

EXPLORING RESILIENCE AMONG FEMALE SEX WORKERS IN JOHANNESBURG

by

LAWRENCE LEKAU MAMABOLO

Submitted in accordance with the requirements for

the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

In the subject

PSYCHOLOGY

at the

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA

SUPERVISOR: MR K MBATHA

FEBRUARY 2017

DECLARATION

I declare that **“EXPLORING RESILIENCE AMONG FEMALE SEX WORKERS IN JOHANNESBURG”** is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references and that this work has not been submitted before for any other degree at any institution.

.....

SIGNATURE

Mr Lawrence L. Mamabolo

Student No: 36709026

.....

DATE

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I convey my greatest gratitude to my supervisor, Mr Khonzi Mbatha for his constructive criticism, affirmation and patience without which I would not have produced this work and completed it successfully.

Furthermore, I would like to express my sincere appreciation to my wife Bongiswa Hoya Mamabolo for her patience and support during this trying time when I spent little time with her and delegating some of my roles to her, *such a lovely wife*. Furthermore I hope this work becomes a motivator for my children and other family members showing that through perseverance and dedication you can be whatever you choose to be.

I would like to sincerely thank the University of South Africa for awarding me financial assistance in the form of a bursary without which I could not have been able to undertake my studies.

Female sex workers who gave their time and input to make this work a success are also not forgotten as such I would also like to thank them sincerely for their precious time. Those who gave inputs and motivated me throughout this time are also appreciated including my colleagues at Right to Care.

ABSTRACT

Sex work is a highly debatable subject in the field of psychology but little has been said about sex work and resilience. Challenges associated with criminalisation of sex work are rife but sex work continues to exist. This study explored the ability of heterosexual street based female sex workers (FSW) to 'bounce back' from challenges they face. The study employed qualitative paradigm and a transcendental phenomenological design was used. Snowballing sampling was used to select twelve FSW who participated in semi structured interview. Thematic analysis was used to extract recurrent themes across participants. Participants reported being victimised and physically and verbally abused by clients and the public. FSW showed their resilience by rationalising their role with having a purpose in working as FSW, obligation as bread winners and regarding sex work as legitimate work. They adopted psychological survival techniques and used various safety techniques to cope. The results emphasised importance of employing resilience and strength based approaches in researching and developing training and psychological programmes for sex workers.

KEY TERMS: Decriminalisation; feminism; heterosexual street-based female sex worker; Johannesburg; phenomenology; qualitative research; resilience; sex work; strength-based approach; thematic analysis; transcendental phenomenology.

Table of Contents

DECLARATION	i
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	ii
ABSTRACT	iii
Chapter 1	1
CONTEXTUAL BACKGROUND	1
1.1. Introduction	1
1.2. Contextualising the problem	2
1.2.1. Sex work and the law	2
1.2.2. Reasons for joining sex work	3
1.2.3. Why heterosexual street based female sex workers	4
1.2.4. Resilience in sex work	4
1.3. Significance of the study	5
1.4 Research design	8
1.5. Aim of this study	8
1. 6. Chapter outline	9
Chapter 2	11
LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	11
2.2. Definition of key concepts	11
2.2.1. Sex work or prostitution	11
2.2.2. Street based female sex worker	12
2.2.3. Resilience	12
2.2.4. Johannesburg	13
2.3. Sex work and feminism	13
2.3.1. Abolitionism perspective	14
2.3. 2. Sex positive perspective	15
2.3.3. Liberal perspective	17
2.4. Sex work organisations	18
2.5. Human trafficking and sex work	22
2.6. Legal frameworks	23
2.6.1. Full Criminalisation	24
2.6.2. Partial Criminalisation	26
2.6.3. Legalisation and regulation	27

2.6.4. Decriminalisation of sex work	28
2.7. Status quo regarding sex work in South Africa	29
2.7.1. The South African Constitution and sex work	30
2.8. Brief historical account of positive psychology and emergence of resilience as a concept	34
2.8.1. Resilience, sex work and health outcomes	39
2.8.2. Strength based perspective of positive psychology	40
2.8.3. Conclusion.....	46
Chapter 3.....	47
RESEARCH METHOD AND DESIGN.....	47
3.1. Introduction	47
3.2. Characterisation of qualitative approach	47
3.3. Research design.....	50
3.3.1. Reflexivity of phenomenology.....	52
3.4. Sampling and research procedure	52
3.4.1. Sampling of participants.....	53
3.4.2. Research procedure.....	53
3.4.3. Data collection.....	54
3.5. Ethics.....	56
3.5.1. Privacy and the right to participate.....	56
3.5.2. Informed consent.....	56
3.5.3. Anonymity.....	57
3.5.4. Confidentiality.....	57
3.5.5. Beneficence and non-maleficence	58
3.5.6. Language.....	58
3.6. Trustworthiness.....	59
3.6.1. Credibility	59
3.6.2. Transferability	60
3.6.3. Dependability	60
3.6.4. Conformability	61
3.6.5 Authenticity	61
3.7. Data analysis	61
3.7.1. Consideration made by the researcher when employing TA.....	63

3.7.2. Steps in the data analysis process	64
Chapter 4	68
RESULTS AND DISCUSSION	68
4.1. Introduction	68
4.2. Demographic details of participants	68
4.3. Summary of participants' narratives	71
4.4. Discussion of themes and sub-themes emerging from the data	74
4.4.1. Commercial sex as work	74
4.4.2. Abuse	78
4.4.3. Secondary victimisation	81
4.4.4. Sex workers unite	83
4.4.5. Survival techniques	85
4.4.6. Anticipated future and needs	89
4.5. Linking the strength based principles with participants narratives	93
Chapter 5	96
CONCLUSION, LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	96
5.1. Introduction	96
5.2. Summary and conclusions	96
5.3. Limitations of the study	98
5.4. Recommendations for future research	100
REFERENCES	102
Appendices	123
Appendice 1: Ethical Clearance	123
Appendice 2: Consent form	125
Appendice 3: Interview Schedule	128
Appendice 4: Participant information Sheet	130

Chapter 1

CONTEXTUAL BACKGROUND

1.1. Introduction

Johannesburg, South Africa's largest city in terms of population (Duncan, 2016) is situated in the country's most populous province, Gauteng. It is home to about 11 000 sex workers (Konstant, Rangasami, Stacey, Stewart & Nogoduka, 2015). Appelgryn (1975), indicated that gold was discovered in the Johannesburg area in 1886, setting off a mass migration of people from all over the world into the settlement to find gold, thus the term "Gauteng", meaning City of Gold.

Johannesburg has been the most popular destination for both migrations from non-metropolitan areas and inter-provincial migration within South Africa, Africa and other parts of the world to look for employment opportunities (Borel-Saladin, 2013).

Looking at the South African migration history, males made up a larger number of migrants to Johannesburg in comparison to women as the mining industry mainly recruited males (Peberdy, Crush & Msibi, 2004). However, women have always been part of migrant flow (Dodson as cited in Peberdy et al., 2004).

This is further supported by the mid-year provincial migration variations released by Statistics South Africa (StatsSA, 2016) indicating that female internal migrants from Limpopo, Kwa-Zulu Natal, Eastern Cape and Mpumalanga provinces are migrating to Gauteng to search for work opportunities.

Johannesburg, which has been the financial and manufacturing centre of South Africa, has seen a concentration of wealth and production which creates inequalities and hard access to resources for its residents that are symptomatic of South Africa's past history of racial exclusion and inequality (Duncan, 2016; Peberdy et al., 2004).

According to Statistics South Africa (2015), the unemployment rate in South Africa has been averaging 25.27 percent over a fifteen year period, from 2000 until 2015. Furthermore, it is estimated that less than 10 percent of graduates are employed, with the

majority of those unemployed classified as Black (Van der Berg & Van Broekhuizen, 2012).

This could be one of the reasons including high cost of education and so forth why many blacks shy away from formal education as it is seen to be ineffective in addressing poverty and inequality. Some migrants tend to shy away from formal education which brings economic strain because they are part of the economic growth and social dynamism of the city of Johannesburg. They may also have particular vulnerabilities to social and economic exclusion and poverty. This might then lead to some people entering informal employment, including sex work (Peberdy et al., 2004).

Furthermore Burnette, Lucas, Ilgen, Frayne, Mayo and Weitlauf (2008) postulated that some people migrate to Johannesburg with the hope for a better future through finding employment and upon not finding employment they become sex workers to support themselves and their families. Researchers also found strong links between migration and sex work (Bujra, 1975; Busza, 2006; Vanwiesenbeeck, 2001).

1.2. Contextualising the problem

1.2.1. Sex work and the law

Sex work is a criminal offence virtually throughout Africa and in South Africa it is currently illegal under the Sexual Offences Act (23 of 1957) as lastly amended in 2007. According to the National Strategic Plan for HIV Prevention, Care and Treatment for Sex Workers (SANAC, 2013) this criminalisation means all forms of sex work, including the purchasing of sexual services and living off the proceeds of sex work are illegal.

This criminalisation and the intense stigma attached to sex work shapes interactions between sex workers and their clients, family, fellow community members, and societal structures such as the police and social services because of stigma attached to sex work (Scorgie et al., 2013).

Despite sex work being classified as an explicit criminal offence, the courts and police seldom formally prosecute street based sex workers under anti-prostitution laws because these are difficult to prove and enforce (Manoek & Shakelton, 2012).

Women Legal Centre (WLC, 2011) state that in dealing with sex work, police invoke municipal by-laws or vague non-criminal legislation to arrest or detain sex workers on charges of loitering, indecent exposure, public nuisance or offences that do not warrant arrest, such as blocking the pavement, but often without charging them.

1.2.2. Reasons for joining sex work

Sex work is an important source of income in the informal sector and sex workers often provide financially for extended families because of high unemployment rates in South Africa (Gould, 2011). According to Oliviera (2011) sex work is a more viable option for some people because it pays better than other service work such as domestic work, cashier and security services. Oliviera (2011) further mentions that people choose to be sex workers because working hours are flexible, an individual is self-employed, requires no formal qualifications, documentation or sizable initial capital outlay.

Many anti-prostitution advocates argue that the act of prostitution is not by definition a fully consensual act, as they say that all prostitutes are forced to sell sex, either by somebody else or due to the unfortunate circumstances of their lives such as poverty, lack of opportunity, drug addiction, and history of childhood abuse or neglect (Burnette et al., 2008).

Campbell (2000) conducted a study on sex workers in Gauteng and discovered four reasons why people became sex workers at the mine. First, the death of a parent or both parents, meaning that becoming an orphan and having to make ends meet sometimes makes sex work a viable option; second, leaving school after becoming pregnant, meaning to support an offspring; third, running away from the hardships at home, thus a person has to earn a living; and fourth, leaving an abusive man, furthermore to maintain and support themselves. Sex workers in this study lived in poverty, as is the case in many other places in South Africa.

Although many sex workers yearn for alternative or additional forms of employment, they do not wish to be rescued from their profession. They would prefer to see their profession and their rights recognised (Konstant et al., 2015; Rangasami, 2015; Women's Legal Centre, 2011).

1.2.3. Why heterosexual street based female sex workers

Female sex work is the most prominent type of sex work and the most researched in South Africa. However, transgender and male sex workers also exist (SANAC, 2013). Konstant et al. (2015) indicate that there are about 182 000 sex workers in South Africa with about 132 000 being heterosexual female sex workers.

In the hierarchy of dangers associated with female sex work, street-based sex workers are often designated the most vulnerable and they are often independent operators and not tied to obligations and commissions associated with brothel-based sex work (Abel & Fitzgerald, 2012; Pitts, 2016).

Street based sex workers face many challenges ranging from partner or pimp abuse, drug abuse, risk of contracting Human Immune Virus (HIV) and other Sexually Transmitted Infections (STI's), rape, abuse by law enforcers and physical violence from clients (El-Bassel, Witte, Wada, Gilbert & Wallace, 2001).

In their position paper on sex work in South Africa, Sex Worker Education and Advocacy Task Force (SWEAT, n.d) indicate that because sex work is an explicit criminal offence, sex workers especially street based sex workers cannot report abuse and rape by law enforcers.

1.2.4. Resilience in sex work

When individuals are exposed to traumatic or stressful situations like street based female sex workers, some may display psychological distress while others may have the ability to positively adapt to adversity and function competently. Such positive adjustments are referred to as resilience (Yuen et al., 2013).

The task of predicting resiliency is complicated because there is no universally defined concept of what constitutes resilient behaviour (Southwick, Bonanno, Masten, Panter-Brick & Yehuda, 2014). They further indicate that in some cases, resiliency is defined by the absence of psychopathology, prolonged stress response patterns or maladaptive coping and in other cases resilience is defined by having superior coping mechanisms, on average, over a longitudinal course of life-span development.

Braverman (2001, p.2), defines resilience as “a concept that incorporates two components: (a) exposure to significant stressors or risks, and (b) demonstration of competence and successful adaptation”. By this definition, resilience is a set of processes rather than a fixed characteristic. Furthermore, this definition fits the concept of ‘sex work and resilience’ as sex workers are exposed to risks such as HIV (Bastow, 1995), human rights abuse (Ritcher, 2013; Scorgie et al., 2011) and have been adapting to sex work for millennia (McNeil, 2010).

In a study conducted by Scorgie et al. (2013), 10 sex workers out of the 15 interviewed had been in the industry for about three to nine years. Fifteen female sex workers out of the 29 interviewed in Polokwane had been in the industry for three to nine years. This indicates that when one decides to become a sex worker one often stays in the industry for a prolonged period which could be up to nine years.

Despite sex workers experiencing marginalisation, stigmatisation, violence, and many other human rights abuse, they continue to work in the sex industry for many years. This might be an indication that sex workers are resilient not overlooking other factors like few work opportunities, poverty and inequality which are on the rise in South Africa.

1.3. Significance of the study

Stigmatisation and marginalisation of sex workers is of concern and rife (Balfour & Allen, 2014; Wong, Holroyd & Bingham, 2011). Farley and Kelly (2000) state that in the field of psychology sex work is highly stigmatised and a debatable subject in terms of pathology associated with sex work.

There is documented evidence of high Post Traumatic Stress Disorder in sex workers and other mental and health issues (Farley, 2004, 2005; Maddux, Gosselin & Winstead, 2008). The South African National Aids Council (SANAC, 2016, p. 8) indicates that “sex workers are a highly marginalized group with high rates of HIV, TB, and STI incidence and prevalence. Prevalence of HIV is as high as 71.8% among female sex workers in Johannesburg”.

There is strong evidence of poor psychological health among street based female sex workers such as lower quality of life, higher likelihood of self-harm, anxiety and depression (Ling, Wong, Holroyd & Gray, 2007; Farley, 2005).

The long working hours, risks of being verbally abused, physically attacked, and raped or even robbed by clients, along with the stigma attached to sex work and other related personal life circumstances are highly stressful (Wong, Holroyd & Bingham, 2011).

The on-going criminalisation of sex workers in South Africa compounds and legitimates the stigma attached to sex work, limits sex worker resilience and increases their risk to STI's including HIV (SANAC, 2013).

Scorgie et al. (2013), indicate that to address considerable occupational health risks, researchers and activists in the fields of health and HIV have long argued for a rights-based approach to sex work interventions, including decriminalisation of all forms of it. This is further supported by Strategic plan for HIV Prevention, Care and Treatment of Sex Workers (SANAC, 2013, p. 9).

Like the psychological and physical scars of apartheid which are still felt 22 years into democracy, the stigmatisation and marginalisation associated with sex work will simply not vanish overnight even if sex work was to be legalised tomorrow. We need to understand the coping mechanisms of sex workers so that we might not only support them with physical resources but also with psychological tools to survive their present situation.

Little attention has been given to ‘resilience in sex work’ (Burnes, Long & Schept, 2012; Buttram, Surrat & Kurtz, 2013; Dodsworth, 2011; Fick, 2005; Outlaw, McCracken &

Saunders, 2016; Scorgie et al., 2013; Yuen et al., 2013) with attention given to the negative and positive effects of sex work (Farley, 2004, 2005; Ritcher, 2013), criminalisation and decriminalisation of sex work (Farley, 2004), human rights issues that apply to sex workers (Scorgie et al., 2011), sex work and substance abuse (Burnette et al., 2008) and the link between HIV and sex work (Bastow, 1995; Ritcher, 2013; Weitzer, 2005).

Burnes et al., (2012) also indicated that in 2005 there was only one resilience-based research study investigating sex work, conducted by SWEAT. This might be an indication that there is a need for further research into 'sex work and resilience' in the South African context. Furthermore in studies mentioned above regarding 'resilience in sex work' only two studies by Fick (2005) and Scorgie et al., (2013) explored 'resilience in sex work' in South Africa.

Current psychology literature often uses a psychopathology-based perspective that focuses on understanding human behaviour from a model of mental illness, stress, and abnormal or maladaptive behavior (Maddux, Mason, Gosselin & Barbara, 2008). When using the lens of psychopathology in clinical practice, psychologists and other mental health professionals may fail to assess and support sex workers' coping skills. Using such a model (commonly called the oppressive paradigm) creates an understanding of sex work as inherently exploitative and harmful to workers (Burnes et al., 2012).

The oppressive paradigm also portrays sex workers as mentally sick, unable to keep other jobs, and abnormal in their routine behaviour (Burnes et al., 2012). This paradigm also creates an adversarial relationship between sex workers and legal bodies, mandating that sex work should be illegal because of its perceived detriment to and deviance within society.

Burnes et al., (2012) further state that a resilience-based model of sex work can provide alternative ways of understanding sex workers and proposed a resilience-based lens for conceptualising sex workers that can be used for research, scholarship, advocacy and clinical practice in psychology.

Like many other kinds of work, sex work can be a stressful job and it is important to understand how sex workers cope with the types of stresses they experience (Fick, 2005).

In her recommendations, Fick (2005) indicates that to better understand the factors that promote positive coping mechanisms in sex workers, it would be worthwhile to better understand the factors that promote positive coping mechanisms and to design interventions that provide information on the kinds of active problem solving mechanisms that sex workers use effectively to cope with the difficult situations they encounter.

This study will contribute to few existent literature on 'sex work and resilience' in South African context and furthermore in the field of psychology in relation to resilience in adult population, especially females.

1.4 Research design

The study followed a qualitative, transcendental phenomenological approach where lived experiences of heterosexual street based female sex workers on coping with sex work in Johannesburg were explored. According to Polit and Beck (2012, p. 752), "qualitative research method displays how events and things are put together, more or less coherently and consciously into frameworks that makes sense of their experiences".

Research participants (in my study) were people who self-identified as heterosexual female sex workers. Nyembe, Zacharias, Krige, Richter, Tihwale and Hunter (2014), indicate that when researching sex workers, it is pivotal to interview people who self-identify as sex workers so that their voices and experiences could be heard.

1.5. Aim of this study

Patton and Cochran (2002), indicate that the aims and objectives of qualitative research is to provide an in-depth and interpreted understanding of the social world of research participants by learning about what they make of their social and material circumstances, experiences, perspectives and histories.

The overall aim of this research is to explore the ability of heterosexual street based female sex workers to cope with challenges they encounter in the sex industry.

The main objectives of this study are:

- (a) To explore factors that promote active coping mechanisms in heterosexual street based female sex workers, and
- (b) To explore resources used by heterosexual street-based female workers in order to cope with their work
- (c) To understand the concept of resilience, health and psychological challenges in the sex industry, paying particular attention to street-based sex workers.

1. 6. Chapter outline

This dissertation consists of five chapters. The current chapter, **Chapter one**, introduces the reader to the dissertation. This chapter presents the contextual background of the topic and significance of the study.

Chapter two is divided into four sections. Firstly, important key concepts are defined; secondly, evaluation of existing literature on sex work and resilience is provided. Thirdly, the theoretical framework that explains the link between sex work and resilience is discussed. Finally, the strength-based approach that is rooted in positive psychology is discussed.

In **Chapter three**, the methodology of this inquiry is discussed. The basic principles of qualitative research and transcendental phenomenology are discussed. The research methods employed in this inquiry are discussed, focusing on Braun and Clarke (2006) thematic analysis.

Chapter four presents analysis of the data collected in the study. The chapter draws together the perspectives of different participants as well as findings of the study. Perspectives are organised under the research questions which cover study objectives, perceived success and failures.

Chapter five presents the summary and conclusions, limitations of the study followed by recommendations. Recommendations are based on the results obtained from this study and literature review conducted.

Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. Introduction

I will begin this chapter by defining key concepts used in this inquiry followed by the closer examination of feminism ideology related to sex work particularly because feminism is the dominant voice in sex work research. Different stakeholders who are either against or in favour of sex are also explored. Since sex work is illegal in South Africa, I felt that it could be useful to understand how different legal frameworks perceive sex work and their impact on sex work (ers) in South Africa.

Resilience theory and the how it links to sex workers' health is also discussed. The interrelationship between resilience and positive psychology is well documented. The home-straight section of this chapter will integrate the linkage between resilience, positive psychology, particularly the strength-based perspective and sex work.

2.2. Definition of key concepts

I felt it was important to define key concepts used in this study so that meaning could be apprehended and clarity provided to the reader.

2.2.1. Sex work or prostitution

According to Section 20 of the Sexual Offences Act, 1957 (Act No. 23 of 1957, originally the Immorality Act, 1957) prostitution is defined as “sex for reward and living on the earnings of prostitution”. Prostitution refers to shameful acts women do and carries negative connotations linked to incorrect information about sex workers and the sex work industry (Nyembe, Zacharias, Krige, Richter, Tlhwale & Hunter, 2014) and it fuels stigma against sex work (Chateauvert , 2013).

The 'sex work' concept is often preferred by advocacy organisations such as the Sex Worker Education and Advocacy Taskforce (SWEAT, n.d). They are of the opinion that the concept sex work avoids moral judgment and emphasizes that the selling and buying

of sexual services is a form of work with implications for labour law, occupational health and safety rights.

Furthermore, Chateauvert (2013, p. 193) indicates that “the term sex work is more inclusive of the commercial sex industry and underscored labour issues and politically correct way to use when referring to people who engage in sexual commerce”.

The concept sex work(er) will be used in this study as commonly defined by United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS, 2015, p. 10) as: “Female, male and transgender adults aged over 18 years who sell consensual sexual services in return for cash or payment in kind, and who may sell sex formally or informally, regularly or occasionally.”

2.2.2. Street based female sex worker

Current literature defines ‘outdoor sex workers’ as those who conduct their work on the streets (Murphy & Venkatesh, 2006). In this study street based female sex workers refer to adult heterosexual women who sell sexual services in exchange for money. Other variables are that they have multiple clients and that they work outdoors, including places such as shebeens and taverns. I will refer to them as female sex workers (FSW) throughout this dissertation

2.2.3. Resilience

Richardson, Neiger, Jensen and Kumpfer (1990, p. 34) define resilience as “the process of coping with disruptive, stressful or challenging life events in a way that provides the individual with additional protective and coping skills than prior to the disruption that results from the event”, while Wolin and Wolin (1993, p. 5) defined resiliency as “the capacity to bounce back, to withstand hardship, and to repair yourself.”

Furthermore, Yuen et al., (2013) indicate that “when individuals are exposed to traumatic or stressful situations like sex workers do, some may display psychological distress while others may have the ability to positively adapt to adversity and function competently, such positive adjustments are referred to as resilience.”

In this study resilience will be defined as the ability of FSW to positively adjust to challenges associated with criminalisation of sex work which is accompanied by human rights violations, stigma and discrimination.

2.2.4. Johannesburg

Johannesburg is South Africa's largest city, situated in the country's most populous province 'Gauteng' (Konstant, Rangasami, Stacey, Stewart & Nogoduka, 2015). When gold was discovered for the first time in the Johannesburg area in 1886, the area became affectionately known as the 'city of gold' (Appelgryn, 1975) and today it is the wealthiest city in South Africa (Major Agglomerations in the World, 2016).

2.3. Sex work and feminism

Feminism is a political and ideological belief system that advocates for women in political, economic, cultural and social rights spaces because it believes that women are marginalised and sexually exploited by the patriarchal system (Hammer, 1990; Peters, 2015). Feminism has been strongly associated with sex work because majority of sex workers are women (Kissil & Davey, 2009; Konstant et al., 2015; Ritcher, 2013).

After World War II, the 'second wave feminism' encouraged women to fight for causes that affected them, including sex work (Jackson, 2004). Earlier traditional discourses on sex work focused on social, economic and psychological explanations until the 1960's when the feminist debate emerged over pornography. The radical stance by the second wave feminism fuelled what became known 'feminist sex wars' which dominated sex work debate ever since (Kissil & Davey, 2009).

For a feminist, body politics and sex work are unavoidable subjects and they are problematic as seen from different ideological stances (Hekman, 2014). Generally, feminists advance equality and freedom for all (Hekman, 2014) but the debate on sex work becomes complicated as different scholars take different stances guided by their theoretical framework and ideologies (Scoular, 2004; Peters, 2015).

The literature identifies three main ideological stances that have dominated the 'feminism sex wars' and these are: the abolitionism perspective, the sex-positive feminism, and the liberal perspective (Comte, 2014). Feminism is a complex subject with different 'pockets' of ideologies as mentioned above (Hekman, 2014).

It is not my intention to decipher feminism in its totality in this study. I am interested in unpacking how different schools of thought within feminism paradigm perceive sex work since they have been debating sex work for over a century (Gottfried, 1996; Kissil & Davey, 2009). Below is a brief discussion of each school of thought idea of prostitution (preferably sex work).

2.3.1. Abolitionism perspective

Abolitionist feminists view sex work as rape. This is a group of radical feminists, often referred to as first wave feminists or radical feminists. They are of the opinion that prostitution is as form of male unfair domination over women as most sex workers are women. Prostitution (preferably sex work) is viewed as an institution that was created by a patriarchal system to keep women inferior thereby dehumanising and making them sex objects (Comte, 2014).

Furthermore, Weatherall and Priestley (2001) postulate that radical and Marxist feminists are against sex work, viewing it as essentially wrong because it is based on coercion and sexual subordination (of women).

Abolitionists also state that masculinity domination over femininity 'creates' a situation where women submit to exploitation. According to many abolitionist feminists, women who exercise agency by 'freely' choosing sex work do not understand the intricacies of the patriarchal system. They are in fact endorsing and conforming to the very same system that created conditions where they were economically and politically excluded (Comte, 2014).

Women who decide to sell sex because of poverty are sort of seen as traitors because they are in fact 'playing to the hands' of the patriarchal system which was created for a specific reason, which is to control and subjugate women.

Marxist feminists argue that the exchange of sexual services for money is exploitation and it places a sex worker in a compromised position of an employer-employee relationship (Weatherall & Priestley, 2001).

Radical feminists place their arguments on *harm* caused by sex work. Scoular (2004) further indicate that sex workers face violence from men and any man purchasing sexual services is regarded as an abuser as they use women to satisfy their sexual urges by reducing them into purchasable objects that can satisfy them (Jeffries, 1997; Scoular, 2004).

Abolitionists argue that for sex to be fulfilling, there must be some form of reciprocal affection and this is not the case in commercial sex work (Comte, 2014). From the perspective of abolitionists, selling sex not only destroys the integrity of the seller but it also destroys their identity (Comte, 2014).

Over the years, radical feminists have maintained that the involvement of women in sex work is involuntary even if regulated, legalised, decriminalised or tolerated because it is a form of sexual slavery and they further indicate that no matter how sex work is defined, it is always non-consensual and reduces women to mere objects used to satisfy men and to keep the patriarchal system alive (Dworkin, 1987; Kissil & Davey, 2009).

2.3. 2. Sex positive perspective

The liberal feminists and sex radical feminists argue for autonomy and freedom of sex workers. They have a more positive idea about sex work and argue that it is a legitimate work, much like any other work. Sex work could also be a space where women could exercise self-determination and empower themselves sexually (Weatherall & Priestley, 2001).

Sex-positive feminists view patriarchy as responsible for the sexual repression of women (Comte, 2014). The patriarchal system has attempted to control women's sexuality in order to pin them down to a reproductive role; and that is what feminists are attempting to address (Peters, 2015).

The attempt at eradicating sex work is based on the notion that practices which dominate the sex industry do not conform to the 'idea' of a monogamous heterosexual relationship, as prescribed by societal mores (Comte, 2014). Criminalisation of sex work therefore stigmatises women in the sex industry. The double standard of society is so prevalent in how sex workers are treated. When women (in this case sex workers) express their sexual desire, they are labelled as 'whores'. On the other hand, when men explore their sexual fantasies by buying sexual services, they are not labelled or when labelled their labels are sort of sugar-coated such as 'clients'.

The sex radicals are in favour of prostitution and are critical of any laws that place restrictions on sexual activities (at least in the sex industry) as it create a perception that non-normative sexual activities like sado-masochism and fetishism are practised in the sex industry which could further lead to stigmatisation and marginalisation (Weatherall & Priestley, 2001).

Sex positive feminists view sex workers as active decision makers who chose to become sex workers. From this position they argue that sex work should be treated as any other form of employment available for people who want to enter sex work. Denying women the opportunity to enter sex work is a human rights violation as it tramples on their right to equality and a status to be fully human and decide on how best to lead their lives (Kissil & Davey, 2009).

Kissil and Davey (2009) further state that women in the sex industry negotiate their services and fees even if sex work is a symptom of oppression and inequality in society. The aim of the sex positive movement is not to challenge gender relations but to change bad laws.

Sex-positive feminists view sex work as an opportunity for sexual exploration and personal growth regarding one's own sexual taboos and prejudices. People can role play certain sexual acts and try new roles that they do not normally practice in monogamous relationships thereby maintaining their relationships and marriages by bringing new sexual practices (Comte, 2014).

2.3.3. Liberal perspective

The liberal perspective emerged from sex-positive feminists arguing and advocating for decriminalisation and destigmatisation of sex work as this would help change society's perspective about female sexuality and make it both less embarrassing and more fulfilling (Comte, 2014).

Liberal feminists campaigning for the decriminalisation of sex work usually work collaboratively with one of the many sex workers' rights organisations that exist around the world (Peters, 2015). Their argument often focuses on the very negative effects that criminalisation and stigmatisation have on the life and working conditions of sex workers. They conclude that decriminalisation is necessary in order to improve these conditions (Peters, 2015).

In order to fight the abuse of power and to prevent the physical violence and psychological wounds that sex workers experience daily, it is necessary to decriminalise sex work and to give it a status similar to that given to any other kind of work (SWEAT, n.d). Sonke Gender Justice (2014) further states that decriminalisation of sex work is when all laws that criminalise sex work in a country are removed and sex work is governed by the same laws that are applicable to other employment, such as occupational health and safety and labour legislation.

Liberal feminists believe that decriminalisation of sex work could create a conducive environment where the rights of sex workers are respected and their safety becomes a priority to law enforcers, where gender-based violence is reduced and where community awareness regarding sex work is increased (Peters, 2015).

Peters (2015, 2015a, 2015b, 2015c, 2016) mentions the following as benefits of decriminalisation:

- Sex workers would more easily be able to access non-judgemental health services, including condom provision and HIV treatment.

- Sex workers would be able to report violent crimes committed against them without fear of arrest or having complaints dismissed.
- Stigma and decriminalisation against sex workers will be reduced.
- Sex workers would be able to work more openly in well-lit public streets, in legal brothels or in their own homes.
- Under occupational health and safety law, there would be more oversight of employers of sex workers.
- Sex workers would be allowed to advertise their services more easily and work independently or in collectives.

From the liberal feminism perspective, many good things could happen to the sex industry and challenges could be minimised if not eradicated. That is precisely what many other global human rights organisations advocate for. The liberal feminism position contend that women in the sex industry are not selling their bodies as they still own them after offering sexual services to their clients (SWEAT, 2015).

2.4. Sex work organisations

Across the globe many organisations which have an interest in sex work continue to talk against or in favour of sex work (Comte, 2014; Jackson, 2004) as elaborated above when dealing with different ideologies of feminism.

2.4.1. Pro-sex work organisations

Although these organisations are advocating for the decriminalisation of the sex industry so that people involved in sex work could experience minimal human rights abuse than in a criminalised environment, there are groups like Feminists Against Pornography who believe that they lack moral judgment (Chateauvert, 2013). These organisations fail to recognise that sex work can be physically and psychologically harmful at times (Farley, 2004).

In 1937 St. James renamed her initiative Whores, Housewives and Others (WHO) Call Off Your Old Tired Ethics (COYOTE). Her aim was to pressure San Francisco city officials as well as residents to decriminalise sex work (Jackson, 2004).

COYOTE was formed because laws prevented women from engaging in sex work and sex workers accused lawmakers and law enforcement officers of discriminating against them, particularly African American sex workers (Chateauvert, 2013).

On the 1st of January 1979, Priscilla Alexander and Margo St. James founded the North American Task Force on Prostitution (NTFP) by forming a loose coalition of sex workers rights organisations in the United States and Canada (Bayswan, n.d). The NTFP is now an umbrella organisation in the United States with sex work activist organisations affiliated to it.

The NTFP supported the rights of sex workers to organise on their own behalf, and to work safely without legal repression. Its' goals as stated on their website is as follows:

- to repeal prostitution laws;
- ensure the rights of prostitutes and other sex workers to bargain with their employers, when they work for third parties, in order to improve their working conditions;
- inform the public about a wide range of issues related to prostitution and other forms of sex work;
- promote the development of support services for sex workers, including HIV/AIDS/STD and violence prevention projects, health and social support services for sex workers (including supportive programmes to deal with sexually transmitted diseases, violence and substance abuse),
- legal assistance projects, and job retraining and other programmes to assist prostitutes who wish to change their occupation; and end the public stigma associated with sex work.

In the 1990's Shane Petzer a male sex worker and Ilse Pauw a Clinical Psychologist founded AIDS Support Education and Training (ASET) to establish a safe sex education for adult sex worker in South Africa. In 1996 as ASET expanded, Sex Worker Education and Advocacy Taskforce (SWEAT) was formed and registered as a non-profit organisation and today is the prominent sex worker advocacy organisation in South Africa if not the whole continent of Africa (SWEAT, 2016).

SISONKE, which means 'togetherness' was launched in 2003 with the support from SWEAT. As a sex worker movement, its aim was to launch research programmes to gather credible information on sex work and the sex work industry.

African Sex Workers Alliance (ASWA), a sex work movement and network was formed in 2009 by empowered sex worker leaders, women's activists and non-governmental organisations who support the rights of sex workers and publicly denounce the stigma, discrimination and criminalisation of sex work.

ASIJKI is a broad-based advocacy coalition that brings together sex workers and human rights advocates for agitation on sex worker human rights, and specifically for the decriminalisation of sex work. ASIJKI is the isiZulu term for 'no turning back' and was formed in 27 August 2015 from the coalition of Sonke Gender Justice, SWEAT, SISONKE and Women Legal Centre.

The goal of these groups is to empower sex workers and advocate for the decriminalisation of sex work so that they become safe, healthy, and prosperous in a work they choose (Kissil & Davey, 2009).

These organisations are also concerned with inequity caused by laws and law enforcement practices and believe that sex workers would be able to rely on the police for protection rather than be oppressed by them. Decriminalisation would allow sex workers to work without stigma (Peters, 2015).

2.4.2. Anti-sex work organisation

Although the recent efforts by organisations that advocate in favour of sex work to gain recognition in society are well documented, there are some organisations such as Women Hurt in Systems of Prostitution Engaged in Revolt (WHISPER) and Concerned Women for America (CWA) that have taken stance to oppose sex work, appealing to governments to eradicate sex work and researching the negative effects of sex work on communities and sex workers (Jackson, 2004).

Organisations that are against sex work believe that sex workers are often victims of inequality and socio-economic conditions in their respective countries. They are of the opinion that sex work often leads to serious psychological and physical long-term effects and it is in fact not a fully consensual act (Burnette et al., 2008; Farley, 2005).

Although these groups fail to attract the media attention in comparison to their antagonists (for example COYOTE), they have the advantage of being on the conservative side of prostitution debate because of norms set by society when it comes to morals (Jackson, 2014).

In addition to the South African government which opposes decriminalisation of sex work, other religious organisations which do not favour decriminalisation of sex work include Doctors for Life (DFL) and the Family Policy Institute (FPI) which guided government policy on family life and on film classification (Peters, 2016).

Embrace Dignity, an NGO that is against sex work in South Africa vision statement reads:

“Creating South Africa that embraces the dignity of all people in line with our Constitution, and steadfastly opposes commercial and sexual exploitation of those rendered powerless and vulnerable by poverty, or the absence of choice”.

Their vision indicates that sex work is wrong, no matter how it is defined. Embrace Dignity also boldly contends that women are not for sale and should not sell their bodies. These organisations strongly believe that decriminalisation of sex work will promote sex trafficking, expand the sex industry, increase child prostitution and encourage men to buy

women for sex in a wider and more permissible range of socially acceptable settings (Farley, 2005).

Kissil and Davey (2009) further state that these organisations believe that decriminalisation will not protect women in the sex industry against patriarchal structure imbedded in society. They however postulate that a comprehensive solution is needed in addressing societal challenges that fuel gender inequalities.

In spite of the illegality of sex work, internet sex, exotic sex messages and sex-for-money are rife and prohibitions against sex work may be contributing to its profitability and that is why some Wall Street firms in the United States including General Motors invest in sex work (Chateauvert, 2013) which in effect renders noises of those who are anti sex work null and void.

2.5. Human trafficking and sex work

Often sex work and human trafficking are mistakenly conflated, leading to sensational and inaccurate coverage and this lead to schism as some feminists consider sex work to be a labour issue while others, most prominently represented today by organisation against sex work, regard sex work as a form of violence against women (Nyembe et al., 2014). Prevention and Combating of Trafficking in Persons Act 2013, states that human trafficking usually relates to the movement of people, against their will, for purposes of exploitation that is often of a sexual nature, but does not have to be.

Many governments, organisations and media tend to conflate trafficking with any kind of sex work, particularly when it involves foreign-born women and this conflation erases the importance of voluntary entry into sex work, which is important for people to understand for them to differentiate between sex work and human trafficking (Butcher, 2003).

Coercion and the trafficking of women for sexual purposes does happen in the sex industry. However, it is not an exclusively sex industry phenomena as is evident in other sectors such as domestic work and agriculture (Comte, 2014).

Some feminists who are against sex work are concerned about the nature of consent (Comte, 2014) particularly when there is evidence that the mean age of entry into sex work is 14 years in developed countries (Peters, 2015).

Anxieties about human trafficking have revived anti-slavery activism over the past twenty years or so, but the precise relationship between what is termed trafficking and what is termed modern slavery is unclear. Governments define trafficking as modern day slavery resulting from consequences of trafficking meanwhile anti-slavery advocates state that trafficking is just one form of modern slavery as making a person work below minimum wage can also be termed modern slavery (Davidson, 2016).

The difference between sex work and trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation is that sex work reflects a choice (in majority of instances) to engage in a sexual transaction, while exploitation (through trafficking) occurs against the will of the victim or person being trafficked (Busza, 2004).

It is clear that sex work is based on the voluntary (or choice) concept while trafficking is based on the concept of coercion or some form of manipulation. In South Africa there are no reliable statistics on trafficking (Van der Watt, 2015).

Furthermore Van der Watt (2015) also indicate that Department of Home Affairs used exaggerated statics of 30 000 children being trafficked yearly to justify visa regulations aimed at combating child trafficking but the statistics were proved to be highly “exaggerated and unsubstantiated” (para. 3) and proved to be wrong by Wilkinson and Chiumia in 2013.

Nonetheless both anti and pro-sex work organisations in South Africa agree that trafficking might be on the rise (Peters, 2015).

2.6. Legal frameworks

Lived experiences of sex workers differ because of legal frameworks used to govern sex work in different parts of the world (Furlong, 2015). Legal frameworks that govern sex work, which are full criminalisation, partial criminalisation, legalisation and criminalisation

are briefly explained with their impact on sex work, followed by the current status quo regarding sex work in South Africa.

2.6.1. Full Criminalisation

The basis for the criminalisation of sex work was (and is) that sex work was (and is) seen as a social ill that needed to be eradicated and so it was (and is) outlawed. Despite severe penalties, sex work remains unabated (World Aids Campaign [WAC], 2010).

Full criminalisation criminalises sex for reward and living on the earnings of prostitution, including running a brothel (Nyembe et al., 2014) and maintains legal protocols surrounding sex work and many governments including South Africa uses this legal framework to govern sex work.

2.6.1.1. Its impact on sex work

South African National AIDS Council (SANAC, 2013) indicate that globally, several studies have documented the harms of applying criminal law to the sex industry and furthermore, criminalisation has shown to drive sex workers underground and away from services such as health care.

Peters (2015) further states that criminalising sex work increases stigma, obstacles to accessing programmes are created, it reduces sex workers power to negotiate freely with clients, renders them vulnerable to violence, human rights violations and corruption.

Criminalising sex work has proved to be ineffective, it maintains high levels of violence and leads to the spread of illnesses (Farley, 2004; SANAC, 2013, 2016; Scorgie et al., 2013; WAC, 2010). The fact that sex work is illegal in South Africa puts FSW at an increased risk than the general population and creates a variety of situations which negatively affect sex workers that I discuss further below.

A: Violence and rape

Since sex work is illegal in South Africa, sex workers are unable to report rape without risking arrest. They have few options in getting support should they be physically assaulted or raped (Brown, Duby & Bekker, 2012).

Due to the fact that they are mostly female, they remain vulnerable to most forms of violence against women and the violence against FSW in South Africa is reported to be higher than the general population (Brown et al., 2012).

B: Unsafe and unhealthy working conditions

WAC (2010, p. 26) gave an example of a case where a serial killer targeted street based sex workers. Upon pleading guilty in 2003 to the murders of sex workers, Gary Leon Ridgeway, from the United States Pacific Northwest, told a judge he targeted streetwalkers because “he thought he could kill as many as he wanted to without getting caught”.

Gary Ridgeway “Green River Killer” confessed to strangling 90 women to death and having sex with their dead bodies. He stated that he picked street prostitutes as victims because they were easy to pick up without being noticed, he knew they would not be reported missing right away and might never be reported missing.

Furthermore Chateauvert (2013) indicate that killers like “Jack the Ripper” do not target sex workers because they are pathetic or careless, it is because they find themselves in unsafe working conditions as law enforcers do not care about their safety. In Cape Town there have been many reports of sex workers being murdered (Women Legal Centre, 2012).

C: Lack of disclosure and internal stigma

Sex workers do not disclose that they engage in commercial sex activities fearing that they will be discriminated against or persecuted by the state (Scorgie et al., 2013). They are also reluctant to be upfront on their occupation because sex work is seen as a social evil and a sin by society (Peters, 2016).

This then leads to internalised stigma (Simbayi, 2008) where sex workers feel that they are unworthy of services they should be provided with, such as healthcare and protection (Brown, Duby & Bekker, 2012).

D: Lack of self-esteem

Sex workers may experience low self-esteem or view themselves as less worthy and unimportant because their work is not regarded as important. This could lead to sex workers not seeking help when raped or when having health issues, until their situation is exacerbated (Brown et al., 2012).

Yuen et al., (2013) indicate that sex workers with high self-esteem were more likely to engage in safer sex practices whereas sex workers with low self-esteem are at risk of engaging in unsafe sex practices. This means their vulnerability to Sexually Transmitted Infections and Human Immunodeficiency Virus increases.

2.6.2. Partial Criminalisation

Partial criminalisation is a form of a legal framework which partly criminalises sex work by criminalising buying of sexual services while selling sex is not a crime. The main aim of this model is to reduce the demand of commercial sex (Furlong, 2015). Sweden utilises this model to govern sex work, which stipulates that anyone involved in the sex industry commits an offence but selling sex by sex workers is not (Mgbako, Bass, Bundra, Jamil, Keys & Melkus, 2013). In short, a person who buys sex could be found guilty of crime while his counterpart (a sex worker) could not (even be prosecuted).

In some countries, advertising the sale of sex and activities related to organising the sale of sex including receiving money that another person has earned through sex work is criminalised (Peters, 2015c).

2.6.2.1. Impact of partial criminalisation on sex work

This model sometimes referred to as the Swedish model does not take the will and agency of sex workers into account since they are regarded as victims who must be rescued or

as women with no substance. Abolitionist feminists regard this model as a good model to eradicate sex work (Levy & Jakobsson, 2013). Its impact on sex work is as follows:

A: Violence and abuse

Vulnerable street-based sex workers are targeted by the police because advertising sex work is a criminal offence. Since clients are criminalised, they will attempt to avoid detection by the police meaning working in hidden areas and allowing clients to remain anonymous (Levy, 2015). As a consequence sex workers become prone to attacks from dangerous clients. They are also not able to assess if a client is dangerous and it limits their ability to negotiate safer sex (Gold & Fick, 2008; Peters, 2015a; Pitts, 2016).

Violence against sex workers has increased in countries that have instituted the Swedish model because sex workers go underground to protect their clients but this makes them vulnerable to abuse and violence (Jordan, 2012).

Furthermore laws against 'brothel-keeping' are used to target sex workers who work together. Criminalisation of managers and agents (because they receive proceeds from sex work) meaning that many places of work are effectively illegal, so sex workers cannot seek protection under labour laws, which is often a safety measure and this in turn increases their vulnerability to violence and abuse (Peters, 2015c).

B: Stigma

Stigma against sex workers has increased where the Swedish model has been implemented. People believe that they are protecting and dealing with criminals (clients) and this often results in sex workers being refused access to services, including condom provision and reproductive health which is a form of human rights abuse (Peters, 2015c).

2.6.3. Legalisation and regulation

Legalisation or regulation of sex work is another form of legal framework used by some countries to control sex work. Sex work is controlled and regulated within certain areas and is subject to certain conditions including registration as a sex worker (Mgbako et al.,

2013). Mali, Senegal and the Netherlands are some countries that practice this form of a legal framework (Nyembe et al., 2014).

This model is almost ideal since it has registered few challenges in comparison to the two aforementioned models (full criminalisation and partial criminalisation). However some challenges have been acknowledged as mentioned below.

A: Stigma

There is more contact between sex workers, the police and other services, which has a positive effect on safety and sexual health for sex workers who are able to work legally. However, sex work is still not regarded as a normal work and as a consequence, sex workers are still stigmatised (Brents & Hausbeck, 2005).

B: Human rights abuse

Stigma as discussed above leads to other problems ranging from violence, discrimination and other human rights abuse, and registration as a sex worker which leads to compulsory health checks that violate human rights such as right to privacy and human dignity (Peters, 2015c).

2.6.4. Decriminalisation of sex work

A committee established under the Prostitution Reform Act and appointed by the New Zealand government represented by a range of interested sectors including sex workers concluded that decriminalisation of sex work was needed to safeguard sex workers against human rights abuse. In June 2003, New Zealand became the first country to fully decriminalise sex work (Mgbako et al., 2013).

The decriminalisation approach to prostitution entails the repeal of all legislation that criminalises prostitution and the removal of provisions that criminalises all aspects of prostitution including outdated bylaws (Nyembe et al., 2014).

Sonke Gender Justice (2014, p. 3) is cited as saying:

“Decriminalisation model has been supported and recommended by many human rights organisations including Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International, The South African Commission for Gender Equality, as well as health-focused organisations like UNAIDS, the World Health Organisation and the Lancet Journal”.

This indicates that decriminalisation is highly regarded by prominent organisations and most countries if not all could follow this model in the near future if the benefits and advantages continue to surface and benefit sex workers, especially women as they are majority in the sex industry.

Decriminalisation of sex work is an ideal model because it reduces negative effects associated with sex work (Abel, Fitzgerald & Brunton, 2007; Harcourt et al., 2010).

2.7. Status quo regarding sex work in South Africa

In 1988 the apartheid government renamed the Immorality Act which criminalised sexual relations between different racial groups to Sexual Offences Act (Pudifin & Bosch, 2012).

According to the Sexual Offences Act 23 of 1957 (as amended) it is a crime to have ‘unlawful carnal intercourse’ or commit an act of ‘indecent’ with any person for reward. ‘Unlawful carnal intercourse’ in the Sexual Offences Act is defined as sex with anyone other than one’s husband or wife and reward is not clearly explained but it is generally considered to be money.

Scheibei, Ritcher and Vearey (2016) further indicate that it is also an offence to keep a brothel and conduct sex work related activities under this act, but law enforcers utilise municipal by-laws rather than the Sexual Offences Act to arrest sex workers because of the difficulties inherent in proving the elements of the offence, particularly in relation to the client.

Albertyn (2016, para 1), Professor of Law at Wits University, former commissioner on the South African Law Reform Commission (SALRC) from 2007 to 2011 and a project leader

of the project committee that produced the Discussion Paper on Adult Prostitution in 2009 is cited as saying;

“South Africa may become the first African country to decriminalise sex work. If it does, it will be one of a handful of countries that have fully decriminalised sex work (including New Zealand and New South Wales in Australia), and the first African country to do so.”

If Albertyn projection proves to be true, the rights of sex workers could be respected and law enforcers could be regarded as protectors instead of perpetrators (Brown, Duby & Bekker, 2012) but this does not mean there will be a smooth sailing during the transition as we still feel the effects of Apartheid 22 years into democracy.

2.7.1. The South African Constitution and sex work

There is an argument of whether sex work is a voluntary labour or forced labour but there is no argument that there is a link between sex work and human rights and it is critical that the South African Government develop policies that would address sex work in a manner that is entrenched in human rights (Rhoda, 2010).

The South African Constitution of 1996 is regarded as one of the best in the world with the emphasis the Bill of Rights [Chapter 2] (Keating, 2012). Furthermore Mgbako et al. (2013) contends that South Africa must uphold its Constitutional and international legal obligations by decriminalising sex work in order to uphold human rights of sex workers.

Chapter 1 of the South African Constitution states that the constitution is the supreme law of the country and no other law supersedes it and all living within South Africa shall enjoy the benefits of being protected by it.

Criminalisation of sex work in South Africa renders the Bill of Rights ineffective and biased. Some clauses that are violated include: free choice of work, freedom of association, access to health care, security of the person, human dignity and equality (Mgbako, 2013; Pudifin & Bosch, 2012) and these will be discussed below.

A: Free choice of work

Section 22 of the Bill of Rights states that: “Every citizen has the right to choose their trade, occupation or profession freely. The practice of a trade, occupation or profession may be regulated by law”. This means everyone can choose their occupation without fear as long as the occupation is regulated by law and not infringing on other people’s rights.

According to the International Labour Organisation (ILO), sex work is recognised as a form of labour and as such should be treated and recognised in South Africa since she is a member of the ILO convention (Mgbako et al., 2013).

In 2010 the Labour Appeals Court upheld Kylie's rights and ordered the CCMA to determine the matter between Kylie and her former employer after CCMA refused to listen to her case because sex work is criminalised in South Africa. This case indicates the supremacy of the constitution and positive outcome that may come in the near future for sex workers regarding decriminalisation (Albertyn, 2016).

Even though Kylie’s case had a positive outcome it is still difficult to enforce other labour laws to the sex industry as it is still illegal in South Africa (Mgbako et al., 2013).

B: Freedom of Association

Section 18 further states that: “Everyone has the right to freedom of association”.

When FSW do not disclose that they are sex workers because of fear of persecution by the state, their right to associate is automatically infringed because association with sex work is perceived to have negative consequences.

When sex workers work together to address the discrimination and human rights abuses, they are able to fight for their rights, but that is not the case in South Africa as they are legally not allowed to form unionised or collective bargaining council since sex work is illegal (Mgbako et al., 2013).

If sex work could be decriminalised, sex workers could have a platform to challenge exploitative working conditions by forming a labour union and be protected under current

labour laws (Mgbako et al., 2013). The collective bargaining could also go a long way in challenging societal attitude and stigmatisation of sex workers (Balfour & Allen, 2014; Wong, Holroyd & Bingham, 2011).

C: Access to health care

In 2016 the South African government launched the South African National Sex Worker HIV Plan (SANAC, 2016) that is based upon six core packages of interventions based on World Health Organisation (WHO) consolidated guidelines on HIV Prevention, Diagnosis, Treatment and Care for key populations which aims to reduce health related issues for sex workers.

Government initiatives like these are often not implemented and factors such as lack of disclosure on the part of sex workers could render them futile (Brown et al., 2012). Comprehensive packages that are mentioned in the plan might not reach a target population which does not disclose their sex work status fearing persecution by state or being stigmatised because sex work is illegal.

D: Security of the person

Section 12(1) states that: "Everyone has the right to freedom and security of the person".

According to the constitution of South Africa, it is illegal for an arresting officer to arrest a citizen if there is no intention of instituting a prosecution. In 2009 SWEAT won a case that interdicted the City of Cape Town law enforcers from arresting sex workers unless they had an intention to bring them before the courts (Pudifin & Bosch, 2012).

This was prompted by police officers using by-laws to arrest sex workers, confiscating condoms in order to use them as evidence. This had a knock-on effect on sex workers as they were left at risk of infection because they had no protection in case they met clients.

It is also reported that sex workers were pepper sprayed even if they did not resist arrest and were locked for several hours without being charged which prompted aggression on their side. The arrest of sex workers (even for a couple of hours) has negative

consequences because in most cases after their release from a holding cell, they engage in risky commercial sex to sort of catch up on lost time (Brown et al., 2012).

Comte, (2014) asserts that under decriminalisation of sex work (a case in point is New Zealand), relations between sex workers and law enforcers have improved. Sex workers are empowered to protect themselves from violence by refusing dangerous clients, negotiating safer sex practices and seeking police assistance if they are the victims, which is not a case in South Africa.

E: Human dignity

Section 10 states that: “Everyone has inherent dignity and the right to have their dignity respected and protected”.

Criminalisation of sex work put a strain on government resources that could have been used elsewhere to combat crime. Irresponsible expenditure targeting sex workers has wasted government money, fuelled human rights abuses against sex workers by the public and law enforcers. Convictions of sex workers is higher than convictions of serious crime offenders in South Africa (Women Legal Centre, 2012).

F: Equality

Section 9 further states that: “(1). everyone is equal before the law and has the right to equal protection and benefit of the law. (2). Equality includes the full and equal enjoyment of all rights and freedoms. This then means that in order to promote the achievement of equality, legislative and other measures must be designed”.

The courts are required by law to protect the constitutional rights of prostitutes (Pudifin & Bosch, 2012). This will promote the idea of the supremacy of the constitution and separation of power which is ideal in a healthy democratic state. Ideally the attainment of equality for all citizens including sex workers can be achieved in South Africa.

The constitution also states that above mentioned rights may be limited “only in terms of law of general application to the extent that the limitation is reasonable and justifiable in

an open and democratic society based on human dignity, equality and freedom, taking into account all relevant factors”.

Organisations and feminists in favour of sex work and those who are advocating for decriminalisation have argued that criminalisation of sex work has many negative effects on sex workers. The limitation of rights of sex workers is not justified especially in a democratic country such as South Africa which has one of the liberal constitution ever (Comte, 2014; Keating, 2012; Mgbako et al., 2013; Peters, 2015, 2015a, 2015c).

Criminalisation of sex work has proved to be more costly more harmful to the general population and sex workers. Countries such as New Zealand have seen positive results from decriminalising sex work (Mgbako et al., 2013). In the interest of progressive democracy, it would be a sound decision to decriminalise sex work so that sex workers can enjoy the full and equal benefits entrenched in the constitution.

2.8. Brief historical account of positive psychology and emergence of resilience as a concept

Park (2012, p.122) defines positive psychology as “a newly christened approach within psychology that takes seriously as a subject matter those things that make life most worth living and the study of what goes right in life, from birth to death.”

Positive psychology differs from traditional psychology approaches because it transitions people from normal beings to better people by focusing on positive outcomes associated with living and stress is understood as integral part of life that cannot be avoided (Lees, 2009).

The focus of positive psychology to ensure that ‘normal healthier’ people become better, live more fulfilling lives and become capable of dealing with life transitions throughout their lifespan (Lees, 2009).

Sex workers are normal people who are trying to earn a living by offering sexual services (Burnes, Long & Schept, 2012; Lakhani & Dlamini, 2016; Rangasami, 2015) and as sex workers, they go through a range of life transitions throughout their lifespan (El-Bassel,

Witte, Wada, Gilbert & Wallace, 2001; Ritcher, 2013) but they manage to bounce back. Resilience and positive psychology are highly significant in sex work research, especially taking into account that resilience studies emerged from this branch of psychology (Park, 2012).

Seligman and Csikszentmihalyi (2000, p. 6) indicate that “Psychology at its origin had three main aims: curing mental illness, making the lives of all people more productive and fulfilling, and identifying and nurturing high talent”.

Mental illnesses that were suffered by combat soldiers after the World War II prompted the health funders and the United States government to concentrate their funding on curing mental illness rather than improving the lives of all people and nurturing gifted people (Lloyd, 2015; Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000).

During that time many researchers observed that daily-stressors such as work, relationships and illness could cause responses similar to those observed in combat soldiers (McEwen, 1998). Concurrently, the military also wanted to know how to identify stress-resistant soldiers with the aim of training them to manage their stress effectively (Lazarus, 1993).

It became clear that stress processes were not as straight forward as it was initially thought by researchers. New ways of defining, conceptualising and understanding stress were needed (Lazarus, 1993).

The emergence of positive psychology was prompted and facilitated by the move towards defining stress in terms of the processes involved and the examination of good health and behavior (John & Kinman, 2001; Lazarus, 1993).

The emergence of positive psychology has brought about a holistic approach in the understanding of psychological health. Sequentially this has created an interest in positive constructs such as resilience and raised questions around how these positive constructs interact with other constructs to make people improve and lessen the effects of stress (Lees, 2009).

Resilience is but one of many topics of interest to positive psychology including character strengths such as gratitude and optimism, meaning and purpose, engagement, and good relationships (Park, 2012; Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000).

The word resilience originates from the Latin verb 'resilire', or 'to leap back' and is defined differently by many researchers (Soanes & Stevenson, 2006, p. 1498).

The concept of resilience surfaced during the 1950s and 1960s when researchers began wondering how a number of seemingly extraordinary children managed to emerge from severely disadvantaged circumstances relatively unscathed (Graber, Pichon & Carabine, 2015).

Traumatology, which focused on adults and developmental psychology which focused on children were two fields of research that emerged after the construct of 'resilience' began making waves in academic circles (Graber et al., 2015).

Resilient research on adults focused on what caused them to avoid traumatic stress and the focus on children was aimed at identifying personal qualities differentiating children who had adapted positively to adversity from children showing comparatively poorer outcomes to adversity (Luthar, Cicchetti & Becker, 2000).

Southwick, Bonanno, Masten, Panter-Brick and Yehuda (2014, p. 2) have different conception of what constitutes resilience. Southwick (p. 2) define resilience as "the ability to bend but not break, bounce back, and perhaps even grow in the face of adverse life experiences". Everyone, including sex workers experiences challenges in life but most of us bounce back and even grow through those life challenges (Peterson & Park, 2003).

Masten (2014, p. 3) defines resilience as "the capacity of a dynamic system to adapt successfully to disturbances that threaten the viability, the function, or the development of that system." Sex industry has been criticised for being complicit in exploiting women by abolitionism feminists (Comte, 2014). The South African government has been attempting to deal with sex work by criminalising it (Mgbako et al., 2013). However, the sex industry (particularly sex workers) has managed to adapt successfully through those challenges.

Panther-Brick (p. 4) defines resilience as “a process to harness resources to sustain well-being.” Organisations such as SWEAT provide services that harness the well-being of sex workers including counselling and legal assistance and by doing so; they believe that they are harnessing the resilience of sex workers (Fick, 2005).

The task of predicting resiliency is complicated because there is no universally defined concept of what constitutes resilient behaviour (Southwick et al., 2014). In addition, resiliency is defined by the absence of psychopathology, prolonged stress response patterns, or maladaptive coping, and in other cases, resilience is defined by the possession of superior coping mechanisms, on average, over a longitudinal course of life-span development (Southwick et al., 2014).

Even though there are disparities in definition of resilience, Braverman (2001, p.2), indicates that most scholars agree that “resilience is a concept that incorporates two components: (a) exposure to significant stressors or risks and (b) demonstration of competence and successful adaptation.”

This definition fits the concept of ‘sex work and resilience’ as sex workers are exposed to risks such HIV (Bastow, 1995), human rights abuse (Ritcher, 2013; Scorgie et al., 2011) and have been adapting to sex work for millennia (McNeil, 2010).

Earvolino-Ramirez (2007) states that whereas a definition describes the meaning of a term, a concept is an abstract notion that is derived from a combination of personal intuition and consistent evidence. From the perspective of psychological resilience, researchers have recently conducted concept-based analyses to elucidate the antecedents, consequences and essential attributes of resilience.

There are at least two distinct approaches to studying resilience. These are categorised as person-focused studies and variable-focused studies (Braverman, 2001). In this dissertation I chose a person focused study because I wanted to understand challenges experienced by female sex workers and how they overcome them, instead of a top-bottom approach where I come with pre-conceived ideas.

Omitting marginalised groups' perspectives from research risks not getting first hand context-specific resilience processes and qualitative methods are adept at capturing the perspectives of marginalised groups such as female sex workers as they emphasise on the construction of knowledge and discovery from affected individuals and groups (Graber et al, 2015).

In order to develop effective interventions to enhance resilience, it is crucial to understand that humans are embedded in systems and interventions targeted at any one system such as a family might impact functioning at other system like the community.

Therefore in order to enhance resilience among sex workers, understanding of multi levels of interactions among them and their environment is needed. The only way to know specific rituals and complex interactions of systems among them is by involving them or by listening to their story thereby coming to an understanding at different levels according to their needs.

Resilience in individuals is highly dependent on multiple layers of society (Unger, 2005). It is also important to understand that determinants of resilience in one community, for example, female sex workers in Johannesburg may differ from female sex workers in Cape Town and that some skills needed to successfully deal with one stressor may differ from those needed to cope with a separate traumatic situation (Southwick et al., 2014).

As positive psychology is interested in promoting optimal lifelong development for people, a construct such as resilience plays an important role in preventing mental illnesses and other health problems and that enables people to live a fulfilling life (McMackin, Newman, Fogler & Keane, 2012).

Peterson and Park (2003) agree that people experience difficulties and challenges in life. Positive psychology does not deny the effects of challenges in people's lives but it is premised on the notion that what is good about life is as genuine as what is bad and therefore deserves equal attention from psychologists. Positive psychology provides a valuable perspective for building and maintaining the fulfilling life by expanding our view

of psychological health beyond the absence of problems and by providing strategies for prevention and informed interventions (McMackin et al., 2012).

The prevention component of positive psychology is very crucial as sex workers face many challenges (Scorgie et al, 2013). Researchers utilising a positive psychology paradigm are required to be proactive in nature rather than reactive because the latter perspective gives in to external pressure and conditions. Humans cannot predict future misfortunes but history has taught us that most things in life were anticipated and ultimately, could have been prevented.

2.8.1. Resilience, sex work and health outcomes

Although research on 'adults and resilience' is common and results show promising outcomes, it is difficult to generalise or apply similar methods to marginalised groups such as female sex workers as they face additional challenges than the general population of women (Yuen et al., 2013).

Where sex work is criminalised, there are few resources and support networks available for sex workers that could enable them to cope with challenges they face on daily basis (Fick, 2005). In addition, many of these health and social risk factors, such as violence, substance use, and HIV risk are co-occurring problems for vulnerable female sex workers (Buttram, Surrat & Kurtz, 2014).

According to Singer (2011, p. 226) syndemics are "the concentration and deleterious interaction of two or more diseases or other health conditions in a population, especially as a consequence of social inequity and the unjust exercise of power". Women Legal Centre (2011) indicate that sex workers face many risks including the unjust exercise of power by police, meaning they are at risk of developing syndemics.

Buttram et al. (2013) argues that syndemics researchers have called for incorporating the study of resilience or individual strengths and protective factors, into this framework to better understand how vulnerable groups such as sex workers overcome syndemic health problems.

Working with sex workers needs a holistic approach (Neal et al., 2014). The health of a sex worker cannot be seen separately from their financial circumstances, their living circumstances or even the stresses they experience in the work they have chosen (Fick, 2005).

Scholars should focus on resilience aspects to produce valuable insight into factors that may lower syndemic risk factors by examining FSW and their capacity to cope with social and environmental protective factors, and by doing that researchers would inform intervention designs and public health policies (Buttram, 2013).

Health interventions targeted at female sex workers like HIV programmes are effective but seldom address the issues that initially bring these women into sex work and other challenges they face and these programmes are unlikely to have sustainable results if they don't look at other aspects of sex work (Yeun et al., 2013).

2.8.2. Strength based perspective of positive psychology

Positive psychologists have shown that a variety of brief interventions can, in the short term, increase well-being and reduce problems such as depression (Park, 2012). These interventions have a role not only in remedying distress following experience with adversity but also in building resources that reduces the negative effects of suffering (Park, 2012).

The strength based perspective is one of the brief intervention techniques employed by positive psychologists because they believe that individuals and their families have strengths, resources and the ability to recover from adversity (Hammond & Zimmerman, 2010).

They further state that strength-based paradigm offers a different language to describe a person's difficulties and struggles and also allows one to see opportunities, hope and solutions rather than just problems and hopelessness.

There is evidence that youth and families in complex communities such as female sex workers can not only be resilient but also thrive in the face of adversity and the labels

placed upon them (Alvord & Grados, 2005). This strengths exploration changes the story of the problem as it creates positive expectations that things can be different and opens the way for the development of competencies (McCaskey, 2008).

Researchers may not be able to come to correct conclusions and offer guidance in developing effective treatment programmes for sex workers without a methodologically rigorous body of research from resilience based lens (Burnes et al., 2012).

The following nine principles by Hammond and Zimmerman (2010) serve as the foundation for guiding and implementing strength-based practice and programmes which I further adapted to sex work:

1. All people have strengths and capacities

Most marginalised and stigmatised groups function well psychologically at levels equivalent to the general population despite experiencing sources of potential stress that most people in our society do not experience (Hill & Gunderson, 2015).

- 1.1. *Sex workers have strengths and capacities*

An absolute belief that sex workers have potential is needed. The understanding that it is their unique strengths and capabilities that will determine their evolving story as well as define who they are, not their limitations is also required in understanding their situation (Hammond & Zimmerman, 2010).

Some sex workers thrive under current conditions (Peters, 2015b). In attempting to understand sex work, academics, researchers and the public should be hopeful and not only focus on the negative stories portrayed in academic discourse and the media. Researchers need to understand how sex workers lead their lives so that they can assist in developing programmes that will build on their existing strengths and capacities (Burnes et al., 2012).

2. Given the right conditions and resources, a person's capacity to learn and grow can be nurtured and realised

People generally have vast resources for self-awareness, altering the self-concept, basic attitudes and their self-directed behaviour. These resources can be tapped if only a definable climate of facilitative psychological attitudes can be provided (Rogers, 1986).

2.1. Given the right conditions and resources, sex workers capacity to learn and grow can be nurtured and realised

Belief that change is inevitable and all individuals have the urge to succeed, including sex workers is needed as they also need to explore the world around them and make themselves useful to others and their communities (Hammond & Zimmerman, 2010).

Some sex workers use the money they make to develop themselves by paying for tuition fees and also connect and network with clients to move into formal employment (Sagar, Jones, Symons & Bowring, 2015).

3. People change and grow through their strengths and capacities

Resilient people make use of resources and opportunities around them, are realistic, have positive sense of self, regard themselves as survivors and have confidence in their ability to surmount obstacles and view hardships as learning experiences that enhances their strengths and capacities (Rapp & Goscha, 2006).

3.1. Sex workers change and grow through their strengths and capacities

What people focus on becomes their reality. A focus on strengths and not labels such as prostitution creates hope and optimism for female sex workers to grow through their innate characteristics and learned behaviour (Hammond & Zimmerman, 2010).

Sex workers are capable individuals and oftentimes labels such as 'prostitute' or 'whore' affect their self-esteem and consequently their potential to enhance their strengths and capacities (Brown, DUBY & Bekker, 2012; Nyembe et al., 2014).

4. People are experts of their own situation

It is not our role to change those in our care and we do not need to be experts as to the answers or come with solutions to the problems of those in our care and others (Hammond & Zimmerman, 2010). The strength-based approach reminds professionals that when working with people in our care, partnership is key and very important as they know what they need and what is important to them.

4.1. Sex workers are experts of their own situation

Sex workers perspective of reality is primary and researchers and experts are required to value their perspective and start the change process with what is important to their story (Hammond & Zimmerman, 2010).

The notion that resilience is situation-specific means that sex workers across the globe have different coping strategies. This must be taken into account and researchers must not think that coping mechanisms utilised in a certain province is applicable to another province. Sex workers employ different strategies in different contexts (Southwick et al, 2014).

5. The problem is the problem, not the person

Prevention programmes succeed only when there is a buy-in from recipients and when the programmes connect with people experiencing particular challenges first hand. When programmes do not only display negative effects of the problem, individuals tend to make informed decisions on whether the problem is the problem or if they need to adjust or relieve themselves from the situation (Braverman, 2001).

5.1. Criminalisation of sex work is the problem, not sex work

Unemployment, poverty and inequality are realities facing people and especially women in South Africa (StatsSA, 2015). Some writers have a tendency of looking at a problem at an individual level instead of a macro and more systemic level. Sex work has been problematised as a problem affecting society without acknowledging realities and challenges women face in South Africa (Peters, 2015b). Sex work is a more viable option

for some women and it also assisted many families to move out of absolute poverty (Konstant et al., 2015).

Problems such as criminalisation of sex work remain unresolved because people assume and experts and approach 'problems' at face value without deciphering and critically exploring what exactly is of concern. People also have a tendency of approaching a 'problem' in one-dimensional perspective, effectively ignoring the real cause of such (United States Agency International Development [USAID], 2012).

6. Problems can blind people from noticing and appreciating their strengths and capacity to find their own meaningful solutions

People have certain needs dependent on where they are in life or hierarchy of needs. For individuals to progress to self-actualization they are required to satisfy lower or basic needs first and at times progress is often disrupted by failure to meet lower level needs and life transitions such as divorce and a loss of job may cause individuals to fluctuate between levels of the hierarchy (Maslow, 1943).

6.1. Criminalisation blind sex workers from noticing and appreciating their strengths and capacity to find their own meaningful solutions

Criminalisation of sex work contributes to internal stigma and as a consequence sex workers could develop low self-esteem. Low self-esteem could contribute to lower levels of self-awareness and failure to appreciate one's strength which could be useful in dealing with daily challenges (Brown et al., 2012).

7. All people want good things for themselves and have good intentions

Most people are honest, loyal, law-abiding citizens, concerned with making a living, contributing to society, and raising a family in a fair and just world (Baibiak & Hare, 2006). Unfortunately some though are more selfish, concerned only about themselves with little regard for fairness and equity (Babiak & Hare, 2006).

The sentiments above indicate that there is more good than evil out there but ever evolving values and norms often play a role in how we achieve those good things, sometime we use evil means unintentionally.

7.1. Sex workers want good things for themselves and have good intentions

Some sex workers are mothers who are involved in sex work in order to provide for their off spring and families. They do not enter into sex work to cause harm but rather the unfortunate circumstances they find themselves in render them vulnerable (Lakhani & Dlamini, 2016; SANAC, 2013).

8. People are doing the best they can in light of their experiences to date

Daily stresses and protective factors determine whether serious disruptions will impact the individual's ability to cope with life transitions as perceived by the individual and most people have the ability to bounce back from unfortunate circumstances in their lives (Wald, Taylor, Asmundson, Jang & Stapleton, 2006).

8.1. Sex workers are doing the best they can in light of their experiences to date

Stigmatisation and marginalisation is rife among sex workers in countries where sex work is illegal. However, that does not deter sex workers from operating and earning a living (Peters, 2015c).

Clarkson (1939) also indicated that sex work is the oldest profession that has survived millennia even though many sex workers have been pushed underground and many governments have tried to eradicate sex work because society treated it as a social evil.

9. The ability to change is within us – it is our story.

The strength-based model focuses on individual and community strengths and resources therefore researchers should be guided by beneficiaries to develop programmes that place emphasis on meaningful relationships and activities from within individual societies (Hammond & Zimmerman, 2010).

9.1. The ability to change is within sex workers.

It is important to value differences and the essential need to collaborate as effective change is collaborative in nature, inclusive and participatory (Hammond & Zimmerman, 2010).

Researchers need to discern from sex workers what needs to change within them instead of researchers prescribing change from the ivory so that sex workers can change from within (SWEAT, 2015).

2.8.3. Conclusion

If the strengths-based approach is to be something that truly guides and influences researchers' interaction with sex workers, it should be evident in their language while interactions with them and in the quality of services they offer. It must guide proper assessment, dedicated service delivery and training services that are related to sex work (Hammond & Zimmerman, 2010).

“Without a methodologically rigorous body of research from a resilience lens, psychologists may not be able to make accurate inferences and hypotheses and develop effective treatment services for this population” (Burnes et al., 2012, p.143).

Researchers must take into account the value of understanding sex workers' voices so that interventions offered to them could be informed, not some sort of hear-say. The strength-based approach is an ideal paradigm to utilise of which it is the point of departure for this dissertation.

Chapter 3

RESEARCH METHOD AND DESIGN

3.1. Introduction

This chapter describes the methodology and methods used in this inquiry. It describes the transcendental phenomenological design and why I chose the qualitative research paradigm for this inquiry. The research process is comprehensively discussed, including the steps undertaken to address the research question. This study followed qualitative, transcendental phenomenological approach where street based female sex workers (FSW) gave account of how they coped with challenges they encounter in their work in the city of Johannesburg.

3.2. Characterisation of qualitative approach

Qualitative research is a broad method of inquiry which includes a wide range of epistemologies such as subjectivity, interpretivism and constructionism (De Vos, Strydom, Fouche & Delport, 2011). In addition, the qualitative approach employs diverse designs to understand phenomena, such as narrative, biographical, ethnography, phenomenology, grounded theory and case studies (De Vos et al., 2011).

These approaches and designs are used within different research fields such as sociology and psychology (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Despite this diversity and sometimes conflicting nature of underlying assumptions about its inherent qualities, each discipline attempts to capture characteristics of qualitative research as adaptable to it (Ritchie, Lewis, Mcnaughton-Nicholls & Ormston, 2013).

Qualitative study methods were introduced in the field of psychology for purposes of studying aspects of human behaviour that experimental and statistical methods were not suited to study, such as lived experiences of persons (Fischer, 2006).

Qualitative psychological research could also be used to collect and analyse non-numerical data, meaning that experiences of individuals, in this instance, FSW can be

explored using a qualitative paradigm. Below is a brief account of some of the characteristics of qualitative research.

3.2.1. Subjectivity

Subjectivity refers to how someone's judgment is shaped by personal opinions and feelings instead of outside influences (Banister, Burman, Parker, Taylor & Tindall, 1994). Subjectivity is partially responsible for answering questions like why others join sex work and why others do not.

Subjectivity aims at providing an in-depth and interpreted understanding of the social world of research participants (in this instance sex work) by learning about how they make sense of their social and material circumstances, their experiences, perspectives and histories regarding sex work (Ritchie et al., 2013).

Qualitative research method display how events and things are put together, more or less coherently and consciously into frameworks (Polit & Beck, 2012) and FSW had the opportunity to respond more elaborately and in greater detail about their experiences and challenges.

3.2.2. Naturalism

Qualitative researchers study things and people in their natural settings with an attempt to make sense of or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them (De Vos et al, 2011).

I had an opportunity to interview FSW at their natural setting where real challenges were sometimes pointed out without actually explaining them and that also made me clearly understand the participants' lived experiences without attempting to intervene or even manipulate the setting.

3.2.3. Understanding

Qualitative research is often described as an interpretative approach, concerned with exploring phenomena and understanding lived experiences and reality from research participants' point of departure (Ritchie et al., 2013).

The use of qualitative methods for this inquiry meant that I could get rich and detailed data from sex workers perspective (De Vos et al., 2011).

3.2.4. Analysis that retains complexity

The use of thematic analysis for this inquiry attested that themes that emerged from the data respected the uniqueness of each participant and corroborated that various aspects of the research topic are interpreted (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Addressing and respecting the complexity of each individual was of paramount importance even though an attempt was made at extrapolating recurrent, cross-cutting themes that emerged from the transcripts (Ritchie et al., 2013).

3.2.5. Openness to emergent categories and theories

Realism and social constructionism as new philosophies in qualitative psychology made it possible for researchers to work within "methodological horrors" and transform them into methodological virtues (Banister et al., 1994, p. 9).

Banister et al. (1994) further state that a realist employs proper methods to investigate subjects in order to provide proper conclusions about them. The social constructionist insists that all forms of knowledge produces images that seem true as viewed by the researcher. Therefore realism and social constructionism are not opposed to scientific methods.

As a realist, I deemed it proper to use qualitative methods because I wanted to explore sex workers' resources they utilise to enhance their resilience in their work and social lives. Knowledge gained through semi structured interviews with sex workers is presented in the next chapter.

3.2.6. A reflexive approach

Fischer (2006) indicates that qualitative researchers are motivated by their own interest in the subjects or phenomena they want to study. Qualitative research as a method that is concerned with understanding rather than explaining a phenomenon will likely advance our understanding of human experiences (Fischer, 2006).

As my interest lies in vulnerable and most at risk groups, I wanted to explore how sex workers as vulnerable and most at risk group (SANAC, 2013) cope with the challenges they experience daily. I hope that this study would add to existing, albeit limited literature on sex workers and resilience in a South African context (Burnes, Long & Schept, 2012; Scorgie et al., 2013)..

Furthermore Ritchie et al., (2013) indicate that where the role and perspective of the researcher in the research process is acknowledged, for some researchers reflexivity also means reporting their personal experiences of the field they are studying.

Quantitative methods attempted to wish away the gap between participants and researchers' representations, causing what they termed "methodological horrors". However, these methodological horrors cannot be wished away by qualitative researchers as they often work with them.

Conducting research on (and with) sex workers is not an easy task. Often than not, researchers have to come up with novel ideas on how to get participants and how to develop a trustworthy relationship with them. Developing a trusting relationship with participants is beneficial because it paves a way for participants to give a true account of their reality (Shaver, 2005).

3.3. Research design

Edmund Husserl is credited for introducing phenomenology as a methodological approach in research at the beginning of the twentieth century (Groenewald, 2004). After years in the 'wilderness', phenomenology resurfaced in 1932 when Alfred Schutz aimed

to explain persons' experience and make sense of the world around them (De Vos et al., 2011).

Phenomenologists are concerned with understanding social and psychological phenomena from the perspectives of people involved and also the understanding of how people lead their lives (Groenewald, 2004; Fischer, 2006) in this instance female sex workers.

Transcendental phenomenology which has its roots from descriptive phenomenology is the original form of phenomenology as conceptualised by Edmund Husserl (1859-1938) which preceded Heidegger's interpretive phenomenology also known as hermeneutic phenomenology (Kafle, 2011).

Transcendental phenomenology is concerned with the description of participants' experiences with the aim of arriving at a certain reality based on the research question, while hermeneutic approach focuses on the interpretation of text or language by an observer (Sloan & Bowe, 2014).

As transcendental phenomenology is concerned with the lived experiences of people (Fischer, 2006), I felt it was the best approach to employ for this inquiry as I went about exploring resilience among female sex workers. By doing that I explored how female sex workers coped with their work and inherent challenges.

Kafle (2011) state that researchers using transcendental phenomenology believe that it is possible to suspend personal opinions and arrive at a single essential descriptive presentation of a phenomenon. Sloan and Bowe (2014) state that when one uses descriptive phenomenology, one must use 'bracketing' in order to get to the essence of a phenomenon.

In order to arrive at a certain conclusion regarding a phenomenon, a researcher must have a frame-interpretation on how the research question will be answered, meaning that as much as a researcher cannot predict the outcome, he/she must at least have an idea of what he/she is attempting to achieve (Fischer, 2006).

Phenomenology views reality as pure and the only absolute data from where to begin (Groenewald, 2004), while De Vos et al., (2011) states that when a researcher strives to describe a phenomenon or the conscious experience of persons, the he/she must stay true to the facts and refrain from pre-given frameworks.

In researching sex workers in a particular context, pre conceived ideas about sex work should be avoided so that their realities should be treated as such and not with suspicion or comparison as they are not a homogenous group (Nyembe, Zacharias, Krige, Richter, Tlhwale, & Hunter, 2014; Shaver, 2005).

Janesick (2000, p. 390) warns of “methodolatry” where a researcher put more emphasis on the method rather than substance of a research itself and this can lead to distance between him/her and participants.

3.3.1. Reflexivity of phenomenology

Groenewald (2004) states that researchers who use phenomenology are reluctant to prescribe techniques or focus too much on specific steps, however some guidelines are necessary, especially for novice researchers.

As a novice researcher I had to prepare by immersing myself in literature on sex work and resilience and by reading as much as I could on methodological challenges involved when researching sex workers (Shaver, 2005). I also had to develop questions that might elicit responses that will assist in gathering data required to answer the research question.

Furthermore when a researcher takes on a project, they must think about their competencies, interests, scope of the research and the question they want to explore (De Vos et al., 2011).

3.4. Sampling and research procedure

Designing research projects involving marginalised groups such as street-based sex workers is fraught with challenges (Shaver, 2005). One must be cognisant of logistical challenges such as participant recruitment. Other challenges include ‘buying’ their time and establishing a trusting relationship since sex workers are often wary of strangers,

particularly those not interested in a 'business transaction'. I decided to conduct semi-structured interviews naturally. By this I mean that I went to their work-space and asked for their time. It was challenging to keep the conversation for a length of time I required as clients often come anytime and they cannot turn down a 'business transaction'. I was fortunate to complete most of the interviews.

3.4.1. Sampling of participants

Research participants were adult females who self-identified as sex workers. Nyembe et al., (2014) indicate that when researching sex workers, it is very important to interview individuals who self-identify as sex workers so that they could share their experiences.

All participants were above the age of 18 years as the United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS, 2015) defines someone who is under the age of 18 and selling sexual services as being sexually exploited.

Snowball sampling was used to recruit participants for this inquiry. However, I had initially planned to use purposeful sampling but after experiencing challenges which will be discussed in greater detail in chapter 5, I then decided to employ snowball sampling. Snowball or chain sampling locates one or two key individuals then asks them to refer other likely informants. This method is useful in identifying hard-to-find respondents such as sex workers (Patton & Cochran, 2002).

In keeping to qualitative research convictions, De Vos et al. (2011) are of the opinion that to reach a point of saturation while using snowball sampling, a minimum of 12 participants is required. For the purpose of my inquiry, I conducted twelve semi-structured interview with street-based female sex workers.

3.4.2. Research procedure

A female who openly identified as a former sex worker working for SWEAT was approached to refer females who work on the streets of Johannesburg as a sex worker. She then called one of the sex workers and the sex worker agreed to participate in the study and provided me with a street name, time and her name for further discussions.

Upon meeting the participant, I explained the purpose of the research and what it entails as Gill, Stewart, Treasure and Chadwick (2008) suggest. After she had agreed to be interviewed, I asked her if she was comfortable to be interviewed in the car. I repeated the same process for all the participants and most opted for interviews to be conducted in the car as it was quiet, private and comfortable.

De Vos et al. (2011) suggest that the interview setting should be private, comfortable, easily accessible and non-threatening. The researcher and participant must also consent to the place and environment where the interview will be conducted (De Vos et al., 2011).

Before the interview commenced, I read and explained the interview sheet to the participants. I also requested them to sign a consent form which entailed the use of audio recording. The advantage of using the audio recording was that it assisted with recording and later retrieval of quality audio material. I could concentrate on the session, pay attention to non-verbal communication from the participant and also guide the interview session (De Vos et al., 2011).

3.4.3. Data collection

Interviews lasted approximately 20 minutes each, excluding the time to recruit, read and explain the information sheet to the participants. In addition, participants had to provide their demographic details and sign a consent form. Gill, Stewart, Treasure & Chadwick (2008) indicate that 20-60 minutes is enough to answer a research question in qualitative research.

After the interviews were concluded, participants were asked if they knew anyone who is a street based sex worker, over the age of eighteen, who might be willing to participate in this inquiry. Most participants insisted on calling or talking to the potential participants first before referring them to me as I was parked nearby. Some participants referred two participants.

On the first day of interviews, four participants were interviewed. Later I perused their responses in order to gain a sense of what is being said and to also get a sense of whether questions asked were sufficient in answering the research question. Questions were

reviewed and later another 12 interviews were conducted on three separate days. The first four interviews were treated as preliminary interviews and later discarded.

Semi-structured interviews were used for the study. Semi-structured interviewing, according to Bernard (2006), is best used when one will not get another chance to interview someone, as the probability will be that I will only get one chance to interview a sex worker.

Bernard (2006) further states that many researchers use semi-structured interviews because questions can be prepared ahead of time and it allows the interviewer to be prepared and appear competent during the interview. Participants get the freedom to express their views in their own terms.

An interview schedule was developed which contained the demographic details of participants such as language, age and level of education; followed by interview questions that were open ended.

Open-ended questions have the ability to evoke responses that are meaningful and culturally salient to the participant, unanticipated by the researcher, rich and explanatory in nature (De Vos et al, 2011). Bernard (2006) indicates that in qualitative research the use of open ended questions is effective in obtaining culturally specific information about values, opinions, behaviours and social contexts of particular populations.

Open ended questions provide participants with the opportunity to respond in their own words rather than forcing them to choose from fixed responses as quantitative methods do. Probing questions were employed where necessary, as the researcher must listen carefully to what participants say, engage with them according to their individual personalities and styles and also use probing questions to encourage them to elaborate further on the topic in hand (Patton & Cochran, 2002).

3.5. Ethics

The study was approved by the Department of Psychology ethics committee of the University of South Africa (UNISA).

Freedom of the press is essential in fulfilling the promise of democracy as indicated in the South African constitution. As researchers, we must commit ourselves to the highest standard of excellence when doing research, avoid unnecessary harm, report truthfully and accurately; and show a special concern for children and other vulnerable groups such as sex workers (Nyembe et al., 2014).

3.5.1. Privacy and the right to participate

Privacy is the right an individual has to determine the time, extent and general circumstances under which personal information will be shared with, or withheld from others (Bell, 2010). Participants were not coerced to disclose information they were not comfortable with. Participants were informed of their rights to privacy where they could decide to decline taking part in the study. This process unfolded during the information session and when participants began completing their consent forms.

Denscombe (2007, p. 292) reiterates that “participants have the right to refuse to participate in research” I interviewed the participants while on duty and at their convenient time after obtaining permission to do so in order to prevent the invasion of privacy.

3.5.2. Informed consent

I asked the participants to complete the consent form after it was read or after they perused it wherein they acknowledged that their participation is voluntary, that they understand the aims of the research and that they can withdraw from the research at any time if they wish to do so.

I also outlined the purpose of the research to all participants before the actual interviews began. I gave them an opportunity to ask questions about any matter pertaining to their participation in the research and its aims. I further informed the participants that their participation was entirely voluntary since participants were not compelled to participate

(Bell, 2010). They also had the freedom to withdraw from the research at any time without penalty.

The participants were informed that I will use the audio tape-recorder and that they have the right to withdraw from the research if they feel uncomfortable or intimidated by the presence of the audio tape-recorder. Thus, the taping of interviews will never be proceeded without the knowledge and consent of the participants (De Vos et al., 2011).

3.5.3. Anonymity

I ensured that the participants remain anonymous in such a manner that it would be impossible to track the responses of any participant and that their identities are not to be revealed in any record or report and that there is no link between the data and the participants (Bell, 2010). To ensure this, pseudonyms for participants and places where interviews took place were used to ensure anonymity (Denscombe, 2007).

I used reference numbers where they were referred as sex worker 1 if they were the first and sex worker 2 if they were the second and so on and the names of the participants and facilities/streets where interviews took place were kept anonymous in order to protect their identity from unnecessary criticism, ridicule and from prosecution by the state.

3.5.4. Confidentiality

Confidentiality is the researcher's management of collected information that must not be shared with others without authorisation by the participant. It also it refers to access to data, not access to people directly (Denscombe, 2007). This means that information shared with the researcher will not be disclosed in a way that can publicly identify a participant.

I assured the participants that anything that was discussed during the research process will be kept confidential and will not be used for purposes other than this study. Participants were assured that all information to be provided by them would be strictly confidential and kept in a safe place under lock and key. The data would be discarded five years after the interview process as per UNISA's Research Ethics Policy.

Participants were informed that I and the supervisor will have access to their responses and that their responses may be reviewed by people responsible for making sure that this inquiry was done properly, including the transcriber and the external coder.

In addition, the completed research will be available to the broader academic community and if interested, they could peruse the results online or contact me in the near future.

3.5.5. Beneficence and non-maleficence

Patton and Cochran (2002, p. 5) indicate that “beneficence means doing good and non-maleficence means not doing harm”. The issue of beneficence is of crucial concern because findings could assist organisations that advocate on behalf of sex workers to render programmes that enhance resilience in sex workers.

When conducting research that could provoke previous traumatic experiences, it is important to include plans on how to deal with such (De Vos et al., 2011). In this instance sex workers were provided with contact numbers of all relevant stakeholders that could assist in any way during or after the session. Contact details were included in the participant information sheet.

3.5.6. Language

When conducting research of this nature, one must be cognisant of and be able to deal with language dilemmas as they arise (Shaver, 2005). As I could fluently speak and understand seven out of eleven official languages namely: English, Afrikaans, Setswana, isiZulu, isiXhosa, Northern Sotho and Southern Sotho, it was easier to communicate with the participants in a language of their choice.

Migrants from other countries and those who spoke a language that I’m not familiar with opted to use isiZulu or English which made communication easier and understandable. The interviews were translated and later transcribed to English for thematic analysis.

3.6. Trustworthiness

I strived to adhere to the principles of trustworthiness throughout the research using the criteria of credibility, transferability, dependability, conformability (objectivity) and authenticity. Polit and Beck (2012, p. 723) indicate that “trustworthiness is the degree of confidence qualitative researchers maintain in their reporting of the results from what they were researching”. The findings of this research present real challenges which female sex workers face and how they provide some insight on how they cope with them.

3.6.1. Credibility

Credibility is the confidence in the truth of the data and interpretation thereof. It refers to the extent to which a research account is believable and appropriate, with particular reference to the level of agreement between participants and the researcher (Denscombe, 2007).

Denscombe (2007) further states that credibility addresses the question of whether the research has established the confidence in the truth and authenticity of the results. To ensure that the study is credible, I clearly reported on how female sex workers in the city of Johannesburg cope with challenges they face.

I conducted semi-structured interviews with FSW who have been in the profession for years and probed when clarity was needed on certain issues. Before interviews could commence I needed to put participants at ease by building rapport because often times they are wary of strangers and by also allowing trust and confidence to be gained, a process referred to as “prolonged engagement” (Mahlo, 2011, p. 97) was required on my side.

Data collected was transcribed verbatim and the audio tapes are available on request in case verification of data is needed by interested parties. The study was peer reviewed by my supervisor and was submitted for examination to further make it credible.

3.6.2. Transferability

Transferability is the extent to which research findings can be applied to other settings and contexts and the ability to generalize data to the extent which the findings from data can be transferred to other similar settings, groups or societies (Polit & Beck, 2012).

I achieved transferability by providing detailed and rich descriptions on how FSW cope with their work. The use of snowball sampling method increased transferability as it ensured that participants who have experience working in the sex industry shared firsthand information regarding their conditions.

The research is limited to the city of Johannesburg as sex workers are not a homogenous population (Nyembe et al., 2014), they face different challenges across different locations (Furlong, 2015) and skills needed to successfully deal with one stressor may differ from location to location even if the stressor is similar (Southwick, Bonanno, Masten, Panter-Brick & Yehuda, 2014).

The results of the study were generalised to the street based female sex workers in the city of Johannesburg. The results of the study were not generalised to other cities as the study setting and sample was not representative of the population of those cities but the study could be replicated in other cities using the same methodologies.

3.6.3. Dependability

Dependability, according to Polit & Beck (2012, p. 585), refers to “a criterion for evaluating integrity overtime and over conditions analogous to reliability in research”. It could be achieved through rich and detailed explanations that show how processes were followed and if those actions really elicited those responses from participants (Denscombe, 2007).

In the research procedure section, processes were explained and audio recordings are archived for later use, if necessary.

There was congruence in participants’ responses as most elicited themes were almost similar.

3.6.4. Conformability

Polit and Beck (2012) states that conformability is concerned with whether data is confirmable; meaning that the researcher must ensure that there is no bias in the research procedure and findings. Congruence between two or more independent people about the data's accuracy, relevance, or meaning should be maintained.

Throughout the data collection process, the use of "bracketing off" (Sloan & Bowe, 2014, p.9) which means the ability to suspend personal opinion (Kafle, 2009) was used. This in turn allowed me to remain neutral throughout the data collection process.

3.6.5 Authenticity

Authenticity refers to the true description of people, events and places. In qualitative research it indicates whether the description and the explanation interconnect, where the ability of the researcher to report a situation through the eyes of the participants and make sure that different point of views are fairly and adequately represented (De Vos et al., 2011).

Through my observation and audio recordings, data was recorded and reported taking into account the challenges and social situations in which FSW operate (McMillan & Schumacher, 2006).

3.7. Data analysis

Attride-Stirling (2001) indicate that if people peruse your research and they cannot comprehend how the researcher went about analysing their data or what assumptions informed their analysis, it would be difficult to replicate similar research in the future or compare it with existing literature.

Interviews were recorded, translated and transcribed to facilitate the structured and coherent thematic analysis. Despite widespread use, Thematic Analysis (TA) has only recently started to achieve the recognition and status held by other data analysis methods such as grounded theory and interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA).

TA is essentially a method for identifying and analysing patterns (themes) in qualitative data (Clarke & Braun, 2013; De Vos et al., 2011) and “drawing conclusions from them” (Polit & Beck, 2012, p. 720).

Thematic Analysis differs from other analytic methods that look for patterns like discourse analysis, thematic decomposition analysis, IPA and grounded theory as they are strictly bounded to theory (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Thematic analysis involves breaking down data into smaller units, coding and naming the units based on the shared concepts and the analysis concluded is in line with the objectives set out in the research (Patton & Cochran, 2002). It is the most common method for descriptive qualitative projects.

A number of different versions of thematic analysis have been proposed within psychology. Aronson (1994) describes thematic analysis as a method of analysing ethnographic interviews which focuses on identifiable themes and patterns of living and/or behaviour. Attride-Stirling (2001) regards thematic analysis as a technique developed based on some of the principles of argumentation theory that analyses negotiation processes.

In contrast, Clarke and Braun (2013) regards TA as an independent method which is flexible, does not require adherence to any particular theory and can be applied easily by novice researchers, which made it an attractive method to myself.

Furthermore Braun and Clarke (2006) indicate that novice researchers should learn TA first as it provides core skills that are useful for conducting many other forms of qualitative data analysis.

As TA suits broad research topics and theoretical perspectives, from those about people’s experiences- in this instance sex workers, it can be used to analyse different types of data- in this study phenomenological data, it can produce theory-driven analyses- in this instance resilience based lens in sex work (Clarke & Braun, 2013), it is a reason I chose it and deemed it fit for analysis of data.

3.7.1. Consideration made by the researcher when employing TA

Thematic analysis involves a number of choices that require precision and discussions before the analysis commences and throughout the analytic process (Braun & Clark, 2006). Before I could analyse the data, these are some of the decisions I had to contend with:

A: What counts as a theme during analysis?

A theme captures important segments about what is analysed in relation to the research question (Braun & Clarke, 2006), in this instance, resilience in sex work. Even if more of the same theme appears in the data, it does not necessarily mean that the theme is important or crucial to answer the research question (Clarke & Braun, 2013).

I needed to make a judgment about the theme (even if it appears minimal in the data) and whether it is necessary to be considered as such, guided by the research question. However, this is done later when all the data has been coded and themed comprehensively (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

As Attride-Stirling (2001) also contends that going back to the original research questions and the theoretical interests underpinning a theme is a complex and challenging task that is difficult to explain procedurally.

Furthermore (Braun & Clark, 2006) indicate that even if TA allows for flexibility regarding the prevalence of themes in one's data, one is required to be consistent in identifying the pattern thereof.

B: Rich description of data set or detailed account of one particular aspect?

The epistemological stance taken in this inquiry allowed for a rich description of data as this is a useful method when one is investigating an under-researched area (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Since resilience of sex workers is under researched in South Africa, (Burnes, Long, & Schept, 2012; Scorgie et al., 2013) the thematic analysis approach is useful as it attempts to provide readers with an interpretation of what sex workers go through.

The semantic approach was necessary as I was not looking for anything beyond what participants said (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

A researcher attempting to unpack rich descriptions (of resilience among sex workers) is concerned with exploring how sex workers cope and less concerned about what has been said about their resilience. It would therefore be proper to report the results as such in order to understand their context at a basic level before analysing their experiences.

Braun and Clarke (2006) further elaborates that the analytic process will progress from description, where the data has simply been organised to show patterns in semantic content, to interpretation, where there is an attempt to merge and theorise the significance of the patterns and their broader meanings and implications in relation to the research question and existing literature.

C: Inductive or theoretical analysis?

The theoretical analysis was employed as the research was based on the resilience-based lens of sex work with the hope of providing alternative ways of understanding sex workers (Burnes et al., 2012).

Transcripts were read and re-read and themes related to sex work and resilience were chosen to substantiate the results (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

3.7.2. Steps in the data analysis process

Data analysis should not be rushed as it is a process that develops over time and involves a constant moving back and forth as needed between the entire data set. Data analysis is not a linear process where one simply moves from one phase to the next (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Braun and Clarke (2006) developed a six phase guide on how TA should be done. Data analysis of transcripts followed six phases discussed below:

Phase 1: Familiarisation with the data

Phase one of the analysis process requires researchers to immerse themselves in the data so that they become familiar with it before coding or breaking it down into parts begins (De Vos et al., 2011; Patton & Cochran, 2002).

Since I conducted the interviews, I was familiar with the content of the data and while conducting interviews, I simultaneously began the analysis process through pondering on what might the data be indicating or leading to (Attride-Stirling, 2001).

Braun and Clarke (2006) state that the process of transcribing while seems boring, is an excellent way of familiarising oneself with the data.

As indicated earlier some interviews in the mother tongue of participants. Before transcribing the interviews, I was required to translate them into English which also provided me with an opportunity to familiarise myself with the data.

After transcribing the interviews, I re-read the transcribed interviews several times and got a sense of the data as a whole. Braun and Clarke (2006) emphasises that it is tempting to jump this process and be selective but this would be a huge mistake as this process is the bedrock of the entire analysis.

Phase 2: Coding

Coding involves generating pithy labels for important features of data that is relevant to the research question and they must capture semantic elements (Clarke & Braun, 2013). It is the responsibility of a researcher to ensure that codes are not vague and can work independently from data as themes are developed from codes (Clarke & Braun, 2013).

This process requires heightened awareness of data, full attention of the researcher and relevant categories as guided by the topic (De Vos et al., 2011). Coding extends beyond summarising the text; it is a conscious process that involves contemplating what the text is attempting to convey (Patton & Cochran, 2002).

As I was going through the transcripts, I underlined important segments that relate to the research question. I attempted to contemplate what the text might be conveying in relation to the research questions posed. After those codes were developed, extracts that

contained relevant codes were extracted and by so doing the transcripts were also summarised.

Phase 3: Searching for themes

Searching for themes is sort of similar to coding. It involves looking into your codes in order to identify similarity in the data as guided by the research question (De Vos et al., 2011; Patton & Cochran, 2002).

Lyon and Coyle (2007) further states that looking for themes in one's data set is not an easy process; it requires the researcher to give full attention to transcripts while also thinking about relevance of the data.

As Clarke and Braun (2013, p. 4) stresses that:

“a theme is a coherent and meaningful pattern in the data relevant to the research question and are not hidden in the data waiting to be discovered by the intrepid researcher, rather the researcher constructs themes. The researcher ends this phase by collating all the coded data relevant to each theme”.

The research question acted as a guide in developing themes that added value to the study and the researcher had to move back and forth to ensure that proper themes were developed from codes.

Phase 4: Reviewing themes

This involves checking whether the themes are relevant to the research question and in case they are not fitting, they must be reworked, discarded or for the process to start afresh (Clarke & Braun, 2013). Sometimes it is necessary to combine or split themes in order to create meaningful themes (Clarke & Braun, 2013).

After developing themes I had to check if they will be useful in answering the research question. I discarded some of the themes while combining others to make a common theme. I had to go back into the original data to check if there was nothing that I could

have left behind in developing other themes. Finally themes that were important in answering research question were chosen.

Phase 5: Defining and naming themes

This is where the analysis process becomes pivotal because the final product needs to be punchy and requires the researcher to define what each theme means and how it fits to the research. A concerted effort is required to ensure that there are no disparities among themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

During this phase I had to check if the themes were coherent and if so, define them to clarify what they mean in relation to the study. Themes contained sub-themes that provided more clarity and supported the main theme.

Phase 6: Writing up

Writing about qualitative data cannot be separated from the analytic process as this is where the analysis comes into play by selecting some vivid examples from the extracts in order to substantiate one's argument (Braun & Clarke, 2006; De Vos et al., 2011).

Writing up should be more than just providing data; it is also about convincing the reader by quoting relevant literature to substantiate one's findings in relation to the research question (Clarke & Braun, 2013).

I found writing up a bit more like literature review itself as I had to go look for other literature that confirmed or contradicted my findings. While writing up, I took important extracts from transcripts to support my findings. I did not simply report on the data. I developed arguments based on findings and further immersed myself into the data so as to elucidate what the data is conveying.

Chapter 4

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1. Introduction

In chapter three I discussed how data was collected and the type of design employed. In this chapter I will be reporting on results focusing on how they link specifically to how heterosexual street based female sex workers (FSW) cope with sex work in the city of Johannesburg.

The chapter will begin by providing demographical characteristics of participants. This is followed by the narrative each participant which includes participants family history and background, challenges associated with selling sex in the streets, how they cope with those challenges and what can be done to elevate those challenges.

Discussion of themes and subthemes that emerged during data analysis is also discussed and finally, participants' narratives are linked to strength-based principles of Hammond and Zimmerman (2010).

4.2. Demographic details of participants

Demographic information from twelve participants is provided in the tables below.

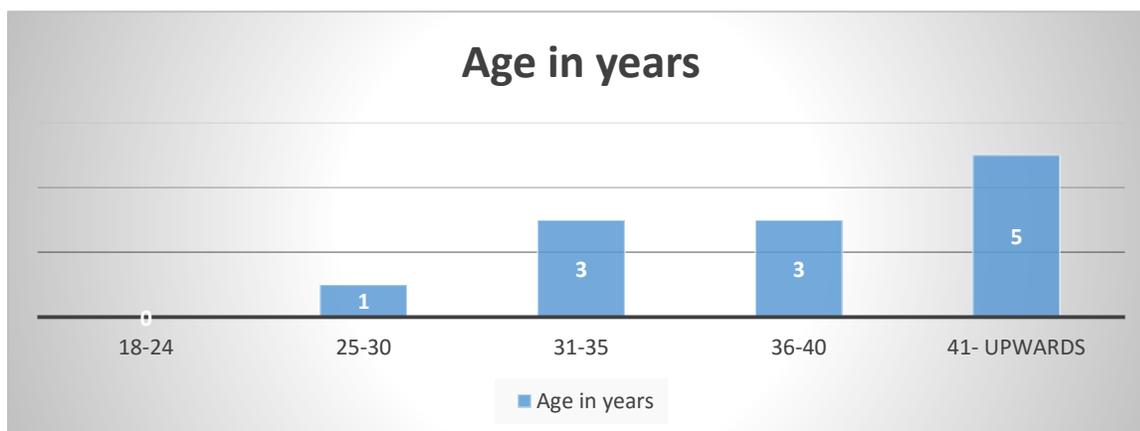


Table 1: Age of participants

All participants were over the age of 18 as indicated in table 1, as anyone selling sexual services under the age of 18 is regarded as being sexual exploited by the Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS, 2015).

Majority of participants were Black African females as indicated in table 2 as majority of people affected by inequality, poverty and unemployment are women in South Africa (StatsSA, 2016). As discussed in chapter one, most women enter sex work because of lack of employment opportunities and poverty.

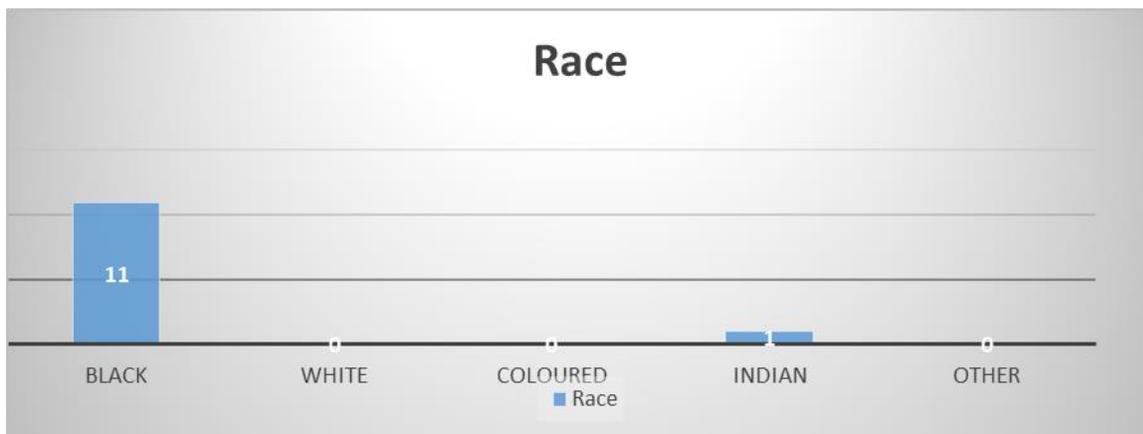


Table 2: Race of participants

There was one participant that had some primary school education and the rest of the participants had some secondary/high school education as indicated in table 3. Most women enter sex work because it does not require formal education and work experience (Gould, 2011; Oliviera, 2011).

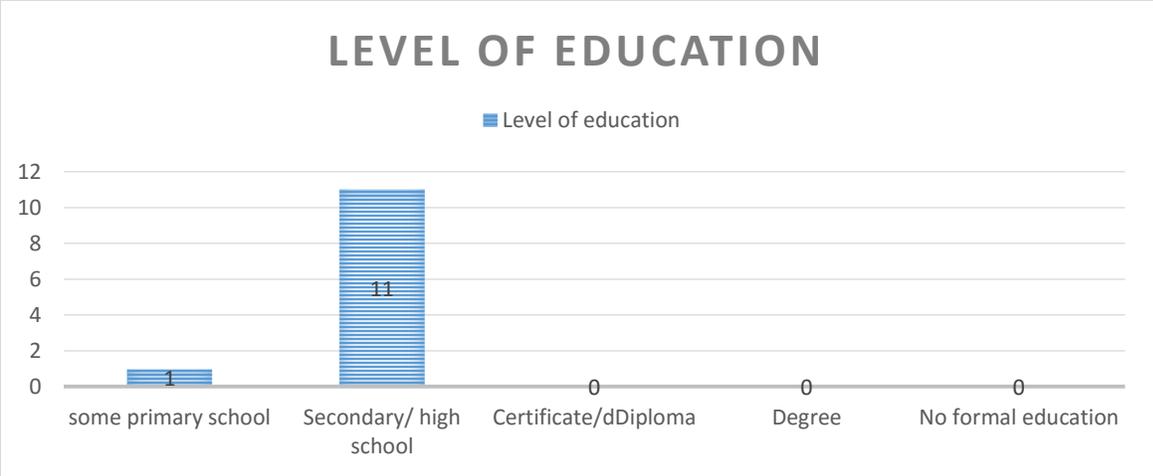


Table 3: Level of education of participants

As discussed in chapter 1, majority of black graduates are unemployed which sort of does not motivate other black kids to pursue tertiary education as it is perceived to be ineffective in addressing poverty therefore seeking alternative ways of earning a living including joining sex work (Van der Berg & Van Broekhuizen, 2012).

During the interviews some of the important data emerged and I deem it important to report on. Most participants indicated that they moved from other provinces within South Africa to Gauteng. This supports the notion that most of sex workers are either internal or external migrants (Flack, 2011; Konstant, Rangasami, Stacey, Stewart, Nogoduka, 2015; Richter, 2013).

All participants indicated that they are mothers and use earnings from sex work to support their children and extended family members, further supporting the findings by (Flack, 2011; Peters, 2015b, SWEAT, n.d) that most sex workers enter into sex work to earn a living in order to support their children and families.

Most participants indicated that they joined sex work because of poverty and lack of work opportunities in South Africa.

All participants have been in the sex industry for many years meaning I had the opportunity to get rich descriptions on how they coped with being sex workers.

4.3. Summary of participants' narratives

The first participant is from East London. She supports her family and children with earnings from sex work. She has been in the sex industry from 2006. She is concerned that clients abuse and rob them. She mentioned that they receive assistance from Esselen clinic (in Hillbrow) and SISONKE. They do not go to other clinics because of stigma and discrimination associated with sex work. She does not disclose to people that she is a sex worker except other sex workers because of fear of rejection. She is of the opinion decriminalisation of sex work could lead to sex workers' empowerment.

The second participant is from Kwa-Zulu Natal. She joined sex work because employment opportunities (in South Africa) are scarce for people who do not have qualifications. She uses earnings from commercial sex to support her child. She joined sex work after she was retrenched as a receptionist at some hotel. She shared intimate details that they are treated unpleasantly by clients. However, at least they are protected by guards at the space where they work, referred to as "the hole". Over the years, they have developed certain ways to keep themselves safe, such as taking number plates of clients' vehicles and they have developed a way of screening clients. She spoke about some signs of trauma that she often experiences because she is not receiving psychological assistance for the violence and rape she experiences at the hands of her clients. She also indicated that sex workers usually work as a collective on the streets in order to face challenges. She was optimistic about the future and relieved after talking to me, meaning that there is a need for sex workers to vent their feelings often to someone.

The third participant is from Zimbabwe. She joined sex work because she was earning twenty rands a day at a salon. She indicated that the rule on the streets is 'money first and service after'. She further indicated that most clients seek sexual services from them while under the influence of alcohol and drugs and this often leads to abuse. She prefers working at night because most clients have courage to approach them during that time. She indicated that police usually drag their feet when they are called in to assist.. They

depend on security guards at the hole for safety and on SISONKE and Esselen clinic for psychosocial and health related assistance. She receives emotional support from her sister and also thinks of starting a business but has no capital.. She is worried about their workplace being closed down and she is often concerned about authorities' threatening to close their workspaces.

The fourth participant is from Pietermaritzburg. She was married and had a small business with her husband but after the divorce, she became a sex worker so that she could support her children. She spoke about abuse from clients and indicated that sex workers often die on the streets. She indicated that they do not report incidents related to their trade to the police because they are scared of being locked up. She stressed the need for safety places on the streets. She also spoke quite passionately about harassment sex workers experience at the hands of the society. She strongly believes that there is a need for developmental courses that could empower sex workers. She felt relieved after speaking to someone about the challenges they encounter on the streets.

The fifth participant is from the Eastern Cape. She supports her family and children with sex work earnings. She indicated that she has lifelong scars inflicted by clients and stigma on sex workers is still rife. She does not disclose to people that she is a sex worker and thinks sex work should be legalised. She keeps abreast of developments related to sex work. She constantly migrates internally (province to province) to make more money.

The sixth participant is from Mpumalanga. At first she hesitated to become a sex worker but after conditions became ghastly she joined the sex industry to better her living conditions. She has been verbally abused by passerby, but she is more concerned about clients' abuse of sex workers. She also alluded to the collective nature of sex workers, the support and assistance they receive from SISONKE and Esselen clinic. She is concerned about other sex workers who use drugs to cope with their work.

The seventh participant is from Bethlehem. She became a sex worker after her parents passed on because she had to support her younger siblings. She is concerned by stalkers and clients that target sex workers. She indicated that sex workers work together to avoid harm. She is concerned that there is no emotional support from society in general, they

only offer material support. She is also concerned about young adults who become sex workers because of lack of opportunities.

The eighth participant is from Soweto. She became a sex worker because it was the only work available for her. She has been robbed and mistreated by clients and is adamant that even regular clients cannot be trusted. She has worked in the sex industry for a long time and over the years has mastered safety measures such as screening clients in order to protect herself.

The ninth participant migrated to Johannesburg after she was retrenched. She is of the opinion that there is danger on the streets especially from clients. She assumes that there is more independence on the streets than at brothels. She indicated that there is a need to make streets safe for sex workers and the government must decriminalise sex work.

The tenth participant is from Free State. She became a sex worker after her contract ended where she was employed. She supports her brother through sex work earnings and has also been managing to take her brother to school. She normally attends creative spaces at Esselen clinic where sex workers meet to talk about sex work affairs. She was once abused and misled by a regular client which led her never to trust clients. She thinks government does not care about them. She assumes that empowerment courses could go a long way in providing her with skills.

The eleventh participant was a domestic worker and left domestic work to become a sex worker as there was more money to be made in the sex industry. She indicates that being a sex worker is tough but the money is better in comparison to other work, in her case, domestic work. She is also concerned by the high level of drug use among her peers but she thinks that it assist them to cope with challenges of the sex industry. They (sex workers) receive assistance from SISONKE and she supposes the government does not care for them. She was recently robbed and raped at gun point by a client. She has built internal coping mechanisms to deal with the sex industry challenges.

The twelfth participant is the Free State province. She has three children that she supports with the money she gets through commercial sex. After divorcing her husband, she could

not return to her parents' home because her mother is very old and she did not want to burden her. According to her some clients do not understand that being a prostitute is also work like others and they also abuse them. She indicates that police are not helpful and thinks if they decriminalize sex work the situation will improve.

In closing, from these discussions with female sex workers it emerged that themes such as a need to talk to someone, internal versus external migrant, single parenting, agency versus victimhood, safety, collectivism, cohesion, informal assistance from police officers, and sex work friendly services emerged.

4.4. Discussion of themes and sub-themes emerging from the data

As thematic analysis was used to extrapolate themes within the data, results and discussion that follows are based on themes and sub themes that emerged from interviews with twelve female sex workers participated in the study. Each section will resume by defining a theme followed by a discussion of subthemes, quoting vivid examples from participants' responses.

4.4.1. Commercial sex as work

An activity that is done in order to earn a living or to get money is referred to as work and work entails either or both psychological and physical activity (Bergh & Theron, 2009). Since these twelve participants went to the streets to offer some form of physical and psychological activity in exchange for money it is regarded as work, in this instance money for activities of sexual nature (Burnes, Schept & Long, 2012; El-Bassel, Witte, Wada, Gilbert, & Wallace, 2001; Nyembe et al., 2014; UNIAIDS, 2015).

Whether sex work should be regarded as work or not is a debatable subject among feminists (Comte, 2014; Hekman, 2014; Kissil & Davey, 2009), society in general and governments (Furlong, 2015; Nyembe et al., 2014) but the majority of female sex workers interviewed believe that they are eking out a living to support their children and families, further supported by Scheibei, Richter and Vearey (2016) that sex work is an important livelihood for some unemployed women in South Africa:

“I was supporting my family with the money I was getting at my previous work, I was working then I came here to Johannesburg after I lost my work to be a sex worker.” (Sex worker 1, lines 9-11).

The statement by sex worker 1 indicates that after losing her employment she came to Johannesburg to be a sex worker so that she could continue supporting her family. This means she saw purpose in sex work; a means of earning an income that could further maintain the previous standard of living at her home. Sex worker 2 regards commercial sex as a business transaction. As is common knowledge, the purpose of a business is to generate money through offering some form of service (McNiel, 2010). This also entails that the woman had no other option but sex work to raise her son as seen from the quote below:

“ to tell you the truth in this business of sex work I’m a long time, I raised my son alone as a single mother now he is old enough and I’m still raising him to be big man so that he can take care of himself” (sex worker 2, lines 11-13).

Research shows that resilient people have a purpose in life and most of their activities are guided by that purpose (Bronk, Finch & Talib, 2010). Sex worker 1 and sex worker 2 had a purpose; they were ‘pushed’ by something to become sex workers. Bronk et al. (2010) indicate that purpose as a motivator in people orients life goals and daily decisions by directing the use of personal resources such as time, energy and effort toward prosocial aims like earning a living to support your family or advancing your life as indicate by the quote below:

“I have four children I was staying at home and me and my brother had a conflict so I decided to go out of the family house and look for my own house and looked for work but later we were retrenched then I met someone who told me there is other way of getting money that’s when I started working as a sex worker”(Sex worker 4, lines 3-7).

“...but later one of the girls disclosed that we are doing this kind of work that’s why we always have money and support our families and I asked to join. That is how I ended up being a sex worker (sex worker 10, lines 26-29).

The above quotes from sex worker 4 and sex worker 5 indicate that there is more to a sense of purpose. There is also a sense of obligation as both indicate that they have an obligation to raise their children and support their families.

Sisonke mobiliser and Mothers for the Future (M4F) founder Duduzile Dlamini is quoted as saying, “Children of sex workers deserve the right to education, health and safety. The South African government should respect my job and decriminalise sex work for my children’s future” (Lakhami & Dlamini, 2016, p. 17).

This does not only display purpose but also an obligation from sex workers as mothers, nurturers and bread winners to provide a better future for their children through sex work. It also indicates the lengths they are willing to go in order to support themselves, their children and their families even though there is a risk of being ridiculed, humiliated, arrested, abused and even killed by clients (Lakhami & Dlamini, 2016) as articulated below:

“There is no other way to survive except sex work for me” (sex work 4, line 126)

“I just tell myself that my life is here in Johannesburg I’m a sex worker I’m a sex worker and it won’t change, this is my work” (sex worker 3, lines 123-124).

Sex work provides women who are in poverty with an opportunity to earn a living and by doing so, reduces the effects of absolute poverty in women’s lives and lives of people they support (Rangasami, 2015). Above examples from sex worker 4 and sex worker 3 show that for some, commercial sex is the only way of earning a living.

4.4.1.1. Offering a services for a fee

Where there is a demand for service, a person with an eye for business will offer a service to address the demand with a reasonable fee, in this instance, commercial sex (McNeil, 2010).

One sex worker interviewed in (Rangasami, 2015, p.8) is quoted as saying “We are not selling our bodies. Our bodies belong to us. We are selling sex”. Chateauvert (2013) also indicates that women who sell sex have control over their bodies. The notion that sex work only means physical genital contact should be discarded as other services like erotic messages, strip dancing and phone sex are offered.

These examples below indicate how sex workers talk about the services they offer to their clients:

“and they must know that we do this thing to help each other... I’m helping him as a client and he is also helping me with money you see” (sex worker 4, lines 30-32).

“those people that come to buy our services they must not abuse or harass us” (sex worker 7, lines 201-202).

Sexual services come in many forms and the idea that sex work only includes penetrative sexual acts should also be interrogated as it perpetuates negative sentiments and taboos regarding sex work (Comte, 2014). Furthermore, other studies allude that sex work also include other sexual services other than penetrative sexual intercourse like stripping, phone sex and on internet (SANAC, 2013).

Luiz and Roets (2000) further state that the offering of sexual services for a fee has been around for millennia. Since the profession is resilient and customers (mainly men) are always in need of a sexual ‘service’, there will always be a demand for sex in human society.

4.4.1.2. Sex work better than other work

As discussed in chapter one, some sex workers enter the sex industry because it pays better than other service jobs. This became evident when interviewing sex workers as sex worker 11 and sex worker 5 indicate below:

“I saw that there is plenty of work and money here in sex work so I decided to quit my cleaning job and be a sex worker full time because to wake up and go to work and at the end of the month you get little money and I saw that what I get at the cleaning job I can make it within two days or in a day if it is busy like this on month end (sex worker 11, lines 6-11).

“yes, there is money in sex work when you get clients” (sex worker 5, line 104).

Mental health influences a very wide range of outcomes for individuals, including female sex workers. This might include healthier lifestyles and earnings; and these outcomes are not just a consequence of the absence of mental illness but are associated with the presence of positive mental health, sometimes referred to as wellbeing (Friedli, 2009).

The literature on resilience and capability is centrally concerned with positive adaptation, protective factors and assets like earnings that moderate risk factors and therefore reduce the impact of risk on outcomes (Friedli, 2009).

In cases of sex worker 11 and sex worker 5, joining the sex industry to get a better income might be a protective factor as it reduces financial stress on their lives and in turn might improve the quality of their lives as their earnings are improved from their previous work.

4.4.2. Abuse

Female sex workers experience high levels of abuse from clients, the general public and law enforcers (Rangasami, 2015; Women Legal Centre, 2012). According to Colman (2009, p. 723) abuse is defined as “any form of physical or mental exploitation or cruelty towards a person and causing significant harm to that person normally referred to as a victim”.

According to South African National AIDS Council (SANAC, 2013) sex workers are subjected to different forms of abuse and during interviews, they indicated how they are abused by clients and the general public as discussed.

4.4.2.1. Physical abuse by clients

The level of abuse of female sex workers by clients is very high (Fick, 2005). This is due to the fact that perpetrators, mainly clients know that female sex workers are not protected by law in South Africa. These vivid examples below indicate how female sex workers are abused by clients.

“someone just comes and say hey you I gave you my money or say hey, let’s have sex without a condom and when you disagree they just assault you. Some clients say I gave you my money but you don’t want to give me the way I want, then they assault you and leave” (sex worker 3, lines 45-48).

“sometimes when they come they come with guns and say open the whole vagina, open your legs wide. There are many things we go through here even death” (sex worker 4, lines 36-39).

These are examples of how gender based violence (GBV) is rife among female sex workers because perpetrators take advantage that some acts they commit to sex workers will never see a day in court as sex work is illegal. El-Bassel et al. (2001) further states that physical abuse and rape is rife among female sex workers.

“since I joined sex work you see here (pointing at scar on the head) I was assaulted by a client” (sex worker 5, lines 134-135).

These two examples from sex worker 4 and sex worker 5 show that some clients are physically abusive towards them. This physical abuse often leaves physical scars that remind clients about dangers associated with sex work. Those scars act as a reminder for sex workers to take precautionary measures where necessary in order to save their lives.

4.4.2.2. Emotional abuse by clients

Clients sometimes take advantage of sex workers' vulnerability especially when they are aware that business is not going well. They request penetrative sex without a condom in return for extra cash (SANAC, 2013, 2016; Scheibei, Richter & Vearey, 2016)

“Eish, sometimes you enter with a client and they will tell you they do not want to use a condom and it is up to you if you want to give me or not” (sex worker 4, lines 24-25).

The quote above is an example of emotional abuse as the client goes with a female sex worker to the place where they agreed to have sex without making their intentions clear and when then get there they make extra demands and unfortunately extra demands, in this case unprotected sex puts clients and female sex workers at risk of contracting HIV and STI's.

4.4.2.3. Verbal abuse by the public

Prejudice, meaning an unfair feeling of dislike for a person or group because of race, sex or religion (Bergh & Theron, 2009) results from stigma attached to prostitution by the public. This often leads to discrimination on the bases of one working in the sex industry (Scorgie, 2013). It is not surprising that society and government view sex work as a social evil that must be eradicated (Mgbako et al., 2013).

“people will pass by, sometimes during the day insulting us and everyone would be listening, you understand especially men like to call us (magosha) things like that” (sex worker 2, lines 39-41).

“and people call us all sorts of names” (sex worker 4, lines 213-214).

The examples above from sex worker 2 and 4 show how sex workers are disrespected, ridiculed and verbally abused by society in general. The South African government drafted prevention and combating of hate crimes and hate speech Bill to try and combat hate speeches such as name calling on the basis of race, gender, sex, ethnic or social

origin, colour, sexual orientation, religion, belief, culture, language, birth, disability, HIV status, nationality, gender identity, albinism and occupation or trade.

The Department of Justice and Constitutional Development is inviting comments on the Prevention and Combating of Hate Crimes and Hate Speech Bill by the public and individuals. Organisations that advocate for sex work are forwarding comments for name calling on the basis of occupation or trade in this instance sex work to be punishable by law.

If efforts of organisations that advocate for sex workers become a success, names like magosha, slut, prostitute, easy women to name but a few, could be punishable by law. This could in turn reduce prejudice related to sex work. What puzzles me though is how this will be enforced if sex work is still criminalised as it would require that sex workers might have to implicate themselves by agreeing that they are sex workers and someone used a hate speech by calling them with a degrading name like magosha.

4.4.3. Secondary victimisation

Secondary victimisation refers to behaviours, beliefs and attitudes of social service providers such as health professionals and law enforcers that are 'victim-blaming' and insensitive and which traumatise victims of violence who are being served by these agencies even further (Campbell & Raja, 1999; Orth, 2002).

Campbell and Raja (1999) further state that this disregard of victims needs by providers can closely mimic victims' experiences at the hands of their assailants. That secondary victimisation is sometimes called 'the second happening of the event'.

Sex workers have reported many incidents of secondary victimisation from health professional and law enforcers because of stigma and discrimination associated with sex work (Denham & Olley, 2009; Scoular, 2004; SWEAT (n.d); Women Legal Centre [WLC], 2011).

4.4.3.1. Health professionals

Approximately five percent of sex workers accessed health services in 2010 (Rangasami, 2015). This might be a sign that many sex workers are afraid or not willing to visit health care facilities because of fear of being victimised. Below are some of the views from interviewed sex workers regarding victimisation or fear of victimisation from health professionals:

“I can’t explain what kind of work I was doing you see, I called another guy, they call him xxxx and told him about my situation and explained and explained. He then explained to others but I do not know how he explained to them about my situation you see (sex worker 5, lines 64-67).

In the statement above, sex worker 2 explains how she was badly treated after calling an ambulance to take her to hospital while she was pregnant. Health practitioners at that hospital had a negative attitude towards her but after explaining her situation to one of the staff members she was assisted.

This shows that it is not only sex workers who are subjected to some form of victimization. Women who come seeking medical assistance might be victimized because they could be reluctant to take legal action against their perpetrators.

“Like us here in Johannesburg we do not enter other clinics because we do not want to be undermined” (sex worker 1, 84-85).

This statement from sex worker 1 indicates that the view before they get assistance, they are subjected to verbal abuse and are undermined. Scheibei et al. (2016) also indicate that victimisation from health professionals is rife because some health professional are biased and find it hard to assist key populations such as sex workers.

4.4.3.2. Law enforcers

In this instance sex workers reported the harassment from the police had decreased since they marched through SISONKE but because sex work is illegal, there is still victimisation by law enforcers in some instances (Pilane, 2016).

“The police say it is better if they close the place where we work and they close the place then we start to suffer and when we go to high point and they chase us away again” (sex worker 3, lines 183-185).

“We work on the streets not hotels so wherever we go police or metro police just close the place” (sex worker 12, lines 39-40)

The examples above are a clear indication of secondary victimisation because when there is a problem police do not attend to the problem reported. They often choose to close down the place instead of addressing a reported incident whether it is by the client, the public or sometimes sex workers.

“We wish that people, when we have a problem like when you go to report to the police they must stand up” (sex worker 3, lines 76-77).

In the above example, sex worker 3 indicates that when they report incidents involving sex workers to police, they do not react in an expedient manner because they do not take them seriously.

4.4.4. Sex workers unite

Community is usually defined as a group of people within a particular boundary for example, people who live in Johannesburg could be collectively called a community, a group of people with particular interests (for example, sex workers) or people facing a similar catastrophe (McAslan, 2010; Sonn & Fisher, 1998).

With that said the interviewed community of female sex workers in Johannesburg showed resilience by indicating that they support each other, work together and share personal experiences and emotions related to sex work.

Through the development and strengthening of relationships among community members such as sex workers; growth of feelings of connectedness and cohesion and the development of social capital resilience is fostered (Arewasikporn, Davis & Zautra, 2013).

The following section will discuss how interviewed sex workers are able to keep themselves intact and be resilient even when they face many challenges on the streets.

4.4.4.1. Emotional and social support among sex workers

Social support is an important and valuable resource in the social environment and the availability of social support plays an important role on resilience in key populations such as sex workers (Herrick, Friedman & Stall, 2013) as demonstrated below:

“I speak with other friends of mine who are also sex workers and we guide each other regarding work issues” (sex worker 3, lines 161-162).

“Yes we support each other, we talk and we are free here. Even when they say we do not agree we do not show it and we do not want people to stick their noses into our business, especially men because we assault them (men). We assault them nine-nine because they sometimes come with pre conceived idea that we are not working together and are not supporting each other and we become one when we see that things are not well and getting tough, we hold each other” (sex worker 6, 161-166).

These examples illustrate that female sex workers share challenges among themselves and they encourage each other where needed, even if they sometimes have conflicts of their own. Kwon (2013) further states that when key populations such as sex workers share challenges among themselves, they tend to accept their reality and situation, and tend to be less burdened emotionally. This assists in dealing with issues such as stigma and discrimination, therefore increasing their resilience.

4.4.4.2. Formal support through SISONKE

When sex workers work together, they are able to achieve success even on tasks that seem improbable to achieve (Ponken & Jornens, 2016; Scorgie et al., 2013). Interviewed sex workers were all aware of the existence of SISONKE even though some are not contributing members.

As discussed in chapter two on how SISONKE was formed, its objectives and missions, it has also shown that it assists sex workers in South Africa through offering holistic services including legal assistance through Women Legal Centre.

“You see with SISONKE, if we are arrested we call SISONKE and they help us, if the police harass us and you call SISONKE they help us (sex worker 2, lines 113-114).

“We have SISONKE that fights for sex workers rights” (sex worker 3, line 51).

The above examples from sex worker 2 and sex worker 3 indicate that SISONKE is a prominent organisation that protects and fights for the rights of sex workers. It has managed to organise marches through proper organisation and planning as most of their members are sex workers and can directly associate with challenges facing female sex workers.

4.4.5. Survival techniques

Adversity comes in many forms for street based sex workers. As a result of psychosocial impediments (such as intense stigma and discrimination), legal challenges (such as criminalisation of sex work), individual acts (such as lack of self-care) and environmental challenges (such as spending long hours on the streets), sex workers face unique challenges than the general population (Boyden & Mann, 2005; Buttram, Surratt & Kurtz, 2013).

Through experience, female sex workers learn survival techniques that are useful to keep them alive on the streets (Fick, 2005). Furthermore Coutu (2002) contends that resilient people use effective survival strategies according to the situation they find themselves in, have a firm understanding of reality and fiction and the ability to improvise when a situation compels.

4.4.5.1. The fight, flight and freeze response

The limbic system which is located in the centre of the brain (between the brain stem and the cortex) mediates arousal and hyper arousal and also regulates survival behaviours and emotional expression of human beings (Rothschild, 1997).

The limbic system responds to extreme traumatic threat by releasing hormones that tell the body to prepare for defensive action which prepares the body for fight or flight responses (Rothschild, 1997). However, when death is imminent, or when the traumatic threat is prolonged (as with torture or rape), the limbic system can simultaneously activate the state of freezing.

The flight, fight or freeze response to stress is known as a survival reflex and when a person faces a stressful event, he or she would evaluate the situation and determine which type of survival reflex to engage in (Yuen et al., 2013).

During the interviews with participants, it appeared that these survival reflexes are used depending on the situation where the female sex workers find themselves in as seen below:

“the girl said she was helped by a car it was a distance but she said that I’m only help and she was naked because the client made her take off her clothes she said she ran and ran, they were outside and she ran God gave her strength she said” (sex worker 7, lines 96-99).

The quote above is an example of a flight response. If the limbic system ‘decides’ that there is adequate strength, time and space to escape from danger, then the body breaks into a run and that is where “God gives strength” perception from sex worker seven comes from (Rothschild, 1997).

“We entered a car wash nicely and he pulled out the gun and removed the condom. And there was no way I could scream” (sex worker 2, 57-58).

This is an example of a freeze response from sex worker 2. The limbic system can simultaneously release hormones to activate the peripheral nervous system and a state

of freezing can result in a mouse going dead when caught by a cat before the cat can even kill it (Gallup,1997).

This response is sometimes useful as the aggressor becomes less aggressive and by doing that a life can be saved.

“You will find that you are fighting with this client because they want their money back” (Sex worker 10, lines 37-38).

The above quote from sex worker ten shows that it is sometimes necessary to fight in order to save yourself from imminent danger (of losing your life) or protecting your physical being. Rothschild (1997) indicates that if the limbic system perception is that there is no sufficient time or space to flee but there is adequate strength to defend by fighting back, then the body will fight.

4.4.5.2. Safety precautions

In any situation whether serious activity (such as work) or leisure (such as having fun), safety is of paramount importance because if there is no safety, serious bodily harm could happen, even worse, loss of life.

Rutter (2012, p. 337) is quoted as saying “One of the features that particularly characterizes resilience research is the recognition of the importance of possible steeling or strengthening effects”. This means that we must look at how the situation is strengthening individuals and those groups instead of looking at impact exposure to diversity has on groups and individuals in terms of negative reactions.

International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRCRCS, 2008) indicates that risk reduction and safety offers a major contribution to the building of safer, resilient communities, especially for individuals and groups that that are at risk such as female sex workers.

IFRCRCS (2008, p. 2) further state that safe and resilient communities can be identified as having the following key characteristics:

- They understand the disaster risks they face, they can assess and monitor these risks and can protect and make themselves safe to minimise losses and damage when a disaster strike.

“I give them their money back because I do not want to be assaulted (laughing)”
(sex worker 1, line 27).

This indicates that resilient female sex workers can assess the danger accurately and take the necessary steps to avoid harm. She might have said it jokingly but she is very aware of the dangers if she resist giving back the money.

- They can build back after a disaster and work towards ensuring that vulnerabilities continue to be reduced for the future. More safety and resilience means less vulnerability.

“We always take vehicle number plates even if you say we are just going nearer, we take it. If I say my friend: take the vehicle number plate, they do, in case I do not come back because they abuse us” (sex worker 6, lines 215-216).

The quote above from sex worker 6 indicates that they care for each other and about their safety. The safety mechanisms such as recording a vehicle number plate has shown to be a success because some clients have been successfully prosecuted through assistance of SISONKE and Women Legal Centre.

- They understand that building safety and resilience is a long-term, continuous process that requires ongoing commitment.

“You must be obedient and think about your life, you see, you need to avoid, these people you must give them their money and you will not die” (sex worker 4, lines 64-66).

For a person to have long term plans and be able to execute them they need to be alive. A dead man cannot have plans. This example from sex worker 4 indicates long term and continuous efforts to stay alive so that she could manage to support her family.

- They appreciate the fact that being safe and disaster resilient means that there is a greater chance of meeting development goals which, in themselves, will greatly add to their safety and resilience.

“So myself when I get a whole night I do not go with them at their place. I tell them to book the hotel” (sex worker 5, lines 84-85).

This is another safety mechanism utilised by sex workers. They have learnt from experience that for their safety they must go to a neutral place or where the client will have a lesser chance of causing harm to them.

4.4.6. Anticipated future and needs

Resilient people are always optimistic about their future and will always look at how things can turn out for the better if certain practices are outlawed, improved or totally eradicated. Most of the time they will play an active role in contributing to the betterment of the situation and have a strong belief in the future (Coutu, 2002; Overall, Altrows & Paulson, 2006; Luthans, Avolio, Walumbwa & Li, 2005).

Even though these interviewed sex workers experienced challenges on the streets, they were still optimistic about their future which is one of the characteristics of resilient people (Connor & Davidson, 2003; Kwon, 2013).

4.4.6.1. Decriminalisation of sex work

As discussed in chapter 2, decriminalisation of sex work might soon be realised. Interviewed sex workers also believe that dangers associated with sex work will be significantly reduced if not completely eliminated if sex work is decriminalised.

Research has also shown that when risks such as criminalisation of sex work are eliminated, people tend to be more resilient and improve their physical and mental health (Peters, 2015; Woodward, & Fischer, 2005).

Furthermore, the Zero Draft on National Strategic Plan on HIV, STI and TB (NSP 2017-2022) dated 27 September 2016 states that for the plan to be effective and implemented

successfully, the legal reform of the Sexual Offences Act should be expedited and report be released soon for parliament to consider and for the public to be engaged in debating decriminalising sex work.

“You see, the sex industry is trying to push for decriminalisation of sex work” (sex worker 5, line 127)

“I think in South Africa, people should start understanding the sex industry. Like, we should have rights” (sex worker 1, 149-150).

“At least if they tell us what to do so that our places of work cannot be closed and that they (places) become legal and we girls on the streets become legal” (sex worker 12, lines 101-103).

The above quotes from sex worker one, five and twelve shows that sex workers are striving, if not hoping, for the decriminalisation of the sex industry in South Africa. As discussed in chapter 2, it was made clear that the benefits of the decriminalisation model outweigh all other models.

Government efforts like the National HIV Sex Worker Plan 2016-2019 and the National Strategic Plan on HIV, STI's and TB can be undermined by the fact that sex work is still a crime in South Africa and as such expediency in reforming Sexual Offences Act is needed.

4.4.6.2. Public awareness programmes (sensitisation)

“We are also people, they must help us, they must not look at what we do, they must help us” (sex worker 3, lines 250-251).

Sensitisation programmes to enlighten health care workers, the public, law enforcers is needed to address the stigma and discrimination directed at sex workers so that challenges that are associated with sex work could be reduced (Rangasami, 2015).

The quote above by sex worker 3 indicates the need to sensitise the public regarding sex work and what are the factors that drive people to become sex workers. When people display a stigma towards other groups, they tend to not assist those who need their support. The call for decriminalisation of sex work will not earn support until a society is sensitised on issues related to sex work as indicated by a quote below:

“People do not like us. They do not see us as people with a brain who can think for themselves. Maybe they just hear about us, that we do this and that, but we support our children, we send money home and we do not sleep with people without condoms unless a condom busts and when it has busted, we try by all means to get help. We do not just leave it that way, we also check our HIV status so that we know where we stand” (sex worker 6, lines 102-108).

“But many times there is no communication between people and sex workers. You can see they feel pity for us because they think we are hopeless” (sex worker 7, lines 118-120).

“When you say you a sex worker, people look down on you and think you are a slut and an easy woman and what, others do not understand this sex work thing” (sex worker 1, 118-120).

Sex workers’ one, six and seven quotes provide us with a general view of how sex workers think what the general public perceives about them. These sex workers indicate that they are people and not hopeless, that they are sex workers in order to earn a living like all other people.

In closing, the need to sensitise the general public is evident from these examples above.

4.4.6.3. Training programmes for sex workers

A more systematic and holistic approach is required to adequately address the challenges that sex workers face. This requires tackling policy reform, gender-based violence and workplace safety. Sex workers are encouraged to mobilise and speak out for their rights. There is also a need for sex workers to be provided with skills development training

particularly those who want to exit the sex industry and/or those who have a positive experience in the sex industry (Rangasami, 2015).

Furthermore, as positive psychology is concerned with making normal healthier people better, more fulfilling and more capable in dealing with life transitions throughout their lifespan (Lees, 2009), training programmes could contribute positively to resilience in sex workers.

Currently, the South African National Sex Worker HIV Plan 2016-2019 (SANAC, 2016) is based upon six core packages of interventions based on WHO 2014 Consolidated Guidelines on HIV Prevention, Diagnosis, Treatment and Care for Key Populations which was adapted for the South African context. These six core packages are (p. 8) “Peer education package, health care package, psychosocial service package, human rights package, social capital building package, and economic empowerment package”.

Under the economic empowerment package (p. 37) the following interventions are mentioned: career pathing, educational improvement and participation in Co-ops. These interventions are based on the principle that female sex workers who want to develop themselves further but remain in the sex industry can do so having being empowered. Those who want to totally leave the sex industry could be empowered to do so and those who choose to be sex workers and simultaneously earn an extra income elsewhere could also do so. Below are some examples from female sex workers on the need for implementation of the plan:

“Some of us do not have work experience and do not have matric. If you do not have those, then you do not get work” (sex worker 5, lines 178-180).

“Because for us to stop experiencing challenges, we must leave the sex industry or they must look for a place where we can be trained to do something. You see, because the clients will always harass us. Maybe if they look for a place for us, train us or do something for us so that we can leave sex work” (sex worker 4, lines 101-104).

These examples indicate that there is a need to train sex workers (sex worker 5) through Adult Basic Education and Training (ABET) related programmes. These programmes could assist sex workers to complete their matric. Sex worker 4 also alluded to the need for skills training and if possible, for both to be linked to a certain internship or learnership programme. The Plan accommodates for this intervention under the educational improvement package.

“When we want to start a business here on the streets, we do not have the starting capital” (sex worker 3, lines 163-164).

The Plan accommodates the need for sex worker 3 under the Co-ops package as these sex workers have plans but do not have the capital, do not know who to approach for information and assistance.

4.5. Linking the strength based principles with participants narratives

In chapter two I adapted the principles of the strength based perspective of Hammond and Zimmerman (2010) to the sex work context. In this section I want to provide the principles in relation to what participants shared during the interviews.

- 1. Given the right conditions and resources, sex workers’ capacity to learn and grow can be nurtured and realised.*

The National HIV Sex Worker plan stresses the need for sex workers to be trained in order to grow their resilience. The NSP (2017-2022) also emphasises the need for expedience of the sexual offences act which decriminalises sex work so that the conditions of sex workers can be improved and that resources can be freely available to sex workers without fear of stigma of discrimination.

- 2. Sex workers change and grow through their strengths and capacities*

Depending on their level of skills, female sex workers indicated that they adapt to constant change using different coping techniques and safety precautions. They are in charge of their lives and do not need society to feel pity for them but to understand them and the reasons why they became sex workers.

3. Sex workers are experts of their own situation

The results indicated that sex workers are the experts of their situation and understand it better than people who are not in the sex industry. They showed resilience by adapting to many challenges they face daily, using safety precautions and techniques demanded by the situation they find themselves in. They understand that clients are two sides of the same coin; they are often abusive but also good in that they help them make a living to support their families. Furthermore, they are aware of what law enforcers could do to assist them.

Training programmes that are needed must be guided by sex workers as they know what they need and how those programmes could assist them.

4. Criminalisation of sex work is the problem, not sex work

The results of this study alluded to problems inherent in the criminalisation of sex work. It is a stumbling block for many good things that could happen in the sex industry. Criminalisation of sex work is an insult to efforts by the South African government to reduce epidemics like HIV through NSP (2017-2022), the National Sex Worker HIV Plan (2016-2019) and hate speech criminalisation through the Prevention and Combating of Hate Crimes and Hate Speech Bill.

5. Criminalisation 'blind' sex workers from noticing and appreciating their strengths and capacity to find their own meaningful solutions

Sex workers who are often prejudiced and stigmatised, have a lesser chance of gaining the necessary psychological resources to be able to build their resilience and strength. As results indicated that sex workers felt a need to be empowered, the process of empowering them can be greatly undermined by the criminalisation of sex work.

Under criminalisation, the abuse of sex workers by clients and the general public is evident from their narratives. The abuse also makes it difficult for sex workers to find meaningful solutions to the challenges they face.

6. Sex workers are doing the best they can in light of their experiences to date

The results of this study indicate that sex workers are resilient and tap into many resources such as cohesion among themselves in order to survive the sex industry. They 'chose' sex work because of economic challenges they experience. The earnings made from sex work are used to upgrade their economic status and to help support their families and children.

Furthermore, they indicated that the public is required to be sensitised to the appalling conditions they work under and the reasons they became sex workers. They were of the opinion that they are doing the best they could under harsh South African economic conditions.

7. The ability to change is within sex workers.

Some sex workers indicated that if an opportunity arose, they could leave the sex industry, others indicated that they need to be empowered and continue working in the sex industry and others indicated that if they could be empowered, they will work as sex workers on a part time basis. The general public cannot decide on their behalf what is good, they are rather urged to respect their choices and support them.

8. Sex workers want good things for themselves and have good intentions

The participants in this inquiry indicated that by offering sexual services, they have good intentions and contrary to popular belief, they take all necessary safety precautions to protect themselves and their clientele. In closing, according to them, commercial sex is work and it is also a way of earning a living in order to support themselves, their families and their children.

Chapter 5

CONCLUSION, LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1. Introduction

The focus of this chapter would be to offer the summary, conclusion and limitations of this inquiry. I will also offer recommendations for further research. The research aimed at exploring resilience among street based heterosexual female sex workers in the city of Johannesburg.

The aim was to explore factors that promote active coping mechanisms on street based heterosexual female sex workers and to explore resources that are useful in assisting street based heterosexual female sex workers to become resilient.

The resilience-based lens (Fick, 2005; Scorgie et al., 2013) that informed this study managed to effectively elicit views (from research participants) that were psychological in nature. The strength-based approach to sex work research (Hammond & Zimmerman, 2010) indicates that sex workers have good intentions and are doing the best they can under the legislation which criminalises their work and which tramples their human rights.

The study used a qualitative transcendental phenomenological transcendental approach where experiences of twelve female sex workers were explored using semi-structured interviews. The approach employed allowed the researcher to gain a deeper understanding of sex workers' experiences.

5.2. Summary and conclusions

South Africa has high levels of poverty, unemployment and inequality (StatsSA, 2016) which often forces women to migrate to cities such as Johannesburg to look for work opportunities (Borel-Saldin, 2013). When they do not find employment, some women resort to commercial sex in order to support themselves, their families and children (Bujra, 1975; Busza, 2006; Vanwiesenbeeck, 2001).

Commercial sex is a viable source of income for female sex workers because it pays better than other forms of manual labour such as domestic work (Oliviera, 2011). Most participants interviewed reported that they chose to become sex workers because it offers flexible working hours, an individual is self-employed and it requires no formal qualifications or any documentation.

The findings of my inquiry indeed showed that female sex workers face many challenges such as abuse from clients, secondary victimization from health workers and law enforcers and prejudice leading to stigma and discrimination.

Despite challenges, they continue to work and displayed coping strategies that are useful in improving their resilience. Their ability to bounce back from challenges associated with criminalisation of sex work is motivated by the belief that commercial sex is legitimate work, as sex workers, they also have a purpose in life and an obligation to provide for their children. Sex work is made bearable by the fact that the streets have taught them survival techniques and they work as a collective. For sex workers that I interviewed, the future is optimistic especially taking into account that the government is considering decriminalising sex work.

The resilience based lens provides an understanding of commercial sex industry from sex workers' perspective because it is concerned with their lived experiences and attempts to unproblematise their situation. The resilience-based approach attempts to unpack how sex workers cope with challenges they encounter in an environment where their work is criminalised and their human rights violated on a daily basis.

Resilience-based lens attempts to understand and appreciate survival that seem ordinary but might save a life of marginalised groups such as female sex workers.

Resilience-based model provided alternative ways of understanding female sex workers and it became evident that it could be used for research into their coping mechanisms, advocacy also for practice in the discipline of psychology.

Sex workers in this study proved to have different strengths although limited by the fact that sex work is criminalized in South Africa. Criminalisation of sex work in South Africa

exacerbates and legitimates the stigma attached to sex work, limits sex worker resilience and increases their risk to abuse and victimisation by the public, clients and law enforcers.

Scorgie et al. (2013) indicate that to address psychological, health and social risks associated with commercial sex; researchers, activists and organisations in the field of HIV and health have long argued for a rights-based approach to sex work interventions, including decriminalisation of sex work which participants agreed is necessary to elevate their situation.

At present, it seems that there is some progress towards decriminalisation of sex work albeit at a snail's pace. Interventions such as the National Strategic Plan on HIV, STI's and TB (NSP 2017-2022) allude to also talks about the need for decriminalisation to be expedited, although feminists from different perspectives continue to argue for and against decriminalisation.

It seems that the sex workers I interviewed displayed incredible strength despite appalling conditions they work under. The strength based approach of Zimmerman and Hammond as adapted in this study invoked some interesting thoughts about the ability of marginalised groups such as female sex workers to adapt actively and be resilient in an environment where their work is criminalised and in a big city such as Johannesburg where 'the fittest survives'.

Research questions were answered satisfactory as the study managed to discover prevalent descriptions of active coping mechanisms and resources that are useful in enhancing resilience in heterosexual street based female sex workers in Johannesburg.

5.3. Limitations of the study

Research of this nature has many challenges such as accessing a sample and using appropriate data collection techniques. Other challenges included the question and role of my gender (as a male) and my personal characteristics.

Indeed this was a challenging experience as female sex workers are always hyper vigilant to make sure that they avoid danger at all cost. Their vigilance made it difficult for me to

recruit and interview female sex workers I also had to answer many difficult questions while building rapport after approaching them.

Their hyper vigilance splits their concentration which makes it difficult to conduct an interview and receive appropriate responses.

One might ask why I did not approach organisations that advocate and offer services for sex workers in Johannesburg. In actual fact, I approached them and the feedback was not favourable. Most of them are funded by academic institutions and were involved in similar projects. They could have assisted with my research provided I apply for ethical clearance from them. Another condition was that I slightly modify the research question, which I could not agree to as this was my intellectual property.

Those who were neutral wanted to know my stance on the sex work subject and they oftentimes did not seem interested because whenever I followed up, I was taken from pillar to post. I then changed the sampling technique, from purposeful sampling to snowballing. This was done by going to the streets where they work (which took courage) and approach women randomly and by doing that, that is where issues and challenges with regard to gender surfaced.

Since they are female sex workers and I am a male researcher, when approached, they thought I wanted to purchasing sexual services. As I attempted to explain my intentions, some got annoyed and told me they were not interested because they were at work. Some were sceptical, thinking I might be a law enforcer and walked away.

After a tedious process of answering their questions, elevating their concerns, reading information sheet and consent form, I had to contend with two challenges. They were not comfortable with an audio recorder. They always asked if this recorder 'thing' does not take pictures. It happened often to the point where I felt my explanation was not eloquent enough.

Most of my participants work on the streets. Their clients sometimes pitched or called in the middle of the conversation which consequently disturbed our session. I lost few participants who had consented after a very tedious process.

As a researcher these challenges required me to develop personal characteristics such as engagement and interviewing (how to approach and talk to female sex workers), patience and perseverance (it will not always work out but I have to keep trying), eye to detail (who have I approached and what happened, as not to offend or re-interview clients) and planning (which hours, days and streets to visit and when).

These challenges could be seen as limitations in addition to them being a learning curve. I could have explored the question of sex work and resilience further but nonetheless this is the best possible output from the process followed throughout this study.

5.4. Recommendations for future research

As researchers we always indicate that our research would have an impact on policy and assist government in applying certain policies for the betterment of citizens. However, that is not the case as we only report our results hoping for a miracle to happen.

At the 1st South African National Conference on Violence (2016) scholars agreed that there is an urgent need to put research into action. If one believes that one's research is trustworthy and ethical, one must 'stand by it'. What stood out at the conference was when academics reached a consensus that the time of only reporting on the results is fading away. If that's still the case, then the ground might be shifting underneath academics.

The recent #feesmustfall movement in higher education which advocates for free education and decolonisation of the university curriculum are examples of the ground shifting beneath academics. The question that needs to be answered is 'the how part' because as academics we do not want to be seen as advocates but rather as progressive. But indeed action is needed in South Africa to address challenges faced by marginalised groups such as street based female sex workers.

Decriminalisation of sex work might be coming but not soon In fact it is moving at a tortoise pace and we need to support sex workers with psycho-social resources that will assist them triumph with the challenges they are facing. Organisations such as SWEAT and sex worker movements like SISONKE should holistically support sex workers.

Majority of psychological research on resilience takes a psychopathology (oppressive paradigm) approach and examines the role of resilience in dysfunctional individuals and families. Little has been reported on functioning individuals and groups such as sex workers that operate optimally under appalling conditions (Luthans, Youssef, & Avolio, 2007).

The discipline of psychology and its disciples should explore research on 'resilience and sex work' in the South African context as literature in this subject is insufficient. Resilience is based on many factors and also depends on context and time. More research could be conducted in other cities and provinces to understand how sex workers cope in order to be supported appropriately by organisations that support them.

REFERENCES

- 1st South African National Conference on Violence (15-17 August, 2016). *Mobilising science, community and policy for prevention*. Retrieved from http://www.saviolenceconference.co.za/Programme%20FINAL%20web_s.pdf
- Abel, G., Fitzgerald, L., & Brunton, C. (2007). *The impact of the prostitution reform act on the health and safety practices of sex workers*. New Zealand: HRC.
- Abel, G., & Fitzgerald, L. (2012). The street's got its advantages: Movement between sectors of the sex industry in a decriminalised environment. *Health, Risk & Society, 14*, 7-23.
- Albertyn, C. (2016, May 18). Debate around sex work in South Africa tilts towards decriminalisation. *The Conversation*. Retrieved from <https://theconversation.com>.
- Alvord, M., & Grados, J. (2005). Enhancing resilience in children: A proactive approach. *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice, 36*(3), 238–245. doi: org/10.1037/0735-7028.36.3.238
- Appelgryn, M. S. (1975). The naming of Johannesburg- A radical theory. *African Historical Review, 1*(7), 54-67. doi:10.1080/00232087685310041.
- Aronson, J. (1994). A pragmatic view of thematic analysis. *The Qualitative Report, 2*(1). Retrieved from <http://nsuworks.nova.edu/tqr/vol2/iss1/3>.
- Attride-Stirling, J. (2001). Thematic networks: An analytic tool for qualitative Research. *Qualitative Research, 1*(3), 385-405.

- Arewasikporn, A., Davis, M. C., & Zautra, A. (2013). Resilience: A framework for understanding the dynamic relationship between social relations and health. In M. L. Mathews & N. A. Roberts (Eds.), *Health and social relationships: The good, the bad, and the complicated*. doi: 10.1037/14036-010.
- Babiak, P., & Hare, R. D. (2006). *Snakes in suits: When psychopaths go to work*. New York, NY: Harper Collins.
- Balfour, R., & Allen, J. (2014). *A review of the literature on sex workers and social exclusion*. UCL Institute of Health Equity for Inclusion Health: Inclusion Health, Department of Health.
- Banister, P., Burman, E., Parker, I., Taylor, M., & Tindall, C. (1994). *Qualitative Methods in Psychology: A researchers guide*. Philadelphia: Open university press.
- Bastow, K. (1995). Prostitution and HIV/AIDS. *HIV/AIDS Policy & Law Newsletter*, 2(2), 1-4.
- BAYSWAN. (n.d). North American Task Force on Prostitution. Retrieved from <http://www.bayswan.org/NTFP.html>
- Bell, J. (2010). *Doing your research project: A guide for first - time researchers in education, health and social sciences*. (5th ed.). New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Bergh, Z. C., & Theron, A. L. (2009). *Psychology in the work context*. (4^{ed.}). Southern Africa: Oxford University Press.
- Bernard, H. (2006). *Research methods in Anthropology: Qualitative and quantitative approaches*. (4th ed.). New York, Lanham: Oxford press.

- Borel-Saladin, J. (2013). *Social polarisation and migration to Johannesburg*. United Kingdom: University of Sussex.
- Boyden, J., & Mann, G. (2005). *Children's risk, resilience, and coping in extreme situations*. Retrieved from https://www.corwin.com/sites/default/files/upm-binaries/5336_Ungar_I_Proof_Chapter_1.pdf
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology, 3*(2), 77-10.
- Braverman, M. T. (2001). *Applying resilience theory to the prevention of adolescent substance abuse*. Davis: University of California, Centre for Youth Development.
- Brents, B., & Hausbeck, K. (2005). Violence and legalised brothel prostitution in Nevada: examining safety, risk, and prostitution policy. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 20*(3), 270–296.
- Bronk, K.C., Finch, W. H., & Talib, T. L. (2010). Purpose in life among high ability adolescents. *High Ability Studies, 21*, 133-145.
- Brown, B., Duby, Z., & Bekker, L. G. (2012). *Sex Worker: An Introductory Manual for Health Care Workers in South Africa*. Cape Town: Desmond Tutu foundation.
- Burnette, M. L., Lucas, E., Ilgen, M., Frayne, S. M., Mayo, J., & Weitlauf, J. C. (2008). Prevalence and health correlates of prostitution among patients entering treatment for substance use disorders. *Archive of General Psychiatry, 65*, 337-344. doi: 10.1001/archpsyc.65.3.337.
- Bujra, J. M. (1975). Women entrepreneurs of early Nairobi. *Canadian Journal of*

African Studies, 9, 213-234.

Burnes, T. R., Schept, R., & Long, S. L. (2012). A resilience-based lens of sex work:

Implications for professional Psychologists. *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice*, 43(2), 137–144. doi: 10.1037/a0026205.

Busza, J. (2004). Sex work and migration: The dangers of oversimplification: A case

study of Vietnamese women in Cambodia. *Health and Human Rights*, 7(2). doi: 10.2307/4065357.

Busza, J. (2006). Having the rug pulled from under your feet: one project's experience

of the US policy reversal on sex work. *Health Policy Plan*, 21, 329-32.

Butcher, K. (2003). Confusion between prostitution and sex trafficking. *The Lancet*, 361.

Buttram, M. E., Surratt, H. L., & Kurtz, S. P. (2014). Resilience and syndemic risk

factors among African-American female sex workers. *Psychol Health Med*, 19(4), pp. 442–452. doi: 10.1080/13548506.2013.824595.

Campbell, C. (2000). Selling sex in the time of AIDS: the psycho-social context of

condom use by sex workers on a Southern African mine. *Social Science & Medicine*, 50, 479-94.

Campbell, R., & Raja, S. (1999). Secondary victimization of rape victims: Insights

from mental health professionals who treat survivors of violence. *Violence and Victims*, 14 (3).

Clarke, V., & Braun, V. (2013). Teaching thematic analysis: Over-coming challenges

and developing strategies for effective learning. *The Psychologist*, 26 (2). 120-123. Retrieved from <http://eprints.uwe.ac.uk/21155>.

- Chateauvert, M. (2013). Sex workers unite: A history of the movement from stonewall to slut walk. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Clarkson, A. F. (1939). History of prostitution. *The Canadian Medical Association Journal*, 296-301.
- Colman, A. M. (2009). *Oxford Dictionary of Psychology*. (3rd Ed.). New York: Oxford University Press Inc.
- Comte, J. (2014). Decriminalization of sex work: Feminist discourses in light of research. *Sexuality & Culture*, 18(1), 196-217. doi:10.1007/s12119-013-9174-5.
- Connor, K. M., & Davidson, J. R. T. (2003). Development of a new resilience scale: The Connor-Davidson resilience scale (CD-RISC). *Depression and Anxiety*, 18, 76-82.
- Coutu, D. (2002). How resilience works. *Harvard Business Review*, 80(2), 46-55.
- Constitution of the republic of South Africa no. 108 of 1996.
- Davidson, J. O. (2016) ed. Call for papers: The lessons of history. *Anti-Trafficking Review*.
- Denham, W., & Olley, N. (2009). *Victimology: Victimisation and victims rights*. London: Routledge-Cavendish.
- Denscombe, M. (2007). *The good research guide for small - scale social research projects*. (3rd ed.) . London: McGraw - Hill Companies.
- Department of Justice and Constitutional Development. (Government Gazette no

40367, 24 October 2016). *Prevention and Combating of Hate Crimes and Hate Speech Bill, 2016*: Invitation to comment on the Prevention and Combating of Hate Crimes and Hate Speech Bill.

Department of Justice and Constitutional Development. (Act No. 32 December, 2007).

Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Act.

Department of Justice and Constitutional Development. (Act no. 7 of July 2013).

Prevention and combating of trafficking in persons.

De Vos, A. S., Strydom, H., Fouche C. B., & Delpont, C. S. L. (2011). *Research at grass roots: for the social sciences and human services*. (4th ed.). Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.

Dodsworth, J. (2011). Pathways through Sex Work: Childhood Experiences and Adult Identities. *British Journal of Social Work, 42*(3), 519-536. doi:10.1093/bjsw/bcr077

Dworkin, A. (1987). *Intercourse*. New York: Free Press.

Earvolino-Ramirez, M. (2007). Resilience: A Concept Analysis. *Nursing Forum, 42*(2), 73–82. doi: 10.1111/j.1744-6198.2007.00070.x.

El-Bassel, N., Witte, S. S., Wada, T., Gilbert, L., & Wallace, J. (2001). Correlates of Partner violence among female street-based sex workers: Substance abuse, history of childhood abuse, and HIV risks. *Aids Patient Care and STDS, 15*(1), 41-51. Doi:10.1089/108729101460092.

Everall, R., Altrows, J., & Paulson, B. (2006). Creating a future: A study of resilience in suicidal female adolescents. *Journal of Counselling and Development, 84*, 461-470.

- Farley, M., & Kelly, V. (2000). Prostitution: A critical review of the medical and social science literature. *Women and criminal Justice*, 11(4), 29-64.
- Farley, M. (2004). Bad for the body, bad for the heart: prostitution harms women even if legalised or decriminalised. *Violence Against Women*, 10, 1087–1125.
- Farley, M. (2005). Prostitution harms women even if indoors: reply to Weitzer. *Violence Against Women*, 11, 950–964. doi: 10.1177/1077801205276987.
- Fick, N. (2005) .*Coping with stigma, discrimination and violence: Sex workers talk about their experiences*. Cape Town: SWEAT.
- Fischer, C. T. (2006). *Qualitative research methods for psychologists: Introduction to empirical studies*. United States: Elsevier.
- Flak, A. (2011). *Fictional Representation of Migrant Women Involved in Sex Work in inner-city Johannesburg: How does Self-representation compare*. (Unpublished MA dissertation). Forced Immigration Studies, University of Witwatersrand.
- Friedli, N. (2009). *Mental health, resilience and inequalities*. World Health Organisation. Retrived from http://www.euro.who.int/__data/assets/pdf_file/0012/100821/E92227.pdf.
- Furlong, A. (2015). *The sale of sex: The lived experiences of sex workers in a time of criminalisation*. Cape Town: SWEAT.

- Gallup, G., & Maser, J. D. (1977). Tonic immobility: Evolutionary underpinnings of human catalepsy and catatonia. In M. E. P. Seligman & J. D. Maser (Eds.), *Psychopathology: Experimental Models*. San Francisco: W.H. Freeman and Company.
- Gill, P., Stewart, K., Treasure, E., & Chadwick, B. (2008). Methods of data collection in qualitative research: interviews and focus groups. *British Dental Journal*, 204, 291-295. doi: 10.1038/bdj.2008.192
- Gould, C., & Fick, N. (2008). *Selling sex in Cape Town, sex work and human trafficking in a South African City*. Cape Town: SWEAT.
- Gould, C. (2011). Trafficking? Exploring the relevance of the notion of human trafficking to describe the lived experience of sex workers in Cape Town, South Africa. *Crime, Law & Social Change*, 56, 529–546.
- Gottfried, H. (ed.). (1996). *Feminism and social change: Bridging theory and practice*. United States: University of Illinois.
- Graber, R., Pichon, F., & Carabine, E. (2015). *Psychological resilience: State of knowledge and future research agendas*. London: Overseas Development Institute.
- Groenewald, T. (2004). A phenomenological research design illustrated. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 3(1).
- Hammond, W., & Zimmerman, R. (2010). *A Strength Based Perspective*. Retrieved from <http://www.resil.ca/>

- Hanmer, J. (1990). Men, power, and the exploitation of women. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 13(5), 443-456.
- Harcourt, C., O'Connor, J., Egger, S., Fairley, C. K., Wand, H., Chen, M., Y... Donovan, B. (2010). The decriminalisation of prostitution is associated with better coverage of health promotion programs for sex workers. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Public Health* 34(5), 482-486.
- Hekman, S. (2014). *The feminine Subject*. United Kingdom: Polity Press.
- Herrick, A. L., Friedman, M. S., & Stall, R. (2013). Gay men's health and the Theory of Cultural Resilience. In C. J. Patterson & A. R. D'Augelli (Eds.), *Handbook of psychology and sexual orientation*, (pp. 191–203). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Hill, C. A., & Gunderson, C. J. (2015). Resilience of Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Individuals in Relation to Social Environment, Personal Characteristics, and Emotion Regulation Strategies. *Psychology of Sexual Orientation and Gender Diversity*, (2)3, 232–252.
- International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (2008). *A framework for community safety and resilience: In the face of disaster risk*. Retrieved from <http://www.ifrc.org/Global/Case%20studies/Disasters/cs-framework-community-en.pdf>
- Jackson, A. L. (2004). *The History of Prostitution Reform in the United States*. (Unpublished Honours thesis). Knoxville: University of Tennessee. Retrieved from http://trace.tennessee.edu/utk_chanhonoproj/754.

- Janesick, V. A. (2000). *The choreography of qualitative design*. CA: Thousand Oaks, SAGE.
- Jeffries, S. (1997) *The Idea of prostitution*. Melbourne: Spinifex Press.
- Jones, F., & Kinman, G. (2001). Approaches to studying stress. In F. Jones, & J. Bright (Eds.), *Stress: myth, theory and research*, pp. 17-45. Harlow, England: Pearson.
- Jordan, A. (2012). The Swedish law to criminalise clients: A failed experiment in social engineering. US: American University Washington College of Law. Retrieved from <http://www.nswp.org/sites/nswp.org/files/Issue-Paper-4%5B1%5D.pdf>
- Kafle, N. P. (2011). Hermeneutic phenomenological research method simplified. *Bodhi: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, 5(1).
- Keating, J. (2012). Why does Ruth Bader Ginsburg like the South African constitution so much? Retrieved from <https://fpgroup.foreignpolicy.com/>
- Kissil, K., & Davey, M. (2009). *The prostitution debate in feminism: current trends, policy and clinical issues facing an invisible population*. USA: Drexel University, Programs in Couple and Family Therapy.
- Konstant, T., Rangasami, J., Stacey, M., Stewart, M., & Nogoduka, C. (2015). *Estimating the Number of Sex Workers in South Africa: Rapid Population Size Estimation*. New York: Springer Media. doi: 10.1007/s10461-014-0981-y.
- Kwon, P. (2013). Resilience in lesbian, gay, and bisexual individuals. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 17, 371–383. Doi: [org/10.1177/1088868313490248](https://doi.org/10.1177/1088868313490248).

- Labour Appeals Court. (2010). *Kylie v CCMA*, 2010 4 SA 383 (LAC).
- Lakhani, I., & Dlamini, D. (2016). The mother of the child holds the knife on the sharper edge. *Research for sex worker*, 15, 16.
- Lazarus, R. S. (1993). From psychological stress to the emotions: A history of changing outlooks. *Annual Review Psychology*, 44, 1-21.
- Lees, N. F. (2009). *The ability to bounce back: The relationship between resilience, coping, and positive outcomes*. (Unpublished MA thesis). New Zealand, Auckland: Massey University, Department of Psychology.
- Levy, J., & Jakobsson, P. (2013). Abolitionist feminism as patriarchal control: Swedish understandings of prostitution and trafficking. *Dialectical Anthropology*, 37(2), 333–340.
- Levy, J. (2015). *Criminalising the Purchase of Sex: Lessons from Sweden*. New York : Glass House Book, Routledge.
- Ling, D. C., Wong, W. C. W., Holroyd, E. A., & Gray, A. (2007). Silent killers of the night: An exploration of psychological health and suicidality among female sex workers. *Journal of Sex and Marital Therapy*, 33, 281-299.
- Lloyd, A. S. (2015). *Mental Health for the Everyman: World War II's impact on American psychology*. (Unpublished History Undergraduate Theses). University of Washington: Tacoma Campus.
- Luiz, J. M., & Roets, L. (2000). On prostitution, STD's and the law in South Africa: The state as pimp. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 1(18), 21-37.

- Luthans, F., Avolio, B., Walumbwa, F., & Li, W. (2005). The psychological capital of chinese workers: Exploring the relationship with performance. *Management and Organizational Review*, 1(2), 249-271.
- Luthans, F., Youssef, C., & Avolio, B. (2007). *Psychological capital : Developing the human competitive edge*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Luthar, S., Cicchetti, D., & Becker, B. (2000). The construct of resilience: A critical evaluation and guidelines for future work. *Child Development*, 71(3), 543–562. doi:10.1111/1467-8624.00164
- Lyons, E., & Coyle, A. (Eds). (2007). *Analysing qualitative data in psychology*. Los Angeles: SAGE publications.
- Maddux, J. E., Mason G., Gosselin J. T., & Barbara A. (2008). *Winstead Conceptions of Psychopathology: A Social Constructionist Perspective*. USA, Malibo: Pepperdine University.
- Mahlo, F. D. (2010). *Experiences of learning support teachers in the foundation phase, with reference to the implementation of inclusive education in Gauteng*. (Unpublished PHD thesis). South Africa, Pretoria: University of South Africa, Inclusive education.
- Major Agglomerations in the World (2016). Retrieved from:
<http://www.citypopulation.de/world/Agglomerations.html>
- Manoek, S., & Shackleton, S. (2011). SWEAT condemns NPA guidelines on prosecution of sex workers. Cape Town: SWEAT.

- Maslow, A. H. (1943). Theory of human motivation. *Psychological Review*, 50(4), 370-396.
- McAslan, A. (2010). *Community resilience: Understanding the Concept and its application*. Australia: Adelaide.
- McEwen, B. S. (1998). Stress, adaptation, and disease. Allostasis and allostatic load. *Ann N Y Acad Sci*, 1(840), 33-44.
- McMackin, R. A., Newman, E., Fogler, J. M., & Keane, T. M. (2012). *Trauma therapy in context: The science and craft of evidence-based practice*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- McMillan, J. H., & Schumacher, S. (2006). *Research in education: evidence - based inquiry*. (6th ed.). Boston: Pearson Education Inc.
- McNeill, M. (2010). *An older profession than you may have thought*. NY: The Honest Courtesan.
- Mgbako, C.A., Bass, K.G., Bundra, E., Jamil, M., Keys, J., & Melkus, L. (2013). The case for decriminalization of sex work in South Africa. *Georgetown Journal of International Law*, 44(4),1423-1454.
- Murphy, A. & Venkatesh, S. (2006). Vice careers: The changing contours of sex work in New York City. *Qualitative Sociology*, 29, 129–154.
- Neal, N., Schrader, T., Hyndman, J., Boyce, B., Phillips, D., Smith, R...Mukkath, S. (2014). *Street based sex workers need assessment survey*. Toronto, Barrie and Oshawa: Regent Park Community Health Centre.

Nyembe, N., Zacharias, R., Krige, A., Richter, M., Tlhwale, L., & Hunter, M. (2014). *Sex workers and sex work in South Africa: A guide for journalists and writers*. Cape town: SWEAT.

Oliviera, E. (2011). *Migrant women in sex work: does urban space impact on self-(re)presentation in Hillbrow, Johannesburg?* (Unpublished MA degree thesis). Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand.

Orth, U. (2002). Secondary Victimization of Crime Victims by Criminal Proceedings. *Social Justice Research*, 15(4), 313-325.

Outlaw, S., Mackraken, J., & Saunders, P. (2016). Resisting through resilience: US transgender and sex worker led community based research. *Research for sex worker*, 15, 24-25.

Park, N. (2012). Adversity, Resilience, and thriving: A positive psychology perspective on research and practices. In R. A. McMackin, E. Newman, J. M. Fogler, & T. M. Keane (Eds). *Trauma Therapy in Context: The Science and Craft of Evidence-Based Practice* (pp. 121-140). doi.org/10.1037/13746-006.

Patton, M. Q., & Cochran, M. (2002). *A guide to using qualitative research methodology*. MSF.

Peberdy, S., Crush, J., & Msibi, N. (2004). *Migrants in the City of Johannesburg*. Johannesburg: Southern African Migration Project.

Peters, D. (2015). *Sex Work and Feminism*. Cape Town: ASIJKI.

- Peters, D. (2015a). *Sex work and human rights*. Cape Town: ASIJKI.
- Peters, D. (2015b). *Sex work and Labour*. Cape Town: ASIJKI.
- Peters, D. (2015c). *Sex work and The Law: Four possible legal models*. Cape Town: ASIJKI.
- Peters, D. (2016). *Sex work and Religion*. Cape Town: ASIJKI.
- Peterson, C., & Park, N. (2003). Positive psychology as the evenhanded positive psychologist views it. *Psychological Inquiry*, 14, 141-146.
- Pilane, P. (2016). *Sex workers say police destroyed HIV meds and withheld medical care after raids*. Bhekisisa centre for health and journalism: Mail and Gurdian. 12 september 2016.
- Pitts, A. J. (2016). Remembering Bedford: Impacts of criminalisation on street based sex worker. *Research for sex worker*, 15,29.
- Polit, D. F., & Beck, C. T. (2012). *Nursing research: Generating and assessing evidence for nurse practice*. (8th ed.) Philadelphia: JB Lippincott Williams and Wilkins.
- Ponkanen, P., & Jornens, H. (2016). United in Bwaise: Fighting oppression in an Ugandan slum. *Research for sex worker*, 15, 10-11.
- Posel, D. (1993). *The sex market in the inner city of Durban - the economic and social effects of criminalising sex work, and the search for alternatives*. Durban: Economic Research Unit, University of Natal.
- Pudifin, S., & Bosch, S. (2012). Demographic and social factors influencing public

- opinion on prostitution: An exploratory study in Kwazulu-Natal province, South Africa. *Potchefstroom Electronic Law Journal*, 15(4).
- Rangasami, J. (2015). *Good practice guide to integrated sex worker programming: Based on the experiences of the Red Umbrella Programme*. Cape Town: SWEAT.
- Rapp, C., & Goscha, R. J. (2006). *The strengths model: Case management with people suffering severe and persistent mental illness*. New York: Oxford Press.
- Rhoda, G. (2010). *The decriminalisation of prostitution in South Africa: Towards a legal framework*. (Unpublished Magister Legum mini-thesis) Cape Town: University of the Western Cape, Faculty of Law.
- Richardson, G. E., Neiger, B. L., Jensen, S., & Kumpfer, K. L. (1990). The resiliency model. *Health Education*, 21(6), 33-39.
- Richter, M. (2013). Characteristics, sexual behaviour and risk factors of female, male and transgender sex workers in South Africa. *South African Medical Journal*, 103(4), 246-251.
- Ritchie, J., Lewis, J., Mcnaughton-Nicholls, C., & Ormston, R. (2013). *Research practice: A guide for social science students and researchers*. Los Angeles: SAGE.
- Rogers, C. (1986). Carl Rogers on the development of the person-centered approach. *Person-Centered Review*, 1(3), 257-259.
- Rothschild, B. (1997). Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder: Identification and diagnosis. *The Swiss Journal of Social Work*.

- Rutter, M. (2012). Resilience as a dynamic concept. *Development and Psychopathology*, 24, 335–344. doi:10.1017/S0954579412000028
- Sagar, T., Jones, D., Symons, K., & Bowring, J. (2015). *The student sex work project*. Swansea University: Centre for Criminal Justice and Criminology.
- SANAC. (2013). *National Strategic Plan for HIV Prevention, Care and Treatment for Sex Workers*. South Africa, Pretoria: SANAC.
- SANAC. (2016). *The South African National Sex Worker HIV Plan 2016-2019*. South Africa, Pretoria: SANAC.
- Scheibei, A., Richter, M., & Vearey, J. (2016). *Sex work and South Africa's health system: addressing the needs of the underserved*. South Africa: SAHR.
- Scorgie, F., Vasey K., Harper, E., Richter, M., Nare, P., Maseko, S., & Chersich, M. (2013). Human rights abuses and collective resilience among sex workers in four African countries: A qualitative study. *Global Health*, 9(1), 33. doi: 10.1186/1744-8603-9-33.
- Scoular, J. (2004). The subject of prostitution: Interpreting the discursive, symbolic and material position of sex work in feminist theory. *Feminist Theory*, (5), 343-355. doi: 10.1177/1464700104046983.
- Seligman, M., & Csikszentmihalyi, M. (2000). Positive psychology: An introduction. *American Psychologist*, 55(1), 5-14. doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.55.1.5

- Shaver, F. (2005). Sex work research: Methodological and ethical challenges. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 20*(3), 296-319. doi:10.1177/0886260504274340.
- Simbayi, C. (2008). 5th African Conference on Psychotherapy. Cape town: HSRC.
- Singer, M. (2011). Toward a critical biosocial model of eco health in Southern Africa: The HIV/AIDS and nutrition insecurity syndemic. *Annals of Anthropological Practice, 35*(1), 8-27. Doi: /10.1111/j.2153- 9588.2011.01064.x/full
- Sloan, A., & Bowe, B. (2014). Phenomenology and hermeneutic phenomenology: the philosophy, the methodologies and using hermeneutic phenomenology to investigate lecturers experiences of curriculum design. *Quality & Quantity, 48*(3),1291-1303.
- Soanes, C., & Stevenson, A. (2006). *Oxford dictionary of English* (2nd ed.). UK: Oxford University Press.
- Sonke Gender Justice. (2014). *Decriminalising Sex Work: Reducing Gender Based Violence*. Cape Town: SWEAT.
- Sonn, C., & Fisher, A. T. (1998). Sense of community: Community resilient responses to oppression and change. *Journal of Community Psychology, 26*(5), 457–472.
- Statistics South Africa. Retrieved from [http//. www.statssa.co.za](http://www.statssa.co.za)
- Southwick, S., Bonanno, G., Masten, A., Panter-Brick, C., & Yehuda, R. (2014). Resilience definitions, theory, and challenges: interdisciplinary perspectives. *European Journal of Psychotraumatology, 5*(25338). doi: org10.3402/ejpt.v5.25338

SWEAT (n.d). *Position Paper on Sex Work in South Africa*. Cape Town: SWEAT.

SWEAT. (2015). *Good Practice Guide to integrated sex worker programming: Based on the experiences of the Red Umbrella Programme*. Cape Town: SWEAT.

The National Strategic Plan on HIV, STI's and TB 2017-2022.

South Africa, Pretoria, SANAC.

USAID. (2012). *Applying science to strengthen and improve systems: A new five-year cooperative agreement in the USAID office of health systems*. USA: University Research Co, LLC.

UNAIDS. (2015). *UNAIDS Terminology Guidelines*. Geneva: UNAIDS.

Unger, M. (2005). *Handbook for Working with Children and Youth*. CA: Thousand Oaks, Sage Publications.

Van der Berg, S., & Van Broekhuizen, H. (2012). Graduate unemployment in South Africa: A much exaggerated problem. *Working Paper, 22*. Retrieved from <http://resep.sun.ac.za/index.php/research-outputs/stellenboschworking-papers/wp2012/>.

Van der Watt, M. (2015, May 16). Human trafficking in South Africa: an elusive statistical nightmare. *The Conversation*. Retrieved from <https://theconversation.com>.

Vandepitte, J., Lyerla, R., Dallabetta, G., Crabbe, F., Alary, M., & Buve, A. (2006). Estimates of the number of female sex workers in different regions of the world. *Sex Transm Infect, 82*(3), 18-25.

Vanwiesenbeeck, I. (2001). Another decade of social scientific work on sex work: a

- review of research 1990-2000. *Annual Review of Sex Research*, 12, 242–89.
- Wald, J., Taylor, S., Asmundson, G., J Kerry L. Jang, J., K., & Stapleton, J. (2006). *Literature review of concepts: psychological resiliency*. Toronto: DRDC.
- Weatherall, A., & Priestley, A. (2001). A feminist discourse analysis of sex work. *Feminism & Psychology*, 11(3), 323–340.
- Weitzer, R. (2005). Flawed theory and method in studies of prostitution. *Violence against women*, 11(7).
- Wertz, F. J. (2014). Qualitative Inquiry in the History of Psychology. *Qualitative Psychology*, 1(1), 4–16. doi: 10.1037/qup0000007
- Woodward, C., & Fischer, J. (2005). Regulating the world's oldest profession: Queensland's experience with a regulated sex industry. *Research for Sex Work*, 8.
- Wolin, S. J., & Wolin, S. (1993). *The resilient self: How survivors of troubled families arise above adversity*. New York, NY: Villard.
- Women's Legal Centre. (2011). *Every sex worker, human rights defender*. Cape Town: WLC.
- Women Legal Centre. (2012). *Legal proceedings papers*. Cape Town: South Africa.
- Wong, W., Holroyd, E., & Bingham, A. (2011). Stigma and sex work from the perspective of female sex workers in Hong Kong. *Sociology of Health & Illness*, 33(1), 50–65. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-9566.2010.01276.x
- World Aids Campaign. (2010). *Sex work and the law: Case for dicriminalisation*.

Amsterdam, Netherlands.

Yuen, W., Wong, W., Tang, C., Holroyd, E., Tiwari, A., Fong, D., & Chin, W. (2013).

Evaluating the effectiveness of personal resilience and enrichment programme (PREP) for HIV prevention among female sex workers: A randomised controlled trial. *Bio Med Central Public Health*, 13,13-683. doi: 10.1186/1471-2458-13-683.

The proposed research may now commence with the proviso that:

- 1) *The researcher/s will ensure that the research project adheres to the values and principles expressed in the UNISA Policy on Research Ethics.*
- 2) *Any adverse circumstance arising in the undertaking of the research project that is relevant to the ethicality of the study, as well as changes in the methodology, should be communicated in writing to the Psychology Department Ethics Review Committee.*
- 3) *An amended application should be submitted if there are substantial changes from the existing proposal, especially if those changes affect any of the study-related risks for the research participants.*
- 4) *The researcher will ensure that the research project adheres to any applicable national legislation, professional codes of conduct, institutional guidelines and scientific standards relevant to the specific field of study.*

Please note that research where participants are drawn from Unisa staff, students or data bases requires permission from the Senate Research and Innovation Committee (SENRIC) before the research commences.

Appendice 2: Consent form

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Title: “Exploring Resilience among Female sex Workers in the City of Johannesburg”

Researcher: Lawrence Lekau Mamabolo

Section A:

I the participant hereby confirm the following:

1. I/the participant was invited to participate in the above research project which is being undertaken by Lawrence Lekau Mamabolo of the Department of Psychology in the School of Social Science and Humanities at the University of South Africa.

2. The following have been explained to me:

2.1.Aim

The research aims to explore resilience among female sex workers in Johannesburg.

2.2.I understand that:

- 2.2.1. Participation in this study is voluntary and I have the right to change my mind at any time during the study.

2.2.2. I am free to withdraw this consent and discontinue participation without any loss of benefits. My decision whether or not to participate will in no way affect me now or in the future.

2.2.2. The researcher has the right to discontinue the interview if the information I have to divulge is emotionally sensitive and upsets me to such an extent that it hinders me from functioning physically and emotionally in a proper manner. Furthermore, if participating in the study at any time jeopardises my safety in any way, it will be discontinued.

2.3.Risks

The research topic might induce sensitive emotions.

2.4. Use of audio tape/recording

I further give the researcher consent for the interview to be tape recorded in order to help with the quality of the research. Neither my voice nor any other identifying information will be associated the audio recording or transcript. The tapes will be erased once the transcriptions are checked for accuracy in accordance with UNISA Research Ethics Policy.

2.5. Confidentiality and anonymity

You will not be asked to identify yourself by name or in any other manner so that your anonymity will be assured, pseudonyms will be used for places and people interviewed during the research. Any sensitive material will be secured in a locked

filing cabinet. The results of the study will be reported in terms of the entire group, not in terms of individuals.

3. Language and participation

The information above was explained to me by Lawrence Mamabolo in Afrikaans/English/Sotho/Tsonga/Zulu/other_____ (indicate other language) and I am in command of this language/it was translated to me satisfactorily by _____ (name of the translator). I was given the opportunity to ask questions and all these questions were answered satisfactorily.

No pressure was exerted on me to consent to participate and I understand that I may withdraw at any stage from the study without any penalty.

Participation in this study will not result in any additional cost to me.

Section B:

I HEREBY CONSENT VOLUNTARILY TO PARTICIPATE IN THE ABOVE PROJECT.

Participants Signature: _____ Date: _____

Researchers Signature: _____ Date: _____

Appendice 3: Interview Schedule

Demographical Details

AGE IN YEARS (Tick the appropriate box)									
18-24		25-30		31-35		36-40		41- UPWARDS	

RACE (please tick that applies to you):									
Black		White		Coloured		Indian		Other: specify	

LEVEL OF EDUCATION (please tick appropriate box)									
Some primary School		Secondary/High School		Certificate/Diploma					
Degree		No formal education							

Interview questions

Please tell me about yourself?

How did you end up working as a Sex Worker?

What kind of challenges do you encounter during sex work?

Share with me an incident where you think you were stigmatised or marginalised as a sex worker and how did you deal with it.

How do you cope with challenges you encounter during sex work?

What do you think can be done to make the challenges you face bearable or less harmful?

How do you feel about being a sex worker?

Tell me how do you spend your day during the week and on weekends?

Where do you get support from when you feel like you are not coping or need to share something about sex work?

What do you think can be done in general to reduce dangers associated with Sex Work in South Africa?

Review of the session

How do they feel about the session?

Is there anything they want to add that I did not ask and think it might add value to my research?

Any other questions?

Appendice 4: Participant information Sheet

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Title: “Exploring Resilience among Female sex Workers at the City of Johannesburg”

Programme: MA Research Psychology: Department of Psychology, UNISA

Researcher: Lawrence Lekau Mamabolo

Dear Prospective Participant

My name is Lawrence Mamabolo and I am doing research under the supervision of Mr. Khonzi Mbatha, lecturer in the Department of Psychology towards a Master’s Degree in research Psychology at the University of South Africa. We are inviting you to participate in a study: “Exploring Resilience among street based Female Sex Workers in Johannesburg”.

In view of the fact that you are well-informed about the topic (Sex Work), I hereby approach you with the request to participate in the study. For you to decide whether or not to participate in this research project, I am going to give you information that will help you to understand the study (i.e. what the aims of the study are and why there is a need for this particular study). Furthermore, you will be informed about what your involvement in this study will entail (i.e. what you will be asked/or what you will be requested to do during the study, the risks and benefits involved by participating in this research project, and your rights as a participant in this study).

As you know that Sex work is a criminal offence, virtually throughout Africa, and in South Africa it is currently illegal under Sexual Offences Act (23 of 1957). This criminalisation and the intense stigma attached to the profession shapes interactions between sex workers and their clients, family, fellow community members, and societal structures such as the police and social services. The long waiting hours for business, risks of being verbally abused, physically attacked, raped or even robbed by clients, along with the stigma attached to sex work and other related personal life circumstances are together highly stressful.

I am conducting this research to explore factors which make street based Female Sex Workers in the city of Johannesburg to be resilient in their occupation even though they are working in these appalling conditions. As a prospective participant you were chosen because you can provide the researcher with relevant facts as well as first hand experiences on being a Female Sex Worker in Johannesburg. At least 10 (ten)street based Female Sex workers will be invited to participate in the study.

The study involves gathering some demographical data and semi-structured interviews for 30-45 minutes describing and explain how you have been coping working in the occupation thus far. The interview will be undertaken at your workplace at your most convenient time. Participation is voluntary and that there is no penalty or loss of benefit for non-participation. If you do decide to take part, you will be given this information sheet to keep and be asked to sign a written consent form. You are free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason.

The findings can help in developing programmes and policies that will increase resilience in sex work by organisations which advocate on behalf of Sex Workers like SWEAT and SISONKE. There is no risk involved as all information will be kept anonymous and confidential, however the researcher is going to utilise your time which might cause some discomfort or inconvenience to you if you have a busy schedule.

With your permission, the interview will be audiotaped. The recorded interviews will be transcribed word-for-word. Your responses to the interview (both the taped and transcribed versions) will be kept strictly confidential. The audiotape(s) will be coded to disguise any identifying information. The researcher will assure the participants that anything that will be discussed during the research would be kept confidential and would not be used for purposes other than this study. The recordings that will be made during the research process will ensure that the whole discussion is captured and provide complete data for analysis. This means that cues that will be missed the first time can be recognized when listening to the recording good quality transcribing will include tone and inflection, because only a small portion of the message is communicated in actual words.

As a participant you are assured that all information that is provided would be strictly confidential and that your identity would not be revealed in any record or report and that there would be no link between the data and the participants. To ensure this, code or pseudonym on names for participants and places will be used.

The researcher and the supervisor will have access to your answers and may be reviewed by people responsible for making sure that research is done properly, including the transcriber, external coder, and members of the Research Ethics Review Committee and will be shared with academic society after completion of study. Otherwise, records that identify you will be available only to people working on the study, unless you give permission for other people to see the records. Hard copies of your answers will be stored by the researcher for a period of five years in a locked cupboard/filing cabinet for future research or academic purposes. Electronic information will be stored on a password protected computer. Future use of the stored data will be subject to further Research Ethics Review and approval if applicable. Hard copies will be shredded and/or electronic copies will be permanently deleted from the hard drive of the computer through the use of a relevant software programme. The researcher will use UNISA Research policy to destroy the electronic data. There will be no payment or reward for the study. This study has received written approval from the Research Ethics Review Committee of Psychology Department (UNISA) and a copy of the approval letter can be obtained from the researcher if you so wish.

You are not obliged to take part in the research. Your decision to participate, or not to participate, will not affect you in any way now or in the future and you will incur no penalty and/or loss to which you may otherwise be entitled. Should you agree to participate and sign the information and informed consent document herewith, as proof of your willingness to participate, please note that you are not signing your rights away.

If you agree to take part, you have the right to change your mind at any time during the study. You are free to withdraw this consent and discontinue participation without any loss of benefits. However, if you do withdraw from the study, you would be requested to grant me an opportunity to engage in informal discussion with you so that the research partnership that was established can be terminated in an orderly manner.

As the researcher, I also have the right to discontinue the interview if you fail to follow the instructions or if the information you have to divulge is emotionally sensitive and upsets you to such an extent that it hinders

you from functioning physically and emotionally in a proper manner. Furthermore, if participating in the study at any time jeopardises your safety in any way, the interview will be discontinued.

Should I conclude that the information you have shared left you feeling emotionally upset, or perturbed, I am obliged to refer you to a counsellor for debriefing or counselling (should you agree).

You have the right to ask questions concerning the study at any time. Should you have any questions or concerns about the study contact the following people or organisations:

- If you would like to be informed of the final research findings or want to contact the researcher about any aspect of this study please contact me please contact me on lekaulaw@gmail.com.
- Should you have concerns about the way in which the research has been conducted, you may contact the research ethics committee on 012 429 2088 or nyamanj@unisa.ac.za.
- Should you need assistance regarding counselling, advocacy or legal advice contact Sex Worker Education and Advocay Taskforce (SWEAT) helpline on 0800 60 60 60 or 011 331 0077.

Thank you for taking time to read this information sheet and for participating in this study.

Lawrence Lekau Mamabolo (Researcher)