prostitution is an old profession, it is as old as humanity. The profession is thriving regardless of it being illegal or legal. From the research, it is important to focus and understand the circumstances that is driving young women into sex work and the impact of the practice on their wellbeing. Findings have shown that there are various aspects that pushes women to be in prostitution. The effects of prostitution were discussed and the role of different stakeholders was outlined in the study.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: Consent Form

My name is **Ngadhi Collen Mafira**. I am a Masters student at the University of Venda registered for the Masters of Arts (Youth in Development) degree. My research topic is **Sex industry and the experiences of female sex workers in Ngundu, Zimbabwe**. I am kindly inviting you to participate in this study and your permission to tape record your during the interview session. Please note that any information you will provide will be treated as confidential and therefore will not be divulged to anyone without your consent. Names will not be used in this study therefore the information you provide will remain anonymous. Note that your participation is voluntary, you are free to choose to give or not to give answers of all or part of the questions. However, your cooperation is highly favored to make the endeavors of this study a success. I assure that all information collected will be kept confidential and the results will never be produced on an individual basis. Your contribution is highly appreciated

Signature of researcher..... Date.....

I Have read and understood the contents and terms of this invitation to participate in this study. I hereby declare that I am voluntarily participating in this research.

Respondent signature..... Date.....

Appendix B: Interview Guide

Section 1 Biography

1. How old are you?
2. Currently where do you live and who do you stay with?
3. What is your marital status?
4. What are you currently doing (employed or tertiary student)?

Section 2

1. Please tell me how you started sex work
2. How old were you and how long have you been in this trade?
3. Why do you choose to engage in this profession?
4. Where do you get your clients and where do you operate from?
5. Ever since you started this profession do you sleep at night?
6. Do you feel you are selling your body?
7. Do you have any misgivings about your work?
8. How did you feel after your first sexual encounter with a client?
9. Considering that some people might discriminate towards you how do you feel?
10. How is your relationship with your friends and family members?
11. Is your relationship affected by the work that you are doing?
12. Do you have anyone to confide in about what you experience?
13. Do you take drugs (if yes) what kind, why and how frequent?
14. Have you ever had any illness related to your work? *(If yes what was the nature of illness and did you get medical attention for that illness)*
15. Do you have knowledge on the health effects associated with sex work?
16. How often do you use condoms when having sex with clients? *(Give reasons if the condom was not used)*
17. Can you explain the protection measure you implement to protect yourself against STIs
18. What kind of hospitality do you get from health professionals?

Key Informants

1. Tell me how would you describe youth prostitution at Ngundu Growth Point
2. What kind of services do you offer to young female sex workers?
3. How do you market your services to sex workers?
4. Are the intended beneficiaries aware of the services?

5. How do you treat young sex workers in terms of discrimination and stigma?
6. What are the observable health impacts of prostitution in the district?

Police department

1. How would you describe prostitution at Ngundu Growth Point?
2. What role does your agency have regarding youth commercial sex work?
3. What action has the police department taken in addressing the issue of youth sex work within the district?
4. What kind of criminal activity related to prostitution that are reported and how do you deal with them?