

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

1.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the history of prostitution and the choice for a research topic in prostitution, and gives a rationale for the study. The researcher makes a problem statement, discusses the objectives of the study and issues of methodology. The chapter concludes with an explanation of the organization of the rest of the thesis.

Prostitution has continuously been seen as a problem for society, especially in largely patriarchal settings. In such societies the women that practice prostitution are seen as immoral and are blamed for the spread of HIV, based on the assumptions of the definition of women as carriers of sexually transmitted diseases and the moralistic belief that sex is bad. AIDS is seen as a woman's disease, a prostitute's disease. Prostitutes are seen as the most extreme representative of what is bad, but desirable in all women (McFadden 1992: 189). Arguments against the criminalisation, legalization and issues surrounding the denial of human rights to women engaged in sex-work continue among legal personalities and feminist movements. In addition, feminist movements continue to argue for the right of women to sexuality (Louw: 2003; D'Cunha: 1991; McFadden: 1992).

Most feminists including the members of the Nigerian feminist group called 'Women in Nigeria' sees the legalization of prostitution as dehumanizing to

womanhood because it is viewed as exploitative. It is in recognition of the facts surrounding the rights of the commercial sex worker, that the group of Asian Pacific Women consultation on prostitution (press release on the 24 of February 1997, Times of India) pointed out that stigmatization of women in prostitution has kept their legitimate concerns, including situations of abuse, in the shadows and away from the attention of mainstream human rights organizations, feminist groups and society. This consultation on prostitution see the labeling of prostitutes as immoral and evil women, as a means of pitting 'good' women against 'bad' and a way of deterring all women from recognizing their common vulnerability. In this press release, the women ask for the recognition of the work, dignity and human rights of women in prostitution along with the general recognition of reproductive labour of women as work in various sites.

In the Nigerian setting, a communiqué at the end of a seminar of women, among other things, requested the government to ban commercial sex work (National Concord, newspaper, Tuesday, May 6, 1997).

The overt role of governments in encouraging or discouraging prostitution through approved actions like the encouragement of brothel ownership, by registering and collecting taxes in countries like Nigeria and the encouragement of such economic improvement, ventures like tourism or the provision of sex entertainment like almost nude female dancers for tourists, in the name of cultural preservation is a case in point. These are known to be an integral part of tourism as is seen in some developing countries and discussed extensively by Than-Dam Throng (1990).

The attention of female activists is drawn to this singular act of Government because the end beneficiary of prostitutes' actions in brothels and in tourism remains the government.

Sexually Transmitted Infections (STI's) have continued to be a major public health problem in the society. This is largely due to the fact that STI's create social, psychological and physical handicaps to persons who suffer from them and to their significant others. In most cases, prostitutes as itinerant workers are seen as the main source of transmission of STD's (Wilcox 1962; Oboh 1980; Akinnowo1995). The escalating prevalence of the Human Immune Deficiency Virus (HIV) carriers in the world, a worrisome sexually transmitted infection, has become a worldwide issue with pronounced challenges.

It is estimated that 40 million persons in the world are living with HIV/AIDS in December 2003, out of which 37 million are adults and 2.5 million are children under 15 years of age. The newly infected persons in 2003 are estimated at 5 million persons out of which approximately 4.2 million are adults and 700,000 are said to be children under 15 years old. AIDS deaths in the same year are estimated at 3 million out of which 2.5 million are adults while 500,000 are children under 15 years. Sub-Saharan Africa has continued to see generally high levels of infection of HIV/AIDS in the general population. It is estimated that 25.4 million adults and children of Sub-Saharan Africa currently live with HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS: AIDS epidemic update December 2004:3).

In Botswana, HIV sero-prevalence studies among pregnant women in 1997 showed a high prevalence of 42.9% in the whole country. The same survey found that sero-prevalence in Francistown is 38.8%, while in Gaborone it is 34%. These surveys indicated that AIDS has more than doubled in 5 years. Approximately 2 out of 5 pregnant women in most urban areas in Botswana are HIV positive. About 14% of the general population and about 25% of the productive age group are HIV infected (National Policy on HIV/AIDS 1998:2).

In Nigeria, 1995 surveillance reports that 96,100 citizens were estimated to be infected, while 1,092 of these were reported to have AIDS. By June 2001, a sero-prevalence sentinel survey of women attending anti-natal clinics indicated that 3.5 million Nigerians were infected with the virus. The adult HIV prevalence has increased from 1.8% in 1991 to 4.5% in 1996 to 5.8% in 2001. Estimates indicate that more than 3.5 million Nigerians were infected with the virus in 2002.

The epidemic in Nigeria has extended beyond the commonly classified “high risk groups” and is now common amongst the general population. December 2003 the prevalence of HIV in Nigeria stood at 5.8% of the general population (National Policy on HIV/AIDS, 2003:2-3). These figures have their anticipated consequences for the political, social and economic well being of Nigerian citizens. Females, especially prostitutes, continue to be blamed for this increase in the numbers of persons living with HIV/AIDS in the society. Females suspected to have multiple sex partners in the Nigerian society are commonly nick named High

Risk Group (HRG), Accompanying Battalion (AB) or Heavens International Visa (HIV), referring to their perceived role as HIV carriers.

The need to understand the role of prostitutes in society becomes most necessary when we look at the issues of HIV/AIDS in Sub-Saharan Africa. In the Nigerian setting, the personal experience of the researcher indicates that attempts at getting contacts with men attending Sexual Transmitted Disease clinics, which is a very important part of the treatment and control of STD's, becomes very difficult when these contacts are prostitutes.

The perception of the prostitutes that the society, including women, have a very negative attitude towards their existence and would rather have them locked up in prison, makes it difficult for them to participate with their contacts in the treatment process.

In circumstances where the prostitute as a contact is reached, the feeling of shame and inadequacy makes her either aggressive toward the contact tracer, or makes her move to another location. This difficulty in getting the prostitute to take care of her own health has implications for the spread of STD's and HIV/AIDS.

In order to involve prostitutes in prevention treatment and control of STD's, it is important to understand prostitution in its entire ramification. It is important to probe what makes prostitution continue to exist despite the stigma attached, while looking at the socio- cultural issues that play a role in the existence and sustenance of prostitution in society.

The research on prostitution from the prostitute's definition of her situation, will best inform policies that will address the above concerns. Such a research will allow the individual prostitute to discuss the particular experiences that inform her actions despite the stigma attached to a prostitute while allowing for generalizations in the communities studied. It will also enable the prostitute to contribute to the effort made in the emancipation and empowerment of the female gender in society, as well as contributing to the way forward in the prevention and control of HIV/AIDS.

The research provides an opportunity for prostitutes to make suggestions to the governments of Nigeria and Botswana and the general population on the best way to address issues related to prostitution.

1.1.2 Choice of research project

The choice of research project is a follow-up on the researcher's Masters thesis, 'The psycho-social dimension of sexually transmitted diseases in Ahmadu Bello University teaching hospital' Zaria, (1987) in which she found that within a period of one year, over 80% of male patients, who were civil servants, teachers, business men and travellers attending the STD clinic, had at one time or the other sexual relationships with prostitutes or casuals (individuals whom the client hardly knew or had any personal information about).

It was necessary to investigate further what roles prostitution plays in society, what knowledge the prostitutes themselves have about STD's and the difficulties

associated with contact tracing in the control and treatment of Sexually Transmitted Diseases.

The need to contribute to the control of STD's and HIV/AIDS also informed the choice of this topic. Studies have shown that some occupations can increase the risk of contracting and spreading sexually transmitted infections including HIV. Among these are long-distance lorry driving, itinerant market women and commercial sex work (Orubuloye 1993; Akinnawo 1995:114).

Prostitution has continuously been seen as a social problem and there is the need to have better informed policies to address social problems associated with prostitution. There is some level of gender bias in the criticism of prostitution, in most instances little is mentioned about the clients of prostitutes. James (1978: 72) sees the relationship between the prostitute and her client as a mutually agreed upon relationship that needs no interference from any authority. Any attempt at criticizing prostitution should take this mutual relationship into cognizance that makes James (1978:72) refer to attacks and criticisms of prostitutes by the public as a victimless crime, i.e. a crime without a complainant.

The choice of the research topic on prostitution was also informed by the need to include prostitutes in the current world- wide effort to emancipate the women of the world through empowerment and upliftment.

Perchnock (1984:3), in an effort to call the attention of female activists among university lecturers in Zaria, Nigeria, refers in this respect to the important need of taking every woman along in their demand for equality and liberation.

She is of the opinion that “it is clear that movement for the emancipation of women cannot achieve its goals if one class or group of women in society can become emancipated only at the cost of exploiting other women or men. Any movement for the emancipation of women must be judged by how far it is able to improve the conditions of existence of the least privileged, the least powerful women in society. Liberation for a few at the expense of many is not an acceptable solution to women’s oppression”.

This is significant as it will be improper for African women to talk about empowerment, equality, and emancipation or liberation without including the emancipation of women labelled as prostitutes. The results of this research will inform an effort of women to include prostitutes in their quest for a total emancipation of African women.

The choice of a research topic on prostitution is also informed by the fact that little is known about prostitution, especially in the African context. In recognition of the need to devote more time to studying prostitution, Luiz & Roets (2000:21) describes prostitution as perplexing, the world’s oldest profession, that little is actually understood and supported by concrete research, an area clouded in myth, extreme prejudice and pietistic hypocrisy.

This makes it necessary and realistic for conducting research devoted solely to understanding the functioning of prostitution in all its ramifications in Nigeria and Botswana. To adequately understand this in the African context, a comparative study of prostitutes in two economically stable African countries became most appropriate for research. Acts suggestive of prostitution differ significantly in Nigeria and Botswana and these have great implications for programs aimed at combating sexually transmitted diseases including AIDS, and in knowing the way in which prostitution is defined in these and other societies in general.

It is this that informed the choice of the topic “A comparative study of prostitutes in Nigeria and Botswana”. Prostitutes in these African countries are studied from the prostitutes’ own definition of their situation, the prostitutes are able to discuss issues related to their existence in society despite the social stigma attached to prostitution, their motivation to become prostitutes and their experiences with the larger society, especially their clients.

The prostitutes are able to discuss what makes it difficult for them to participate adequately in the prevention and control of sexually transmitted diseases and share information on their perceived role in this matter in society. Most importantly, the prostitutes are in a position to inform policies addressing prostitution based on the experiences of prostitutes.

1.2 Problem statement

The researcher formulated the problem to be investigated in this research as follows:

Does society's perception of prostitutes' impact negatively to empowerment and emancipation of prostitutes as vulnerable members of the female gender, and by implication impact negatively on the full participation of prostitutes in the prevention, control and treatment of sexually transmitted infections including HIV/AIDS?

A further question to be researched includes:

- What factors play a role in creating and sustaining prostitution?

1.2.1. Motivation for the research project

The following experiences motivated the researcher to undertake a study

on prostitution:

- The researcher through her interaction with several persons in her capacity as a sociologist, a systemic counselor, a HIV/AIDS specialist, and a registered nurse has come across several cases of divorce, mental ill health, suicide attempts, and deaths of breadwinners. The primary cause being infection of the individual or partner with sexually transmitted diseases.
- Contact tracing and counseling are vital elements in the treatment and control of sexually transmitted infection. As a contact tracer in a university teaching hospital

STI clinic, the researcher had a difficult task in tracing prostitutes who made up contacts of persons attending the clinic.

- The increased number of young women on the streets and in houses of prostitution, suggestive of prostituting and the gender activists' campaigns aimed at the greater involvement of female gender.
- The attention drawn to the need for governments and community leadership to be gender sensitive in all aspect of life; with a call to greater involvement of the female gender in politics, religious leadership, education and scientific endeavors and to emphasize gender equity, gender mainstreaming, review of patriarchal domination, and to foster gender awareness, gender emancipation and gender empowerment.
- A personal experience of the researcher in the search for an apartment exposed the realities of public categorization of prostitutes.
- A need to inform government and nongovernmental organizations' policies regarding prostitution, STI's and HIV/AIDS

1.2.2. Research question

The research question was based on the problem statement described above (page 9). The research was then structured to investigate the social construction of sex workers' realities of sex work, their method of operations as a sex worker, their motivation to become a sex worker, the impact of the mobile nature of their profession on their lives, how they perceive the threat of STI, their knowledge of STI and their method of addressing STI.

Other issues investigated included their experiences of society, government agencies, and employment outside prostitution, their relationships with family and friends, and their suggestions on how best to address prostitution.

1.2.3 Choice of study location

The research covered four cities in Nigeria (Lagos, Zaria, Kasuwa Magani and Ogoja), and two cities in Botswana (Gaborone and Francistown).

The choice of the four Nigerian communities is informed by the need to ensure coverage of major religious groups (Moslem and Christian groups), the urban and semi-urban areas, the three main regions, and the major ethnic groups and cultural settings that make up Nigeria.

The choice of Gaborone and Francistown is to represent the northern and southern cities of Botswana. There is also the fact that the group being studied, due to societal stigma, presents with numerous difficulties in an attempt to be reached. The need therefore to approach representative sample areas where the researcher hopes to have limited obstacles, while at the same time meeting the objectives of the research, informed the choice of location.

The choice of these two countries is basically due to their backgrounds as economically stable African countries through mineral resources, which is expected to translate into reasonably good social amenities in the countries. While Nigeria is the most populous country in Africa, making it difficult to know each other or know what each other does for a living, Botswana is one of the sparsely

populated countries in Africa and it is easier to know each other, or know what each other does for a living in the community. Of importance is that the researcher has lived and worked in both countries and has had interaction with prostitutes in the process of her work.

1. 2. 4 Rationale for the research project.

The researcher wishes to investigate the above questions through an understanding of the prostitute's own social construction of prostitution. Most information on prostitution in the African context is known only when reference is made to criminal acts like drug trafficking, where prostitutes are arrested along with drug traffickers, or where numbers in female prisons are discussed and also where derogatory statements are made about women and sexually transmitted infections. Most of this information presents a negative and judgmental picture of prostitution.

There is no research report that the researcher is aware of that has paid special attention to understanding prostitution through the prostitute's own social construction of prostitution.

To effectively undertake a study of prostitution, the researcher saw a need to compliment this with information shared on prostitution through references to some developing countries like Thailand, the Philippines, India, and Kenya.

A comparative effort was made to study how prostitutes in two cultures and societies in Africa, West Africa (Nigeria) and Southern Africa (Botswana),

perceive the impact of culture and society on their sex work, social status, employment and their ability to adequately care for their health while addressing issues of STI including HIV/AIDS which is an associated occupational hazard to prostitution.

Prostitution is seen as a problem in the control of infections especially in the era of HIV/AIDS. With the current political and religious circumstances of Nigeria resulting in more economic hardships, more persons are involved in activities and behaviour not accepted by the general population, including behaviour suggestive of prostitution or trafficking in girls for prostitution purposes.

In Africa, the major route of transmission of STD/AIDS is said to be through heterosexual activities, commercial sex workers and their clients are seen as persons responsible for its continuous spread in society. There is also the fact that sexually transmitted infections have been remotely connected with gynaecological, obstetric and renal conditions in the female population Garland W.G; Quixley J.M.E; Cameron M.D; 1971: 141-151.

Conditions like infertility, ectopic pregnancies resulting in high mortality of pregnant women, urethra strictures requiring constant surgeries and cervical cancers are said to be associated with having several sex partners, and these have become issues of concern in the Nigerian setting. These are seen as increasing the mortality and morbidity rate of the Nigerian female population.

In addition to all these is the need to include females who are labeled as prostitutes in the general emancipation of women in the countries studied. An understanding of the prostitutes, from their own definition of their situation, will inform policies of governments and non- governmental organizations on issues relevant to prostitution.

1. 2. 5 Objective of study

This attempt at making a comparative study of Nigeria and Botswana prostitutes is basically:

- To understand similarities or differences, if any, in the creation and sustenance of prostitution in society.
- To understand the prostitute's perception of sexually transmitted infections including HIV/AIDS and their method of dealing with STI's.
- To have a better understanding of the factors that make the prostitute carry on with her job despite the societal labels and stigma.
- To articulate the role of socio- cultural practices such as circumcision, early marriages, polygamy, widowhood inheritance rights, and divorce rights, especially in the Nigerian context in creating prostitution in society.
- To have an understanding of the level of economic relationship between clients, pimps and the prostitute and how this transforms into empowering or the dis-empowerment of the prostitute as a woman in society.

- To inform programmes of governments and non-governmental organizations aimed at addressing the issues of prostitution, women empowerment and sexually transmitted infections including HIV/AIDS.

It is expected that the knowledge gained from this comparative study of prostitutes and prostitution in Nigeria and Botswana will contribute to the contemporary facts about prostitution in these two African societies. This will contribute to information that will assist in the emancipation of the prostitute along with other females in society. The results of the study will among other things inform programmes and policies that relate to prostitution in the two countries, is aimed at addressing sexually transmitted infections including HIV/AIDS.

1.2.6 Methodology

Scientific methodology is defined by Nachmias & Nachmias (1981:15) “as explicit rules and procedures upon which research is based and against which claims for knowledge are evaluated”. It defines the rules of the game, which in turn enables communication, constructive criticism and scientific progress. Scientific methodology allows for the replication of the same investigation in exactly the same way by the same scientist or other scientists.

In this study, a triangulated methodology that involved quantitative (using random sampling surveys) and qualitative (using focus group discussions, in-depth key informant interviews and case studies) techniques and procedures are

used. Straits and Singleton (1999:393) in discussing approaches to social research, discusses four research strategies for understanding the social world namely experiment, surveys, field research and research using available data. This study concentrated in the combination or triangulated use of surveys and field research.

Todd (1979:135), citing works of Denzin (1978:291), defined triangulation as the combination of methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon.

Triangulation can also have other meanings, such as using multiple techniques within a given method to collect and interpret data, what is called “within – method”. Todd (1979:136) citing works of Glaser and Strauss, describes this in quantitative methods such as survey research, as taking the form of multiple scales or indices focused on the same construct while in qualitative methods such as participant observation, this can be reflected in multiple comparison groups to develop more confidence in the emergent theory.

Todd (1979) also discusses the usefulness of another method of triangulation, the “between methods” approach designed for convergent validation; he sees this complementary method as leading to more valid results. Triangulation methodology recognizes the classical dilemma of the head and the heart, the recognition that they cannot be together in one position and at the same time recognizes that they cannot be apart. Each plays its role and in combination performs better. The head has the brain cells while the heart pumps blood, where each one is doing their work adequately the result is a healthy human being.

Triangulation therefore lays emphasis on the combination of methodologies that will produce a better understanding of the subject. Each has its importance in social research. It is complementary and validates the study. The use of triangulation methodology in this study is to ensure that no useful information from sex workers is missed out as the prostitutes define their own interpretation of the situation of prostitution.

Processes of data collection and detailed discussion on methodology are discussed in detail in chapter 5.

1.2.7 Literature study

The researcher conducted a literature study of prostitution that involved a desk review of information related to prostitution. It includes a critical analysis of a gender sensitive approach to prostitution that allows for the understanding of prostitution in the society and its continuous existence through the centuries despite the universal stigma attached to it. An attempt was made to review the colonial and immigrant role in creating prostitution in the countries studied.

The role of child abuse including rape and trafficking in creating prostitution was reviewed. The role of different stakeholders including government through the encouragement of tourism in sustaining prostitution was examined. The physical and mental harassment of prostitutes by agencies of government like the police, that make prostitutes a hard to reach group was also examined. The literature

study also focused on the issues of sexually transmitted infections as it affects prostitution and efforts made by prostitutes themselves to deal with their situation.

The literature review also looked at the limitations associated with the methods adopted by prostitutes to address their situation, while identifying other limitations as a result of society's structure and policies.

The results of the literature study are reported in chapter 4.

1.2.8 Quantitative and qualitative research methodology

Quantitative research methodology refers to the ability to scientifically approach a situation of enquiry by delineating the objects being studied in numbers. Quantitative research is about giving value to the inquiry, basing inquiry on theory or hypothesis used by the researcher, and assuming an understanding of the associated reality issues.

Qualitative research methodology is based on the constructivist paradigm, unlike the quantitative methodology; there is quality in the value of the responses to the questions or inquiry of a qualitative research. These two methodologies were used for this research and are discussed in detail in chapter 5

1.2.9 Definition of Key Concepts

Prostitution

Different authors have defined prostitution as the process of exchanging sex for material benefit. Louw (2003:104) recollects the reference to South African Sexual Offence Act, meant to deal with sex work. He informs that this act was previously termed the Immorality Act, suggesting that in South Africa it had more to do with the enforcement of morality than with preventing socially damaging criminal activity.

He discusses the example in August 20, 1996, of a policeman entering a brothel in Pretoria, South Africa under cover, and later using the law to make an arrest. Louw (2003:104), recollects how the general tenor of the laws that criminalized various sexual practices was moralistic and overtly privileged and how most other relationships outside marriage were considered deviant and criminalized. For him prostitution is seen as a moralistic issue.

Hobson (1990:3) questions whether prostitution is a sexual relationship or a work contract, a private act or public commerce. Prostitution for him entails the exchange of sex for money or goods relatively indiscriminately to strangers.

The Encyclopaedia Britannica (1973-1974) defines prostitution as the practice of habitual or intermittent sexual unions, more or less promiscuous from mercenary and inducement. It is thus characterized by three elements, payment, promiscuity and emotional indifference.

To the researcher a prostitute is any woman living in a brothel or parading the street soliciting for a male sex client for payment.

It will be pertinent to ascertain the universality of this definition through this study. To effectively ascertain this however, it was necessary to attempt through the findings of the study to define what makes up the individual called prostitute in the Nigerian and Botswana setting.

Gender sensitive study

Gender is a relational concept that denotes the manner in which women and men are differentiated and ordered in a given socio- cultural context (Mannathoko 1992:72). It is a social creation of society through socialization of male and females into definite roles.

It is this defined roles in society that creates the subordination of women to men and makes the women perceive themselves as persons made to do the will of the man and makes the man perceive himself as a person served by the woman for the financial and material support expected from him by the society. A gender sensitive study helps in the appropriate classification of factors that enhances gender inequalities.

This approach is adopted in this study in examining the issue of prostitution bearing in mind the social roles of the different genders in society; this researcher uses gender to denote the society assigned role of man and woman in Botswana and Nigeria.

Sexuality

McFadden (1992: 168) defines sexuality as “the socio- cultural construction of sex, shaped and defined by the physical, language and social character of each society. Sexuality is seen as a learned form of behaviour which is related both to the instinctive need to reproduce the species, as well as to the desire for sensual pleasure”.

This is differentiated from the word ‘sex’ which refers to the biological being of a man or a woman with a specific organ of penis or vagina. Sexuality therefore is defined by several other factors like the early socialization process; the role of the sexes as assigned by the cultural setting, and where these roles are not effectively performed, a degree of deviancy is assigned.

McFadden (1992: 168) citing Reyes, sees the cultural definition of role for the sexes as oppressive to women, as it restricts and controls the expression of sexuality as a free form, and holds this responsible for the sexuality of the female gender.

She suggests that as people are allowed to express their sexuality in their own terms and based on their specific needs, it becomes a source of strength and empowerment. The researcher agrees with the definition and uses sexuality in the context described.

Feminism

Feminism is a term for conceptions of the relations between men and women in society. Feminism is an avenue to question and challenge the origins of oppressive gender relations and it attempts to develop strategies that might change the relations for the better. Mannathoko (1992) sees feminism as an analytic or academic perspective, a social movement, a political struggle, and an ideology or belief system.

It goes further than looking at issues of justice and equality of the genders to offering criticisms of male dominated institutions (Mannathoko 1992:71). The researcher sees feminism as reviewing the stereotype roles of the female gender and accepting that except for the biological role of caring and pregnancy, women and men can play the same roles if given the opportunity.

The researcher alludes to the fact that in pregnancy women can carry both male and female gender. It therefore means that if the environment is right the female can effectively play those roles that society attributes to the male gender along with her assigned roles if we consider that by carrying male pregnancy she carries the male gender and all that he is made of.

Liberal Feminism

Mannathoko (1992: 72) sees liberal feminism as a movement that dates back to the 18th century that questioned women's dependency on men. Liberal feminisms stress the capabilities and rights of women and demand the equal opportunities and

equal liberation through legal reforms and increase of women's participation in the political institutions.

Liberal feminism is used in this research to mean the increase in the participation of women including sex workers in the determination of their health and well being through appropriate utilization of health institutions.

Women Empowerment

Women's empowerment is the process by which unequal power relations between men and women are transformed and women gain greater equality with men. This has been recognized as a basic human right as well as an imperative for national development and global progress (UNFPA gender empowerment document 2004). This researcher uses women empowerment here to include the process by which unequal power relations between the prostitute and her clients including the pimp is transformed to allow the prostitute to take appropriate decisions that affects her life.

1.2.10 Assumptions

The study was based on the assumptions that:

- Limitations in the effective control of sexually transmitted infection and HIV/AIDS that arises from casual sexual relationships, including the use of prostitutes, can only be understood by studying prostitutes.
- A study of prostitutes can only be meaningful if it is understood from the prostitute's own definition of the situation because it is significant to note that it

is only the individual who is directly affected that can best explain her situation and this is the case in identifying with the prostitutes experiences in attempting to understand prostitution.

- A better understanding of the situation of prostitutes will reshape the society's perception of prostitutes and ensure their involvement in the general female gender empowerment effort.
- A triangulated research methodology involving the combination of quantitative and qualitative information is most appropriate in eliciting information from a very sensitive population like prostitutes
- A comparative study of prostitutes in two economically stable countries in Africa (Nigeria and Botswana) will give a better insight into the realities of prostitution, sexually transmitted infections, and female gender related issues.
- An inductive logic that derives from the particular to the general, in this case the experiences of the individual prostitutes will inform the generalization.
- A theory based on research findings is considered while understanding the influence of other theories on the cause and effect of prostitution. Therefore a grounded theory is best in a study of prostitution.
- The results of the study will be useful for policies of governments and agencies in responding to issues related to prostitution.

1.2.11 Ethical appraisal

Nachmias & Nachmias (1981:9) indicate that social science is to produce an accumulating body of reliable knowledge that will allow explanations,

predictions and understanding of empirical phenomena of interest. Nachmais & Nachmias (1981:317) identifies social sciences as both scientific and humanistic and sees social scientists as observers as well as participants in the subject matter of their disciplines.

This humanistic aspect of science makes it mandatory that an adequate ethical consideration must be given to the subjects of investigation in a research. Research ethics with all intent and purpose ensures that the rights and welfare of persons and communities of investigation are adequately protected. Written permission was received from the relevant government agency prior to study where and when necessary.

Advocacy to the prostitute's leadership in sites of study was a precondition for data collection.

Sensitivity to the cause of the research was a precondition for the selection of research assistants that included persons directly or indirectly involved with the subject of study.

All research assistants received a two- day orientation and training on sensitive community data collection.

The researcher was present at all data collection sites and personally introduced research assistants to subjects.

Respect for the privacy and rights of the subjects made participation in the study voluntary.

1.2.12 Progression of the rest of the research

The rest of the study is organized as follows:

Chapter 2 gives an over view of the historical background of countries and sites studied as related to prostitution.

Chapter 3 reviews the conceptual framework that could be considered in understanding prostitution in the African society.

Chapter 4 covers the literature review of studies and writings related to prostitution within a gender perspective

Chapter 5 describes the empirical investigation, including the design of research, the process of data collection and analysis.

Chapter 6 discusses the results in relation to the identified questions posed by study

Chapter 7 concludes the study with the presentation of an understanding of research findings, makes recommendations for addressing the question of prostitution in Africa in realization of the issues of sexually transmitted infections including HIV/AIDS and identifies areas for further research.

1.3 SUMMARY

Prostitution has continued to exist through the ages because there continues to be a demand for the services they provide. The male gender is seen as justified in his quest for the use of a prostitute to satisfy a sexual urge as it is assumed that the desire for sexual intercourse is strongly felt by males on attaining puberty and continues through life. The institute of prostitution is seen as meeting this desire (Victorian London- Crime- Prostitution- causes of prostitution. www.victorianlondon.org).

The morality of a woman called a “prostitute” has been questioned and her actions are considered as criminal and responsible for the presence of sexually transmitted infections including HIV/AIDS. It is important to appropriately address issues related to the empowerment of these women, and their full participation in the prevention, control and treatment of sexually transmitted diseases including HIV/AIDS.

To do this, a study that informs on the prostitute, her modus operandi and relationship with society will best address these issues. This study attempts at understanding the prostitute through understanding her own definition of the experiences of prostitution.

Information derived from the study will inform policies and programmes that addresses women that is inclusive of the prostitute, and this information when shared, may help to change society’s attitude towards prostitution. It is hoped that this will help the prostitute make informed decisions related to her health and well-being.

CHAPTER 2

BACKGROUND OF PROSTITUTION IN THE COUNTRIES STUDIED

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents an overview of a brief historical perspective on Nigeria, Botswana and the cities where the research was done. It looks at the subcultures and contemporary realities of prostitution in these countries and discusses the issues that could explain the differences in the appropriate understanding of a definition of prostitution.

Other factors like the expatriate and tourism roles in creating prostitution are discussed, as well as the relevance of Sexually Transmitted Diseases (STD's) including HIV/AIDS in the two countries, as related to prostitution are discussed.

2.2 Background of Prostitution in Nigeria and Study Sites

Nigeria, a West African country with a population of 130 million, is the second largest and most populated country in sub-Saharan Africa. It has a birth rate of 39.22 and a death rate of 14.1 per 1000 of the population, and a 2.54% overall

population growth rate. Nigeria has a high mortality rate of 72.49 deaths per 1,000 live births. The life expectancy at birth is 50.6 years for females and 50.5 years for males. The total fertility rate is 5.49 children born per woman. (<http://www.fhi.org/en/countryprofiles/nigeria+main+country+page.htm> October 7, 2004). It is to be noted that the last known census conducted in Nigeria was in 1991.

In Nigeria 3,600,000 adults and children are estimated to be people living with HIV/AIDS. Out of these 3,100,000 were adults aged 15-49 in 2001. At the end of 2003, 5.4% Nigerians were adults living with HIV/AIDS (Report on the global AIDS epidemic, UNAIDS 2004: 190-191; National policy on HIV/AIDS 2003:3).

Nigeria is currently faced with various economic, political and social problems which to a great extent led to its un-popularity in the world, with a considerable reduction in international funding, especially affecting programs aimed at reducing the prevalence of STD/ HIV/AIDS in the society. This has greatly affected the living standard of its citizens and contributed to the increase in unemployment of highly qualified professionals.

Crimes like hard drugs trafficking and human trafficking have increased, while acts suggestive of prostitution, pimping, and illegal entry into other countries to search for livelihood, is known to have increased as the situation of the country deteriorates.

The researcher, prior to the design of this study, had personally come across young unemployed graduates and students in tertiary institutions that in a quest for survival take time off as call girls in hotels. She has personally counseled a few of these girls, some of whom had traveled to countries like Hong Kong, Spain, Italy, Portugal, France and Thailand to work as bar girls and prostitutes. The case study of Sylvia, a 17 year old, who was trafficked from Nigeria to Italy, confirms the situation of Nigerian girls sent into prostitution. Sylvia was forced to work as a prostitute for one and a half years, and her madam demanded that she hands over all her earnings, and in no time police through a visa policy agreement between the government of Nigeria and Europe had Sylvia deported back to Nigeria (www.stophumantrafficking.org/sylvia.html).

The researcher has traveled with some girls like Sylvia who were deported from Portugal (1995:May, Balkan Airlines). There is in Nigeria also the popular home video, "*Italian Connection: Glamour girls*", popular in Nigeria which depicts the fact that young women go to Europe and Asia to engage in prostitution.

Nigerians attach great value to culture and religion. It is a multicultural, multi-ethnic country that gained independence from the British in 1960. While the colonial powers were in control, the country was divided for administrative purposes into the Northern Protectorate and the Southern Protectorate.

There is a marked difference in the culture, religion and peoples that make up these protectorates. Nigeria has been an agricultural economic based country until the discovery of oil in the 1960's and she traded with her neighbors Cameroon,

Ghana, Togo, the Benin republic, and Sal Tome (Panya). In pre-colonial Nigeria, trade was mostly by barter and the extent of agricultural field and products of the fields determined the wealth of the individual. These explained why there were several tribal wars for the acquisition of land and agricultural fields.

There was a family structure, which was made up of the father as the head of the household, his wives and their children as helpers in the land. Tribal wars meant that the defeated were taken as slaves to work on the farms of the victorious and this included the ownership of the wives for procreation of field workers. Of notice is the pattern of rule allowed by the colonial powers.

The Northern protectorate was largely made up of Moslem Hausa/Fulani's and the Christian southern Kaduna (Kaje, Birom, Kafanchan tribes). In the Northern protectorate the British allowed the rulers, called Emirs, most of their traditional and administrative powers and they ruled as the Sharia demanded, and based on the Moslem holy book (the Koran), with some allowances for overall supervision by the British governor.

The relationship between the Northern protectorate and the British was much more marked in commerce. The area in question produced cash crops like cotton, groundnuts, hides and skins, leather works, and minerals like tin ore and collumbite that were exported to Europe. The British presence in the north therefore was as heads of company related to the exportation of these products and importation of its finished products.

The district officers, education officers and others were mere figureheads and were assigned at the wish of the ruling Emirs (Callaway, 1987: 138). What these meant was that the traditional lifestyle of northerners to a large extent were retained. This however, followed the Arabian style and the relationship in land ownership and taxation between the citizens and their Emirs was in the form of a lease.

This style of rule has a proper structure almost similar to what we know today as a democratic process, although this was negatively referred to as feudalism. There were prime ministers, judges, and different ministers for each sector, all patterned traditionally.

Women are considered an important group in the northern areas and they are referred to as "*Uwarrigida*", literally meaning the mother of the home as against the husband who is referred to as the owner of the home, "*Maigida*".

This research looks at two sites in the northern part of Nigeria, namely Zaria and Kasuwa Magani.

Zaria, a city in Kaduna state, was the administrative headquarters of the northern protectorate, a typically Moslem setting. Kasuwa Magani, the second study site in the former northern protectorate, is situated about one hundred and forty five kilometers from Zaria, passing an oil refinery, on the Kachia Kaduna road. Kasuwa Magani is made up of Christians, Moslems and traditional worshippers. It has some rural and semi-urban characteristics in outlook.

Researchers, like Barkow (1971), in his writings on the institution of courtesan ship in northern Nigeria, has indicated that there existed some form of prostitution and he describes their modus operandi as requiring a period of the women and her client getting to know each other before allowing physical intimacy. He refers to this as “courtesan ship” and these women are known as “*Akwato*” The researcher having studied and worked among this group, prefers to use the word *Akpoto* for the Idoma tribe women in prostitution, and not for all northern women; and use *Karuwa* for all northern prostitutes.

There is however a marked difference between the Hausa prostitute and that of the rest of Nigeria as they are much more organized and live under the care of the “*Magagier*”, the big old prostitute or now old maid. The *Magagier* selects clients for the girls. The clients of prostitutes spend a definite time with a particular prostitute, sometimes a week or more, and during this time he provides money for daily soup making (*kwudi chefeni*) in a manner similar to marriage.

In a typical Hausa setting, the woman is a complete housewife and does not go out except to marriages and naming ceremonies in the company of co-wives in the polygamous settings. This therefore means that she does not go to the market like women of southern Nigeria. The major items needed in the house like rice, beans, maize and flour are purchased by the husband in large quantities considering the polygamy situation, and the woman whose turn it is to cook and have sexual intercourse for the day or week, is given some money every morning for basic items like tomatoes, beef and fish to enable her make the daily soup for the family.

This she purchases from the mobile traders who go to the homes to sell their commodities. The Hausa prostitution is similar to marriage. The researcher chooses to describe the Hausa prostitution system as *a short-term wife*. The system of prostitution described here was observed to still be in existence at the time of the pilot study for this research in Tudun Wada and Samaru communities of Zaria, Nigeria.

Although Zaria represents one of the most important cities of the Hausa Moslem cultural settings in Nigeria, next to Sokoto, it harbours not just Hausa's but people of different tribes and cultures. Zaria was an important seat of Government in the colonial era, it is the site of the largest university in Africa south of the Sahara, and has many other higher institutions.

It is also important as the city in which all-military heads of states of Nigeria till date has lived while attending the famous Nigerian Military school of Zaria. Most importantly is the fact that in Nigeria, prior to colonialism, there has been a record of two famous feminists, Queen Moremi of Ife, and Queen Amina of Zazzau. Queen Amina remains till date the symbol of Zaria, the ancient city of the Othman Empire. Prostitution among the Hausa Fulani of Northern Nigeria is best studied in Zaria.

Kasuwa Magani, the second site in Northern Nigeria, is also in Kaduna State. The city, translated literally as 'Market of medicine', is important as the way leading out from the centre of Kaduna city, along the petrol refinery sites. It is an exit into the mainly Christian part of northern Nigeria, which is the southern Kaduna,

formerly referred to as southern Zaria. In Kasuwa Magani there is a great presence of Fulani herdsmen and many now settled in Kajuru and its environs.

The Hausa's have an expansion of the Othman Empire settlement alongside the native owners. Kasuwa Magani therefore is a good representative of the northern melting pot as it harbors non-Hausa speaking northerners, Fulani and Hausa's, who all claim their origin in the city, but exist in a very cordial relationship. It is a familiar sight to see village Hausa men dress in shirts and trousers and the women not necessarily in Purdah (an Islamic setting where women are kept in the rear areas of the walled homes and they go out only with escorts and fully covered). Not being in Purdah is a rare happening in other parts of the North.

The choice of Kasuwa Magani is informed by the researcher's interaction with the people of the city in her effort to identify learning centers for the women's literacy project of Africare/ Kaduna State. On one of such occasion, on a market day (Thursday), the researcher was opportune to observe first hand interaction suggestive of prostitution and client ship between each mentioned tribe and felt these were a group to be studied in the North to represent the semi-urban group.

MAP OF NIGERIA DEPICTING THE STUDY SITES AKPOKIM IN OGOJA, LAGOS, ZARIA and KASUWA MAGANI



(Source: www.nigeriamaps.com) 15 November 2004.

Key: Ogoja is near Obudu cattle ranch; Lagos is near Porto Novo, Zaria Kasuwa Magani between Jos and Kano

The southern protectorate however, was controlled directly by the colonial powers that appointed their own chiefs and leaders with little regard to the existing traditional setting, retaining the Obaship role in the west but limiting their

traditional powers. These people were mostly traditionalist and were guided by the traditional belief systems prior to the arrival of the whites.

The arrival of the *white men or onyibo* as they were called, coincided with the arrival of the missionaries and the south embraced Christianity with very little patches of Moslems in Ibadan, Oyo and Auchi.

Unlike the northern protectorate, the whites were directly in contact with the southern protectorate and had offices in every town and possibly every village, and they had great influence in decision-making. The south produced palm products, bananas, cocoa, kolanut, coal, gold and columbines, whose production centers were headed by whites.

The rest of the areas of research represent the southern protectorate. Lord Lugard amalgamated Nigeria's northern and southern protectorates in 1914. Lagos was then the capital (currently the commercial capital with Abuja as the administrative capital). Lagos remains the melting pot of Nigeria where every tribe, religion and class is represented. This explains why Lagos is chosen as a research site.

Polygamous relationships were recognized in Nigeria, however, there were rules and regulations guiding the polygamous system and the eldest in the land was seen as the mouthpiece and adjudicator. There were traditional leaders and laws that guided the citizens. In the southern protectorate, democracy was such that if the leader was not doing the will of the people or what was expected of him, he was advised to commit suicide. There was a role definition for both genders in the

society and sacrifices were offered to the Gods for protection and cleansing in the event of not doing what is expected from them as a man or woman.

In Eastern Nigeria the woman is called “*oriaku*”, literally meaning the person who enjoys the family wealth, she was respected, as the product of her womb was important for re-production.

She did not own land, but owned portions of the product of the land and was expected to sell her products to take care of herself. Her continuous beauty marked by her fatness was the sign of good living and the praise was given to her husband. A woman owned land only where there were no male offspring only through a polyandry arrangement.

In this particular arrangement, the woman from a lineage without any male offspring is allowed to live in her father’s compound, or she may pay dowry and marry other women who will have several husbands with a right to the children being that of the female husband who had paid her dowry. Sometimes, the first daughter is allowed to stay in the home and produce as many children as she can until she produces a male child through several sex partners source: (oral tradition: Ahudiyia Nnabugwu, aged 104 years; 2004). It is similar to what Amadiume (1987: 21) describes in her “male-daughter-female- husbands” which is still practiced in eastern Nigeria.

Polygamy was generally practiced with the approval of the previous wives, and in fact was in most cases at the suggestion of the oldest wife. This happened when

the woman could not have the required characteristics or when she has only female children, as most communities practiced patriarchy.

Also, when a wife or wives are approaching menopause, a new wife is added to the family. It could therefore be said that every woman was an investment and therefore was paid for in various forms such as stock or share, whose dividend is very high in the form of the production of sons and daughters. Pre-colonial taxation was in the form of giving a part of the production at harvest to the head or leader who usually was old. Pre-colonial taxation was voluntary.

The payment of a bride price in the traditional Nigerian society was a sign of pact guiding the two families. This automatically changes the ownership of the woman from the father to the husband. This tradition has implications in modern Nigerian societies. In the Ibo tradition, when marriage ceases (divorce was rare), the bride price is returned to the husband by the wife's family, and this is usually done before she can contract another marriage source: (oral tradition). This still obtains in communities the researcher is familiar with.

The women had an assembly where they played the role of support to each other and counseling to each other. Traditionally every girl was expected to marry by the age of fifteen in all parts of Nigeria. Age grades through sanctions ensured that this happened and that the girls remained virgins until marriage. On the part of the man, virginity was expected until marriage of the first wife.

Extra marital affairs were brought to the notice of the elders or women assemblies, who usually reprimanded the husband in most cases (By requesting that he buys clothing and fish for the wife or wives, or offer sacrifices). Incest was abhorred and persons involved were sold into slavery. Another site of this research, Ogoja, had been studied and discussed by Benedict Naanen (1991) in the itinerant gold mines. Ogoja is situated in eastern Nigeria, which borders with Cameroon. With the advent of the missionaries, most cultural acts like polygamy were abhorred and seen as promiscuous and not religious. Land was now owned by the government and allocated to citizens, tribal war was prohibited and persons, who hitherto would have been sacrificed to the gods, were sold into slavery. This was in exchange for gunpowder, alcoholic spirits and Portuguese wine.

In discussing colonialism in the context of prostitution, it is important to note that with the introduction of taxes where persons who could not pay, sold their properties, which included their wives, alternatively they submitted themselves to be sold into slavery. Then came the two world wars, where young healthy men were recruited into the British army as laundry men, cooks, etc. Western education was then a sure guarantee for a future job as clerical officer, sweepers and house help for the European district officer's source:(oral tradition from war veterans in Uturu, Nigeria).

The missionaries established schools, which produced the junior level manpower, needed by the colonial administration; these factors were the beginning of the separation of families and the living of young women to care for the families.

While maintaining the tradition of women not owning land, which is the only known mode of production. Young Nigerian men left for the Gold Coast or Sierra Leone for education.

Logically this became the beginning of prostitution in the form, as it is known today. Women had to sleep with persons of authority, mostly white men, to get money to pay their husband's taxes and their own where applicable. They also used what today is called "*bottom power*" in Nigeria, i.e. through prostitution to get white men to cancel the exportation plans of a husband/brothers.

Other studies discussing the cultural relationship in Nigeria like Uchendu (1996) discusses the Ngwa group of the Ibo in Southern Nigeria and refer to such a sexual relationship as a concubine. This researcher observes that what occurred in pre-colonial Nigeria was what today is called *mistresses* in Nigeria.

While it is recognized that there were concubines in pre-colonial Nigeria, it is also recognized that traditionally those children born of such relationships were seen as illegitimate and therefore were denied land or other family properties. Even when they are male offspring, these children did not have a say in family decision making. Women as concubines were usually young widows or women who were separated from their legitimate husbands, because of their inability to bear a male child, which till date remains a salient factor in marriage relationships in Nigeria.

This has its own implications for women's health issues as most women, irrespective of education or social status, would attempt if need be a tenth

pregnancy to ensure a male child, and that only can keep her married. As we hope to see in this study this singular act has led to many divorces and subsequently increases in new entries into prostitution in contemporary Nigeria, especially in the south.

In the Ibo setting concubines were referred to as '*Ikoh or Izum*'. If we however look at the dictionary of the different main Nigerian languages, one is bound to find a reference to *Okpaara* in Ibo, *Ashawo* in Yoruba and *Karuwa* in Hausa/Fulani. This suggests that there certainly were prostitutes prior to the arrival of the white man.

It is to be noted that Nigeria's socio-cultural system is patriarchal in nature and this to a great extent is significant in the male-female relationship, even in the post-colonial era. Callaway (1987:280) citing Horace Tremble, one of the few white women who accompanied her mining engineer husband to Nigeria before World War 1, described her situation in Nigeria with these words:

"I often found myself reflecting rather bitterly on the insignificant position of women in what is practically a man's country...if there is one spot on earth where a woman feels of no importance whatsoever, it is in Nigeria at the present day. She is frankly there on sufferance".

Although this was expected to have been referring to Nigeria within the First World War years, this researcher argues that little has changed since then, not even the economic relevance of the Nigerian woman has made a significant change.

Even at the end of the twentieth century where a woman worked hard on the farm, in a market or in an office, her property remains in the cooking vessels and ornaments in the event of divorce or widowhood. Until recently in the 1990's women of Nigeria were expected to have their husband's signatures to obtain a bank account or to have family planning services.

In post- colonial Nigeria, twelve to thirteen year olds are still forced to marry old men, with its several implications including Vesico- vaginal fistula (leaking urine and stool) after their first pregnancies, resulting in family neglect, husband rejection and forcing surviving ones into prostitution (Nnabugwu-Otesanya 1988).

In southern Nigeria a shift or change in societal needs took place with much more importance given to materialism and less to morals. Many young men go into criminal activities, like armed robberies, hard drugs trafficking and swindling. These crimes can be punished under the "419 Decrees". This is a military enactment instituted during the military regime in Nigeria and is binding on all Nigerians even during democratic process. Leggett (2002:98) discussed extensively the impact of these Nigerian hard drug traffickers in combating crime and prostitution in South Africa.

In Nigeria, this shift in the community norms has made material wealth a factor in marriage and social relationships, resulting in several broken marriages of young persons, which leaves the girls with no other option but to enter into prostitution. The legal system remains unfavorable to women in cases of divorce or

widowhood, making many women to enter into prostitution to support their offspring.

On the part of the girls, the high cost of a bride price has significantly reduced the number that gets married. Today, unlike the pre- colonial Nigeria, some southern girls remain unmarried even in their late thirties. Some of them become high-class prostitutes to support their personal and family needs. The general economic low ebb of Nigeria today has resulted in young, adult and married women using sex as a means of livelihood.

These categories of women include female contractors, suppliers, office workers, and girls seeking college admissions or already in college, widows and divorcees, who require financial support. All these have great implications in defining prostitution in the Nigerian setting as some of the prostitutes that participated in this study belong to these groups.

In looking at the colonial past of Nigeria, we note also that most of the white men came to Nigeria as young men and only very few came with their wives. Nigerian women provided sexual respite, while the young Nigerian men on the other hand were pimps to maintain their jobs as cooks, clerks, gardeners and housekeepers.

Those Europeans with wives lived a life of confinement and their lifestyle was that of superior beings. Callaway (1987:300), while acknowledging the secluded life of the white family in Nigeria in her writings, rejects that they sort solace in African women, or the fact that this was abhorred by the British government.

In what seems like a confirmation of what colonialism did to the colonized society, Vambe (2003: 474); in looking at literary works and the use of images in the description of disease, cites Frantz Fanon equating colonialism with a dangerous epidemic disease. Vambe (2003), citing Dambudzo Marechera's "*The House Of Hunger*" (1978:45), describes colonialism as a venereal disease when he says African traditions and customs have been eaten to the core by this syphilis of the white man's coming.

Keegan (2001: 476); in looking at sexual relationships between whites and the blacks before the First World War in Southern Africa, cites Van Gass of the White League saying that there is to be no cohabitation of white with black, no equality or semblance "*this side, the white. Younder! The black*".

To the blacks in the Nigerian setting it was a pride to be able to speak English and interact with an Englishman. This was why the black girl who slept with numerous white men and produced what today is called half-caste in West Africa or a Coloured in Southern Africa, were seen in the Nigerian setting as very senior citizens. Normally these should be reprimanded, but instead they began to be held in high esteem. Prostitution in all its ramifications in the colonial era was seen as positive to women who practiced it and the communities where they came from. Naanen (1991) in her work, "Prostitution in the Cross River Basin of Nigeria" refers to them as the "Itinerant Gold Mines". Naanen (1991) sees the financial

contribution to the economy of the Obubra Division by the prostitutes as being remarkable.

Sex work in Nigeria as well as in other African countries, while abhorred publicly, is recognised for using their business to support loved ones, including children and siblings. Most recently, it is reported that in Nigeria men will do all they can to get married to the returning prostitutes from Europe because of their new financial status (Tell Magazine: 49, December 3, 2001).

The role of sex workers in supporting families and friends are well acknowledged in several other African writings, including works of Perschler–Desai; 2001, Leggett, 2002; Luiz & Roets, 2000; Vuuren, 2000; & Hesselink-Louw, 2002. In each of these studies, it was evident that even in child prostitution, the proceeds, went to pimps and the rest was used by the child to provide food and medication to family members especially now in the era of HIV/AIDS.

The third site of study in the Nigeria setting is Ogoja in Obubra division, a southern Nigerian boarder town in Cross River State in the Eastern region of Nigeria. It borders with Cameroon in Mfum and Akpokim. It is a city that had been studied by a previous researcher interested in prostitution and reported in her work, “Itinerant gold mines” (Naanen, 1991).

The choice of Ogoja therefore is to see if anything has changed since previous studies. Ogoja is a city and the only one where the researcher is aware of where prostitution is accepted as legitimate labour/service. It is a city where female

taxation is allowed and the women could be said to possess some level of empowerment and are emancipated to take decisions concerning their lives. Even though marriage is encouraged by the high presence of Catholicism, tradition still supersedes. Ogoja is a place where the ability of a woman to try several lovers and produce a child makes her more marriageable.

Lagos, one of the research sites, was until 1976, the capital city of Nigeria. Although the city has ceased to be the capital, it remains the commercial nerve center and the melting pot of Nigeria. Lagos is a Yoruba state of Nigeria but has people from all tribes, classes, religions, political parties and economic classes. It is the busiest Nigerian city and because of this busy life style it is difficult to ascertain most individual's means of livelihood. It is therefore no surprise that it is the city that has the greatest crime rate, the only city where the police has experienced the greatest difficulty in curbing crime cumulating in the current police operations tagged '*operation sweep*'.

It is no wonder then that many houses of prostitution exist. There are many prostitutes in the streets soliciting for clients after 10pm. These girls are in very difficult circumstances and double as students, clerks, sales girls and some as housewives. Their customers include men visiting either for conferences or meetings, expatriates in the country on short assignments with families back home, men who have had marital problems and a host of others.

In discussing the issue of prostitution in the Nigerian context, it may be necessary to review the existing sub-cultures of the Nigerian and how these affect those

regarded as prostitutes. Citing writings of Uchendu (1965); Pittin (1979); and Obbo (1980), the researcher recognizes that there are in existence survival and coping strategies for the Nigerian women in their socio- economic setting.

In the different tribes, prostitution took different shapes, from houses of women in Northern Nigeria to being a concubine in Southern Nigeria. Considering that traditionally in the Nigerian setting, activities similar to what is seen today as prostitution was accepted and continues to be accepted, it becomes difficult to see prostitution as alien to the Nigerian culture.

Pittin (1991) in the review of African Political Economy discusses to a great extent women's strategies to maximize their opportunities in a situation of economic difficulties and limited resources, drawing from the experiences of 'independent women' (*courtesans or karuwai*). This typifies what went on in the northern Moslem settings of Nigeria, while Uchendu (1965) typifies what went on in the largely Christian south of Nigeria.

2.3 Background of Prostitution in Botswana and Study Sites

The second country studied is Botswana, a landlocked country with an area of approximately 580,000 sq km, lying at the center of the southern African plateau. This is between the southern latitude of 18 and 26 degrees and the meridians of 20 E and 28 E degrees. The tropic of Capricorn thus traverses the southern quarter of the country. The country shares borders with Zambia in the North, South Africa in the South, with Zimbabwe in the East and Namibia in the West. The Kgalagadi

national park occupies approximately 87% of the landmass. The population is currently estimated at 1.4 million.

Botswana has a growth rate of approximately 3.5% and this is among the highest on the African continent. There has been a sustained improvement across most health indicators. The urban population growth increased from 18% in 1981 to about 46% in 1991. This rapid increase had more to do with the reclassification of formerly urban villages into urban areas proper. Similar to other developing countries Botswana has a young population structure. Data from 1991 census show that approximately 29% of the population are below the ages of fifteen years, which represents an age dependency ratio of 83/100. The total dependency ratio was estimated at 93/100 in 1991.

This is likely expected to worsen as those in the economically active age grade get increasingly infected with HIV and succumb to AIDS. 45% of the population of Botswana is aged 15-49 and these are the highest age category infected with the HIV/AIDS viruses. They are also the most sexually active in the population and accounts for 98.5% of the HIV infected in the population (UNDP report 1989).

In Botswana, 350,000 adults and children are estimated to be living with HIV at the end of 2003. Out of these, is 37.3 % of ages 15-49 estimated to be people living with HIV/AIDS (Report on the global AIDS epidemic, UNAIDS 2004: 190-191).

Botswana has a unique traditional settlement pattern consisting of three abodes. The village dwelling is seen as the principal home, the cattle post is solely for

cattle farming, and the lands for arable farming. A recent fourth kind of abode is the urban home. There is however a marked mobility between any of these described homes, which are customary and most frequent. Rapid population movement revolves around these domains of abode; this mobility makes it difficult to distinguish rural from urban people.

It is most likely that the rapid interaction between the various settlement types in Botswana may to a large extent explain the narrow gap between rural and urban HIV infection rate. Of great significance will be the mobility of prostitutes and the difficulty expected in HIV/AIDS response programs.

MAP OF BOTSWANA DIPICTING FRANCISTOWN AND GABORONE



(Source: www.botswanamaps.com) 15 November, 2004.

In Botswana there is as yet no brothels as is seen in Nigeria, but discussions from the women on accepted behaviours indicate several sexual partners, due to frequent work transfers of individuals, with little or no regards to their marital status. The official partner accommodation of individuals, regardless of their sexuality was seen to be a factor in creating several sexual partners. The night street scenario seen in major towns and suburbs is a salient factor in defining prostitution.

Botswana is one of the African countries that were not really colonized although it was ruled as a British protectorate. It was then seen as one of the poorest African countries until the discovery of diamonds after independence. It has since become one of the richest countries of Africa.

It is suggested that Botswana is the most peaceful country in Africa with democratic processes that is the envy of the world. Although animal farming remains the main source of livelihood for indigenous Motswana (as Botswana's are called), the transformation of Botswana from a very poor country to a very rich diamond country has seen many indigenes acquiring higher education, but has yet a large expatriate work force. Botswana is basically an importing nation because of the desert. Food, even water, etc comes from South Africa and Zimbabwe. There are a limited number of industries in Botswana.

In the past the male Botswana left for Southern Africa to work, leaving the women behind to fend for the families, at the time it was encouraged to have children from the miners who returned home for maintaining the population (source oral tradition). Bride prices were necessary for marriages (*the lobola*). All these have implications in what today is seen as prostitution in Botswana: women who have children after sexual encounters with several men to the extent that they cannot identify the paternity of their child, are not considered as prostitutes, but women seen on the street attempting at getting a sexual partner (usual an expatriate to get money to feed these children) are considered as prostitutes and are reprimanded by the army by beating.

Francistown, one of the study sites, is the oldest town in Botswana with a population of 65,224 at the time of the 1991 census. Francistown started as a small mining settlement following the discovery of gold deposits in 1866. Over the years the town has gained importance as a commercial, administrative and communication center for the northern part of the country. Francistown has a major road network linking the Southern African Countries of Zambia, Zimbabwe, South Africa, Namibia, Zaire and Angola. Francistown and its environs attract migrant job seekers, resulting in unemployment and squatter settlements and with its social implications.

The national AIDS control program survey shows that Francistown has 42.9 % of the population infected with the virus in 1997 (Botswana National Policy 1998:2). There is increasing evidence that Francistown is a regular truck stop and this attracts many women who work as sex workers. There are several hotels and bars in each municipal ward that are patronized by sex workers, although they do not live in the hotels and bars making it brothels like you would find in Nigeria.

Recently a great number of young girls patrol the streets at night in a manner suggestive of soliciting for clients. It is said that commercial sex work in Francistown dates back as far as the 1950's when it was a gold mining town. There are a number of neglected mining sites in Francistown with its dilapidated equipment's as tourist sites. Francistown is said to have a 30.5% unemployment rate (Motlhabane et al, 1995).

A recent UNAIDS release indicates that 350,000 adults and children live with HIV at the end of 2003, out of which 330,000 are between the ages at 15-49 (UNAIDS: reports on global AIDS epidemic, 2004).

In recognition of the fact of prostitution in Botswana, especially in Francistown, the University of Botswana currently embarked in collaboration with the Ministry of Health and with the financial support from Norwegian Development Agency (NORAD), on an educational program aimed at practicing safe sex among prostitutes.

2.4 SUMMARY

This chapter looked at the historical issues in Nigeria and Botswana that may have played a role in prostitution. Contemporary issues as related to prostitution were discussed, as well as the issues related to the recognition of traditional settings and roles of women in these two countries. Behaviours synonymous with commercial sex work within the traditional and contemporary setting were also identified. In addition mention was made of activities aimed at addressing the issue of commercial sex work and sexually transmitted infection in the two countries studied.

CHAPTER 3

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

This chapter makes a critical analysis of theories that are relevant to the understanding of prostitution in society and its continuous existence through the centuries.

Denzin (1970:34-35) citing Homans sees theories as a set of propositions that are interrelated in an ordered fashion such that some may be deducible from others, thus permitting an explanation to be developed for the phenomenon under consideration. It is a set of propositions that furnish an explanation by means of a deductive system, it permits the organization of descriptions, leads to

explanations, and it furnishes the basis for the prediction of events as yet unobserved. Theory is simply an explanation.

Different theories have been put forward to explain prostitution in society, of which the most popular is Marxist political economic theory that strongly emphasizes the inequalities in modes of production leading to class differences and class struggle. Marxist theory, along with other theories like the feminist theory which emphasis the need for equal opportunities for the female gender, Parsons' role theory that uses a structural functional perspective and places people into roles in the analysis of equilibrium in society, will be reviewed as it concerns prostitution.

Other theories that will be considered include symbolic Interactionist theory that is concerned with relationships or interactions in society and the marriage market theory of prostitution, which makes a comparison between the gains of marriage and prostitution.

Each of these will be examined in a generalized form and identification will be made on their relevance in an explanation of prostitution in the Nigerian and Botswana setting

3.1.1 Marxist political economic theory

Marxist political economic theory strongly emphasizes the inequalities in modes of production leading to class differences and class struggle. For researchers working from a radical Marxist perspective, like Erich Fomm (1964) the

relationship between capitalists and the rest of society, which creates a class of have's and have not's, make the have not's to engage in deviant behaviour like prostitution, and to sustain prostitution. It then becomes an ideology arising out of a particular stage of development of production related to a particular mode of production and particular class interests. Marxist thinking is opposed to a form of moralizing in identifying deviancies. Prostitution is known to be a profession where people practicing them are seen as morally bankrupt.

Karl Marx as cited by Morrison (1995:36) asserts that in every stage of history, human beings have at their disposal certain productive forces such as land, animals, tools, and machinery, which are necessary to produce the means of their survival which is food, shelter and clothing. Means of production refer to any thing in the external world that is used to produce material needs and maintain existence. He goes further to use the example of jobs producing wages as necessary to meet material or physical need.

Morrison (1995:38) looked at the formation of modern social thought and, in discussing Karl Marx's third concept of mode of production, he quotes Marx as saying that 'social relations are closely bound up with productive forces. In acquiring new productive forces human beings change their mode of production; and in changing their mode of production they change their way of earning their living and all their social relations'. Marx concentrated on the inadequacies of equal opportunities, as he looks at the tribal, ancient, feudal and capitalist modes

of production in society and acknowledges different forms of ownership in social production.

While Marxist theory may explain prostitution and its sustenance through a class and gender exploitation to create prostitution in society, there is an inadequate explanation for the existence of high-class women involved in prostitution.

A Marxist outlook could explain the woman as a prostitute if she belongs to the deprived class, but it is limited in its explanation of the sustenance of prostitution as clients of prostitutes are known to come from all social classes. For the Marxist thinker, the exploitation of a social class is what is relevant in explaining prostitution. It is seen as exploitation and structural conflict in an unequal society.

Prostitution may be understood through Karl Marx's notion of consciousness of self or class by which these women are aware of their low status, which may or may not have even been because of their choice. Marx had said that the totality of relations of production in society constitutes the economic structure of society and determines its social consciousness. That it is not the consciousness of men, therefore, that determines their existence instead it is their social existence that determines their consciousness” (Morrison, 1995: 35).

In the situation of the prostitutes, it may have been due to circumstances of their birth or of the societies they come from. Some may have been in circumstances of war or displacement due to natural disasters or building of government facilities

like dams, etc, or further still may be due to a state of ignorance. They now try to adjust to the circumstances they find themselves in and take to a profession, which is not likely to require an organized, long training and at the same time change their status.

Karl Marx in his attempt to identify forces that enables man to view reality had identified that economic production shapes the way we understand reality, this perception of reality is altered by the system of production. He had identified that the terms under which we work for a livelihood condition our perception of the world. The prostitute's perception of the world as judgmental and classifying her as immoral has seen prostitutes lead an under cover life that has made it difficult for them to be reached with medical help in the event of sexually transmitted infection.

The social change that exists between the clients and the prostitutes should, if legalized, reverse the power relationship, giving the prostitute a right to dictate the form of exchange. This however is negated when we think of all the writings on the experience of prostitutes in Okinawa where the American military are seen as deceiving the girls with promises of marriage. These women are known to provide services as house wives on temporary military bases, made to provide free sexual services, and cook for the soldiers. Sometimes they get pregnant and go through abortions, or keep their babies of whom they do not know anything other than the first names of the sex partners with whom they had the babies (Saundra etal 1992).

The Marxist view of an exploited class against the exploiters leading to deviant behaviour like prostitution is very plausible if the exploited class are all women. Since “women” as a category of persons are seen as an exploited class, the question then becomes; why don't all women turn to prostitution?

Marxism therefore may not be sufficient to explain prostitution. In all intent and purpose Marxism is important in understanding the origin of prostitution, but may not explain its continuity in society, especially as we note the presence of prostitution among both high and low class citizens of all known societies, nor will it explain the entry into prostitution by those socialized with a good moral upbringing within a reasonably good economic base family setting. Other factors other than economy may have played a role in creating prostitution in society.

3.1.2 Parsons' sex role theory

Talcott Parsons (1951; 1964) looks at society and its output in a structural functionalist way. In Parsonian theory, individuals in society have roles and obligations or duties, and the failure of individuals in performing any of society's set roles will result in a level of imbalance in the structure of the society. For him a biological argument of being a man or a woman is not sufficient to explain role differentiation, for him the gender patterning of roles and that of reproduction is more a result of the socialization process of the conjugal family.

Menzies (1982:56) sees a role as the types of behaviours that would correspond to the set of expectations that others have about the appropriate type of activity for

an individual in a particular type of social situation. He goes further to look at a social role as consisting of behaviours an individual has learned to enact in responding to the expectations of particular groups in specific social situations.

A social role for Menzies is culturally defined patterns of behaviours therefore; there is some level of uniformity in expectations. "A social role consists of behaviours an individual has learned to enact in responding to the expectations of a particular group in specific social situation...A social role is a culturally defined pattern of behavior" (Menzies 1982:55).

Menzies (1982:56) goes further to indicate that if several groups of others are involved in the definition of the pattern of behaviour, the role is defined by the most powerful.

Talcot Parsons has a passion for socialization in role creation. He sees it as the only way that a society's patterns of meaning are passed on to new members. Citing Parsons, Menzies (1982:90) sees socialization as the process of becoming social, which includes becoming moral. Morality is viewed from the actor's point of view. Menzies contends that what is moral will vary from one actor to another and that makes it that socialization here focuses on the form and not the content of morality.

In a household socialization process men enter into a dominant relationship and women into subordinate ones. In the case of prostitution the man (client) accepts his role as a dominant person needing sexual satisfaction, while the woman

(prostitute) internalizes the fact that the dominant male figure needs a subordinate sex provider for his sexual satisfaction. Men in this setting as in many countries are clients while females are prostitutes.

Role theory by implication attribute deviant circumstances like prostitution as crime, based on sex roles and social differentiation in society. Role theory represents an attempt at an analysis of the phenomenon of deviant social behaviours like crime and prostitution outside the biological realm.

Sigmund Freud (1961: 729-738), attributes all known sex behaviours to biological factors and the Oedipus complex and sees the legitimization of authority as shown not only as structures of power, but as enactments in communication by superiors, inferiors and equals seeking to make a sense out of a principle of authority.

Role theory starts at analyzing differential socialization, differential illegitimate opportunity structures and differential social reaction based on sex role differences in society.

An understanding of role theory may be important in attempting to explain why females and not males are more involved in prostitution. It fails to discuss why not all females with an identified differential socialization and illegitimate opportunity structure does not become a prostitute.

Role theory may be relevant as an attempt at identifying the specific role of prostitution in the functioning of society, if any. It however, lacks the ability to assist us in having a better understanding of this specific differential socialization.

Are all prostitutes a product of differential socialization and are they all an output of an illegitimate opportunity structure?

Functionalist theories to a great extent view society as based on certain structured roles in which adherence to these roles results in equilibrium in society. Functionalist theories ask about motivation: - why does a person want to do the deviant things she does, with the assumption that the character of motivation influences the person to be a deviant.

Prostitution can be examined by using functionalist or role theories as a situation in the functioning of society where individuals have all options and choose sexual behaviours as an option and as a means of livelihood. This is viewed by the structure of society as a departure from the accepted role of women in the functioning of society. It could be argued that for the prostitute, the structure and functioning of the society, while allowing for many options, closed other avenues for making a choice outside prostitution.

By patronizing prostitution, the society encourages and promotes her actions and admits to the functional attributes of prostitution in maintaining equilibrium in society. Parson's structural functional theory can also explain why women are vulnerable in a situation of sexual interaction because they perceive their expected role in society as a subordinate: a recipient, a subservient, expected to satisfy male needs.

Talcott Parsons as cited by Scott (1970:244), had identified the ambivalence to the role of wife – mother as he describes the relative feeling of the female as a deprived person, he quotes Talcott Parson as saying that “the girl grows up to discover she is dependent on the favor –even ‘whim’- of a man, that she must compete for masculine favor and cannot stand on her own feet”.

Parsons, while analyzing the deprivation of women in roles, differentiates actions of married women from that of a prostitute when he comments on what is popularly known as a Gemeinschaft- Gesellschaft relationship. He had identified that Gemeinschaft relations constitute particular modes of expressing more fundamental and permanent attitudes that the individual rationally pursues in his own self – interest.

He sees the horror of prostitution as the mixture of Gesellschaft motives in a Gemeinschaft context. ‘In our society not all extramarital sexual relations count as prostitution. We specifically distinguish from it those, which occur in a context of friendship. No matter how severely the latter may be condemned in our mores they are never treated in the same way as prostitution. This is because friendship is also a Gemeinschaft type of relationship’ (Scott 1970:246).

For Parsons prostitution is a religious activity, and the archetypical form of Pseudo – Gemeinschaft (Scott 1970: 246).

For authors like Flexner (1914,1953), it could be argued that prostitution has a manifest positive function for the individual, since she acquires wealth through

her actions, but it has a latent negative function of destabilizing society through increasing her health problems.

For him this reduces the functionality of the society. This researcher wishes to believe that the functionalist explanation of disease as it affects prostitution and sexually transmitted infections, needs to understand Talcott Parson's assumptions of illness condition where there exist rights and obligations. The prostitute with STI has an obligation to report her ailment to a doctor who in turn has a duty to care for her.

If this is the practice in Nigerian and Botswana social systems, then prostitution cannot be said to be a problem in society. In this study an attempt is made at examining to what extent the Nigerian and Botswana societies provide for a prostitute to carry out her obligation to society by reporting her illness, and what limitations exists in the reporting of her illness that makes prostitution to be seen as responsible for the reduction of the equilibrium of society through the spread of sexually transmitted infections.

Role theory could be said to be important in explaining why women and not men are prostitutes in most societies, but fails to explain why it is viewed as a problem in society because of their perceived relationship to sexually transmitted infection. This study, while understanding the role theory as it applies to prostitution, looks at the powerlessness of prostitutes to seek help at a health institution in the event of an STD, and their powerlessness in using any other options for maintaining a living outside prostitution in society.

3.1.3 Symbolic Interactionist theory

Menzies (1982:34), citing Brittan & Glassner, indicates that the central concept of symbolic interaction is interaction, which consists of events, states, phenomena and processes. It happens at a variety of levels and there is a need to make an analysis of this in terms of its meaning and cause to the individual involved in the interaction. In using a symbolic Interactionist perspective in explaining prostitution, the emphasis on the relationship between the client and the prostitute becomes salient. For the Interactionist school of thought, the meaning given to an action is in the meaning of the relationship that exists in the action.

It is the meaning of the act of prostitution both to the client and the prostitute that is important. The relationship between the client and the prostitute is seen as a mutual need. The client needs to express his sexual desire through a penetrative or non-penetrative sexual encounter. On the part of the prostitute, she has a material need in the form of cash or kind.

This mutual need, seen in the interaction between the client and the prostitute, completes the circle known as prostitution. While an explanation of the sustenance of prostitution can be derived through a symbolic Interactionist model, it appears that this school of thought agrees with the biological framework that sees prostitution as meeting an overpowering male urge.

Symbolic Interactionist theory is therefore limited in explaining why all men do not become clients of prostitutes and why all women do not respond to all male sexual desires by becoming prostitutes.

Menzies (1982:25-26) identified that Blumer while coining the term symbolic interaction, presents three principles as its foundation. Firstly, human beings act towards things on the basis of the meanings the things have for them. Secondly, the meaning of such things is derived from, or arises out of, the social interaction one has with one's fellows. Thirdly, these meanings are handled in, and modified through, an interpretative process used by the person in dealing with things he encounters.

Other writers using symbolic interactionist theory as it affects prostitutes, like Menzies (1982), suggest that to interpret an interaction, we need to look at the meaning the act has and the cause of the act. Sexual intercourse is recognized as a very personal action, it becomes necessary that to get at the meaning of prostitution, which is presumed to be associated with sexual relationship, one may need to conduct an overt participant observation procedure as against a structured interview to get at the basic theory of symbolic interaction as it affects prostitution.

The symbolic interactionist assumes that humans are able to act because they have agreed on the meanings they will attach to the relevant objects in their environment. It assumes that man learns his basic symbols, his conceptions of

self, and the definitions he attaches to his social objects through interaction with others.

Men and women simultaneously carry on conversations with themselves and with the significant others (Denzin 1970:7). Symbolic interaction as regards to prostitution accepts Karl Marx's dictum that men, in this case women, make history, but not in circumstances of their choosing.

A look at prostitution through the symbolic interactionist model would get at a detailed ethnographic description of the range of ways in which interaction between particular groups of people creates, sustains and modifies various particular symbolic universes, thereby identifying the circumstances of the prostitute and her client leading to their choice.

According to Menzies (1982:34) symbolic interactionist are concerned with how activities or beliefs are intelligible to, or are to be understood by, or what meaning they have for some specified group of people. In this case prostitution has a meaning for the client who meets a physical desire by satisfying a sexual desire, and for the prostitute who meets her material or psychological need through providing sex. The interaction that goes on between the client and the prostitute is therefore a mutual desire, resulting in a mutual interaction, what is referred to as victimless crime, a crime without a complainant.

This researcher sees the Symbolic Interactionist model as best to explain the continuous existence of prostitution in all societies, and can use this to explain

why law enforcement officers like the police and prison officers are the only respectable members of society that relates with prostitutes officially as they clerk them for either loitering, or for indecent dressing, or for prostitution.

According to McLeod 1982:86, there is a taboo on going to prostitutes, clients are aware of the injustice and hypocrisy in a situation where women face heavy legal penalties for operating as prostitutes, yet men value their services and they will not risk identifying themselves as clients.

3.1.4 Feminist theory

Feminist theorizing has been a consideration of activities aimed at making a woman inclusive within the rights of a man as a human being. Feminism does not just deal with issues of justice and equality, but also offers a critique of male dominated institutions, values and social practices that are oppressive and destructive (Mannathoko 1992:71). Feminist theory has its origin in an opposition to an acceptance of unequal privileges based on gender.

A feminist approach to prostitution strongly advocates for a departure from prostitution as it is seen as exploitative, degrading, unproductive and emphasises the equality of gender. It is a quest for realization of what Soper (1990:10) in her book, *Feminism, Humanism and Post-modernism*, would refer to as feminist difference or otherness. Feminist theorizing has borrowed much from Marxist ideology. It however lacks the basis of emphasizing equal behaviour between the sexes; it lacks the ability to promote equal behaviour patterns.

Feminism has been seen as sharing in an impulse to increase the power and autonomy of women in their families, communities and society. It is a belief system operating within groups with a desire to increase autonomy for women (Black, 1989:49).

Feminism is defined as 'the recognition of the systematic discrimination against women on grounds of gender and a commitment to work towards change' (Meena, 1992:2). Feminism is said to take its meanings from the moment, it has no fixed definition, is governed by its context and researcher positions and identities.

Mbilinyi (1992: 43-44) identifies four types and levels of feminism in Africa namely:

(a) Radical feminism, which works within women/men, male/female dichotomies. It is based on the concept that women are essentially nurturing and cooperative, men are essentially competitive and instrumental.

(b) Bourgeois liberal feminism that focuses on increasing opportunity and equality within society as it is presently constructed. It is said to lack an explicit critique of imperial and capitalist structures and tends to adopt accommodating positions.

(c) Nationalist feminism attempts at adopting homogenizing concepts about African culture and African women. It emerged as a form of resistance against imperial and European/white domination in Africanist feminist studies.

(d) Marxist feminism which explains women's oppression in terms of their location in class relations where their consciousness is derived from their economic position. It is incorporated within the state discourse aimed at removing barriers to women's full participation in the economy and in encouraging women to produce more, get more income and get jobs.

Feminist theory as it is understood in its present form by implication underscores its relevance in understanding prostitution and therefore could be said to lack in ability to ensure gender equality as moralistic feminists tend to exclude the prostitute from the equality needs of women.

Mannathoko (1982:3) identifies the fact that feminist's share the same ideas in terms of what gender oppression might mean, but differ widely in terms of analysing its origin and what constitutes women's liberation. It is this difference that accounts for the contradictions resulting in the exclusion of the female gender called prostitute in the general liberation and emancipation of women.

This researcher is of the opinion that a truly African feminist theoretical approach to women liberation will need to consider the prostitute as a group facing double jeopardy of oppression from the society as a woman and a prostitute. In doing this effectively a consideration on how specific forms of oppressions work, how they are maintained, reinforced and how they are overthrown or not overthrown, will be necessary.

This will certainly address other factors that play a role in creating, sustaining and promoting the existence of prostitution in addition to recognizing the real beneficiary of prostitution and how feminist theory could support its overthrow and the inclusion of prostitutes in the emancipation and empowerment process of feminism.

McLeod (1982:67) had said that “prostitutes may have identified an important feature of male sexuality generally and see themselves as protecting other women from the most extreme consequences of it”. If it is true that prostitutes seek to protect other women, let other women support them by protecting them.

This could be achieved through understanding the peculiar situation of the prostitute and minimizing the oppression they go through in carrying out their function. In addition, an effort should be made in not excluding them in the general female emancipation and empowerment process.

3.1.5 Marriage market theory of prostitution

In attempting a definition for prostitution, Edlund and Korn (2002:183) argue that prostitution is the act of rendering, from the client’s point of view, non-reproductive sex against payment. Using an economic base, Edlund and Korn (2002:181) attempt to create a market theory of prostitution.

In this theory, prostitution is viewed as a low-skill, labour intensive, female dominated and well-paid profession. Looking at average earnings in a profession it was observed that prostitution has only rudimentary skill and capital requirements

but can make in a day what for most women will take weeks or months. Prostitution was analyzed using a marriage market perspective.

For Edlund and Korn (2002:184), a prostitute sells non-reproductive sex, i.e. commercial sex, whereas a wife sells reproductive sex, i.e. sex plus children. A woman cannot be both a prostitute and a wife. Marriage was seen as an important source of 'income' for women, and logically, for women to opt for prostitution. It must pay better than other jobs to compensate for the opportunity cost of forgoing marriage market earnings. It is the price of marriage that conditions the market price for sex that generally speaking, would affect the tradeoff between marriage and singleness.

They argue that women do not care for sex, but derive utility from their children and can either work in a regular job or be a prostitute. If she holds a regular job, she marries, but if she is a prostitute she does not marry. Using the marriage market theory of prostitution it becomes difficult to explain the existence of married prostitutes as was found in this research.

In explaining the economics of clients for prostitutes, Edlund and Korn (2002:185, 194) argue that where a man's willingness to support a wife exceeds his willingness to pay for a prostitute and if the supply of women in an endogamous group is largely fixed, there is bound to be a large number of prostitutes and these prostitutes are promiscuous.

They admit that promiscuity alone does not turn a woman into a prostitute, but contend that clients of prostitutes come mainly from unmarried men as the married men have paid for marriage and have less money at their disposal.

They see prostitutes as selling a less valued good than the wife; marriage for them is woman intensive while prostitution is man intensive. Marriage and prostitution are seen as largely incompatible for women, and to a large extent clients of prostitutes see patronizing prostitutes and marriage as also incompatible. This explains why married men are under-represented among clients and unmarried, divorced or separated women are over-represented among prostitutes.

The prostitute serves men in a way that would be scandalous if done by a wife what Edmund and Korn (2002: 208) refer to as 'The Madonna-whore dichotomy' that aims at keeping the two services separate.

Edlund and Korn (2002:197) through the marriage market theory identified taxation on prostitution as a means of reducing prostitution and increasing marriage since a tax on prostitution makes men poorer and make prostitution more expensive.

The researcher, while acknowledging that Edlund and Korn (2002:186) recognizes a crucial element in the marriage market economy model as the fact that married men also consult prostitutes and wonder why they do not buy sex from their wives whose sex cost is expected to be lower, contends that clients of prostitutes come from all walks of life and can be married and unmarried.

The researcher suggests that while unmarried women tend to make a large proportion of prostitutes, there are married women who take up prostitution in difficult circumstances to care for their significant others. These are not easily recognizable because the women are conscious of societies perception of marriage and the patriarchal stand of religion on a married woman found to have sex outside the matrimonial home as against an unfaithful married man.

The married, either as a client or as a prostitute is more secretive while seeking or selling sex in recognition of customary, religious and legal implications. The results of this research will lay credence to this generalization in the Nigeria and Botswana setting, for one thing the researcher's Master's thesis which was one of the motivations for this research, indicated otherwise as there was rather a significant interest in the number of married men attending sexually-transmitted disease clinics after a sexual interaction with a prostitute. This raised researcher's interest on reasons why married men would opt for a prostitute.

3.1.6 Grounded theory

Menzies (1992:140) citing Merton, advocates that sociologists should do research that helps them produce theories to account for a delimited aspect of social phenomena. This he referred to as middle-range theories. These middle-range theories lie between the minor but necessary working hypotheses that evolve during day-to-day research.

This researcher, while acknowledging the importance of a Marxist political economy, the structural functionalist approach, or a symbolic interaction approach to the understanding of prostitution, rejects to a large extent the marriage market theory of prostitution in as far as it discusses the taxation of prostitution as a means of reducing clients for prostitutes and an answer to the control of prostitution.

This researcher agrees with the proponents of the marriage market theory that women sell sex, men buy sex and that even in marriage sex is sold, but rejects the fact that married men do not have money to pay for commercial sex because they have paid for marriage. In this research prostitutes and their clients came from all walks of life and marital status. Clients, irrespective of their marital status, have several reasons for paying for sex.

While the aim of this study is not to develop a new theory of prostitution, it is the belief of this researcher that grounded theory, a theory based on data that a comparative study with a gender sensitive approach of prostitution in Nigeria and Botswana, can best be understood and a confirmation of each of the theories mentioned can be made.

3.2 SUMMARY

Marxist political economy uses the theory of haves and have-nots to explain prostitution, it can explain why economically deprived individuals, in this case women, enter into prostitution but it may not be sufficient to explain why women

who are known to be economically adequately educated and with good socialization, are still found in prostitution.

Let the assumption be that most women in prostitution are economically deprived; Marxist political economy fails to explain why prostitutes who have through their profession become rich do not abandon prostitution.

This research concludes that Marxist political economy theory is important in understanding prostitution, but that it is not sufficient on its own to explain prostitution in society. There are other factors that lead to prostitution outside economic need, that something as little as a lack of a “love figure”, a feeling of loss of self esteem after a rape or a divorce, distrust of the opposite sex could lead individuals even in an economically viable setting to opt for prostitution to satisfy their perceived need.

Structural functionalist theory, as is depicted in the sex role theory approach, considers a failure of the structure of society including its inability to adequately socialize persons to appropriate role as an explanation for prostitution.

This researcher suggests that structural functionalist theory is adequate in explaining how and why women are subservient to men and accept to be prostitutes rather than a client. It also explains why it is women who want to please men and help them meet their sex desires. It however fails to explain why women who are adequately socialized into their culturally perceived roles, still break away from the rest of their family members who were socialized in the same

way, in the same environment and by the same persons but turn out to be prostitutes.

Structural functionalist theory assigns roles and responsibilities to individuals and sees the appropriate functioning or equilibrium in society as resultant from the degree of departure from roles and responsibilities. This researcher suggest that where prostitutes understand their role of ensuring that the society is not challenged by prostitutes infecting members of the society with sexually transmitted infections, and where society makes adequate provision for them to get treatment when and where necessary without police harassment or stigmatization, prostitution will cease to be a problem for society.

Marriage market theory of prostitution, while admitting that both the married and the sexworkers are involved in the sale of sex, suggest that the married woman sells reproductive sex while the prostitute sells commercial sex, that married men have spent their money in paying for the reproductive sex and therefore will have limited money to seek for commercial sex

This researcher rejects the marriage market theory of prostitution in that it fails to understand prostitution from the prostitute's perspective, why she is where she is, why men married or unmarried still patronizes prostitution through all ages of existence and yet criticize them.

Marriage market theory suggests that taxation of prostitutes will eliminate prostitution. The researcher disagrees with this and suggests that taxation of

prostitution is on its own discriminatory and stigmatizes women further and alienates them from ascending to a higher status in human endeavor.

Taxation of prostitution is indirectly blaming the woman for prostitution as very few men have been arrested for prostitution or for being clients to prostitutes. It is suggested that any attempt at taxing the women will further drive them into oblivion and make the control of sexually transmitted disease much more difficult. It is argued here too that since in the Nigerian and Botswana setting some culturally requirements like not engaging in a sexual relationship with a wife while she is pregnant or breast feeding, may make men from such societies to engage the services of a prostitute at any cost irrespective of the added cost on prostitution due to taxation.

Symbolic- Interactionist theory as it applies to the interaction between the client and the prostitute can best explain the continuous existence of prostitution in society. The client and the prostitute have reciprocal needs or at best it can be explained as a mutual need; sex becomes a medium of expression of such a need, which is only known to the client and his commercial sex partner.

Grounded theory as it applies to this research is important in its ability to allow the data from this research to suggest the theory that best explains the topic of research. It is the data from a research on prostitution in Nigeria and Botswana that can best explain prostitutes and prostitution in these countries.

It is the findings of this research that will lay credence to each of the theories mentioned above and be in a position to assess the degree in which each of these theories meet an explanation of the origin and sustenance of prostitution in the societies studied.

CHAPTER 4

LITERATURE REVIEW

4.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews literature on prostitution and includes a critical analysis of a gender sensitive approach that allows for the understanding of prostitution in society and its continuous existence through the centuries despite the universal stigma attached to it. To do this effectively, it will be necessary to bear in mind that prostitution is a sensitive topic. Renzetti and Lee (1993:62) in defining sensitive topics sees the term, as often used in literature as if it were self explanatory, with no attempt at definition.

They had difficulties with definitions given by Sieber and Stanley (1988) where they see socially sensitive research as having potential negative consequences or implications, either directly or indirectly for the participants in the research, or for the class of individuals represented by the research. For Renzetti et al however, sensitive topics in research is seen as threatening in some way to those being

studied and which involves potential costs to those participating in the research. Such cost could be a psychological cost like feelings of guilt, shame or embarrassment.

Alternatively they see the sensitivity attached to certain research as being due to the effect it may have on the individuals involved, which may include unwelcome consequences. They cite examples like deviant behaviour uncovered by researchers bringing with it the possibility of what respondents perceive as the risk of it being made punishable with subsequent sanctions, resulting in the relationship between the researcher and the researched becoming hedged with mistrust, concealment and dissimulation.

This in turn has obvious detrimental effects on levels of reliability and validity and raises a concomitant need for ethical awareness on the part of the researcher. Therefore Renzetti et al (1993) sees the threatening character of the research and its potential consequences for both researcher and researched as primary to defining a sensitive topic. For Renzetti et al (1993), a sensitive topic is one that potentially poses for those involved a substantial threat, the emergence of which is problematic for the researcher and/or the researched, as well as the collection, holding and/or dissemination of research data.

In this chapter issues of prostitution and sexually transmitted diseases are reviewed, like the overt role of Governments in providing clients for prostitutes through tourism, tax collection from brothel owners, bars and massage homes. The Government utilizes her agencies to control the institution of prostitution

through legitimized actions like police arrest, imprisonment, compulsory examination of the female gender known to participate in an act of prostitution are also highlighted.

In doing this the researcher will be informed by the fact that prostitution is a sensitive topic with limited information specific to prostitution in the countries studied and she will therefore refer to works of other third world countries relevant to the research. Works of feminist writers like Thanh-Dam Truong, in her book 'Sex, Money and Morality: Prostitution and Tourism in Southern Asia' are examined, especially considering that for her most social scientists have remained partial and laid fragmented arguments in their definition of prostitution.

4.1.1 History of Prostitution

The institution of prostitution has existed in most societies in different forms as early as mankind has been able to document interactions in society. Prostitution is often referred to as the oldest profession (Luiz & Roets 2000:21; Edlund & Korn 2002:183). The Bible talks about Samson going to Gaza and went into a "harlot" (book of Judges, 16: 1-7), while other references to whoredoms and harlots were made in the book of Ezekiel (23:2-18), where Aholah and Aholibah whole's

lifestyles, who lived in Egypt were, described. In Luke (7:36-50; 8: 1-2), the famous history of Mary Magdalene, her life style and the forgiveness of Jesus are told.

McLeod (1982:1- 2) sees prostitution as caused by the social problems experienced by men and women and secured by women's relative poverty which gives them the only option of sex as the most saleable commodity. Male clients emerge according to McLeod largely as a result of the failure of marriage, cohabitation and conventional sex roles in order to cater for men's emotional and sexual needs. She sees the needs of men and their encounters with prostitutes as a palliative or a source of refreshment.

In the Victorian era, prostitution was seen as arising from the need for women to meet the male justified sexual desires. The prostitute was referred to as the fallen woman; this image of the fallen woman reflects the Victorian upper class's ideas about sexuality, gender and class. According to Bell (<http://www.gober.net/victorian/reports/prostit.html> 8/23/2004) the prostitute is a reflection of cultural anxiety about urbanization, and it is this that created the ideological assumptions behind the creation of the contagious disease acts that punished women in the event of sexually transmitted diseases associated with men having sex with prostitutes.

Prostitutes themselves see the imperfect world as causing prostitution. McLeod (1982:1), citing Julie, one of her respondents in a study of prostitution in England who said, "If the world were a perfect place there would be no need for

prostitutes...But it seems it doesn't work out like that". In the Nigerian communities studied in this project, prostitutes are traditionally referred to with names such as *Akpoto, Okpaara, Ashawo and Karuwa*. These names suggest that prostitution existed for a long time in the socio- cultural settings of these communities.

4.1.2 Prostitution as defined by different studies

The Encyclopedia Britannica (1973-1974) defines prostitution as the practice of habitual or intermittent sexual unions, more or less promiscuous from mercenary and inducement. It is thus characterized by three elements, payment, promiscuity and emotional indifference. Truong (1990:48) has a problem in accepting this definition as it suggests that sexual intercourse within socially accepted unions is unpaid and involves emotional attachment. She cites Polsky's (1963) work in which promiscuity as included in the definition of prostitutes is seen as a bias since there are women who engage themselves in sexual intercourse on an indiscriminating basis, yet are not considered as prostitutes by officials or the public.

Edlund & Korn (2002:183) rejects the Random House Dictionary of the English language definition of prostitution as the act or practice of engaging in sexual intercourse for money. Edlund & Korn (2002), citing Engel (1884) and; Ellis (1936) suggest that sex for money is done everyday by women who become wives in order to gain a home and a livelihood. Edlund & Korn define prostitution as the

act of rendering, from the client's point of view, non-reproductive sex against payment.

This researcher suggest that the use of the word 'payment' against the use of the word 'money' is a recognition that sometimes the payment takes the form of cash or kind.

Gaghon (1968:75) sees prostitution as the granting of sexual access on a relatively indiscriminate basis for payment in money or goods, depending on the complexity of the local economic system. Payment is acknowledged for the specific sexual performance. Critics of this definition have pointed out that all Gaghon aimed at was to differentiate the professional prostitute from a mistress.

He argues that this difference was improper as in patriarchal societies the social relationship between men and women is such that the sexual control of women and prostitution are two sides of the same coin, i.e. male dominance. The separation between wife (respectable woman), the mistress (the kept woman) and the prostitute (the fallen woman) only serve to divide women and to strengthen patriarchal ideology to conceal women's consciousness.

This consciousness is of their common condition of dependence on men and the women being a source of male pleasure and catering for male demands. In this context prostitution is seen as an expression of 'cultural hegemony' of men over women.

4.1.3 Possible causes of prostitution

Luiz & Roets (2000:22) citing Posel (1992:28) illustrates the economics of commercial sex with reference to the 1988 Seoul Olympics, when the demand for prostitution rose as a result of visitors, and the price of commercial sex rose by 50% in one month.

McLeod (1982:26) sees the entrance of women into prostitution as a resistance to the experience of relative poverty or the threat of it. She also sees women's disadvantaged social position in the context of a capitalist society as central to prostitution. In support of this argument, she quotes Rose, a prostitute respondent in her study who says the attraction of prostitution is because 'the pay is good and the hours fit in with the kids'.

This researcher believes that prostitution exists because there are clients. This is also collaborated in the writings on Victorian prostitutes, with some modification. In the Victorian era prostitution was seen as responding to the strongly felt sensible desire of the male that begins after puberty and lasts throughout life. Prostitution for the Victorian era was blamed on the bad socialization of women that made them unable to obtain a living by honest means.

This researcher differs with the opinion that prostitutes were not properly socialized as there are prostitutes that the researcher is aware of who came from a very good background, and who were perfectly socialized in a convent school, where all other members of the family with similar socialization did not become prostitutes. Meena (1992: 8), citing Mphurthing, attributes prostitution to the socio-economic background of the prostitute.

McFadden (1992) as cited by Meena (1992:18), sees the choice to sell one's body for money as a last resort for women, and she goes further to say that condemnation of prostitutes and the harassment of women who are forced into this, without dealing with the root cause of the problem by the state, is sheer hypocrisy. This, to the researchers, means that there is more than economic need as factors relevant to the causation of prostitution.

This study, while accepting causes attributed to the existence of prostitution as discussed above, would rather acknowledge and give credence to prostitutes in Nigeria and Botswana's definition of situations causing prostitution in the African context. This is because the personal experiences of the prostitute, which this research investigates, is salient in the understanding of other factors that play a role in producing prostitutes outside economic factors and this will serve as an additional contribution to the study of prostitution.

4.1.4 Specific literature on prostitution

White (1983:78) looked at the role of colonialism in prostitution, and the interaction that exists among prostitutes on the one hand, and with their significant family members on the other hand. She also discussed the utilization of money made by the prostitutes and their experience with law enforcement officers, using experiences from Kenya in Eastern Africa.

In discussing the role of colonialism in creating prostitution, especially in Africa, White (1983) says that colonialism and labour migration placed an intolerable

burden on African women left behind at home; and that the colonial rule brought about a physical separation of African men from their families leading to women becoming family heads. Women had to maintain agricultural production to feed their children and still perform their traditional task of childcare and cooking, while dissatisfied wives ran off with migrants.

White (1983: 78) citing Ardener, indicates that the numerical dominance of men in the African towns and the scarcity of legal work for women, made prostitution represent a rational choice. Although prostitutes frequently supported segments of their rural kin and often sent children home to be raised, their ties with their relatives within the towns were limited.

Prostitutes' livelihood depended on their living alone; with significant others or cooperative roommates, and the relationship that provided financial and emotional support were based on neighbourliness and friendship rather than of ethnicity and kinship.

Neighbours would routinely pay bail for a jailed prostitute and friends would take money home for a colleague and look after another woman's child while she walked the street or attended to her client. Many prostitutes formed professional organizations and camouflaged their trade by selling other things like alcoholic drinks.

Similarly brewers banded together to schedule liquor sales for different days to warn each other of police raids and when the warning system failed, they helped

each other in preparing for expensive and lengthy trials. Thus work created relationships that kinship and gender did not. The prostitute earned through prostitution and brewing alcoholic beverages in the rigid, separated townships of colonized East and Southern Africa where between 20% and 50 % of African property owners were single adult women (White, 1983:78, Ardner, 1961:93-4, Little 1972:287).

Looking at the relationship between tradition and prostitution, Naanen (1991:7) says in her introductory note on prostitution in the Cross River basin of Nigeria that in many societies the traditional attitude towards the subject of prostitution is defined by religion and custom, which is basically moralist.

Prostitutes are seen as deviants or even criminals who are unable to exercise control over basic instincts. The blame for prostitution is squarely placed on the women without regard to the role of the men who encourage it. The sale of her sexual services thrives because there is a ready market for it.

This benefit of prostitution to the clients and pimps was recognised by Vuuren (2000:15), in discussing child sex work in South Africa. Vuuren (2000:15), citing David Westwood, indicates that prostitution is now recognized as a major component of the emerging global market, a vibrant multinational sex trade which involves millions of children, particularly girls, and which generates billions of dollars profit for the traffickers involved.

The demand by wealthier countries for cheap sex workers is a major motivating factor in the recruitment by various means of women and children for the extensive and lucrative sex industries. Vuuren (2000:15) in discussing the gains of child sex to adults, quotes the testimony of “Ivy” at the Children’s Truth Commission, 9th November 1996: “ my name is Ivy I a m eight years old and I live in one room with mamma and step father, last year my stepfather took me to his bed and raped me while my mother was out looking for work”.

She continues as she describes how her parents used her to earn money to feed them by bringing in more men to have sex with her. What was significant was that her mother collaborated in this act with her stepfather, and at the same time wrapped her hands around Ivy when it was all over and cried.

This could be interpreted in several ways, was Ivy’s mother crying because poverty has driven her to use her child for prostitution, or was she crying because she had no powers to challenge her husband for fear of violence, hence she cooperates with him in allowing him to sexually abuse her daughter and bring other men to use Ivy to earn money for the family.

In discussing the helplessness of children abused or even sexual abuse in general, Vuuren (2000:16) describes the intervention of the teacher in taking Ivy to the police when she confided in her and informed on the sexual abuse at home, but was told there was no real evidence to prosecute anyone.

Although the concentration of this research is not on child prostitution, this singular act of not trusting children who report rape by family members, creates in most cases a situation of distrust by the child in her immediate family, and as we will see later in this study, this distrust has played a significant role in creating prostitutes in the society.

In discussing prostitution in the world, it is obvious that every society has some form of prostitution. Civilized or not, developed or underdeveloped or developing countries all have some form of prostitution. In the British Empire, writers like Ham (1970:20), skilfully explores the global sexual exploits of high empire officials, including open flirtation with prostitutes.

In Zimbabwe, Muzvidziwa Victor (1997: 76) describes prostitutes as ‘vasikana vebasa’ (working girls) and prostitution as a “hanging on strategy”, adopted by a minority of women as a short-lived ‘career’. He sees prostitutes as comparing their work with that of food vendors.

4.1.5 Gender Sensitive Issues in Prostitution

In looking at various feminist writings and its relevance to prostitution, the role of patriarchy, slavery, colonialism and polygamy in all its ramification is examined in addition to domestic labour, and women’s role in the developmental process and degree of acceptance or resistance to economic deprivations is also considered.

Of most importance is the consideration of the relationship between gender and economy and its relevance to the creation and sustenance of prostitution. Works of Gerda (Creation of patriarchy, 1986) Truong (Sex money and morality : Prostitution and Tourism in South East Asia(1990), Helen Callaway's (1987) writings on Gender Culture and Empire, Ify Amadiume's (1987), gender and the Economy, Gaidzanwa (1992), Shortcomings of Feminist Theories in Southern Africa, and McFadden's (1992) work on the problem of AIDS in Africa, among others, are reviewed.

The issue of prostitution could be seen as a product of society and an attempt by certain groups of women at emancipation. For this school of thought, prostitution is in itself a problem of society rather than a problem to society. This can be explained as we look at the works of Gerda (1986) and others. To her, gender is a cultural definition of behaviour defined as appropriate to the sexes in a given society at a given time. For her gender is a set of cultural roles, it is a costume mask, a straitjacket in which men and women dance their unequal dance (Gerda, 1986:238).

She says the term is used both in academic discourse and in the media as interchangeable with "sex". For Gerda the use of gender interchangeable with sex hides and mystifies the difference between the biological given "sex " and the culturally created "gender". Gerda, citing Gayle Robin, asserts that sex determines that women should be child bearers, but it is a sex-gender system, which assures that women should be child rearers (Gerda 1986:238).

James (1951), in discussing the symbolic relationship between the prostitute and her clients identifies the police officers as the only other respected members of the society in contact with prostitutes outside the client. She sees the only hard data on prostitutes as only through police and jail records, and this she attributes to interferences by third parties and a misunderstanding of the activities of prostitutes. In her writing on discriminatory law, she says that prostitutes make up 30% of most women's jail populations. This to her reflects a wrong approach by the law, if we realize that each act of prostitution requires at least two participants- a seller and a buyer.

Gerda (1986) looks at the role of religion, which is part of culture in defining gender, and gender roles in particular. She looks at the role of the Bible in the definition of gender and morality. This she rightly relates to Hebrew culture, which she asserts, played a prominent role in the Bible as it is written, read and interpreted till date.

For her it is the Hebrew society which interpreted into the Bible culture that defines what "woman" should be (Gerda, 1986: 167) by making the term 'man' subsume 'woman', and arrogating to itself the representation of all humanity. Gerda (1986: 220) suggests that as much as we need the past to determine the present and the future, we should learn from the past not only what people before us did and thought and intended, but also to learn how they failed and erred.

It is significant to note that the prostitute also uses religion to support her existence in the profession of commercial sex work. Perscheler- Desai (2001:116) quoted a young girl in her studies, who thinks every thing in life has to do with destiny including prostitution and HIV/AIDS. She says “ disease are the fate that God gives people, if I catch AIDS, it will be because that is what God wants, if I did not prostitute I will die of hunger. It is preferable to die of disease rather than of starvation”.

In looking at the role of the woman in society, Gerda (1986:136) looks at the role of patriarchy as it relates to the gender issue. She asserts that men’s place in the class hierarchy is based on their occupations or on their father’s social status. The usual outward signs like clothing, residential location, ornaments or its absence, may express a man’s class position for a woman;

She sees the division of women into ‘respectable women’ who are protected by their men and ‘disreputable women’ as those out on the streets unprotected by men and free to sell their services as a part of their patriarchal and societal culture, and as a basic class division for women. It is therefore based on issues as discussed that explain to this researcher’s mind, why women accept oppression, exploitation in the home and the perpetuation of this for centuries. This is also often true for the so- called feminists who, despite their knowledge of the relationship of patriarchy in defining what ‘women should be,’ are still found remaining married and complaining frequently of oppression. It is not uncommon to see feminists in

countries studied feeling offended if the prefix “Mrs” is not used in their names, - irrespective of their background or academic status.

In Nigeria, it is common to hear women being referred to as Dr, Mrs, or professor Mrs, while their male counterparts will be content with being referred to, as Dr or Prof. It is this attitude of women outside prostitution that informs the market theory of prostitution as popularised by Edlund and Korn (2002).

Like Gerda (1986), the researcher sees woman’s emancipation as meaning free to define one’s social role, having the freedom to make decisions concerning one’s body. For her autonomy means earning ones own status, not being born into it, or it meaning financial independence, freedom to choose one’s life style and sexual preference.

Feminists who have refused to seek the emancipation of the prostitute argue that prostitutes are a betrayal to women. They are seen as participants in the world of sexist patriarchy, who collude with non- nurturing men and advocate for their exclusion from constitutional protection (Louw 2003:108).

Patriarchy has succeeded in keeping women apart from each other and making them ignorant or blind to the need for total emancipation, a fact recognized by the Asia Pacific women’s consultations on prostitution. In discussing oppression as related to women by the patriarchal system, Gerda sees women more than any other group as having collaborated in their own subordination through their acceptance of the ‘sex gender systems’ (Gerda, 1986: 223). They have internalized

the values that subordinate them to such an extent that they voluntarily pass them on to their children.

Gerda strongly advocates for the use of term 'subordinate' instead of oppression. It is not uncommon in the societies being discussed in this research to see the self-acclaimed feminists perpetuating subordination of women by passing the Biblical –Hebrew patriarchal ideology on to their offspring. The house roles are consistently divided, even by feminists on basis of gender: the girl still has to care for the boys, wash clothes and prepare their meals even where the female gender attempts to enter the societal male gender defined roles like working, trading to earn an income, she still accepts subordination and combines her sex roles as child bearer, with her societal defined gender role as provider.

It is an extension of this subordinate role that produces women who extend the caring subordinate role to provide sex for men, the only difference is that they openly want payment and they are called prostitutes as opposed to women in homes living as wives who want hidden payment through respect by society and acquisition of property. Like Gerda, the researcher sees women as the same, either in marriage or outside marriage, as a prostitute or not a prostitute and should therefore work together to address their common subordination.

The status of women in all societies cannot be ascertained without considering her relationship to the political economy of the society in question. For Gerda (1986:19-22) the man took command in the home; the woman was degraded and reduced to servitude. She became a slave to his lust and a male instrument for the

reproduction of children. Although primitive societies identify social roles for the different genders, where these roles show a trend to a high economic premium it is solely occupied by the male gender, examples are roles like cooking, seamstress or tailoring (stitching) which are seen in all primitive societies as predominantly a woman's role.

Failure to perform female assigned roles puts the female gender close to a 'disrespected woman' status. Where these same functions are commercialized, the male dominates. Most cooks in hotels all over the world i.e. best chefs are men, and the same applies to most cloth designers or cloth making factories all over the world being male dominated because sewing (stitching) has become commercialised in order to elevate its status in consonance with the high male status in society. In conjunction with this the names of occupations may change, e.g. from seamstress or tailor to designer.

In discussing prostitution as a gender sensitive issue, it is most appropriate to look at women, the history of women and the history of change in a specific geographical context. Gerda (1986:72) asserts in her work on the creation of patriarchy that most states were organized in patriarchy settings, and men were a symbol of dominance over the women of their own group. For Gerda even the act of enslavement, as was also identified in the Nigerian setting during tribal wars prior to the arrival of whites, was a form of institutionalizing male gender dominance.

If we consider that Marxism sees exploitation as domination of one class by another and marked by making use of an object for its potential benefits, the use of one class in the population to produce a surplus whose use is controlled by another class is extreme exploitation. According to Marxist ideology this should normally lead to conflict. It is then not surprising that some persons who see the continuous use of the female gender in society only as a reproduction of male power will naturally be in conflict with the society for allowing its continuity. Female gender emancipation therefore is a natural given in the historical process of development, and prostitutes are part of this gender.

In a capitalist setting access to the surplus depends upon the ownership of property, and thus the exploited class of capitalism sell their labour power to live. They too are divided into fractions by the specific character of the labour power, which they own or sell. It is therefore not surprising that commercial sex workers (prostitutes) in capitalist systems like Nigeria and Botswana, have no other labour power she owns to sell but her body.

The continuous marginalization of the female gender in Nigeria in politics and economic power by her unwritten laws has led even those with minimal labour power as the educated class to combine prostitution with their labour in order to meet their societal needs. The domination of women and its acceptance by women themselves as perpetuated in their actions and behaviours has led women to be critical of their fellow women in the act of prostitution. In a society like Nigeria, it is not surprising to see a landlord insisting on giving his house only to a woman

who produces a male as a husband. A single woman living on her own, with the same qualifications as another man living on his own, is regarded as a 'prostitute'.

High morality has been the symbol attached to the status of reputable woman and low morality to disreputable women to which prostitutes belong. Little or nothing has been said about the clients of prostitutes by those who moralize the institution of prostitution, the likes of the wife of Major-general Useni of the Abacha regime who initiated an institution for girls in prostitution, called Daughters of Abraham, to instill good morals aimed at discouraging them from continuing in their immoral life styles called prostitution. In establishing these institutes, these moralists failed to recognize the deprivations of society to the disreputable women.

Truong (1990:29) in discussing sociobiology and prostitution has emphasized the associated inadequacies as it reduces a complex social institution to a limited number of biological traits and thereby ignoring social power relations. Darwinism has been used to explain human individual and collective social evolution, seeing an unequal progress in men and women resulting in differences in biological faculties. Spencer and Darwin for example see the role of nature in human relationships and believes that nature had filled male and female into roles: women as home bound, child bearers, and men as the actors in the public domain.

For those who see prostitution as an aspect of human sexual behaviour, it is in the context of the relationship between biology and society and they argue that the institution itself is a social imperative to accommodate the overpowering male sex

drive. For the Atavism school of thought in the social biological explanation of prostitution, it was seen as related to their genealogy. There was the assumption that anti-social elements found in individuals are in fact a recurrence of traits found in ancestors who are more remote than parents, and these led to the arrest of prostitutes or examining their physiques, including shape of hands, jaws, brains, etc. The atavist concluded that the organic constitution of these women represented a biological degeneration, causing moral idiosyncrasy, which in turn caused them to avail themselves as sexual objects in exchange for money (Ellis 1927: 72).

By observing the lineage of arrested prostitutes, those who attribute prostitution to biological factors also concluded that prostitution had a hereditary dimension as a number of them had mothers and grandmothers who themselves were harlots.

This researcher would however explain the idea of a family tree of prostitutes, as more to do with the social consequences of neglect of a prostitute's children by society as in most cases the income is inadequate to maintain the children in a favourable environment. They are therefore reared in the environment of the prostitute living prostitution as the only option. This view is based on the researcher's frequent observational visits to the red light area of 'Kanikipura' of Bombay in India where it was seen that most of these children are left on their own outside the usually small rooms, which are the areas of operations for the sex workers. The children often observe the exchange of money after sexual interactions and this influences their behaviour as they grow up.

Since other options or opportunities to get into the economic sphere are limited, becoming prostitutes like their mothers is the only option. The researcher also observed a similar relationship in the Sabo Ngeari area of Zaria in Nigeria, which is one of the research sites. It is pertinent to note that intervention such as that by non- governmental organisations like 'Prayina', based in the red light area of Bombay (although still at its rudimentary stage in 1996, when this researcher made several visits), questions the socio-biological thinkers who argue that prostitution is hereditary. In Prayina, children of sex workers are cared for as normal children in society and interaction with the children and the social workers attending them indicates that with all things in place the children will grow to be scientists, doctors, nurses, engineers, sociologists, etc as they have the same ambitions as other children in their age grade.

Perscheler-Desai (2001:114) in looking at the Beira (Mozambique) child sex workers, observed that many of the children took an optimistic view of their futures: some hoped to continue studying and to eventually have a profession and a house. The researcher watched the sex workers come on parent's day to visit the children in the Prayina School and observed the excitement on the faces of the sex workers at the progress of their children in the school like any normal mother would do.

Other feminist writers like Gaidzanwa (1992:92-93), in discussing Southern African conceptual and theoretical issues related to gender, sees the situation of the female gender in the Southern African setting as to do more with the bourgeois

theories of gender and the problem of the enlightened philosophers which to a great extent worked hard on the rights of men to the exclusion of females and resulting in their continuous marginalization, even in the face of universal change to oppression.

On her part Meena (1992:17), in her gender research studies in Southern Africa, recognizes the negative role of the police and paramilitary units to harass women who are referred to as prostitutes and the neglect of these law enforcement officers to men involved in the same sex business. She argues that if prostitution is regarded as illegal, then both the seller and the buyer are supposed to be prosecuted, as has been the case with other businesses that are considered illegal. She further highlights the role of post-colonial states in creating such organs as a tourist industry, which openly encourages the demand and supply of sexual services.

She sees the underpaying of bar maids by tourist agencies, knowing that most tourists are men who come singly and who would require sexual services, as part of the tourist pleasure and as an indirect way of encouraging prostitution by the tourist industry which in most cases is seen as a hard currency income generating activity by the state. She sees the selling of a women's body for money as a last resort for women who are constrained due to socio- economic factors in society. She, like Mphurthing (1981) and McFadden (1992), questions why the state goes on to harass women who are forced into the business of prostitution without dealing with the root cause of the problem.

If we look at other studies related to the study of prostitution, works of Flexner (1914,1953) comes to mind. For Flexner, there are four principal costs of prostitution to society. He talks about personal demoralization, economic waste, spread of venereal diseases and prostitutes' association with social disorder and crime. He however neglects the functionalist theories that explain the need for equilibrium in society through functional roles and obligations. For functionalist theorists like Merton an action in sociological thought may have a manifest function, being the intended functions of the actions. Prostitution as seen by Flexner (1914) is for the mercenary activity of receiving money; hence he discusses the economic waste and spread of venereal disease as associated with prostitutes.

Flexner did not look at a positive functional system of prostitution to society, if any. He failed to describe where the social costs of prostitution lies in the society, is it a latent function or a manifest function? For any activity completely frowned at and criticized by all segments of the society to continue existing despite the stigma attached, it must be serving some positive functions that may be looked at as a latent function to society. Cases of suicide, rape, and population explosion to mention a few, may be a more serious problem in society and may create an imbalance in the functioning of society in the absence of prostitution. As recognised by McLeod and as also seen in this research, clients of prostitutes include men with sexual challenges and marital difficulties; these men find solace in prostitutes.

Truong's (1990) in discussing prostitution in Thailand observed the contradiction in philosophers' thinking on prostitution. She asserts that in accepting prostitutes as being characterized by payment, promiscuity, and emotional indifference is to say that sexual intercourse within socially accepted unions is unpaid and involves emotional attachment. Thanh- Dam Truong (1990) in discussing prostitution, social theory and politics thinks about studies on prostitution as an aspect of human social behaviour or as a moral crime. Prostitution as a human sexual behavior can be analyzed in the context of the relationship between biology and society and therefore can be argued that the institution itself is a social imperative to accommodate the overpowering male sex drive.

One may ask if an over- powering sex drive is limited to only 'male'. In viewing prostitution as moral crimes, the Christian's view of sex as sin outside the use for reproduction purposes was discussed. Truong's (1990) view is that prostitution is functional to male lust. According to her, in considering the act of prostitution, saint Thomas Aquinas has argued: "Let's remove prostitution from human affairs and you will pollute all things with lust," and therefore harlots were a lawful evil, st Thomas Aquinas adds that if you take away the sewage, you will fill the place with pollution (Parrinder, 1980,225-226 in Truong (1990:). Milton, 1994:138, Luiz, etal, 2000:23).

D'Cunha Jean (1991:115) in making a critique of laws relating to prostitution in the Indian legal system and the use of these laws as a means of controlling the activities of prostitutes discusses the issue of legalization as a way to segregate

prostitutes into isolation areas so as to validate them as a public nuisance. She exposes the double standard of male morality that promotes and protects prostitution, sexual violence and exploitation that occur behind closed doors.

She suggests that this segregation of prostitutes would make it easier to identify them, isolate them, label them and would force them to accept the result in even greater exploitation of women and there will be no laws to help them. In criticizing legalization of prostitutes as it affects the STI Act of India, she asserts that it should be appropriate to investigate the causes for the failure of the Act. She asserts that suggesting legalization because the STI act has failed to suppress prostitution, to fight shy of the STI act failure and abdicates responsibility for bringing the brothel hierarchy, corrupt police and political patrons to book (D' Cunha J, 1991:116).

She argues that legalization will lead to a massive increase in the number of women and children exploited for the purpose of prostitution. She sees the support of legalization of prostitution in India as sanctioning exploitation of women and children, legitimization of sexual violence, enslavement and the active participation of Indian Police in the exploitation of women by supporting what she calls a patriarchal and dehumanizing institution like prostitution. She concludes by asserting that legalization of prostitution is a blatant constitutional violation of human and fundamental rights of the prostitutes.

This researcher identifies through this study the limitations of D'Cunha's work by looking at what the prostitute wants in the Nigerian setting. Considering that

legalization is considered, when it is believed issues related to prostitutes could be appreciated better, the question of going underground, is confirmed by female activists like the Asia Pacific Women Organization.

According to Luiz et al (2000:33) radical feminists see prostitution as degrading to women and as an outcome of a male repressive order. They however push for the decriminalization of prostitution and criminalisation of the peripheral trade in prostitution, including that of pimps.

The researcher, while disagreeing with the feminists that prostitution is degrading to women as marriage is seen as another side of the coin of male sexual repression, would consider decriminalization of prostitution and criminalisation of the peripheral trade in prostitution, including criminalisation of rapists and pimps.

It can be argued that the criminalisation of prostitution exacerbates racist and classiest aspects of the trade as indicated by Luiz and Roets (2000:34) who, citing Zatz (1997:302), found that the poor and women of colour are continually harassed for prostitution, even though 40% of prostitutes are women of colour in the United States. They make up 85% of those imprisoned for prostitution and this is explained as a result of the fact that police are more tolerant of indoor prostitution and concentrate on harassing street prostitutes who are the poorest in the profession and those are mostly black. (Zatz, 1997, in Luiz, et al 2003: 34).

In Nigeria it is also obvious that the high-class prostitutes who operate from their homes are not harassed, but the street prostitutes are very often harassed,

especially when there is new information of the prevalence of HIV/AIDS in the country, or when the Moslem political leaders want to impress their followers.

Prostitution is still a criminal offence under the South African Offence Act of 1957. Luiz et al (2000: 27) identifies such things as the social stigma attached to the prostitution industry, the absence of a political commitment to decriminalize prostitution, the severe dichotomy present in the prostitution industry between elite and ordinary prostitutes, as often laden with racial undertones. This presents several challenges to an understanding and supporting of prostitutes to prevent STI and HIV/AIDS as they go underground making it difficult to be reached by health workers with preventive messages.

The criminalisation of prostitution makes them a highly mobile group. Luiz et al (2000:23) suggest that decriminalization of prostitution would probably lead to an increase in both the demand for and supply of prostitution given that the penalties associated with both soliciting buyers and buying sex would be removed. Transaction costs would be significantly reduced making the market more efficient.

Meena (1992:17), in discussing the issue of harassment of female sex workers in Southern Africa, contends that states have been using their repressive organs, like the police and paramilitary units to harass women who are referred to as prostitutes. She argues that men involved in the same- sex business are never

harassed. Like most researchers in the area of sex work, Meena wonders why the state has difficulty prosecuting both the seller and the buyer if prostitution is considered illegal, as the state would do with other illegal businesses.

In a manner that seemed to support the brothel owners who take advantage of the prostitutes by taking responsibility of running their business on their behalf, Gaum (2001:101-103) criticized the South African court decision on *Jordan, S.V* (2001) JDR 0539 to include the first and second defendants, i.e. the brothel owner and the brothel administrator as guilty of organized prostitution which the court equated to trafficking in human beings or trading in the body of a human being. *Jordan et al* (2001: 103) questions how a person who owns or keeps a brothel can per se be put on par with trafficking in human being practices, just because the brothel owner manages the affairs of another person who chooses to make a living from prostitution.

They argue that rather than criminalizing brothel ownership, the industry should rather be regulated and a distinction made between those prostitutes that choose that their affairs be managed by a third person and those cases where persons are coerced into prostituting themselves to the advantage of a third person. *Jordan et al* (2001:104) suggest that prostitutes functioning through brothels are better protected and therefore advise that the relationship between a prostitute and the brothel owner should be seen as that of an employer and employee, and that South African labour laws should be applied rather than criminalizing brothel

ownership. They argue that a prostitute working on his or her own is very vulnerable to all sorts of abuse and argues that the little protection he or she may have by choosing to work from the relative safety of the brothel, will otherwise leave the prostitute metaphorically out in the cold.

4.1.6 Sexually Transmitted Infections and prostitution

Sub-Saharan Africa remains the worst affected by a recognized sexually transmitted infection HIV/AIDS in 2003. An estimated 26.6 million people in the region were living with HIV including the 3.2 million who became infected during the past year. AIDS related deaths were recorded as about 2.3 million people in 2003. Women were found to be two and half times as likely to be HIV – infected as their male counterparts according to six recent national surveys. These discrepancies have been attributed to several factors. They include the biological fact that HIV generally is more easily transmitted from men to women (than vice versa). Sexual activities tend to start earlier for women and young women tend to have sex with much older partners. More than one in five pregnant women are HIV-infected in most countries in Southern Africa. Almost 40% in Botswana and Swaziland are infected (UNAIDS AIDS Epidemic update (2004)).

Most writers on the role of prostitutes in Sexually Transmitted Infections discuss its relationship with the socio-economic conditions, hence Guthe (1914:60) sees immigrants as leaving their former place of abode and turning to prostitutes. For Campbell (1946) however, a properly run medical center set up for prostitutes is all that is needed to reduce the prevalence of STD's among prostitutes. For

Campbell in Algiers during the world wars, brothels with good medical control and ablution facilities gave rise to little venereal disease. For her, a little effort towards cleanliness by the prostitute is necessary to reduce STD. She sees the Far East that had a high-infected rate, as not employing precautions like washing. O'Farrell (1993:299) suggest that during the First and Second World Wars troops exposed to prostitutes with high rates of STD were encouraged to attend post coital centres where local prophylaxis was dispensed. Antiseptic mercurial creams, urethral irrigation with protargol and local application of soap and water was said to be an excellent prophylactic against chancroid and effective even in the presence of skin abrasions. It was successful in reducing the incidence of STD in the armed forces and suggests that soap and water prophylaxis improve genital hygiene in uncircumcised men in Africa as a component of AIDS prevention programmes. This assumption is a great departure from medical view, which sees an act of penetrative sex as a possibility for an STD infection with or without washing.

It may however be argued that the inclusion of spermicidal in condoms may be a recognition of the work of Campbell and O'Farrell. If this is the case, there may be a need to arrest sex workers with information on cleanliness that refuse to abide by it, if it is found that prostitution serves a function for the society in which it exists. However, the client of prostitute should also be arrested, if the function that the act of prostitution serves for the society is to enhance a patriarchal structure of society, then other measures may be needed to provide an alternative

trade for the prostitutes if we are thinking of equality in the social structure of society, for as Meena (1992:17) and McFadden (1992:18) puts it “ the choice to sell one’s body for money is a last resort for women”.

It is important to note the work of Vambe (2003). In an attempt at an explanation for the continuous unprotected sex among Zimbabwean educated in the face of HIV/AIDS, Vambe (2003) discusses the numerous information available through radio, TV, newspapers and oral testimonies. Vambe (2003) points to the role of cultural identities in the notions of African sexuality, which is shaped by cultural beliefs, values and notions of maleness and femaleness, manhood and womanhood.

He looks at the place of HIV/AIDS in Zimbabwean literature that tend to reiterate the African concept of sexually transmitted disease as having an origin in female promiscuity, while at same time acknowledging the patriarchal assumption that male power dominance derives from the number of women the man sleeps with. Vambe (2003:475) looks at Violet Kala’s “Waste Not Your Tears” where African woman refigures her identity to that of an innocent victim, ill equipped to deal with the pandemic in a patriarchal society\that believes that women are the source and carriers of HIV/AIDS.

Kinsley (1948:) in criticizing the functional role of prostitutes, discusses the fact that the world literature contains hundreds of volumes attempting to ascertain the social significance of prostitution, yet for him prostitution is nothing other than an activity which contributes no more than it does to the sexual outlet of immigrants

or soldiers. Like the biological sex theorist, prostitution for Flexner only serves for meeting the needs of male over –powering sex drive. This in itself can be functional to society as it may have lead to abandonment of soldiers or suicide for lonely immigrants.

In supporting works that see the prostitute as the main cause of the spread of STI's, Wilcox (1954:96) sees itinerants like seamen as having sex with prostitutes hence being the most infected group with STD's. In an attempt to attribute the spread of STD's to prostitutes, it is assumed that the prostitutes will knowingly spread STD's to her customers. It may be a serious assumption that the prostitute does not want to remain healthy; hence she continues the spread of STD's. It is seen that there are no discussions on where the prostitutes got the infections.

If this is the case anyway, then positive measures could be suggested as described by functionalists like Talcott Parsons –where this is not the case however, an attempt may be made to investigate if the prostitute spreading STD is aware that she has a disease condition that may need to be taken care of, or where this is not the case, then possibilities that limitations in attempts made by her to reduce infection and remain healthy, is inadequate and this may be a more plausible explanation.

We also read about the institutionalized Devadasi system of India where the priestly women's gift to the gods, is to provide a sexual outlet for clients. Sexually Transmitted Diseases may have existed in these settings and were addressed.

Some cultural actions like circumcision have been accepted as a means of limiting sexual exigencies and controlling the sexual drive of the girl child.

For criminologists, prostitution is seen as a moral crime, an act of prostitution itself is seen as a result of moral inadequacies. Prostitution is still a criminal offence under the South African offence act of 1957. Luiz etal (2000:32) identifies such things as the social stigma attached to the prostitution industry, the absence of political commitment to move on the decriminalisation of prostitution, the severe dichotomy present in the prostitution industry between elite and ordinary prostitutes as often having racial undertones .It presents several challenges to understanding and supporting prostitutes to prevent STI and HIV as they go underground making it difficult to be reached by health workers with preventive messages. Criminalisation of prostitutes makes them a highly mobile group.

Looking at the role of alcohol and bars in prostitution, writers like Dicks (1953) collaborates the role of alcohol in making clients for prostitutes when he identified a high rate of venereal disease among men who drank alcohol heavily, thus reducing their negative perceptions towards prostitutes and venereal disease in the society. We may need to address the role of other social vices like Ryan (1955) who see the sale of alcohol by young girls as responsible for raising the number of commercial sex workers and indirectly increasing venereal disease. Ryan argues that the drunken men expose young girls selling alcohol in bars to early sexual exposure, and this consequently result into several sex partners. Vambe

(2003:487) sees Zimbabwean literature, as paradoxically implicated in confirming and interrogating the cultural context within which the transmission of the disease (referring to HIV/AIDS) from person to person takes place.

Perscheler-Desai (2001:115) postulates that the escalating number of HIV/AIDS in Southern Africa seems to be a major reason for the increase in child labour in general and child prostitution in particular. In confirming that prostitutes are conscious of sexually transmitted diseases and attempt at doing something about it, Luiz et al (2000) in describing the mining industry of the Orange Free State Goldfields in South Africa, discusses attitudes and practices of prostitutes regarding sexually transmitted diseases. STDs are used as a rationale for criminalisation of prostitution in South Africa.

The prostitutes in the goldfields use antiseptic fluids like Dettol, Omo, or swallow potassium permanganate or go to traditional healers before going to local clinics. This on its own is an indication that the prostitute wants to remain healthy while doing her job. How she does this may not be the best and that should be the concern of the health workers.

Vambe (2003:482) in reviewing literary work, the role of metaphor, women and HIV/AIDS, acknowledges that the carriers of AIDS are ordinary men and women and there is a direct correlation between poverty, prostitution and the spread of the disease. He says that poor domestic workers attempt to make ends meet and sleep with other women's husbands. He sees what he describes as the 'casualness' of sex and how it is experienced in this poverty – stricken society, as alarming. He

discusses the metaphor of toilet as decay and the morally corrupt when the story of Sara and Eddie are found having sex in the toilet by Eddie's wife.

In discussing clientship for sex workers, most writers agree with clientship for sex workers coming from different walks of life, only the itinerant nature of the job decides the level of patronizing. Nnabugwu-Otesanya (1987) in her master's thesis, observed that about 80% of patients who attended an STD clinic in Zaria teaching Hospital had sexual intercourse with casuals or prostitutes.

These persons usually attend a clinic after an attempt at self-medication has been seen to fail. These persons came from different professions. This creates a cause for worry because most of the men are likely to infect their friends or wives if not properly treated, especially as the parameter to measure success for the patients is on seizure of discharge. Few however know that only Gonorrhoea presents with discharges among over twenty sexually transmitted infections.

All these points to the fact that prostitutes continue to get the blame for moral decadence and sexual transmitted diseases in society.

This study, which brings to light what the term prostitutes means to the prostitute, will in no small way ensure a wholesome emancipation of the female gender as we begin the twenty first century. A little look at the Tango dance shows it takes two to tango and therefore some common sense that if all clients go home, all prostitutes will go home and the public will have nothing to worry about, since it is practically impossible to eradicate prostitution.

All efforts must be on deck to emancipate the prostitute, empower her to take her own decisions. It is only through this that we can ensure that equality, which is very much talked about, becomes holistic. For like Kathryn Carovano, (1994: 112) in her work “More than mothers and whores: redefining the AIDS prevention needs of women”, sees women as the most vulnerable section of the population. HIV/AIDS prevention programmes should provide information and sexuality knowledge to both men and women in society. Some feminists object to the protection of the sexworkers or in their involvement in the general emancipation of the female gender in society as they see the prostitute as a betrayal to women. Roland Louw (2003:108) describes the thinking of such feminists as colluding with the non-nurturing men in excluding the prostitute from constitutional protection.

If the assertion of James and D’Cunha (1991) is anything to go by, efforts to reduce sexually transmitted diseases in the society may need more to identify clients of prostitutes and educate them on the medico- social effect of STD, thereby making the relevance of prostitution to STD’s insignificant.

4.1.7 Other writings on prostitution

Other writers like Goldstein as identified by James (1979:72), are much more concerned with the role of the prostitute in encouraging crimes in society. He specifically describes the role of prostitutes in harboring drug addicts.

Tolluce & Tottle (1949) in discussing the relationship between other negative social vices, prostitution and venereal disease, while agreeing with the school of thought that prostitution has an economic gain, says that although cash payment may be involved in increasing prostitutes, alcohol played the greatest role in making clients for prostitutes.

Tolluce and Tottle explain their understanding of how candidates for prostitution are gotten in bars and drinking houses. For them, prostitutes seek their clients among persons under the influence of alcohol, when moral inhibitions are less valid and the fear of venereal infections disappears. If this were the case then the appropriate approach would be to reduce avenues for alcohol sale and ensure that men only are bar attendants. This becomes important when we look at the findings of Meena (1992) in her work on gender research studies in Southern Africa where bar maids are underpaid with the underlying assumption that they will make more money from the tourists who use the bar, through providing sexual services.

D'Cunha (1990: 54) in her sociological inquiry into laws relating to prostitution in India showed that these laws were targeted at women and that little or no arrests have been made of clients of prostitutes. Her work shows the disparity in the number of cases sent to court between prostitutes and brothel keepers, and how this is compounded by the inability to use the law effectively and leaving them at the mercy of the police and their brothel owners and pimps. James (1978) had identified in her studies that about 29% of the male population had some contact with the prostitutes, that obviously many more clients than prostitutes exist, yet

according to her studies the prostitutes seem to bear virtually the entire weight of legal reprisals. In discussing organized and institutionalized sexual exploitation and violence, it is suggested that for many decades, a huge prostitution system was organized and regulated to service the US military stationed in several bases for the rest and recreation system, especially during and since the Vietnam War (CATW-Asia Pacific, trafficking in Women and Prostitution in the Asia Pacific). Historians as identified by UPI, 2 May 1977, estimate that there were between 80,000 and 200,000 comfort women during the World War II. www.uri.edu/artsci/wms/hughe of 8/23/2004.

Further efforts to explain the existence of prostitution in society may look at the group referred to as 'prostitute' as a group of persons exploited as a class. Most writings on prostitution point to a deprived social class. A hypothetical diagram depicting these prostitutes to my mind is that they are a class that suffers the most exploitation. Prostitution belongs to the lowest socio-economic class. It can be argued that while we accept exploitation of women as a class, there are pointers to the fact that prostitutes are a group suffering from double exploitation, they are usually of the lowest economic strata and this creates that need in them to use what they have to improve their status and the only thing they have is their bodies. The clients of prostitutes are conscious of this and feel encouraged to want to contribute to the improvement of the status for the prostitutes by paying in cash or kind for the sexual encounter.

Throng (1990) in discussing what happens in sexual relationship in a matrimonial setting alludes to the fact that dowries are paid and marriages happen and the woman is obliged to provide home making services to the family, which includes provision of sex in exchange; she receives protection from the head of the family which is the husband. This on its own makes this researcher think that sex in itself is exploitative for women irrespective of their status as a prostitute or a woman of honour. Especially where the sexual act does not exist under a mutual emotional relationship. In marriages, the female exchanges her freedom for sex, leading to reproduction for society labour and for public acceptance, while the prostitute on the other hand uses sex to maintain the labour power by providing for their sexual exigencies.

In discussing the double tragedy of the prostitute, an understanding of the circumstances of Margaret Sarvaine's and the effect of the Sierra Leone coup on her and other prostitutes (BBC network Africa 22nd July, 1997) underscores the economic uses of prostitution as an alternative to unemployment. It underscores the usefulness of the prostitute to her significant others. As critics see prostitution as useless to society, one wonders what could have happened to Margaret's family if she failed to take to prostitution.

This study looks at the meaning of prostitution for the prostitute. It explores the impact of the roles of the pimps, the hotel owners and government on the control of the prostitute's income. It is pertinent to understand the political, economic,

social and religious relevance of prostitution to appreciate their contribution to the society and the need for less stigmatization.

A look at the wars in modern societies which are mostly as a result of political turmoil, would show that the prostitutes or the “non commissioned battalion”, or the accompanying battalion, as they were called in the Nigeria- Biafran civil war. In the Second World War Korean women were encouraged to present as prostitutes. These ladies were encouraged to present themselves as sex objects in return for information as enemy strategies to the government of Japan. These were done with the government approval. This has been a concern to the surviving female genders referred to as “Comfort Women” who rightfully demand an apology from the government of Japan while requesting that Japan makes due reparation. This still remains a controversial issue at the time of writing.

On the Island of Okinawa, the American soldiers are accused of sexually abusing the young citizens or paying a lot of money for sex. This has led prostitution to be flourishing on the Island. This has resulted to several demonstrations by the citizens who reject the continuous presence of the American soldiers in their island .The fact that prostitution is flourishing in the island shows that prostitution is playing a role in meeting the sexual need of the usually young men who go for military service in a distant land. It is the belief of this researcher that many more soldiers would have absconded from their military positions if there were no “Comfort Women”. Governments do not ever acknowledge the positive role prostitutes have continued to play during times of war.

In religion, a look at the writings on goddesses in the Babylonian period and the priestly women of India "Devadasi", points to the fact that sexual interactions were a vital part of religion and it took the form that is similar to the behaviour attributed to prostitutes. What to the researcher's mind differentiates the prostitutes from the married women or the priestly women, is the aspect of having more than one sex partner as in all cases, there is a material or physical reward from the men.

A look at the tourism industry of Thailand as intensively studied by Throng (1990) and also the recent imprisonment of a 60 year old Australian tourist extensively shows that prostitution is an indirect source of economy for the government, though publicly most governments, religious and political units criticize the behaviour suggestive of prostitution. In practice these bodies encourage them.

This can also be seen in the government collection of taxes from brothel owners and at the same time sending police to harass these young women, giving them double jeopardy, as their clients also get to harass them. In the great wind of consciousness of women about their rights of existence, as persons, this wind currently blows through the whole world. The prostitutes themselves are coming out to speak for themselves.

Recently, at a conference at the K.C.College in Bombay sex workers accused the Indian Government of undue harassment, they said 'Give us jobs or leave us Alone' (Times of India, July 11, 1996). These women and other women who do

legitimate jobs in hotels and bars protested against harassment by the Indian Government through the government's police and have held protest matches. Recently too, time limits (6pm) were put on dancers and other female workers in the hotel industry and these were publicly criticized by these workers including sex workers (Times of India, July 11' 1996).

4.2 SUMMARY

This chapter looked at articles and research reports that argue for and against prostitution. The circumstances of the prostitute as a female gender were reviewed. An attempt at an understanding for the reasons that inform the anger and dissolutions against prostitutes, including criminalisation of prostitution was made. An explanation was given for the reasons for a family tree of prostitutes and writings that attribute sexually transmitted infections to the existence of prostitution were reviewed.

CHAPTER 5

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

5.1 Introduction

Chapter 1 outlined a problem statement of the research, the aims, methodology and structure of the thesis and provided the theoretical and conceptual framework that guided the research. Chapter 2 presented a historical and contemporary overview of the countries studied and how this relates to prostitution in its present form in those countries. Chapter 3 looks at the conceptual framework that forms the basis for the research, and chapter 4 reviews literature related to prostitution with special attention to gender and sexually transmitted disease- issues.

This chapter discusses how the empirical research is undertaken, the data collection tools, sampling procedures, and methods of gathering data. Data analysis, reliability, validity and limitations of the study are also discussed. A triangulated methodology (Quantitative and qualitative data collection techniques) was used to collect information from prostitutes and their significant others.

The researcher adapted basic descriptive statistics, mainly frequency distribution, using Microsoft excel programme in analysing the quantitative data, while transcription and summarization was used to analyse the qualitative data. Case studies based on in-depth interviews of key informants were also done to establish a pattern in the information given to validate the research.

This combination of techniques was to ensure that information from prostitutes had a greater coverage and acceptability while giving opportunity for an in-depth understanding of the prostitute's definition of her situation.

5.2 Difference between Quantitative and Qualitative methods

According to Lekhetho (2003: 140) quantitative and qualitative methods are two different approaches to research; each has identifiable and distinct characteristics. Lekhetho, citing Schumacher and McMillan (1993:14) asserts that the primary distinction between quantitative and qualitative research is that the quantitative method uses statistics to present data while the qualitative method presents information using the narratives of the respondents.

The quantitative method involves an aggregate of persons, households, organizations, or other units into a population or a universe. A sample is a selected subset of that aggregate. Singleton & Straits (1999:134) citing Stephen and McCarthy (1958:22), describes sampling as seeking knowledge or information about a whole class of similar objects or events called a population, observing some of them and extending the findings to the entire class.

Quantification involves assigning numbers, ranking or ordinal measurement and rating, while qualitative involves giving value and meaning to nominal variables. Tashakkori and Teddies (1998:78) sees the basic principles and objectives of quantitative and qualitative methodology as similar, the only difference being that while quantitative measurement is usually based on classification of event

attributes into previously established categories, qualitative measurement is more frequently based on classification into emerging categories or explanations.

Creswell J.W (1994): 143-145, citing Firestone (1987), Cuba and Lincoln (1987) and McCracken (1988) discusses the differences between quantitative and qualitative research and indicate that both quantitative and qualitative has certain assumptions and questions each has Ontological, Epistemological, axiological, rhetorical and methodological assumptions.

For epistemological assumption, while the nature of reality is found to be objective, significantly and singularly apart from the researcher in quantitative research, the reality in qualitative research is subjective and multiple as seen by the participants in the study. In discussing epistemological difference it is seen that the relationship of the researcher to the researched in quantitative is independent from that being researched while in qualitative, the researcher interacts with that being researched.

In understanding axiological difference it is seen that the role of values in quantitative research is value free and unbiased while in qualitative research, it is value-laden and biased.

In discussing rhetorical differences, it is seen that the language of quantitative research is formal, based on set definitions, impersonal voice, use of accepted quantitative words while the language of qualitative is usually informal, evolving decisions, has personal voice and accepted qualitative words.

In discussing methodological differences in the process of quantitative research, it is seen to follow a deductive process of cause and effect. It is static in its design categories and these are isolated before study. A methodological difference in quantitative research process is context –free and is set for generalizations, leading to predictions and explanations. While the process of research in qualitative research is an inductive process, that is mutual, simultaneous shaping of factors and emerging designs. Categories are identified during research process and are context bound patterns. Theories are developed for understanding the process, which becomes accurate and reliable through verifications. Qualitative researchers are concerned primarily with the process rather than outcomes or products, the meaning the research has on the researched, i.e. how people make sense of their lives experiences and their structures. The primary instrument in qualitative researcher is the human for data collection and analysis.

Data are mediated through this human instrument rather than through inventories, questionnaires or machines as in quantitative. These differences are not very clear in some instances.

5.3 Quantitative Research Methodology

As discussed quantitative research methodology involves assigning different numbers to differentiate different magnitudes of variables. It involves survey samples, which could be a simple random sample, systemic sample, a cluster sample, stratified sample or quota sample. Quantitative research is about statistical data.

5.4 Survey

According to Behr (1988:97), surveys are used in descriptive research to obtain information about prevailing conditions on a planned basis. Data is gathered from a large number of cases at a particular time, and is concerned with the overall statistics from the characteristics of individual cases from which abstractions and conclusions can be drawn.

Creswell (1994) citing Babbie, 1990 sees the purpose of survey research as mainly to ensure generalization from a sample to a population so that inferences can be made about some characteristic, attitude or Behaviour of the studied population.

A survey method as observed by Lekhetho (2003), while discussing works of Dyer (1997:88) and Anderson (1990: 195), is ideal in a case where data are collected from a large population that is dispersed over a large geographical area.

In surveys, respondents are in a position to elicit the view of the participant, in this case the prostitutes and, for example, their views on recommendations for the improvement of their situation. To gain a maximum value from a survey, a set procedure that includes identifying and clearly defining the problem, scrutiny of the literature relating to previous researches on the same or a similar problem and an articulate design of the survey is undertaken. There are three major methods of eliciting information from respondents using surveys, namely the personal interview, the mail questionnaire, and the telephone survey.

Data collection in research could take the form of observations, interviews, documentation and audiovisual materials. Each of these have certain options within its use, they also have advantages and limitations. In observations, the researcher has first hand experience with information, can record information as it occurs, useful in exploring topics that may be uncomfortable for information to discuss. These have the disadvantage of being seen as intrusive, may result in making observation that the researcher can not report and needs a good attending and observation skills which the researcher may not have.

Interviews on the other hand may be face to face or what is sometimes referred to as one on one in person interviews. Face to face interviews are useful when informants cannot be directly observed, it has however the disadvantage of being filtered through the views of interviewees. Other types of interviews could be through telephone or group discussion these can have the advantage of providing historical information and allows the researcher control over the line of question but has the disadvantage of being done in a designated place rather than in the natural field setting.

Documentation could be through minutes of meetings, newspapers journals these have the advantage of being accessible at the convenience of the researcher but the limitations of having the researcher search out the information in usually hard to find places.

Audiovisuals on the other hand could be collected through photographs, videotapes or, art objects. These have the advantage of being unobtrusive,

provides an opportunity for informants to share directly his or her reality and is creative as it captures attention but has the limitation of having an external person in the form of photographer, these may be disruptive and affect response.

In this study a personal interview was used, this involved a face-to-face interpersonal role situation in which an interviewer asks respondents questions designed to obtain answers pertinent to the research question.

The structured interview schedule has questions and their sequences are fixed and identical for every respondent in the quantitative data collection procedure. Selltiz et al (1976:294) in discussing research methods in social relations identifies the fact that both interviews and questionnaires place heavy reliance upon the validity of verbal reports and attempts at discussing the important differences between the two. In a questionnaire, the information one obtains is limited to the written responses of subjects to prearranged questions, while interview allows for interactive sessions between the interview and the interviewer. Which allows for greater care in communicating questions and in eliciting information and is able to observe both the subject and the total situation to what he or she is responding to.

It is suggested that questionnaires are usually cumbersome for literates who hardly respond while the face-to-face interviews can be used with all segments of the population.

In this study, a total of six research assistants were employed for the research, these included a sex worker at the time of research, a male assistant and four others.

Each of these was trained on basic principles of interviewing and recording data. The languages used for interview included Pigeon, Hausa, Yoruba and Ibo in the Nigerian setting to interview 180 respondents; made up of 30 respondents each from three sites aged younger than 25 years old; and 30 respondents each from three sites aged older than 25 years old (site 1 and 2 are considered as 1). Kalanga, Seswana and English were used to interview 25 respondents in the Botswana setting made up of 20 respondents from Francistown and 5 respondents from Gaborone.

5.5 Qualitative Research Methodology

As identified earlier, qualitative research methodology refers to the situation where data derived from the research is associated with quality in value rather than the statistical research that pays special attention to the numbers. Denzin and Lincoln (2003:17-40), citing Vidich and Lyman discuss the history and seven moments of qualitative research. For them, modern social scientists see their mission as the analysis and understanding of the patterned conduct and social processes of society. This is with the presupposition that social scientists have the ability to observe this world objectively. Qualitative methods are a major tool of such observations.

According to Denzin and Lincoln (2003:19-27), the qualitative researcher does more than observe history; he or she plays a part in it. New tales from the field when written, reflect the researcher's direct and personal engagement with the historical period and her ability to communicate.

Epistemology defines the standard of evaluation. The first moments of qualitative research is the traditional period, which began in the early 1900's and continues until the period of World War II. This period saw qualitative researchers write objective accounts of field experiences that were a reflection of the positivistic science paradigm.

This was followed by the Modernist phase, which extended through the post-war years of the 1970's. A period also referred to as the creative ferment period when an attempt was made to make the qualitative method as rigorous as its quantitative counterpart. This method combined open-ended and quasi-structured interviewing with participant observation and the analysis of such materials in standardized and statistical form.

The Blurred Genres moments of the 1970-1986 followed the modernist phase, the period when research strategies and formats for reporting research, ranged from grounded theory to case study methods of historical, biographical, ethnographic, action and clinical research. The fourth moment of the 1980's, where issues of gender, class and race became important in research and analysis, followed. This was further followed with the fifth moment, the post-modern period of experimental ethnographic writing, where theories were read as tales from the

field and this was followed with the sixth or post- experimental and the seventh or future moments where the researcher seeks to connect their writings to the needs of a free democratic society.

Qualitative research involves fieldwork, where the researcher physically goes to the people, setting site, institutions to observe or record behaviour in its natural setting. Qualitative research is descriptive in that researcher is interested I process meaning and understanding gained through words or pictures. The process is inductive in that the researcher builds abstractions, concepts, hypothesis and theories from details Creswell J.W (1994:143).

It is important to mention that in the past sociological research was seen as scientific only as long as it was of the quantitative type, but now the distinction, which used to be made between qualitative and quantitative is no longer an important valid distinction as each compliments the other.

There is recognition that things considered in qualitative research are not necessarily numerical in nature. Qualitative methodology is using open-ended questions to probe and to allow for a deepening of ideas and information. It allows the individuals in the cluster, expected to be a representative of the entire group studied, to remain informal while discussing a serious issue in a relaxed atmosphere.

5.6 Rationale for the choice of a methodology

The choice of a quantitative methodology is informed by the fact that it is not possible to interview every prostitute in a very large country such as Nigeria where prostitutes are found in every city. It was therefore necessary to draw a sample from the three major tribes (Hausa, Yoruba and Ibo) and the three major regions (North, East and West) in Nigeria. These have a definite behaviour pattern, from which they are identified with, in the different regions of the country. In Botswana, the north represented by the Kalanga's and the south represented by the rest of the Motswana's have different behaviours in connection with prostitution. These are relevant in understanding prostitution and clientship in the countries studied.

The choice of a quantitative methodology, which uses a survey method to collect data, allowed for the selection of a representative sample of the three major tribes that can inform the general behaviour of prostitutes in Nigeria and the two major groups in Botswana.

Quantitative research represents the ability to produce results that can be applied to the larger population with similar attributes.

In addition to the quantitative methodology, a qualitative methodology was chosen to compliment the research methods. Madriz (2003:367) had identified that although quantitative methods have dominated the social sciences, contemporary social researchers are now interested in learning more about research participant's opinions, attitudes and everyday interactions. This researcher acknowledges her assumptions that feminist and particularly postmodernist researchers believe that

traditional methods of research are alien to population groups who have been traditionally marginalized.

Prostitutes have been marginalized by society and even by other female groups, and the only true way to ensure that those methods do not force upon participants an agenda that is not their own but that of the researcher, is to adapt a feminist approach to study marginalized female groups. Specifically, focus group discussions, which is accepted as popular for allowing social scientists to observe the most important sociological process- collective human interaction, and which enables researchers to gather large amounts of information about such interactions in limited periods of time (Madriz, 2003:365) was done.

In justifying the use of group interviews for women, especially disadvantaged women, Madriz (2003:369) had identified the fact that group interviews are particularly suited for uncovering women's daily experience through collective stories and resistance narratives that are filled with cultural symbols, words, signs and ideological representations that reflect the different dimensions of power and domination that frame women's quotidian experiences. This researcher saw the need to capture the daily experience of prostitutes in Nigeria and Botswana as vital in understanding the circumstances of the African prostitute, especially in the face of the HIV/AIDS pandemic.

In addition to the focus group discussions, the researcher conducted in-dept interviews with sample clusters of prostitutes in areas of study documented as case studies. Robert Yin (2003: xi) has identified case study research as an essential

form of social science inquiry, especially where researchers have a desire or are forced by circumstances to define research topics broadly and not narrowly. In addition, focus group discussions are to cover contextual or complex multivariate conditions and not just isolated variables, and when there is need to rely on multiple and not singular sources of evidence. In studying the prostitutes in Nigeria and Botswana it was important to get as much information as possible through any means possible, considering that it is not an opportunity that can be assessed all the time, and that prostitutes are arrested and put in prison where they are identified by the authorities of the countries studied.

The qualitative method empowers the respondent to be part of the research as it allows her to include information and questions not thought about by the researcher, yet important to the subject of investigation. It allows the individuals to express their feelings, and allows the researcher to make informed observations that will give quality to information previously obtained in the quantitative methods, which is statistical. It is this that informed the choice of the qualitative method to compliment information collected from the surveys.

5.7 Representative ness of sample

According to Kerlinger (1973:119), representative sampling means choosing a sample of a population that is to exemplify the characteristics of the population relevant to the research in question. In this study, the researcher first conducted a pilot study in two cities that were later to become research sites. Interaction with sexworkers in the sites informed the fact that the needs of the younger prostitutes

differ from the needs of the older prostitute. Older prostitutes have new concerns of wanting children, as repeated inadequately treated sexually transmitted diseases have impacted on their reproductive health, and thinking of how to leave the profession.

The younger ones had little or no consciousness about the impact of their business on their reproductive health. Their major concern was to look good and get better “customers” as clients of sex workers were called. It was also observed that the younger prostitutes at the time of the pilot study were still bitter with who ever, or what ever circumstances placed them in the situation they were in and were not in a hurry to get back to join the stream of society, while the older ones have put the reason for joining the profession behind them. The mobile nature of prostitutes and their mostly swinging mood required that sampling have to be representative of the cluster being studied.

The only way to reach this goal was to employ the help of the ‘Magajia’ or old maid, who had a good knowledge and understanding of the population of prostitutes. Sampling is a response to the fact that it is very difficult if not impossible to study a whole population; it is a selection of any population of study in a manner that the selected has characteristics that is a miniature of the whole population. Tashakkori and Teddlie (1998:63) suggest that in making inferences or policy decisions that are applicable to other groups or to the population as a whole, one should try to study groups of individuals or events or situations that are the most representative of their respective populations.

They say that the more representative a sample is, the greater the probability of the research having an external validity. Kerlinger (1977:118-119) sees sampling as taking any portion of a population or universe as representative of that population or universe, he however suggests that a random sample may not always be representative of the population from which it is drawn. For him, in drawing a random sample in a research, the hope is that the sample will be representative, and that the relevant characteristics of the population will be present in the sample in approximately the same way they are present in the population which is not always so.

The characteristics typical of a population are those that are the most frequent, these are most likely to be present in any particular random sample. Random sampling for Kerlinger is simply to make the variability predictable. In this study, a stratified sampling method that allowed for the inclusion of all the characteristics of the population of prostitutes in Nigeria was adopted. Wright (1979:24-25), in discussing stratified sampling in social research, had seen it as needing a division of the population into groups or categories and then conducting an independent random sample from the categories. She indicates that stratification criteria commonly include geographic location or region, city or community size, and individual characteristics such as race, ethnicity and age. It is this form of stratification that was used to get the representative sample of prostitutes studied in Nigeria.

It was however very difficult to stratify the Botswana sample as most prostitutes in Botswana at the time of this study were in hiding and were not willing to participate in the study. It was therefore possible to work with only the willing sex workers who did not necessarily meet the set stratification.

5.8 Reliability and Validity

Nachmias & Nachmias (1981:144) describes reliability as the ratio of the true score variance in the scores as measured; a description of the extent to which observations differ from each other. Nachmias identifies three ways of estimating reliability, namely (a) the test-retest method, where a measuring instrument is administered to the same group of persons at two different times. (b) The parallel-forms technique, where two forms of a measuring instrument are administered to a group of persons, and (c) the split-half method that involves treating each of two or more parts of a measuring instrument as a separate scale. Manheim (1977:149), equates reliability with consistency, he says that any tool, instrument or procedure used in making measurements or observations must yield the same results consistently if it is to have any value.

For him there are two aspects of reliability, (a) consistency of observations for a single observer, and (b) consistency of observations among several observers using the same instrument. In this study however, reliability of the research can be seen in the test-retest method where the same instrument was used in all samples

studied, irrespective of the country or city, or it can be seen in the fact that several research assistants in several sites used the same instrument and observations and the results remain consistent. Validity on the other hand is equivalent to accuracy of measurements or observations. A pragmatic method of validity is validity that could be determined by comparing a set of data to some independent criterion (Manheim 1977:150). In this research, the attempt at eliciting quantitative data from each site and reviewing this alongside qualitative data from the same sites ensures the combination of the information derived. This enhanced the validity of results obtained from respondents and allows for a generalization of the findings.

5.9.1 Principles and ethics guiding research

Ethics in research is the recognition that the interest of the researched should be of paramount importance to the researcher. Nachmias and Nachmias (1981:318) say that conducting research that may encroach upon the rights and welfare of research participants is not the intent or the major interest of investigators. In this comparative study of prostitutes in Nigeria and Botswana, ethical considerations were recognized. Participation for the study followed an informed consent.

The researcher ensured a degree of truthfulness by the researched through making participation in the study voluntary after due explanation of the process and procedures. Due permission was received from the President's office for Botswana in accordance with the regulations guiding research in that country, while in Nigeria each site prostitute leader (Magajia/president) was briefed on the details of the

research before this researcher and the research assistants entered into the cohort of prostitutes for the research.

The respondents had a further assurance and evidence through sharing documents related to her university registration with the leader of the prostitutes or the link who in turn convinced the prostitutes to participate on realizing that the researcher had no connection with the law enforcement officers, but was more concerned about the situation and health of the prostitutes. This made it easier for respondents to give a reliable response without fear of being arrested or being coerced into saying what they will not ordinarily want to say. Each participating respondent received assurance that his or her identity will not be revealed under any circumstances and that the information is confidential and used only for the purpose meant.

5.10 Sampling process

Considering that the subject of research is an illegal institution in the countries studied, it is difficult to ascertain the number of brothels in the cities of study. Renzetti & Lee (1993) discusses issues surrounding researching sensitive topics and reminds us that sometimes it is difficult to observe all rules of research without betraying the research subjects.

In this study, therefore the selection of hotels and brothels sampled are based on three factors: The first is the level of cooperation by the brothel owner, the second being the willingness of the leadership (*magajia or the president*) in the brothel to participate. The third consideration is the ability or willingness of the prostitute in the brothel or on the street to participate.

The sample stratification of those who have been in the profession for less or more than five years followed this. Considering that the age of the respondent was a salient factor in the information divulged, criteria of sampling included those that have attained a certain age, in this case the age of 25 and below and the age of 25 and above was categorized.

In the focus group discussions, the participants selected were based on age category; this is to allow for freedom of speech and comfort ability in the process. The probability sample elicited in this study, considered that it is difficult to study all prostitutes in Nigeria and Botswana. According to Nachmias and Nachmias (1981:20), only probability sampling makes possible representative sampling designs.

It can guarantee that, if a researcher were to repeat the study on a number of different samples drawn from a given population, his or her findings would not differ from the true population figures by more than a specified margin. It is possible to attach estimates of standard errors to the sample results.

5.11 Selection of research participants

For the quantitative data, in the Nigerian sample a total of 180 respondents made up of 90 respondents aged less than 25 years and 90 more than 25 years each respectively participated in the research. This included 30 participants each from each site (sites 1 and 2 are considered as one). The sites represented urban and semi urban settings in addition to representing the major regions of the country.

In Botswana, 25 sex workers participated in the quantitative study. Twenty of these were based in Francistown and five in Gaborone. The only criterion used was the fact that the participants had to be Motswana's. Any non-national was dropped out.

Participants for the focus group discussions and in-dept interviews were selected using age as a factor in the Nigeria setting, but participation in the Botswana setting was limited to the availability and willingness to participate. The researcher identified participants of the in-depth interviews presented as case studies during the process of data collection for the research.

These were persons thought to be salient in getting deepened information on prostitution, these included persons found to be laughing excessively or crying during the focus group discussions. Also included in the case studies were a pimp each from Botswana and Nigeria. In all a total of 8 case studies were recorded representing each site of the research.

5.11.1 Data Collection Procedures

The researcher personally sought permission from the owner of the brothels/hotels, and in addition, from the leader of the prostitutes, usually the most powerful person in the brothel. Explanations were given on issues researched on, the expected outcome of research, distribution of research findings and issues of confidentiality.

Every participant was reassured on the above and in addition asked to participate voluntarily. The institute of prostitution is not a legal venture in Nigeria or in Botswana. The researcher being a Nigerian does not need any government permission to do research on prostitutes in Nigeria, but any research being carried out in Botswana needs the permission from the President's office. The researcher obtained permission to use data from Botswana as part of this study.

A total of 325 sexwork related persons were reached for a quantitative and qualitative study. These included two hundred and five prostitutes reached in the quantitative sample, made up of 180 persons in the stratified sample from Nigeria's four sites, namely Zaria, Kasuwa Magani, Ogoja and Lagos and 25 non-stratified comparative respondents from Botswana.

The qualitative study sample reached out to 96 participants in 8 focus group sessions in four study sites in Nigeria, i.e. 12 participants per session and 14 participants in one focus group session in Francistown, Botswana.

All participants were practicing behaviour suggestive of commercial sex work at the time of discussion.

A person-to-person interview of six sex workers, 1 per site of study and a pimp in Nigeria, in addition to 1 male and 1 female sex worker in Botswana informed the case studies.

In the researcher's opinion the findings from these studies will be a microcosm of what prostitution is all about in Nigeria and Botswana. This study will therefore inform actions and activities aimed at combating sexually transmitted infections like HIV/AIDS in sub-Saharan Africa, while assisting in the inclusion of prostitutes in the general women's empowerment effort which is one of the eight Millennium goals of the United Nations member states of which Nigeria and Botswana are members.

5.11.2 Method of gathering Data

The researcher trained research assistants that speak Pidgin English and local languages spoken in the area of study in Nigeria and a research assistant in Botswana who speaks English, Kalanga and Setswana on the administration of questionnaires, recording of responses and reporting. The researcher was personally present at all sites at the time of administration of the questionnaire or focus group discussion. In the Nigerian setting the researcher personally conducted the focus group discussions and in-depth interviews.

On each occasion, a detailed explanation on the purpose of the study was shared with the research assistants and the respondents. The leader of the prostitutes went through the questionnaire and the focus group discussion guide before administration to other prostitutes takes place.

5.11.3 Questionnaires

One questionnaire was developed for the quantitative study; this was administered to each category of prostitute identified in the two countries. These are divided into the demographic data that includes present age, age at first sexual contact, age at start of profession, marital status, state of origin, religion, and employment outside prostitution.

Other sections include family history, present history, health information as related to sexually transmitted disease, female circumcision, information on method of operation, social-cultural issues related to prostitution, and finally information /advice / suggestions to clients, other prostitutes and society including law enforcement officers and relevant government agencies. A combination of open and closed ended questions was used. The questionnaire is appended to the study as an annex.

Behr (1983:156-157) in discussing questionnaires, observed that closed questions allowed for only a tick, a mark or a line on an already identified response, while

the open ended questions enables the respondent to reply as she likes and does not confine her to a single alternative.

The closed questions has the disadvantage of making the respondent to think along certain lines which she might not have done, had she been left to make up her own responses. The open questionnaire enables the respondent to state her case freely and possibly give reasons as well; it frequently goes beyond statistical data. The closed questions are easier to analyze, as the open questions are time consuming.

5. 11. 4 Interviews

In addition to the questionnaire discussed above, a focus group discussion guide was developed for the qualitative information that includes eleven topical areas, namely: the prostitute's perception of persons classified as a prostitute, training if any given prior to commencement, proper age of entry into profession, issues related to the mobile nature of prostitutes, information available to prostitutes about STD's, what prostitutes do generally about STD's, information for governments about HIV/AIDS, the motivations behind prostitution, problems of prostitutes in society and finally what society can do to help prostitutes. The Focus group guide is attached as another appendices to the study and it is complimenting the questionnaire as a major data- collection tool in this research.

5.11.5 Guidelines for Interviewing

In this study, an interview using the structured interview schedule that has been carefully prepared and piloted to obtain information pertinent to the research problem was conducted with targeted respondents. A second set of interviews was conducted with willing participants, and key informants including pimps, using the same instrument used for the focus group discussion, but allowing the interviewed to feel free to discuss any part of her life that she is interested in talking about.

The researcher selected only those responses that will inform the objectives of the study. Kerlinger (1973:479-489) describes the interview as perhaps the ubiquitous method of obtaining information from people. Kerlinger goes further to inform that data collection methods can be categorized by the degree of their directness, if we wish to know something about someone, we can ask him about it directly. He may or may not give us an answer; on the other hand, we may not ask him a direct question. “We may give him some ambiguous stimulus, like a vague question” it is expected that this will pull him on to talk about related issues in the third person which is useful to the information required by the researcher.

For Kerlinger, respondents can and usually will give much information directly, there is information, however of a more difficult nature that respondents may be unwilling, reluctant, or unable to give readily and directly, for example,

information on income, sexual relations, and attitudes towards religion and minority groups. In such cases, direct questions may yield data that are invalid. Yet, properly handled, even personal or controversial material can be successfully obtained with interviews and schedules. Most important, perhaps, is that the interview permits probing into the context and reasons for answers to question (Kerlinger 1973:479-480). He suggests however, that since interviews has the disadvantage of taking a long time, which cost effort and money, it should be avoided whenever a more economical method answers the research purposes.

Interviews are seen as an exploratory device to help identify variables and relations, to suggest hypotheses, and to guide other phases of the research. Interviews could also be designed to measure the variables of the research, interviews can supplement other methods, validate other methods and go deeper into the motivations of respondents and their reasons for responding as they do, as we are reminded at the beginning of this study Lee and Roberts (1993 PG) explicitly discusses what is involved in researching sensitive topics. Prostitution is a sensitive topic and any method that will inform as much knowledge as practically possible to a better understanding of the prostitute's situation is taken advantage of.

5.11.6 Quantitative data analysis strategies: rationale for the choice of descriptive statistics

Kerlinger (1973:134) points out that research analysis breaks data down into constituent parts to obtain answers to research questions and to test research hypotheses. The purpose of analysis is to reduce data to an intelligible and

interpretable form that makes the relations of research problems understood and tested. Statistics on its part is the manipulation and summarization of numerical data to make comparisons and obtain results. Behr (1988:11) identifies two types of statistics, namely descriptive and inferential.

He sees descriptive as mainly summarizing experiences while inferential goes beyond what has been observed in order to make predictions of what is likely to happen in the future. This research is all about understanding the experiences of the prostitute and to make recommendations that affect their complete involvement in their own health while using information from the shared experiences of other prostitutes to understand how best to involve the prostitute in the general empowerment of the woman. A descriptive statistics packet using Excel is more meaningful to this research and was adopted for the quantitative analysis.

5.11.7 Qualitative Data Analysis

David Silverman (2003:340-359), in discussing and analyzing qualitative data, dealt with four issues, namely (1) the need to view qualitative research as based on some analytically defined perspective, (2) the need to focus on actual practice in situ, by looking at how social interactions are routinely enacted, (3) the need to think through how people do things in addition to how people see things, and (4) finally, a need for a systematic transcription of data. The researcher was conscious of these facts and observed them in analyzing the qualitative data

collected. The research assistant used tape recorders in most of the focus group sessions along with pen and paper recordings. Tapes were used in seven of the sessions because the participants were comfortable with their use. In one occasion however, the participants wanted the transcription to be done on the site and returned to prove that the researcher was not connected with the law enforcement agents. They were obliged.

At the end of each session a transcription was done and significant information relevant to the objective of the study documented for each site. Information was tabulated at the end, responses from each site were compared, commonalities and differences identified and documented as findings.

In addition to this, observations made at the sessions informed the in-depth interviews, e.g. a participant who was laughing extensively or shedding tears while talking at the sessions was probed to understand better her actions and what the sentences that led to tears or laughter meant to her. This gave a deepened insight to the situation of the prostitute and a perception of their status in society among other women folk. This was particularly important in their discussion of why they get into prostitution, and remains in it even with the stigma attached.

5.11.8 Case studies

As indicated earlier, case studies of willing participants was documented from each site, and these served as a process evaluation of the act of prostitution. Yin Robert (2003:xii) attempts to distinguish case studies from qualitative research in

general when he says that in passing mention is made of case studies by social scientists while discussing evaluation research methods.

He warns that case study research is not to be confused with qualitative research or with unacceptable quasi- experimental designs. He says that case studies have its own method and rationale but still lacks adequate recognition.

This researcher however, uses case studies in this context as part of qualitative research and admits like Yin that this is not very popular as a research tool, but very salient in a deeper understanding of the topic of research.

Because at the planning stage of this research, case studies was not thought of as important, no specific instrument was developed for the purpose, rather the focus group discussion guide was followed while a participant was left free to give a deeper insight only to those issues that were important and meaningful to her. This meant that each case study was peculiar to the circumstances of the specific prostitute, but was also important to a generalization of the issues of the prostitutes as a group.

5.11.9 Triangulated Research

A combination of the quantitative and qualitative methodology was adopted to compliment and validate the research project. Chapter 1.2.6 discusses the relevance of triangulation in research and the analogy of a brain and the heart, each playing its role and which in combination performs better to emphasise the advantage of a triangulated research. In this research this combination of

methodologies allows for a deepening of an understanding of prostitution in Nigeria and Botswana, their perceived role in society and how they can be involved in their own health.

5.11.10 Data Processing

A computer analyst was employed to process the quantitative data using Excel. Data was first coded and numbers assigned and followed with compilation of the descriptive commonalities, which was matched and compared. The qualitative data, following the transcription and bearing in mind the objective of the research and the details of a grounded theory, was analyzed. Ryan and Russell Bernard (2003:279-279) in discussing qualitative data management and analysis methods, had identified grounded theorists as wanting to understand people's experiences in as rigorous and detailed a manner as possible, to identify categories and concepts that emerge from a text and to link these concepts into substantive and formal theories.

Open coding was used in this study. Ryan and Russell Bernard (2003: 279) citing Sandelowski (1995a), describes open coding to include the analysis of text beginning with proof reading the materials and simply underlining key phrases. This is followed with linking them together in theoretical models by contrasting and comparing themes and concepts. An attempt was made in observing what is commonly referred to as Schema analysis of qualitative data, where elements of

the linguistic and sociological tradition, using cognitive imagination were considered.

In this meaning is given to a common statement in the text, based on assumptions of common statements on the meanings underlying a particular action. Ryan and Bernard (2003: 289) citing Quinn (1997) had discussed how the schema analysis was adopted to understand the concept underlying American marriages and how these are tied together with clues in ordinary discourse for what they tell us about shared cognition. In this study, the group informed through an individual about what is common to the whole group, based on the comments and discussion that follows an individual's comment.

Sometimes the individual in the group symbolizes the perception of the group with an object and the degree to which the symbol is generalized to the group is seen in the discourse. An example is a comment from the focus group discussions that was common in all the sessions- "they say we are useless women! They treat us like dogs". Further discussion showed that all participants felt that society already have labeled prostitutes as not being a good example of a woman, and therefore not very useful to society. This is what explains why the clients or customers treat the prostitutes badly. Dogs are here seen, as a lower being that has no option to how the master treats it.

5.12 Interpretations of results

In interpreting the results, the researcher assessed the degree of relationship between the findings and the following research questions:

- Is there a relationship between the structure of society, women's status and prostitution?
- Is the economic status of the individual family rather than morality responsible for prostitution?
- Is there a relationship between male morality, male double standard on sex in society and prostitution?
- Does the negative labeling of prostitutes have a negative impact on their ability to participate fully in society?
- Does the length of time women are involved in prostitution have any relevance their awareness to the need for positive behaviour change?
- Is there a relationship between a social crisis like death or separation, sudden poverty of breadwinners, wars and prostitution?

The assumptions are:

1. The higher the socio- economic status of parents of prostitutes the lower the likelihood of participation in prostitution
2. The younger the female, the higher the likelihood of participation in prostitution
3. The older the prostitute the more awareness to issues of reproductive health including sexually transmitted diseases

It is an assessment of the above as described by the participants and other salient information given that informed the result of the research as presented in the next chapter.

5.12.1 Limitations of the study

The study began in 1988, a few years after the first case of HIV/AIDS in Nigeria. It coincided with the period when women of the world were up in arms seeking for the recognition of the work of the woman. It was a time when terms like “house wife” were frowned upon, rather they were to be recognized as “home makers”, a time when women’s services in the home were revisited and viewed as labour intensive.

In the Nigerian context this recognition of the woman tended to turn elitist. Most newspapers and television programmes highlighted people calling for the arrest of prostitutes.

This call cut across the general population, including self- professed feminists. They saw prostitution as dehumanizing to the female gender. The Moslem leaders of Kano in Nigeria asked that the prostitutes be married within three months or be submitted to Sharia laws of the land. The researcher’s concern that there may be a need to understand from the prostitute’s perception why prostitutes exist despite the stigma and her view that prostitutes must be emancipated along with the generality of the female gender, informed this study.

Much has changed about the situation of prostitutes in Nigeria since then. Some persons who were part of the quantitative data have since left prostitution, but the information obtained remains part of the study. Following earlier presentations made at female activist forums, some persons studied are currently reached with HIV/AIDS prevention programmes, and in fact some of the respondents are now running AIDS prevention projects supported by the Ford Foundation or USAID.

There is also the problem associated with researching sensitive topics. As recognised by Lee & Claire (1993: 510-528), the sensitive nature of an apparently innocuous topic becomes manifest once research is underway. The sensitive nature of studying prostitution from the prostitute's own perception became obvious only when the research was underway; the researcher was criticized from fellow professed feminists. They felt the study was trying to glorify prostitution.

A more serious limitation was in the access to the prostitutes studied. Although in the houses of prostitutes their organized pattern of operation presented few obstacles in entering their domain, "the Magajia" or "Old maid" controlled the selection of respondents used and grouped the prostitutes in the different age groupings with little or no opportunity for verification.

Another limitation has to do with the sample collection in Botswana. Comparative studies as a scientific tool should follow a similar pattern of selection. This was difficult to follow for Botswana as the community at the time of data collection (2001) was in denial about the existence of prostitutes in the country.

Incidences of prostitution reported was publicly discussed as having come from neighboring Zimbabwe, prostitutes went into hiding, making it extremely difficult to classify participants in age categories. Unlike Nigeria, Botswana does not have houses of prostitutes or a red light area. They do however have night street prostitutes. Accessing these were the most difficult aspect of the study as being a foreigner it was shrouded with a lot of suspicion. The research was stopped at a stage, as the information for the need to get permission from the President's office became known. The research continued only when permission was received from the President's office.

A final limitation was that the third proposed study site of Botswana (Palapye) was dropped due to the sudden departure of the link to the site. Palapye was to represent the semi-urban setting. The researcher's personal interaction with the project coordinator of the commercial sex workers project situated at the University of Botswana, played to a great extent, a role in addressing the problems associated with the Botswana sample.

5.2 SUMMARY

A triangulated research methodology was undertaken in the study of prostitutes in Nigeria and Botswana. This involved reaching out to 324-sex worker related persons. The choice of methodology was informed by the need to have a representative sample of prostitutes in the countries studied and derive from them as much information as possible to deepen the understanding of prostitution in the

countries studied. It was also important for reliability and validity that consistencies in information from each of the methods used is recorded.

Prostitution is a sensitive topic and sampling process was influenced largely by the ability to reach the target population and by the leadership of the respondents (the magajia/president/ chairlady). Research assistants were employed for data collection while a computer analyst analyzed the data. The researcher was present at all the process of data collection. Interpretation of data took into cognizance the relationship between the findings and the hypotheses.

Limitations of the study had to do more with the sensitivity of the issues related to prostitution, which made it difficult to follow strictly a research standard in making a comparative study.