Damage and womanhood in the lives of female prostitutes in Zambia

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Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis has not been and will not be, submitted in whole or in part to another University for the award of any other degree.

Signature:

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Abstract

This thesis is about the life histories of twenty prostitutes located in Zambia. It aims to answer the following questions:

1. What are the experiences of female prostitutes in Zambia and how can they be understood in a Zambian context?
2. What is the relevance of Zambia's colonial past to prostitution?

What has become of my thesis in answering these questions is a study centred around a concept known as " the damage" that emerged from my data. The "damage" is a term that is applied to women who have had sex outside of marriage, who then become spoiled and consequently known as 'damaged'.

My study examines the origins of this "damage" and in so doing acknowledges that because Zambia is a postcolonial country, it is likely that this idea of "damage" has come about through a process of cultural hybridity. This argument was premised on the "damage" sharing many similarities to the mid-to nineteenth century 'fallen' or 'loose' woman, which were imported to Zambia through colonialization and then evolved within this specific context. When a woman becomes 'damaged' she becomes subject to various forms of stigmatisation that impact her daily. My study consequently contributes to existing work on stigma theory as it examines the many challenges that my participants face as women, as prostitutes, and as 'damaged' living on the continent.

My study also contributes to existing work on African feminist/womanist theories as it looks at the significance of indigenous womanism/feminisms in my participants lives. It does so because these movements claim that they can liberate all African women. What my thesis argues, however, is that in actuality these theories instead exclude a large portion of women from their movement, such as my participants, and so are in some ways reinforcing the stigmatisation that they already experience. My study concludes with a call for indigenous feminist/womanist theories to be revisited. It asks for theorists to look at incorporating women like my participants who, despite not being representative of the 'idealistic' African woman, still embody many of the same values. These values include a type of African womanhood that is ultimately about motherhood, about community, about working in conjunction with men, all of which my participants take on, simply in their own unique way.

A note on language

The language choice of 'prostitute' has been used in this thesis because of its cultural appropriacy. When I started working on this research, I used the terminology 'sex worker' as opposed to 'prostitute' when referring to my participants. I did so because as a researcher residing in the UK, I was aware of the stigma surrounding the label of 'prostitute' in the west and the fact that sex workers' rights movements typically advocate for distance from its usage. 'Sex work' as opposed to 'prostitution' became a concept that stemmed from the western movements of the 1970s formulated to depict the exchange of sex for money as a form of labour, not a social identity. The concept was formulated through the voices of women associated or living within the western world. In contrast, sex workers in Africa and other developing countries have had little or no voice or influence over the agenda of the movement (Česnulytė, 2015:1161). When conducting research in the Zambian context, it became quickly apparent that my participants themselves self-identified as 'prostitutes'. This strengthened the notion that the term 'sex worker' is mostly relevant to the west and therefore inappropriate to this study. In acknowledgment of this, I have since referred to my participants as 'prostitutes' in the write up of this thesis.

The term prostitution is used according to the definition that it denotes an:

> …agreement between two or more persons in which the objective is exclusively limited to the sexual act and ends with that and which involves preliminary negotiations for a price (UNAIDS 2000).

The word 'prostitute' is used with the understanding that it is a person who 'receives money or goods in exchange for sexual services, either regularly or occasionally' (ibid).

Table of Contents

Chapter One: Introduction

This thesis applies an indigenous African feminist and womanist framework to explore the phenomenon of female prostitution in Zambia. My thesis also looks as Zambia as a postcolonial country and its relevance to prostitution, as well as a concept that emerged from my data known as " the damage". It is informed by a female prostitute community living in a compound in the Zambian capital city, Lusaka, through documenting their agentic practices, lived and historical experiences, negotiations of damage and HIV risk and the 'effects of structural processes' for these women (Sommer and Parker 2012). Ultimately my research develops an understanding that engaging in prostitution can be an valid decision for women, especially when located within acutely constrained circumstances, whilst being acknowledged and supported by indigenous movements.

Research questions

The main question I aimed to answer through this research is:

1. What are the experiences of female prostitutes in Zambia and how can they be understood in a Zambian context?

In doing so, I also tackle the following sub-questions:

a. What is the relevance of the country's colonial past to the contemporary experiences of female prostitutes in Zambia?
b. What types of feminist frameworks can be used to understand these experiences?

These questions have framed my research, enabling me to identify the key issues for these women and how I as an outsider could understand them. As my research progressed, however, the focus became about the notion of "damage" which is an existing cultural discourse in Zambia that is also being developed as a sociological concept in this thesis. The damage relates to stigma as it is the idea that a woman has become "spoiled" by sexual contact outside of marriage and sometimes by having an illegitimate child. This woman then becomes stigmatised across multiple platforms because of this damage. The concept of damage, however, differs and advances stigma mainly because the damage is always gendered, it is only ever applicable to women. The damage intersects with prostitution in the sense that a prostitute is defined as a damaged woman. My thesis explores this idea of "damage", seeking to identify where it comes from, what its implications are for those affected, and how can it be understood. The impact of the damage likely extends into the lives of women well beyond this study, as it is embedded in Zambian laws and has become a social norm in the community. As there are several political questions that surround damage, I have looked at indigenous African feminisms/womanisms to see how, or if at all, they can contribute in mitigating this concept of damage.

My thesis used a multi-method approach, primarily consisting of a life history methodology that used a semi-structured interview technique to interview twenty women, all of whom self-identified as having been prostitutes at some point in their lives. My research also used an ethnographic approach, involving participation and observation at a non-governmental organisation (NGO) located in Lusaka, Zambia that enabled me to gain access to, and build a rapport with, these women. The findings gathered from my methodological approach have developed my existing grounding in African feminist/womanist issues, theoretical perspectives, ethical issues, methodological choices and the relationship between these.

Whilst I recognise that my results are representative of only a small number of women, the narratives collected through this research serve to raise awareness of an understudied population, and as well as unexplored issues surrounding female prostitution and damaged women in Zambia. In doing so, my thesis gives recognition to women's voices, like my participants', which are yet to be heard. The issues raised by my research may also be relevant to comparable sub-Saharan countries, where prostitution, sex outside of marriage more generally, and single motherhood are similarly stigmatised. Moreover, my research may also have relevance to other post-colonial countries that, like Zambia, are still experiencing the long-lasting effects of colonial rule on indigenous people, especially women. Sultana (2007:375) explains that when conducting international fieldwork, being attentive to the 'histories of colonialism, development, globalization and local realities' is crucial in the production of non-exploitive research. In striving to be institutionally, politically and materially sensitive to relevant colonial histories whilst undertaking this study, my research builds on existing and new work to create authentic research that locates prostitution in both a historical and contemporary context (Sultana 2007:375; Nagar 2002).

Why prostitution?

Within contemporary western societies, since as early as the 1960s we have seen complex, ongoing debate surrounding the legitimacy of prostitution and sex work. Specifically, there has been much discussion regarding the extent to which sex work reinforces existing gender inequalities and the micro/macro elements of oppression, discrimination and domination that sustain it. The splintered thinking amongst the various feminist factions have been dubbed the 'sex wars'[1], with conflicting empirical findings and theories emerging from each side to support their ideologies and subsequent views on sex work and prostitution. Barry (1995:32) argues that

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[1] This also broadly refers to debates amongst feminists concerning female sexuality and sexual activity more generally, sex work is one strand of this discussion.

anti-sex work feminists have branded sex work as 'unmitigated oppression', and that such feminists participate in the 'slamming' of female sex workers (FSW) whilst demonstrating an arguable lack of perseverance in understanding the complexity of their lives. One example of such radical thinking is feminist, Cornell (2000), who argues that a male subjugated society is still in existence and that seemingly willing participation in sex work comes from pervasive conditioning as to the inferiority of women. Contemporary pro-sex work feminists counter such perceptions by arguing that sex work allows women to creatively express and empower the 'self', in giving women the right to 'say yes' (Volpe 2013). Carol Leigh, a self-proclaimed sex worker further notes that women should be empowered to make their own choices regarding their body (cited in Ditmore 2006:156). The criminalization of sex work further complicates and segregates these women and their human rights. Liberal feminists continue to push for the legalization of prostitution, arguing that through legalization, the exploitive and abusive aspects of commercial sex can be regulated (Hamington 2010:131, Ditmore 2006:347).

Prior to embarking on this research, I was interested in these debates around sex work that have taken place in the western context. However, as I explored the literature further, it became apparent that research on prostitution in developing countries was almost non-existent. There seems to have been a surprising and overwhelming disinterest in studying prostitutes of the global south, resulting in a vast disparity in our understanding of the experience of women in developing countries engaging in prostitution and sex work compared to the west. Through this research I hope to contribute towards bridging this gap.

Whilst some sex-work studies, such as Bell (2009) 'A Feminist's Argument on How Sex Work can Benefit Women', have attempted to counteract societal stereotypes of the sex worker and to avoid portraying them as an 'interchangeable' woman. Ironically these attempts have merely reinforced the notion that the female 'experience' is analogous, despite notable differences in location, experience and identity. Lorde (1984:116) explains that the women's movement of today typically focuses on the oppression of women as a joint category and often ignores differences that exist amongst women. There is often a 'pretence to a homogeneity of experience covered by the word sisterhood that does not in fact exist' (Lorde 1984:116; Moraga and Anzaldua 1981). It is crucial to study the experiences of women in developing countries, rather than assume the salience of the existing literature to women globally.

Prostitution continues to be a taboo topic in indigenous African academia. Prostitution is illegal in the majority of African countries, despite it being a widespread occurrence. The illegal status of prostitution likely contributes to it being silenced within indigenous academia. Some examples of African countries where prostitution and procurement (i.e. soliciting, facilitating, or

living off the earnings of prostitution) remains illegal include: Angola, Equatorial Guinea, Eritrea, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Kenya, Liberia, Mozambique, Namibia, Rwanda, Somalia, South Africa, Tanzania, Uganda, and Zambia (Mgbako and Smith 2011: 1182-1183). According to Mgbako and Smith (2011), the only African country where prostitution is legal is Senegal. Consequently, prostitutes have often been alienated from any assistance and have been neglected within academia (Baleta 2015:e2), despite commonly having become victims of physical abuse, stigmatisation and criminalisation (Baleta 2015:e1-2). Evidently there is much need for raising awareness of prostitution and the stigma associated with it in the global south. Acknowledging the work of Benoit et al. (2018), prostitution research holds the potential to contribute to law reform and social policy changes, and encourage much-needed overall change in society.

Why female prostitution?

The scope of my thesis is further focused through the lens of gender, specifically exploring the experiences of women for several reasons. First, female prostitution is more common in African countries in comparison to that of men or transgender people. This is likely because women in sub-Saharan African countries are less likely to seek paid sex from men because of the 'socially sanctioned and accepted norms' in a society that typically define women as motherly and 'virtuous' (Ebila 2015:145). By contrast, men in the majority of African cultures are expected to fulfil a traditional, patriarchal role, taking the place at the 'head of household'. They are generally expected to function as the financial provider and have greater rights to education and employment than women. Women have fewer financial opportunities due to the limited scope of available paid work, often resulting in them becoming more prone to entering prostitution in comparison to men. I elaborate further on the reasons for this in Chapter Two of this thesis. The second reason for my focus on women stems from the fact that I personally identify as female. I would likely encounter more barriers to conducting qualitative interviews and overcoming the researcher 'outsider' status if I were to interview participants of the opposite gender (Sultana 2007:374; see also Bhopal 2010). It is also likely that ethical approval would be more difficult to obtain if I were to attempt to study men due to the various institutional safety protocols.

Why Zambia?

I was originally drawn towards Zambia because of my ethnic background and the ties that I have to the country. I assumed that having cultural familiarity with Zambia would allow for easier access to research participants. From an academic perspective, Zambia seemed especially pertinent to the study of female prostitution. Between the years of 1898 to 1964, Zambia was known as Northern Rhodesia and was under British colonial rule. Zambia gained its

independence on October 24th, 1964 (see Okoth 2006:113; Parpart 1994). With colonialism came a change in the structure of laws, the courts and gender norms. The penal code, for example, that was imported into Zambia by British colonial state powers and has since remained. The penal code proclaims that whilst the act of selling or buying sex in-itself is not criminalised, those living off wages earned through prostitution and soliciting for any purposes deemed 'immoral' could be arrested. Other offences related to prostitution include violating nuisance laws through the disruption of 'peace' in society (Meerkotter 2012:52).

Gender norms became significantly impacted through the introduction of the "good wife", a representation of the woman that should be aspired to, portrayed in various media campaigns. The employment of men became prioritised over women and women were expected to remain at home and look after the children (Parpat 1994:256). The education of boys became prioritised over girls, with boys encouraged to become professionals and pursue further education whilst girls were encouraged to learn domestic skills to maintain the household and a (Evans 2014a). I touch on the impact of colonialism on Zambia in more depth in chapter two where I argue that such imported colonial laws and its impact on gender norms likely contributed to the stigmatisation of prostitutes today.

Since the 1980's, records have shown that up to 73 per cent of Zambians live below the poverty line and Zambia was ranked one of the world's poorest countries by 1987 (Saasa 2002: 46; Kiremire 2006:24). In modern day Zambia, unemployment rates have reached as high as 50 per cent (ibid). However, women have been especially affected, with more than half of the country's women not being 'in gainful employment' (ibid). The economic strain has continued and the lack of employment, especially for those without an education, has remained most notable amongst women. Perhaps because of this, prostitution has flourished. In August 2002, the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) proclaimed that the significant increase in poverty in Zambia would encourage a significant increase in prostitution 'if food contingency measures' remained unaddressed (Kiremire 2006:18; Talbott 2007:7).

Moreover, the HIV epidemic that has escalated in tandem with prostitution is of major concern for sub-Saharan Africa. UNAID (2010-2014) reported that out of ten countries documented in sub-Saharan Africa, nine of these had HIV rates higher than 25 per cent (Baleta 2015:e1). Girls and women have been recorded as very reluctant, not only to get tested, but also to get treated, because of the stigmatisation surrounding HIV. As a result, 'Girls and women have been dying on the streets from sexually transmitted infections and HIV' (Baleta 2015:e2). Over the last decade, the HIV prevalence among female prostitutes in Zambia has been recorded at 68 per cent (Scambler and Paoli 2008:1853). As a consequence, prostitutes have been widely blamed

for the spread of HIV in Zambia (Talbott 2007:7), and in making female prostitutes scapegoats this has further contributed to the stigma associated with prostitution.

Thesis outline

My thesis begins with an exploration of the history of Zambia and by addressing its current economic and social state so as to provide some context for this thesis. It has been stated that one must explore the past to better understand the present (Forsdick and Murphy 2009). This opening chapter aims to determine whether and to what extent Zambia's colonial past is connected to the rise and implications of prostitution as it stands today.

To demonstrate how colonialism has impacted upon the people of Zambia, especially the women, Chapter Two is divided into five themes that were inspired by my data: Christianity, bride wealth, education, employment and prostitution. Using statistics and the limited literature that was accessible to me (due to women's past and present experiences generally being underexplored in indigenous academia), the chapter argues that the legacy of colonialism has had a significant impact on women. I argue that women have become more dependent on men because a range of social and economic opportunities were taken from them and/or restricted during the colonial era. These restrictions have continued long after independence when women remained 'treated as dependants' with 'limited independent property and inheritance rights which were not contingent on marriage or familial ties' (Byrne 1994:3). I argue that the economic restraints have likely contributed significantly to the rise of prostitution because of the lack of alternative opportunities available to women to earn a living.

In Chapter Three I continue exploring the impact of colonialism on Zambian women, but also on 'African women' generally. Within this chapter I also introduce my theoretical approach to this study. I acknowledge that despite having easier access to literature on western theories, given that I was raised and reside in the west, and that I am being educated in this context also, it would be ethically inappropriate to conduct a study on Zambian women using western frameworks. I consequently explore various African feminist/womanist theories that I argue are more 'relevant' to my research and participants. African feminism/womanisms stress the need for indigenous researchers to distance themselves from western theories, particularly mainstream feminisms, because they are supposedly irrelevant to African women living in African countries. The African theorists that I draw upon in my study are not so much concerned with gaining social equality with men, as are their counterparts in western feminism(s). They argue that social equality already exists, only in different ways to how it is defined in western language (Adams, Blumenfeld, Castañeda, Hackman, Peters and Zúñiga 2000:37). Gender issues in the African(a) 'world' are not the same as they were in the west and

therefore gender inequality is not a chief concern because biological difference is appreciated, arguably more so than it is in the west (Hudson-Weems 2004:25). The indigenous theories I explore are more concerned with the value of motherhood, traditional family structure, nurturing and complementarity that they believe are more relevant to African culture. Other concerns noted also include co-wives, female circumcision and extreme poverty (Arndt 1998:4).

However, I argue that despite indigenous theories being more relevant to my research, they have some significant limitations, the main limitation being their tendency to be exclusive. The theories described in this chapter are established as guilty of categorising women and defining who can be 'representative' of an African woman. This consequently excludes many groups of women, including my participants, who appear to be outliers to their descriptors. I conclude my literature review chapter by noting that because indigenous theories ultimately fail to explore taboo categories and define a restricted "type" of woman that they represent, they have created a somewhat exclusionary movement. Whilst these theories are not necessarily the cause of the stigmatisation that exists for these groups of women, I argue that they are contributing to their stigmatisation by failing to take on a truly collective approach.

Chapter Four addresses the methodology of my study and explores how a multi-method approach came to shape my thesis. This chapter outlines my research design and discusses the high-risk nature of the study. The chapter addresses the need for a sound, qualitative methodology when conducting research on sensitive topics and addresses the ethical considerations that have been raised by my study.

In Chapter Five I offer a case study which presents four edited life story narratives and diary extracts from participants in my study. I chose these particular case studies due to their narratives appearing less frequently in my results chapter, in comparison to some of my other participants and wanting to give recognition to all my participants, where possible. The chapter provides limited narration or analysis in order to truly let my participants stories speak for themselves. The aim of this chapter is to provide readers with more insight into my participants lives and experiences, prior to presenting my analysis on the damage in the chapter that follows.

My analysis begins in Chapter Six where the concept of "damage" emerges. I explore where it originates, its impact, its implications and how can it be understood. Since I theorise that damage is the result of the impact of colonialism on gender relations and sexual morality, I discuss the English legal codes that have been adopted into Zambia to condemn and punish prostitution. I also explore how the Christian morals that I touched upon in Chapter Two have come to position these women as "sexual deviants". This combination of English legal codes

and Christian morals have significantly contributed to the stigmatisation of prostitution. The prostitute is consequently defined as a damaged woman.

Within this chapter I also look at the laws surrounding 'virginity damage', which requires the person who causes such "damage" to pay a fee as a form of "compensation" to the woman's family for the loss of her virginity. This is established by the narratives of my participants as being closely linked to bride price. Since bride price is established in Chapter Two as having been commodified by colonial state powers, and because damage and bride price have a close relationship, my suggestion of damage being a result of the impact of colonialism on gender relations and sexual morality and the hybridity of cultures is formed.

My analysis then turns to a discussion of whether/where 'damaged' women, such as my participants, would fit into African feminist/womanist theories. I conclude that, like the prostitute, 'damaged' women also fall short of being representative of a "true" African woman; I reiterate that African feminist/womanist theories are in this way exclusionary and echo the discourses that stigmatise prostitutes and damaged African women. I close this chapter with a discussion on alternative versions of womanhood that exist, as depicted by my participants. I further conclude that these African feminist/womanist expectations of the African woman have been influenced by colonialism and the west and adopt a certain degree of a homogenized global culture, despite attempts for distance and to be wholly unique. I therefore question whether this notion of a "true" African woman can ever truly be authentic again anyway, free from all western influence when located in a postcolonial context, emphasising the continuance of colonial ideologies and cultural hybridisation.

In Chapter Six I conclude by elaborating upon my argument that damage is related to stigma and is an example of cultural hybridity. I state that neither western nor indigenous frameworks offer a full framework for dealing with this issue of damage and I therefore call for indigenous theories to be revisited. Ultimately my research presents a clear gap that exists between African feminism/womanism and prostitution and stresses the need to find a way to bring them closer together in order to truly create an empowering movement for all African women.

Chapter Two: The effects of colonialism on Zambia's past & present

I now turn to a discussion on the impact of colonialism within Zambia, including its consequences for gender relations, as well as on the rise of prostitution and the stigma associated with prostitution. In doing so, this chapter explores four relevant themes; Christianity, the commodification of bride wealth, education and employment, and the rise of prostitution.

Zambia was known as Northern Rhodesia prior to becoming an independent republic on 24th October 1964. Northern Rhodesia was under British colonial rule from 1898 to 1964 (see Okoth 2006:113; Parpart 1994).

The Rise of Christianity

The impact of colonialism is visible across many African countries, particularly with regard to indigenous religion. When colonial state powers invaded Africa there was a significant increase in the uptake in European religion, especially mainstream Christianity. The Roman Catholic Church made contact with Zambian people from as early as 1730, formally establishing its mission post in northern Zambia in 1891 (see Hinfelaar 2004). The Anglican and Dutch Reformed church were soon established by 1911. The shift from mission to church saw a number of churches spread across Zambia with the Protestant Church becoming the largest church in the country (Sakupapa 2016:70).

Ogungbile (2015:292) explains prior to this, traditional religions (e.g. the Yoruba religion and Islam) were practiced on a large scale in African countries. For instance, in Nigeria the Igbo[2] people typically followed the belief in Chukwu (a supreme being) in their religion named Odinani. However, colonial state powers from the 1970s onwards restricted the practice of traditional religion, and most people of Igbo today follow Christianity, although some still practice Odinani in conjunction with Islam or Christianity. Due to limited literature available on Zambia, the Nigerian context in this sense is helpful for understanding Zambia as we can assume that there are some similarities in experiences (the British colonised Nigeria in 1884). Similar restrictions in the practice of native religion became a widespread occurrence across Africa (including Zambia), resulting in widespread conversion to Christianity across the continent.

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[2] An ethnic group native to south-eastern and south-central Nigeria

In the Zambian 'pre-Christian era', the majority believed in a High God that resembled 'monotheistic world religions', similar to most European religions. The difference, however, was that the 'High God/deity' was not 'active' for the people in everyday life as that 'space was occupied by the spirit realm' (Taylor 2006:28). The 'spirit realm' encompassed multiple and diverse spirits, ancestral spirits, nature spirits and the individual (ibid). Taylor (2006:27) explains that whilst some Zambian people still practice and believe in an 'array of traditional African religious beliefs' in the present-day, during the colonial era, Christianity took precedence. Interestingly, conversions to Christianity have grown significantly in recent decades, with the Protestantism taking precedence. In Africa there were an estimated 8,756,000 Christians by 1990, which made up approximately 1.6 per cent of the total worldwide Christian population. 'By 2005, the number of African Christians had grown to 389,304,000, or approximately 18.5 per cent of the global Christian population' (Oladipo 2016:87). Ogungbile explains the acceptance of Christianity as follows:

> [In African thinking] one can express religious faith in a multitude of ways, particularly through events and experiences of daily life—dancing, singing, naming ceremonies, and so on. [There can be no doubt that] …their open access to the spiritual world prepared Africans for the acceptance of Christianity - in the Christian context, for the Holy Spirit. (2015:292)

The role of the church took precedence in independent Zambia when born again Christian president Frederick Chiluba was appointed in the 1991 election, 'officially' declaring Zambia a Christian nation (Oladipo 2016). According to Carmody (2007:109), 'The conversion of the local people to some form of Christianity became an important aspect of Zambian life.' The Census of Population and Housing shows that in 2010, 95 per cent of the Zambian population were Christian with the majority following the Protestant Church (more than three fourths) and the remainder, the Roman Catholic Church (Van Klinken 2017:12). Other religions include Hinduism which can also be recognised as a colonial import (ibid). Since the 1970's, the specific strand of Christianity that has seen popular acceptance is Pentecostalism, which has seen vast growth in Zambia, Nigeria and other African countries, representing a major social movement through its 'born-again conversions' (Pereira and Ibrahim 2010:922). The success of Pentecostalism across Africa, according to Pereira and Ibrahim, has been largely due to its capacity to incorporate traditional African cultural and religious practices (2010:926). For example, by offering instructions on how to 'overcome the destructive forces of evil' whilst offering the promise of 'health and wealth'(ibid). Pereira and Ibrahim (ibid) further explain, Pentecostal organisations 'continually emphasise their capacity to widen access to jobs, contracts and welfare facilities', which likely appeals to economic vulnerability (ibid). Moreover, Pentecostalism became known as a 'political religion' with its 'claim to bring about collective renewal' and 'has shaped public culture and political debate' (ibid).

As shall see throughout this study, Christianity has a particularly problematic relationship with prostitution as it directly conflicts with the morals and ethics imparted through the Bible. For example, according to the Bible, 'The body is not meant for sexual immorality, but for the Lord, and the Lord for the body.' Moreover, God asks that people be sexually pure, as 'It is God's will that you should be sanctified: that you should avoid sexual immorality' (see 1 Corinthians 6:13; 1 Thessalonians 4:3 NIV). Likewise, Deuteronomy 22:21 reads:

> Then they shall bring out the damsel to the door of her father's house, and the men of her city shall stone her with stones that she dies: because she hath wrought folly in Israel, to play the whore in her father's house.

Such themes permeate the Christian faith, which has often equated sex with sin and inhibits women specifically from pursuing sexual desires outside the safe confines and power structures of the heterosexual marriage relationship. Consequently, countries with a strong Christian influence typically have disapproving attitudes towards prostitution (Tukker 2013:1-8; see also Miller 2011).

Although there is no evidence to suggest that indigenous religions were once tolerant of prostitution prior to the emergence of Christianity, arguably from the Christian faith came a set of more rigid beliefs about gender. In Zambia the emergence of Christianity during the colonial era has been documented as having significantly impacted gender relations (Olajubu 2003:vii; see also Ogunbado 2012). Churches 'prompted female subservience and modesty', which was communicated and also transmitted via the media, government social welfare and mining companies, as a 'European way of life' but also as the 'right way of life' (Evans 2014b:347-349; Mitchell 1956:15, see also Chanock 1998; Parpart 1988). Similarly, across Africa, the rise of Christianity brought a significant push towards marriage and heterosexual reproduction, which typically vilified sexual relations outside marriage and consequently heightened such disapproving attitudes towards prostitution (Pereira and Ibrahim 2010:926).

The Commodification of 'Bride Wealth'

I now turn to a discussion on bride wealth and the connected concept of bride price, through which women are commodified. I argue that this commodification is a direct consequence of the impact colonialism had on the Zambian economy. This discussion is relevant to my thesis since this historical context is crucial in answering the question of how the concept of "damage" may have originated, and this emerges as a key theme later in my analysis of the data.

Bride wealth (also referred to as 'lobola' in Zambia), can be described as the exchange of gifts, money or a form of wealth to the family of the bride, paid by the family of the groom or the groom himself. Bride wealth was traditionally paid in the form of various gifts e.g. cattle or a small financial donation. In the Bemba tribe in Zambia, gifts of small value commonly included bark cloth, (handmade over a few days) were used in the exchange for marital rights (Ault 1983:188). Culturally, bride wealth was symbolic of respect and a token of appreciation for the family's daughter. Historically, women had an input in the 'price', which arguably gave her a certain level of economic independence and autonomy (ibid). Importantly, bride wealth differs from the 'dowry' ritual that occurs in India, which goes from the bride's family to the groom's family to compensate the groom for taking on responsibility of a woman (Ogundipe-Leslie 1994:211). This is the opposite concept because in Zambia, traditionally the money that was paid to the bride's family was to do with compensating the bride's family for their daughters labour that the grooms household would benefit from and offspring she would produce (see Haviland et. al. 2015:259).

According to many African scholars, e.g. Ogundipe-Leslie (1994) and Oyěwùmí (1997), western cultural norms and practices that were introduced through colonial invasion had a negative impact on this African tradition of bride wealth. The introduction of taxes caused an economic strain on the African nation, as colonised countries experienced depressed economic activity. In Zambia, natives lost land and were drastically affected in the area of trade and the labour market (see Kaniki 1995; Ogbu 1978). Such effects of colonialism were widespread across Africa, having an impact on economic activity and the escalation of a cash economy. In this context, bride wealth become more focused on money transactions. The gifts that were exchanged more frequently became about the exchange of cash, in order to meet obligatory heavy taxation and loss of finances that had exploited Africans and aided the colonising nations (Ogundipe-Leslie 1994:211). Payment prices consequently inflated and colonial state powers changed the terminology of bride wealth to 'bride price' which impacted its traditional meaning and people's modes of thought (Morris and Phillips 1971:50; Ogundipe-Leslie 1994:211). Bride wealth became more controlled and financially focused and concentrated on the accumulation of cash payments in attempts to heal economic instability and financial deprivation. Morris and Phillips (1971:50) argues that with this colonial impact bride then became commodified.

Paying what is now known as a 'bride price' became the norm, even for tribes that had not practiced this tradition prior to colonialism. Even independent African churches that 'were known to have had considerable success in stabilizing urban marriages' increased their charges to a comparable extent (Ault 1983:189). The increase in bride price then made it difficult for men to marry women due to affordability. Women were encouraged by their fathers to desire a

man who they could profit from financially (Morris and Phillips 1971:50). By 1934, in the rural areas of Zambia bride price required the 'equivalent to one and one half months' wages of an unskilled worker' (ibid). This pattern of extreme 'bride pricing' spread across Zambia. Judges in 1949 Zambian matrimonial court cases even 'went beyond traditional practice by refusing to recognise marriages where there had been no bride price paid or no formal registration' (ibid). As an example of the impact, Shadle (2003:241) describes how during the early 1940s in Gusii land, Kenya, bride price increased 'to unheralded levels' and resulted in young couples eloping because they could not afford a 'proper marriage'. Shadle (ibid) also notes that some daughters were forced to marry men they did not wish to simply because they were wealthy.

In Zambian culture today, if the bride price is paid and the marriage ends in divorce, typically the bride price must be returned (see Haviland et. al. 2015:259). Moreover, in cases of adultery, the wife or her family must pay "damage" fees for her misdemeanour (Ault 1983:189). If the family cannot afford to pay back the bride price, often the woman remains trapped in an unhappy marriage. So, although the inflation in bride price may be a result of colonialism, bride price has remained a cultural requirement in Zambia post-colonialism that restricts women from leaving unhappy marriages. This can be argued to be a cultural issue that has stemmed from colonial influence, as it is within tradition that there is this potential to be disempowered (see Forkuor et. al. (2018:34-43). Prior to the inflation of bride price, if a wife were to leave her husband, the bride wealth or gift that needed to be returned would have been of significantly lower in value, meaning that leaving a marriage was more achievable. Such consequences highlight the negative effects of the commodification of bride wealth, which I have argued is a result of colonial impact.

Whilst colonialism is largely seen in a negative light, there are some arguments however that the invasion of colonial state powers left some positive changes. For example, the colonial marital court system that was introduced during colonial invasion actually worked in favour of women in many ways across African countries. In Uganda, for example, women were granted the right to initiate divorce, which arguably empowered women by enhancing their awareness of their rights, including their right to leave unhappy marriages (Parpart (1994:241). According to Parpart (1994:245) a district commissioner in Zambia 1918 stated that it had enabled independence for women. This suggestion however that women were not aware of their rights prior to colonialism links to arguments of indigenous theorists such as Nnaemeka (1998) who claim that the west wrongly creates the image of African women as victimised within their community. This representation of African women as needing to be saved by the west is a discussion that I return to throughout both my literature and results chapter of this thesis.

In addition, by early 1900s, divorce in Zambia had become what is described by Parpart (1994:245) as an 'easy matter'. Parpart (ibid) states divorce as an 'easy matter' could be said to have 'ruined' traditional family structures that hold significant importance to the 'makeup' of African communities. Although women might have more rights to divorce, they also have limited means to support themselves and their children financially due to restricted employment rights/opportunities, placing them at risk of acute poverty. Also, whilst having the right to divorce arguably created more independence for women, African culture is argued throughout my thesis as being grounded on traditional family formation. Consequently, even though divorce rights can be positive in the sense that it gives women more rights, these rights clashed with the morals of traditional family that were there before colonial powers invaded. It could therefore be argued that this is a way in which African culture has been shaped or diluted by colonial influence.

Education & Employment

There is an expectation in African communities that a woman's primary role is to be a wife and mother, and a man's is to be the head of the household. Western scholars often refer to such norms as being 'oppressive' (see Roth 2004:101-103), whilst indigenous scholars typically counter argue such representations, stating that gendered roles like this are an authentic part of African culture that are actually empowering to African women; a discussion I also return to in my literature review. However, I argue that indigenous constructions of femininity were impacted by the west, during the colonial period in two key ways: first, through education and second, through the employment sector.

Education

Colonialism encouraged gender segregation through the introduction of the education system. In numerous African countries, 'educational policies of the colonial state served the interests of White male-dominated colonial socio-economic order' (Gordon 1994:132). Colonial state powers created limitations in the number of people, typically Black people, who could be educated. As a result of such limitations, African men were usually prioritised over African women.

Throughout the 1930s to 1960s, girls were taught domestic skills, prioritising the art of needlework, whilst boys were encouraged to become professionals (e.g. lawyers) through the elite schools (Evans 2014a). Young women were encouraged to become mothers and wives, to take on the homemaker role, while young men were encouraged to pursue further education (see Nnaemeka 1998:44; Evans 2014a; Ferguson 1999; Parpart 1988). Parpart (2001:278) highlights

colonial British expectations of women. Partpat (ibid) describes a girl boarding school at the Zambian Copperbelt, in the mid colonial period (1940s-1950s), that had 'a moral mission of creating town-bred girls who can become good wives and mothers in an urban environment'. This has been argued as inflicting 'male-centred and male-dominated European and Arab cultures' that, according to the works of Zulu Sofola, resulted in African women suffering to a significant level (cited in Eze 2011:59). According to Oyeronke Oyěwùmí (1997), this is similar to the Yoruba society[3] where, prior to colonisation, there were no gender differentials and it was through the Eurocentered global capitalism that they were introduced. Oyewumi argues that colonialism brought the oppressive gender systems into African countries that subordinated women (Lugones 2007:195; Oyěwùmí 1997).

The legacy of these colonial biases is that men continue to be favoured in the present day Zambian schooling system. According to Soudien et al. (1999:423-423), in 1985, girls made up only 42 per cent of those enrolling in schooling at primary level and 1987 saw only 14 per cent of those graduating as female. These figures remained approximately the same up until 1992 (ibid). Discriminatory practices have restricted girls' access to education, with two boys admitted for everyone girl at secondary level (ibid). However, these practices have since been addressed with help of NGOs such as The Zambian Association for Research and Development (ZARD) (ibid). According to Bowman and Brundige (2013:42-43), whilst measures have been made to address gender inequality in the school system, access to education for many girls is still restricted. Records for 2015, for example, show the literary rate for women between the ages of 15-24 in Zambia at 58.5 per cent, in comparison to the male rate of 70.3 per cent (ibid). In secondary education, the dropout rates for girls remains significantly higher. Pregnancy, early marriage and economic status have been recorded as the main factors in these dropout rates (ibid). This argument is supported by the qualitative comments derived from participants in the present study, many of whom were left with a limited education after they were forced to leave the school system at a young age for the above reasons. I will elaborate upon this in Chapter Five of this thesis.

Employment

Similar to education, the employment sector prioritised hiring men over women, resulting in women becoming increasingly dependent on men. Prior to colonialism, it could be argued that African women were culturally empowered in several sectors. This was around the same time that women in the west were fighting for the right to be freed from sex-based, class-based and patriarchal oppression (see Bulbeck 1998; MacKinnon 2005; Phillips 1950). Historically,

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[3] A large ethnic group in Western Africa, the majority of which can be found in Nigeria

women in Zambia were able to work outside the home as well as in it. They were involved in farming alongside men and enjoyed economic activities that also included hunting and fishing (Mikell 1997; Steady 1996; Sudarkasa 1987). Women could be village chiefs, occasionally female warriors and were also involved in trade and craft production. Lugones (2007:203), in her writing on 'Heterosexualism and the Colonial/Modern Gender System' notes, African women in the U.S that were slaves were not considered weak in comparison to white women:

> Historically, the characterization of white European women as fragile and sexually passive opposed them to non-white, colonized women, including women slaves, who were characterized along a gamut of sexual aggression and perversion, and as strong enough to do any sort of labour.

Lugones argues that the portrayal of colonised women as fragile came with colonisation. Further examples of pre-colonial roles occupied by African women included: 'religion (priestly roles), the economy (commerce and trading), medicine (as herbalists and midwives), environment (maintenance of the compound, streets and markets) and family life (childbearing and rearing)' (Nnaemeka 1998:454). Colonial state powers then invaded African countries and attempted to construct femininity using images of white middle class women of that time that were often depicted as fragile and domesticated.

In 1850, pre-independent Zambia saw an influx of European settlers, typically navvies, missionaries and traders, entering Northern Rhodesia via the Western Province, 'the Lozi Kingdom' (Amberntsson 2011:141). Northern Rhodesia became a community dependent on the global copper market, living 'on the periphery of the international economic system' (Fraser 2010). It became a time of 'profound instability in the economy' due to the 'booms' and 'busts' in the copper market. Up until the 1920s, copper mining had proved profitable, however shortly after 1929, the Great Depression struck (see Fraser 2010; Parpart 1994). Hansen (1984:224) notes, towns that were not mining towns, such as Lusaka, demonstrated limited economic potential. This resulted in an increasing number of 'able bodied' male workers being moved to the Copperbelt, leaving unemployed wives and families behind. Men being sent to the mines without their wives was a common practice across Africa (see Ditmore 2006:110). Government officials granted village chiefs the right to deny women from travelling to towns, further restricting their ability to find work. To ensure that this was enforced, government officials and chiefs set roadblocks up along travel routes.

By 1935 the majority of men worked away from home, employed by white settlers on commercial farms and industries, whilst women became relegated to roles within the household. Since housing was only provided for those in formal employment, women at the Copperbelt often sought a male partner, attempting to partake in what was known as a 'pick-up' marriage:

i.e. a 'townswoman' taking on the role of the housewife without actually being married, offering her 'services' of any kind including cooking, cleaning, or pledge her children to a man in the hope he would marry her (Hansen 1984:226). Parpart (1994:252) notes, 'it was easier to be registered as a man's wife than to continue trying to evade officials and find adequate housing'.

According to Parpart (1994:256), colonial authorities also launched various media campaigns, to emphasise the image of the 'loyal migrant wife'. The glorified "good wife", as portrayed in African newspaper Mutende, was depicted as a woman who remained at home to look after the children whilst the man goes away to work (ibid). Women and children that were expected to stay in rural areas remained under patriarchal control, living solely off male wage earners as their dependents. In the 1950s, women looked to their husbands as the 'breadwinner' and 'master of the household' and 'sought to secure respectability' by only associating with 'reputable women' (Evans 2014b: 349; Parpart 2001; Chauncey 1981:150). The wage levels supplied to these workers were constructed through the colonial governments ideal 'subsistence wage'. This wage could provide only 'minimal services – inadequate rations, poor health facilities, and limited schooling' for the remaining women and their children (Parpart 1994:247).

In post-colonial Zambia, according to the 1968's Census Bureau of Categorised Servant Labour, 36,491 men were employed as servants in comparison to only 1,758 women (Hansen 1986:18-19). Although there grew an amplified need for economical labour, white women still chose not to employ women in their households due to the western idea of African women having a 'sexual nature', resulting in men still replacing women in domestic service.

By 1987, Zambia was ranked as one of the worlds 15 poorest countries due to its external debt escalating to $7.2 billion (Kiremire 2006:24). She further notes that according to statistics, the country's debt was equivalent to each person theoretically having amassed $1000 worth of debt (ibid). Unemployment rates reached 50 per cent and over half of the women in Zambia were unable to find employment. The government had only allocated a budget of 3 per cent for education, resulting in a significant proportion of Zambian women being further denied from gaining the school certificates needed for future employment. Since the employment system continued to be significantly gendered, and traditional African female roles had diminished there were not many roles that were left for women.

However, there has been work done in recent years to address gender imbalances in the workplace and several movements on increasing gender equality in the employment sector have

been addressed. Evans (2014c) for example in her article on the gender divisions of labour in Kitwe, Zambia, show that roles that were once dominated by men are now filled by women. Although there is still a long way to go in dealing with the noticeable gender imbalances that still exist, there has been growing support for women in the employment and educational sector. It has been said that this is partly due to the recognition of shared economic difficulties. I return to this discussion in my literature chapter when I explore why indigenous feminisms/womanisms aim to create a culture based on 'complementarity' (ibid).

The Rise of Prostitution

My chapter now looks at the reasons the number of women engaging in prostitution have flourished in Zambia. Like my discussions so far, I argue that this is as likely the result of the impact of colonialism on gender relations and sexual morality. Existing literature suggests that it was during the time of missionaries entering Northern Rhodesia and frequently paying local women to satisfy and address their sexual desires that the rapid increase in prostitution first begun (Mazala 2013:2). Male domestic servants, identified as 'Cook Boys', were encouraged to gather women that would sell sex to their European employers. These women were disguised as 'Cook's Women' to enable the prolongation of selling these sexual services (Hansen 1989:88; Mazala 2013:4). Due to the predicament after colonial invasion, where there were fewer job opportunities for women, prostitution became an escalating 'opportunity' and more women resorted to selling sex/sexual pleasure to men (Hansen 1984:223, 228; Parpart 1994:250). Such women became known as 'comfort women' as opposed to 'prostitutes', as they provided a boost of morale to the workers, whilst also providing an income for themselves. Some women tried to avoid prostitution, generating an income selling 'commodities', including beer and prepared foods. However, these proved unprofitable and problematic as by 1945, selling beer became prohibited. Post 1945, the prevalence of prostitution rose significantly, as for many women this became their only means of income. Selling sex for profit/survival enabled both married and unmarried women to pay government taxes, food and rent; for some, it gave them at least an element of independence. It could also be argued that this rise in prostitution contributed to a change or reform in the moral character of indigenous people.

Engagement in prostitution was particularly high at the Copperbelt mines due to the many male migrants being away from their wives and families. According to Parpart (1994:252), women gained access to the 'single men's mining quarters' at night by introducing themselves as a sister or sister-in-law. Single women would also loiter around the mine compounds and beer halls soliciting. The women selling sex at the Copperbelt were able to provide for themselves financially, many of whom were reported to be living better financially than the few women

who were employed. It was a survival strategy that seemed to be working adequately at this time for these women. As a result, women in neighbouring compounds and villages too started to engage in selling sex or sexual favours to urban workers. Women continued with this 'strategy' until they were able to find alternative means of a more reliable income and housing, primarily through marriage. This was not unique to Zambia as similar mine-based prostitution was common across many African countries (see Ditmore 2006:110). For example, in Lagos, Nigeria, prostitutes 'settled near military camps' where 'sexual labour of prostitutes became indispensable' (ibid). In colonial Nairobi, prostitutes were able to use this 'wealth' made though prostitution to invest in land property (ibid).

To deter prostitution in Northern Rhodesia, single women were expelled from town. Prostitutes who were caught were severely punished by the urban colonial courts. When Zambia became independent in 1964, it inherited the British colonial laws. The penal code under current Zambian law proclaims that the act of selling or buying sex in-itself is not criminalised. Prostitutes at present can be arrested under the following offences: soliciting for purposes that can be deemed 'immoral', living off 'wages' earned through prostitution, violating nuisance laws and for keeping a room/house to use for prostitution (Kiremire 2006:23-24). The penal code consequently makes it complex for prostitution to occur without violating the law and accordingly makes it uncomplicated for prostitutes to be prosecuted by law enforcements (Meerkotter 2012:52; Crago 2014). According to Meerkotter (2012:52) a 'common prostitute', refers to a person 'idle' and/or 'disorderly' and is someone who behaves 'indecently' in public, an individual that disrupts the 'peace' and those that are deemed as 'common prostitutes' can face up to one year in prison. The immorality associated with prostitution appears to exemplify cultural hybridisation, linking the local to the global. I argue this as there was an evident assumption that the British colonies viewed the indigenous population as unable to govern themselves and thus needed British colonial laws (Davie and Mclean 2017:933). The various punishments of women selling sex imposed by colonial authorities or influenced by imported colonial laws that remained can also be argued as likely contributing to the stigmatisation of these women.

Prostitution in Zambia Today

Prostitution in Zambia today predominately takes the form of street and bar-based prostitution (bars being the common prostitution venue) (Crago 2014:375). Later in my thesis I note that prostitutes are typically identified by their clients through their symbolic clothing of "short skirts" and "excessive" make up. The women leave the bar together with their client and go to the clients vehicle, or as noted by my participants in my thesis a bush or their "Queen mother's" house (i.e. the leader of a small cluster of prostitutes) to engage in sexual intercourse.

As Zambia remains in an economic and health-related crisis, Prostitutes (as noted earlier) have become the scapegoats for HIV in Zambia, with little exploration or endeavour into how to aid or understand the lives of these women. This has resulted in the ineffective stigmatisation and 'regulation' of these women. Crago (2014:367) uses twenty-six interviews with prostitutes to depict the 'domestic anti-prostitution policy' that was in place between 2004-2008 in Zambia in attempt to regulate and control the rise of HIV through prostitution. Two key policy changes occurred that affected prostitutes in Zambia extensively, firstly the imposition of a curfew, making it illegal to be in the streets after 10pm that supposedly aimed to control street crime (but was seemingly focused on prostitution), and secondly, the blaming of prostitutes for the widespread HIV on a national scale. According to Crago (2014:374, 369), the state repression of prostitution aimed to 'protect' the wider nation from HIV, to 'safeguard' the world from Zambia's prevalent HIV and to 'revalorise and redevelop local spaces' through excluding prostitutes from them and displacing them to another space. The state regulation of prostitution depicted prostitutes as 'endangered', diseased and perilous to women, families and the wider nation (Crago 2014:366). Prostitutes were controlled by being arrested and subjected to regular physical and sexual violence from the police and authoritative forces. Men found in the street after 10pm were assessed individually, women, conversely, were 'gender rendered' and 'de facto subject to disciplinary surveillance'; gender roles in society had been structured through the social and economic experiences (Foucault 1977, cited in Crago 2014:369; Hansen 1986). This ineffective and improper 'crackdown' of prostitution in response to the HIV epidemic aimed to perpetuate prostitutes in the media and community as vectors of disease, typically HIV. It has resulted in the societal exclusion of prostitutes and increased stigmatisation towards them, as well as contributing to the vast overcrowding of prisons throughout Zambia (ibid). This practice of scapegoating prostitution for the spread of sexually transmitted was a common practice even outside of colonised countries. For example, Halsted (2011:270) notes in early twentieth-century Polish lands, there was a sudden spike in syphilis contamination. Municipal health commissioners have likewise blamed the 'poor women selling sex on the city streets' as the primary 'vector of venereal infection'.

This portrayal was particularly clear in 2007 when Zambian politician Chishima Kabwili released the following public statement that spread across various media platforms: 'Unless we arrest all the prostitutes on the streets, AIDS in Zambia will never cease' (Crago 2014: 367). Prostitutes have been consequently encouraged to go to church in order to "reform" and show redemption for their "sins" and burden to the wider nation of which I touch on later in my thesis through my participants stories.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored how colonialism has impacted gender relations in Zambia, specifically with a focus on the implications for prostitution. It has established that due to the denial of opportunities for women and their desperate need for income, there became a notable rise in prostitution. It is also argued that the introduction of Christianity promoted female subservience and modesty, which has likely contributed to, or caused, stigma of prostitution. Moreover, my thesis later argues that Christianity has likely contributed to the stigmatisation of the damage - a concept that emerges in my results chapter. This is because the damage and prostitution work closely together, in the sense that the "damage" is associated with promiscuity and prostitutes are depicted as 'damaged' women. I have also argued in this chapter that bride wealth has been impacted by colonialism. Bride wealth is later depicted in my thesis as having links to damage 'payments'. This is because 'damage payments' exist as a form of compensation where there is a loss of bride price. This chapter therefore creates the groundwork for my later argument that, like the commodification of bride wealth, the damage is likely to have been a result of the impact of colonialism on gender relations and sexual morality.

This chapter has also argued that colonial authorities encouraged women to be mothers, wives and to take on the role of the homemaker. I have argued that, prior to this, African women were culturally empowered in several sectors simultaneously, occupying roles that included warriors and village chiefs. Acknowledgement to this is useful for my research as my thesis establishes that indigenous perceptions of 'traditional' roles likewise include the woman as a wife and as a mother. Indigenous theorists however argue these roles as authentic and true to indigenous culture. My study presents these expectations of 'the African woman' as problematic in that indigenous theories aim to be free from all western influence and, as argued in this chapter, these expectations have all contributed to the process of cultural hybridisation. I argue that these theories, which aim to be empowering, instead adopt a degree of homogenized global culture. In this way, colonialism has an impact on gender relations and sexual morality.

Chapter Three: Literature Review

My research is located in Zambia and is ultimately about a concept unique to Zambia known as " the damage". As a Zambian woman, researching Zambian women, I found it necessary to look for a culturally appropriate framework. As a result, my thesis has moved away from using western feminist theory and grounds itself in indigenous African feminist and womanist frameworks. The frameworks used in my study argue the need for developing countries to be 'liberated from the west' and urge academics to utilize indigenous theory where appropriate. The variant African feminist and African womanist indigenous models that have come to frame this research include: Obioma Nnaemeka's *Nego-Feminism* (2004), Akachi Adimora-Ezeigbo's *Snail-Sense Feminism* (2012), Chikwenye Okonjo-Ogunyemi's *African Wo/Man Palava* (1995), Clenora Hudson-Weems *Africana Womanism* (1995) and Catherine Acholonu's *Motherism* (1995). The first half of this chapter gives an overview of what is distinct to each of these models. However, the focus is primarily on the shared values of motherhood, family structure and complementarity that are most relevant to this research. My research intends to extend the arguments produced by the variant African feminism/womanisms listed and expand these arguments to include a more detailed exploration and understanding of prostitution and sex work in African countries.

I continue my chapter with a discussion on gender equality and liberation and look at how the meaning of these concepts, when located in an 'African' cultural context, differ from their meaning in the west. To do this I acknowledge liberal feminism, from which it is 'believe[d] that men and women are born equal and thus deserve equal treatment without any hindrance' (Ortenblad et al. 2017:5). Whilst some western feminists recognise that men and women can be treated differently and can still be liberated, mainstream feminism typically puts equality at the core of its movement. Fighting for equality with men, when located in the developing countries, is not a priority for indigenous theorists.

My literature review closes with a discussion on the stigma of prostitution in Africa and in African literature. This is relevant to my research as my participants self-identify as, and are known by the community as, prostitutes. I conclude with a conversation as to where, if at all, prostitutes fit into these African feminist and womanist theories that aim to represent all African women.

Liberation from the West

I now turn to a discussion on mainstream feminism. This is important because it could be argued that mainstream feminism would have been a more relevant framework to use for my research. This is ultimately because they are able to offer a pro-sex work movement that is more inclusionary to prostitutes (and therefore my participants), in comparison to indigenous frameworks. My chapter now discusses why, despite this; it has been important for my thesis to move away from mainstream feminism.

Feminism

In the early to mid-nineteenth century, feminism was known as the Woman's Suffrage Movement. The movement began when a group of liberal white women in America came together to fight for women's issues that included equal rights for all, regardless of their sexual orientation, class, or race and an end to slavery (Hudson-Weems 2004:20). The 'first wave' American feminist movement, led by Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, predominantly focused on the right to full citizenship for women, including achieving the right for them to vote (ibid). Similarly, the Women's Suffrage movement in England formed two different groups (Suffragettes and Suffragists) that typically focused on campaigning for women's right to vote and to be able vote on a par with men.

The term 'feminism' was conceptualised to describe political and social movements as well as ideologies designed to fulfil the 'needs' and requirements of a specific group. White feminist Catherine Clinton explains that feminism, however 'primarily appealed to educated and middle-class white women, rather than Black and White working-class women', let alone women located on the African continent (Hudson-Weems 2004:24). Western 'feminisms were not originally designed with the African woman in mind and 'people of colour theorise differently' (Barbara Christian 1995, cited in Nnaemeka 2004:381). Feminism however is complex and it has different meanings for different people. Typically, a feminist can be anyone who says they are a feminist. Essentially feminism could also be depicted as an incredibly inclusive movement and it has in the past included black women. There were African American women participating in the women's suffrage movement, for example Sojourner Truth gave a speech at the second Annual Convention of the American Woman Suffrage Association rights convention in 1871. Rosa Parks and Ida B Wells were African American activists whose activism worked on various civil and women's rights that included anti rape initiatives (Baker 2002:52). Contributions to feminism from black women and women of colour in western countries exist. However, despite all of this, what has become understood as mainstream feminism in the popular imagination often hasn't included these women. For many, feminism as it has been practiced in the mainstream remains commonly understood as having a 'white face'.

African academic Ezeaku (2014) has argued that feminism is an ideology that women of the western world use to "de-womanise" African women (Ezenwanebe 2015:264; Zulu Sofola 1972). Nnaemeka (1998), amongst other African feminists including Ama Ata Aidoo (1982), similarly argue that there is a 'weak' and assumptive portrayal of the African woman caused by the west. For example, in photojournalism, the African woman is stereotyped as having too many children and being 'too hungry' to feed them. She is an old "third world" woman 'with a permanent begging bowl in her hand' (Nnaemeka 1998:30). This is comparable to work by Zubair and Zubair (20017:18), who argue Muslim women as too often portrayed as uneducated, victimised and domesticated. All these representations of course are in contrast to the 'self-representation of western women as educated, modern, and having the freedom to make their own decisions' (ibid). Chinua Achebe, cited in Moyers and Flowers (1989:343), states that western feminists need to learn the art of listening to African women as follows:

> [They need] to see Africa as a continent of people – just people, not some strange beings that demand a special kind of treatment. If you accept Africans as people, then you listen to them. They have their preferences.

According to Barrow and Millburn (1990:128), feminism is 'a label for a commitment or movement to achieve equality for women'; it is concerned greatly with 'sexual equality' and aims to create equal opportunities for women. Whilst these kinds of concerns may exist for African women, they are not a high priority (Arndt 2002:32). African women, according to Hudson-Weems (2004:27), may have concerns regarding the African man however this need be 'addressed within the context of African culture':

> The context of political, economic, cultural, social forms and mechanisms of oppression such as racism, neo-colonialism, (cultural) imperialism, capitalism and imperialism, religious fundamentalism, as well as dictatorial and/or corrupt systems. Moreover, issues that have not been traditionally defined as feminist, such as access to clean water and housing, must be included. (Arndt 2002:34)

Feminism is a wide ideology that is culture based and culture centred. Because of this, western women cannot speak on issues they have not experienced and cannot identify with, therefore it is an ideology that is not entirely appropriate for my research. It is impossible to create an international homogeneity of feminism when cultures across the globe are so distinct. Western feminism, as stated by Aidoo (1982:41), can attempt to interpret African culture and can attempt to be inclusive of women from developing countries, however it will never represent their true lived experience. Each country has its own feminist politics which are created according to its own historical and present day issues. Examples of this include experiences of racism in colonial Rhodesia and Mugabe's postcolonial government, the 1967 civil war in Nigeria, homosexuality imprisonment in Zambia, Tanzania, Namibia (to say a few), the 'religious

fundamentalism of Boko Haram in Nigeria' etc (Chaudhry 2013:60). Zubair and Zubair (2017:18) emphasise that if researchers continue to promote 'the epistemological hegemony of white men (and women) at the centre of knowledge' then we will be responsible for the further marginalisation.

Black Feminism

Black feminism was a term created in the west by African American women with experience of living in the west. According to black feminist Bell Hooks (1984), black feminism rejected the stand alone term 'feminism', as it did not describe black feminist concerns. Black feminism was introduced due to the silencing of 'black issues that did not directly affect white heterosexual women'. This consequently led to black women and 'other marginalised groups of women, splitting from the mainstream second-wave feminist movement' (Painia 2012: 9-10). Audre Lorde (1984:116) explains that white women focused on their own oppression and ignored the differences in race, sexual preference and age.

Whilst Black feminism is a step in the right direction for the empowerment of African women and would be a more appropriate framework for my study than feminism, indigenous African academics typically reject any association to it. According to Nnaemeka (1998:449), there is a need for African women to differentiate themselves from black feminism as well as mainstream feminism as ultimately it was also created in the west. Likewise, Julie Hare explains, black feminism 'is not a word that describes the plight of black women' and terminology is critical to definition (cited in Hudson-Weems 2004:15). Black women residing in the west who have never experienced developing countries cannot claim a "sisterhood" with these women, simply because they share the same race. Past and present experiences/issues that they face will differ (*see* Nzegwu 2003 and Hooks 1982). Chikwenye Ogunyemi (cited in Arndt 1998:4) states:

> We cannot take the African-American situation and its own peculiarities and impose it on Africa, particularly as Africa is so big and culturally diverse. When I was thinking about womanism, I was thinking about those areas which are relevant to Africans, but which Blacks in America cannot deal with […] like extreme poverty and in-laws' problems, such as older women oppressing younger women, women oppressing their co-wives or men oppressing their wives. Religious fundamentalism is another such African problem that is not really relevant to African-Americans.

Similarly, in The Dilemma of Being in Between Two Cultures, Emecheta (1989) argues that western black feminists do not worry about schooling because those living in European countries are well off in comparison to those living on the continent. Nor do they worry about buying land and planting on it (cited in Granqvist and John 1989:19). As well as this, issues of bride-price experienced are also typically not of western concern (Bennett 1995:180).

Having studied postcolonial feminism during my undergraduate years and because of the reasons discussed so far, I wanted to avoid creating a singular "third world" woman out of my participants. As my study involves both African people and African culture I wanted to make efforts to avoid lumping my participants together into a 'timeless and ahistorical group', in which a singular similarity is assumed, and to avoid discursively depicting my participants as victims of traditional cultures and male control (Deckha 2011:133; Moraga and Anzaldua 1981; Mohanty 1991:53). I consequently looked for indigenous movements that acknowledge the religion, location and internal disparities that exist between African women and those of the west (Narayan 1997). However, what I have since established as my research has progressed, is that whilst I wanted to move away from all discussion involving the west, colonial influence over African people is still very much present in their culture, tradition and social structure. The presence of the west in African culture is a discussion I later return to in this work as I establish that because of this, colonial influence is also very much present in indigenous movements that argue for uniqueness and originality.

Theoretical Frameworks

My chapter now maps out the indigenous African feminist and womanist frameworks that I use in my thesis. These theories were designed by female African academics in attempt to create distance from mainstream feminism and black feminism, arguing that they reside outside of western influence. The movements surfaced in the 1980's, flourishing in the 1990's and were believed to be more relevant and appropriate to women in developing countries. Work by Buchi Emecheta (1979), Flora Nwapa (Efuru, 1966) and Ifeoma Okoye (Behind the Cloud, 1982) in particular soon became recognised by western academics. By the 21st century, African critics (most of whom were Nigerian) changed the face of Nigerian literacy (Akanmode 2015:2).Filomina Chioma described such African feminist/womanist works as an 'epistemology and a form of rhetoric'.

Indigenous frameworks have been particularly useful for my study as they are concerned with the rights of women living in and from Africa (cited in Mekgwe 2007:168). They overlap in goals, values and promote complementarity. They are about understanding the perspectives of African women and their cultures as well as concerned with challenging the social and economic norms of African women and the educational and personal challenges they may face (Mikell 1997). They are shaped by pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial eras and are a social movement that looks at the historical accounts of women as black, African and women living in developing countries.

African Feminism

I first focus on two variant 'African feminisms' that are relevant to my work. Like most indigenous frameworks, African feminism is grounded in its resistance to western feminisms (Nnaemeka 1998:6). In African feminism, there are six specific areas of resistance to western thought (ibid):

1. Resistance against radical feminism; African feminists emphasise they are not radical feminists.
2. Resistance towards radical feminists' views on motherhood; African feminists argue that motherhood is an important part of African culture and that western feminists create the impression of blaming child rearing as further oppression. African feminists argue that a mother cannot be oppressed.
3. Resistance towards the language used by western feminists; African feminists base their language around collaboration, negotiation and compromise, which runs counter to western feminist language of disruption, deconstruct and challenge.
4. Resistance towards the western emphasis on human sexuality; e.g. 'The nature, tone, spectacle and overall modus operandi of Western feminist insurgency against female circumcision in African and the Arab word' (ibid).
5. Resistance towards western priorities; African feminists argue western feminism prioritises issues of sexual orientation, race, class etc. Although they are still important to African women, they are not of main concern like they are in the west. Such issues do not carry the degree of importance as what they do in the west.
6. Resistance towards the exclusion of men in the movement. African feminists invite men to partner with them in the fight towards social change.

Although African feminists are inclusive of those that have moved countries, they are greatly concerned with debates specifically relevant to the African continent. According to Cunningham (2006:56), in African feminisms there is a need to prioritise race over gender issues, as well as other more 'pressing' issues such as, for example, 'the exploitation of the earth's resources'. African feminisms enable 'legal recognition' of 'collective ancestral territories' as the basis of 'identities, cultures, economies and traditions' (ibid). Whilst many of these matters can be recognised in various feminisms of the west, Cunningham notes, they are not of high importance and act as a regulated 'tagged-on conceptual category called 'diversity' in the dominant feminist paradigm' (ibid).

African feminisms were developed with the aim of giving African people the right to be recognised as people with their own 'world-view and traditions […] and the right to self-determination through systems of autonomy or self-government based on a communal property framework' (Nnaemeka 2004:361). Maerten (2004:2) similarly explains:

> The African women's movement has been strongly influenced and shaped by the activism against colonial rule and racist ideologies. African women's activism cannot be seen separately from the larger context of repression and exploitation of both men and women […] generally speaking, western activists take women's autonomy as their start point, whereas African feminism starts out from culturally linked forms of participation.

My study seeks to question how useful variant African feminisms can be for empowering all African people if there is generally a lack of activism in addressing personal and (arguably) sexist conditions that exist. By focusing on culturally linked forms of participation, individuals who are arguably in most need of activist movements, for example, those who belong to 'taboo' communities such as prostitutes, lesbians, bisexuals and transgender people often remain unacknowledged.

I must also acknowledge that there is often also a limited understanding of western feminism in African feminism(s). For example, the six areas of resistance described by Nnaemeka (1998:6), insinuate that western feminism is pro male exclusion; that western feminism rejects men from feminist theory. However, it can be argued that such statements are somewhat outdated. Many 21st century feminists have called for the reconstruction of gender relations and the expansion of feminism to include men as well as women of all races, orientations and classes (see Schacht & Ewing 1998). Feminism should not be looked upon as a singular, monolithic feminism and different feminist theories should be acknowledged prior to entirely disassociating and/or rejecting western concepts (Schacht & Ewing 1998).

Additionally, the second area of resistance notes that a mother cannot be oppressed. Although motherhood is later depicted in my thesis by my participants as something that they cherished and wanted, motherhood as a "requirement" for women is a problematic concept. In this chapter and throughout my thesis I argue that such expectations put a great deal of pressure on women, and that this has the potential to have long lasting negative effects. I continue this discussion in greater depth in this chapter as I further argue that African feminisms/womanisms portraying motherhood within these terms serves to perpetuate colonial stereotypes of African women.

Snail Sense Feminism

Snail sense feminism is a feminist framework created by Nigerian scholar and women's rights activist Akachi Adimora-Ezeigbo, author of *Gender Issues in Nigeria: A Feminist Perspective* (1996). Ezeigbo uses the Igbo world view of a land snail and its qualities to create a feminist ideology that she believes is applicable to African women, whilst remaining collaborative and inclusive to men (Ezeigbo 2012:27). Ezeigbo explores ongoing women's issues in Africa, such as the exploitation of women, marriage, motherhood, male chauvinism and women empowerment (Ezeaku 2014:39-40). These also have relevance to Zambian culture. This model has been shaped by the African feminist belief that there were no existing theories relevant to African women that look at socio-cultural and political concerns that were specific to them.

Snail-sense feminism is a metaphorical and comparative tool to depict the survival strategies that the foremothers of Nigerian women used in communities to negotiate 'her way in her dealings with men and society at large' that came into existence when impacted by colonialism (Ezenwanebe 2015:266; Ezeigbo 2012). Igbo proverb, 'Ire oma ka Ejule ji aga n'ogwu,' translates as: 'The snail crawls over thorns with a fine and well-lubricated tongue.' Drawing upon this proverb, Ezeigbo explains that, like the snail, African women move through rough terrains smoothly and efficiently with their 'well lubricated tongue', which is never pierced (Ezeaku 2014:35). The snail does not confront obstacles; rather, it negotiates its way past them, and it is cooperative for the best interests of its entire community (Ezeigbo 2013:21). I take on a snail sense feminist lens to support my argument that women can demonstrate strength through prostitution, whether being for the best interests of their family or for their own survival. My thesis shows that prostitutes can too have qualities comparable to the land snail, including tolerance, perseverance and cooperation. When located in highly patriarchal countries, they are snail-sense feminists in the sense that they adopt a resilient, tolerant, accommodating and hardworking attitude in how they cooperate and negotiate with the community to survive (Ezeigbo 2013). They are like a 'courteous snail', in order to survive; they are slow, peaceful and endure 'thorns' to move onwards.

Unlike other feminisms however, snail-sense feminism exhibits an individualistic approach, as typically a snail moves alone and not in the company of others. According to Ezeigbo, this is because women must empower themselves before empowering others. This is relevant to the theme of survival that resonates throughout my thesis. When located in the context of poverty, there is the need to survive, and women often navigate these challenges individually, doing whatever it is that they must do. However, women are also able to exist close to one another as a sign of 'sisterhood, female bonding and group consciousness, which symbolises the strength of snail-sense feminism' (Akanmode 2015:4). This is depicted as often the case for prostitutes and other stigmatised groups who I argue as belonging to societal 'out-groups' (Goffman 1990). Often members of 'out-groups' exist alone but stay close to one another for moral support through shared experiences (Goffman 1990:36).

Whilst snail-feminism has taken a new and unique approach to addressing the lack of appropriate theorisation for the African woman, it has been largely criticised by Nigerian academics such as Niyi Osundare (see Akanmode 2015). According to Osundare, the snail is a weak creature and therefore should not be used as a metaphor or model for African woman. Admittedly, I similarly found this metaphor somewhat problematic initially. I viewed the snail as having slow movement, being 'sluggish' and therefore not be a creature worthy of representing the struggle of my participants, who I argue are both strong and resilient women.

However, Ezeigbo has addressed such critiques by emphasising 'snail sensitivity' and noting that snail-sense feminism focuses on the strengths of the snail and not the speed. It is not about moving quickly and/or aggressively, but it is about moving effectively and surviving, which is a theme that resonates with my thesis. The snail ultimately represents the need to be wise and negotiable to achieve greatness (Ezeigbo, 2012:49), so the relevance to my research remains.

In snail-sense feminism there is also some acknowledgment of patriarchy and male domination and how to negotiate with men if/when they are the supposed superior force. Ezeigbo uses education as the tool women must use to negotiate. Ezeigbo argues that when a woman becomes educated, she is better listened to and so education should be used as their tool of empowerment. However, I question what this would mean for women who come from low income households that may not be able to afford an education. Whilst snail-sense feminism is supportive of African women, its limitation is that it mainly addresses and speaks for those who are educated. This suggests that those who are poor and perhaps illiterate because of their economic circumstances may not be listened to. By mainly focusing on finding empowerment through education it excludes the uneducated and creates a divide by class. I would argue that for this reason, as well as others that remain to be discussed, snail-sense feminism has the potential to reinforce exclusion and stigmatise women.

Nego Feminism

Nigerian scholar Obioma Nnaemeka, author of *Nego-Feminism: Theorising, Practicing and Pruning Africa's Way* (2004), designed a feminism that aimed to combine all African feminisms into one by showing a foundation of shared values that are important across several African cultures. Nnaemeka writes:

> Whatever we choose to call our feminism is our prerogative. However, in this journey that is feminist engagement, we need to walk like the chameleon—goal-oriented, cautious, accommodating, adaptable, and open to diverse views. (2004:382)

Like other feminisms, the language of Nego-feminism is about collaboration, negotiation and compromising, supposedly for the benefit of women (Nnaemeka 2004:380). This need to negotiate is generally reiterated as fundamental across all African feminist theory; the ability to 'give and take/exchange' and 'cope with, successfully/go around'.

Nnaemeka argues for the possibility of different, but connected African frameworks working together, to 'touch, intersect, and feed off each other in a way that accommodates different realities and histories' (2004:362-363). Nnaemeka (2004), argues for the renaming of African feminism to 'nego-feminism', standing for 'no ego feminism', and that it should be inclusive of all African feminisms. It is a term that aims to promote pluralistic indigenous theory and offers a collectivist approach (Nnaemeka 1998:5). Typically associated with Marxist and radical

socialist political thought, the collectivist approach has the underlying aim of creating a society where all its members can work together to progress. It is about not putting the self-first but about prioritising the needs of the group. Nego-feminism likewise emphasises shared principles and what is needed for the development of African communities (see Moonie et al. 2003:328).

I also use Nego-feminism as an analytical framework in this study by combining indigenous feminisms to emphasise their shared goals. I regard collectivism as a step in the right direction; however, I argue that cohesiveness amongst individuals cannot fully exist if only certain people are invited to participate. I return to this discussion later in this chapter, but most notably in my results chapter, where I explore what it means for those who are not included in the variant African feminisms/womanisms, a question yet to be addressed in the existing literature. It is later concluded that there is space for Nego-feminism, and indigenous movements generally, to become more accommodating and open to diverse views if Nego-feminism is to truly work (Bordo et al. 2015:527).

An example of nego-feminism in practice is Maendeleo Ya Wanawake (MYW), a non-profit voluntary women's organisation in Kenya. The MYW remained active during the colonial period, the 'independence struggles of the 1960s, the subsequent single-party government and is still thriving in the present democratic state' (Akin-Aina 2011:81). According to Akin-Aina (2011:85), the MYW uses the tools of 'feminism of negotiation' when campaigning against female genital mutilation (FGM). To do this, MYW created an Alternative Rites Program (ARP) in 1995 that aimed to oppose this practice and do so in a 'culturally appropriate way'. The ARP raised awareness of the harm that can be caused from FGM whilst still emphasised the positive elements of the ceremony, e.g. 'inter-generational exchange and education, peer socialisation and the public recognition ceremony' (ibid). The aim was to create a public ceremony that could 'simulate the traditional ritual as closely as possible without actually circumcising the girls' (ibid). MYW demonstrated the ability to address an issue that affected girls and women's rights, whilst remaining culturally sensitive and 'valuing the positive aspects of the tradition' (ibid; see also Chege et al. 2011).

In a similar way I explore the need to create a feminism of negotiation that can somehow cater for prostitutes in Zambia, i.e. a movement that can support African prostitutes, while also remaining culturally sensitive. For example, creating a pro-sex work movement would not work in Zambia as it not culturally appropriate and would therefore be taking a western stance. However, evidently there is a need for research to conducted on how we can also include and empower these women through the movement.

African Womanism

I now turn to a discussion on African womanism, an indigenous framework with variant womanisms, two of which are relevant to my thesis. African womanism does not reject African feminisms; rather, it supports the Nego-feminist goal of having collaborative and supportive indigenous movements. African womanism, however, argues for the need to step away from the wording of 'feminism' due to its associations with the west. In African cosmology, the power of 'Nommo' (also referred to as 'word magic'), a term originating from cultural theorist Molefi Asante (1987), underlines the productive, generative power of wording (Stephens 1989:374). It is through nommo that self-naming and self-defining can occur. Africana literary critic Barbara Christian argues that only through naming something correctly does a 'thing' come into existence (Christian 1985:157-158). Asante emphasises that when something is self-defined, it is then given its true essence.

Hudson-Weems concurs that nommo 'evokes material manifestation' and initiates the 'call for proper naming' i.e. giving the 'struggle' of African women its own terminology (Hudson-Weems 2009:46). In order to create and refine a feminism that is more attuned to African women, a new, more accurate title is fundamental. It is about 'bringing to fruition the liberation of her entire race' (Hudson-Weems 2004:6). Therefore, there is a need to have a specific and unique term away from 'feminism' involvement that black women can use to describe their own racialized experience; 'we have been named; we should now be namers' (Hudson-Weems 2004:2). For Ogunyemi, naming is a political matter. African women do not want to be understood as imitating the west or having a political alliance with western feminism(s), 'We are signifying the handicap of the linguistic complexity of our context' (Oduyoye 2001:125). Ogunyemi claims that only African women living in Africa can be African womanists and the ideology needs to be emancipated from white feminism and African-American feminism. To incorporate the term 'feminism' in the wording of a new and independent ideology is to create the impression that it is merely an add-on, or extension of feminism, which counteracts their aim of striving for individuality.

'African Womanism' became an ideology that was developed at the beginning of the 1980's by Chikwenye Okonjo Ogunyemi, author of African Wo/man Palava (1995). Oduyoye (2001:125) describes African womanism as the 'resurrection of the body', a theological motif that 'covers the well-being of all of Africa – but remains woman-centred […], that leads from the impasse of individualism, to the traditional community spirit'. It not only covers issues of sexism, but also covers culturally appropriate concerns that include militarism, totalitarianism, (post) colonialism, racism, religious fundamentalism and ethnicism (ibid). Similar to African Feminisms, African Womanism aims to describe a 'different type of feminism', more culturally

appropriate to black women of African descent, residing in Africa. Nigerian womanist Kolawole (1997; 2002) states, it is an ideology grounded by African values that can accommodate the authenticity of African women.

Disassociating Alice Walker's 'Womanism'

Ogunyemi came up with the concept of African womanism around the same time African-American writer Alice Walker (1983) coined the term 'womanism', in her collection of essays titled 'In Search of Our Mothers Gardens', that aimed to 'reflect the complexities of multiple oppressions'. Walker (1983:xi) states that womanism is 'committed to the survival and wholeness of entire people, male and female.' According to Nash (2013:8), Walker explains the difference between womanism and mainstream feminism: 'If womanism is serious, grounded, universal and purposeful, feminism is its opposite […] diminished, selective. Where womanism is a vibrant deep "purple", feminism is a quiet muted "lavender"' (ibid). To Walker, womanism is a theoretical standpoint that aims to represent Black women's experiences and racialised and gender oppression. Comparable to African Womanism in many ways, womanism aims to give recognition to the historical experiences of black women. However, it comes with the aim of conditioning and discussing white dominance and patriarchy. Walker's womanism also embraces the diversity of experiences and traditions. It is mostly concerned with the focus on black female identity and pays significant attention to socioeconomic issues. 'It is committed to the survival and wholeness of people, male and female' (ibid; Arndt 2000:711).

Although both writers are credited for the concept of womanism and whilst Ogunyemi recognises that they do have many similarities, she disassociates herself from Walker's version of womanism, arguing that African womanism acts autonomously (Norwood 2013:228). Ogunyemi (1996:133) states that Walker's theory of womanism is not entirely relevant to women in developing countries and demonstrates conflicting and inaccurate concerns, such as lesbianism. Walker (ibid) states that women love each other 'sexually and/or non-sexually', which according to Ogunyemi (ibid) is not relevant to African culture because lesbianism is not the 'norm' and is inappropriate in African traditions; women in Africa cannot love each other 'sexually'. Ogunyemi (1996:133) writes:

> It is necessary to reiterate that the womanist praxis in Africa has never totally identified with all the original Walkerian precepts. An important part of departure is the African obsession to have children as well as the silence on or intolerance of lesbianism (cited in Ardnt 2000:712).

African writers Aidoo (1977) states that there may be the possibility of exploring lesbianism in her future writings. However, for now, they are reluctant to do so. When Aidoo (1977) hints at lesbian feelings between female characters Sister and Marija it eventually ends with a violent

reaction, emphasising that it is an 'unlawful' activity. As well as this, Ogunyemi (1985:64) states that Walker mainly views a womanist as concerned with discrimination on race, class and sexism. Ogunyemi continues that an African womanist however, will 'incorporate racial, cultural, national, economic, and political considerations into her philosophy' that are distinct to 'her' own country (Ogunyemi 1985:114; 64).

In both African Feminism and Womanism, there is generally a strong heterosexual bias. It is a common belief in Sub-Saharan Africa that homosexuality and lesbianism are colonial imports and foreign concepts, unnatural to African culture inflicted on Africans through western sexual corruption (Ajibade 2013:965). The Yoruba culture today for example 'forbids and detests both lesbianism and homosexuality'. The Igbo tradition likewise views homosexuality as a serious taboo (see Mano et al. 2013:245). However, this does not necessarily mean that these acts do not occur in Nigeria and comparable African countries (Ajibade 2013:974). Ajibade (2013:974) gives examples of Nigerian respondents who admitted to secretly engaging in same-sex relationships in secret during their school years. The respondents, however, claimed they stopped once they finished with school, but noted that 'sexual desire cannot permanently be suppressed'. Van Klinken (2017:9) explains that many African countries have recently witnessed a rise in the numbers of people who self-define as homosexual. However, because of the lack of movement in LGBT rights, these same individuals continuously remain relegated to the shadows.

Prostitutes likewise remain excluded from indigenous academia, despite existing in high numbers in African communities. To reject lesbians, prostitutes and all other people deemed immoral is problematic in achieving the shared goal of African feminisms/womanisms that is ultimately to *unite* and take back the power that they believe was taken from them by the west. Having a united movement amongst African people cannot really work without including *all* people. Therefore, the continuous failure to explore taboo topics like this in indigenous academia and existing research is counterproductive. This supports my argument that indigenous theories have the potential to contribute to and/or reinforcing existing stigmas.

What's more, the trans-exclusionary nature of indigenous African theories is likely to have been influenced by colonial ties - colonial influence being another recurring theme throughout this thesis. Prior to colonial rule, egalitarianism existed in a non-gendered form. According to Oyewumi (1997:31), no gender system was in place prior to colonisation, 'Gender was not an organizing principle in Yoruba society prior to colonization by the West':

> Oyewumi understands gender as introduced by the West as a tool of domination that

> designates two binarily opposed and hierarchical social categories. Women (the gender term) is not defined through biology, though it is assigned to anafemales. Women are defined in relation to men, the norm. Women are those who do not have a penis; those who do not have power; those who cannot participate in the public arena. None of this was true of Yoruba anafemales prior to colonization. (Lugones 2007:197)

Native American tribes, according to Paula Gunn Allen (1986), recognised more than two genders and 'the scope of gender differentials was much more encompassing' because they did not rest on biology (cited in Lugones 2007:196). "Third" gendering and homosexuality was recognised positively, and gender was understood in egalitarian terms, 'rather than in terms of subordination that Eurocentered capitalism imposed on them' (ibid). Consequently, binary gender is widely regarded to have been institutionalised by colonialism and capitalism on African cultures that were arguably a lot more fluid prior to this. There remains space for more research to be done on how colonialism and capitalism may have helped shaped African cultures and consequently, indigenous movements. I have attempted to do this in my research by exploring colonial influence over gender roles in Zambia and argue this as being the/a root cause of the exclusionary attitudes towards prostitution and the damage, a concept that is later drawn out from my data.

Africana Womanism

As noted above, there are two variant womanisms relevant to my thesis, 'Africana Womanism' being the first. Africana Womanism is an ideology coined by Clenora Hudson-Weems in 1987. Unlike African womanism, which mainly concentrates on African women residing in Africa, the term "Africana" is a catchall expression. The expression is not only for those identifiable as "continental Africans", but also for African women living in diaspora (Hudson-Weems 2001; Mekgwe 2007). Like Nego-feminism, it was designed using a collective approach, to reclaim women with African heritage and put African culture at the core of its paradigm, to create an authentic "sisterhood".

Despite being inclusive to the African Diaspora, Hudson-Weems differentiates itself from Black feminism, whose main concerns are around Black women living in the United States. It is emphasised, by Hudson-Weems (2004:24), that it is not a product or addition of any of these ideologies, nor is it an amendment of Walkers concept of 'womanism'. Africana womanism, like other African feminist/womanist theories mentioned, also rejects lesbianism. The theory instead focuses on issues such as global feminism, race, patriarchy, tradition, underdevelopment, sexuality and love through the struggles and needs of these women (Hudson-Weems 2004:24). It is concerned with the culture and sexuality exclusive to them. Like other African feminist/womanist ideologies, it recognises that women of African descent

will have experiences 'geographically diverse' to the west. Africana womanism recognises that historical realities of western and Africana woman are not the same, therefore their outlook on society and future expectations are likely to differ.

What I have established throughout my research is that this lack of acknowledgement of disparity also exists within indigenous theories themselves. The same theorists that argue western feminisms fail to acknowledge difference also fail to recognise that the realities of women's lives and experiences are likely to differ amongst different women. This is highlighted most prominently in my data chapter through my participants' narratives (Norwood 2013:225). Evidently there is a need for more research that gives recognition to different 'types' of African women that exist outside the what is perceived to be the norm. It is only then that indigenous theorists may start to acknowledge that, not only do these people exist, but their experiences and outlook on life may differ. There is also space for more research like mine that uniquely shows how women can still be representative of an African feminist/womanist in different ways, despite not fulfilling all qualities of 'the African woman' that are described by the variant theories.

Motherism

Motherism is the second variant of womanist ideology that I refer back to in my work. I draw on this theory because my study is about the power of motherhood, the damage, recognising colonial influence and rejecting western values. All my participants are mothers and for most, take on the damage through prostitution, in order to be good mothers to their children.

Motherism was created by Nigerian poet, professor and political activist Catherine Acholonu, author of 'Motherism: The Afrocentric Alternative to Feminism' (1995). Through her poetry collections *Nigeria in the Year 1999* (1985) and *The Spring's Last Drop* (1985), Acholonu sowed the seeds for her Motherism theory. The aim of Motherism is to give strength to African women by celebrating matriarchal powers, as well as denoting motherhood as central to understanding African female identity. According to Acholonu (1995), the mother is the spiritual heart of the family. In the poem "the Market Goddess", (The Spring's Last Drop), Acholonu addresses a 'market deity' of the Igbo Pantheon that 'assumes a spiritual essence that fills the physical and spiritual space for the community' (Chukwu 2005:74). The god-like image is notably comparable to the mother figure through wording such as with 'immense thighs thrown wide apart…come my children…come to the one that brings life Food'. The Market Goddess provides sustenance, identity and unity to the community (ibid). The mother, like the 'Market Goddess', is 'the spiritual base' of every community and nation and 'the elemental connection between woman and earth' (Nayar 2008:133).

Using culture and traditional African religion for guidance, Acholonu's work, like other indigenous theorists, emphasises the need for the liberation and independence of the African people (see Chukwu 2005:1). Acholonu's poetry, similar to other Nigerian poets, aims to address 'evil' and 'corruptive' consequences that 'swept the nation after the Nigerian civil war' (1967-70) (ibid). According to Chukwu (2005:6), the colonial invasion contributed heavily to the 'erosion of traditional values'; traditional values that my research argues are not without colonial influence. Through poetry, Acholonu aims to regain the 'lost' voices of Nigerian and African people. Like other African scholars, Achebe (1958:2) states that it is African colonised soil that has created a society of male dominance. African soil is 'coloured by wars, civil strife, hunger, famine, tyranny and genocide' and needs now more than ever, mother essence, i.e. women and motherist leaders. Whilst motherhood and nurture are at the centre of Motherism, the theory also focuses on nature and having respect for the environment.

In Motherism, a mother can never be dissociated from the mother-child love relationship. Acholonu (1995) also notes that African women gain social and psychological freedom through motherhood and that experiencing motherhood is a necessary part of life for women. These themes very much permeated my data, with the expectation and pressure of motherhood weighing heavily on participants. However, I would argue that these assumptions are deeply problematic and need to be readdressed. I discuss the implications of expected motherhood in more depth in the section that follows titled 'Gender Roles in African Feminist/Womanist Theory'.

Additionally, Motherism is more than just about caring for one's own child. Similar to the other indigenous theories that have been discussed, women are seen to be responsible for caring for the community. This puts further pressure and expectation upon women, who become responsible not only for their own child(ren), but for also others'. There is research that exists on the pressures of motherhood, however, little exists on the pressures of being a mother and carer to an entire community. This gap in the existing literature offers space to more fully explore how this increased pressure of motherhood can further increase the stigmatisation towards women who appear "ill-suited" for motherhood.

Gender Roles in African Feminist/Womanist Theory

The dominant themes in the indigenous works that I have found to be relevant to the present study are: the mother and nurturer, family structure (in particular the woman as a 'wife' and as the mother in the home), complementarity between genders and the strength of the African

woman. These themes lay out the groundwork for my thesis and, as such, I elaborate upon each of these in the discussion that follows.

The Mother and Nurturer

As noted, at the heart of all African feminist/womanist models and core of my thesis is the importance of motherhood. Busia (1988:9) explains that the role of the woman as a mother is still central in many African communities and this also resonates with my participants narratives. Ogunyemi (1995:78-79) describes motherhood as something 'meaningful' and a process a woman looks forward to. For the child, the mother is 'the morning sun that shines on her/him specially; she is also the supreme being to be adored as a bountiful provider' (Ogunyemi 1996:41). As the child grows and develops into adulthood, he/she begins to seek additional support away from his/her mother's 'sphere' (Ogunyemi 1996:40). The boy child will identify more closely with his father due to the 'gender-centred socialisation process' and the daughter, with her mother. As the boy child progresses to manhood, he will seek out a wife like his mother who can 'perform all the functions' his mother did and more. I question if this need for a son to have a wife like his mother, and the need for the daughter to be like her mother is also problematic if his/her mother is not respected by the community. I touch on this in my data analysis chapter in relation to stigma by association for the children of prostitutes and look at some of the challenges and pressures that the children of prostitutes face.

Snail-sense feminist Ezeigbo similarly discusses the importance of the maternal African woman, who, like the metaphorical snail, carries her home on her back. The mother is proactive and goes where she needs to, protecting her house and everything in it at all times. She doesn't feel the burden or strain of doing so; she is strong (Coulibaly 2015). If danger approaches, she withdraws herself from the setting by retreating into her 'shell' so that she is shielded, protecting herself and the entity of her 'home'. For the Africana womanist, similarly the survival of her family, 'both personal and collective' should also always be of 'utmost importance'. Hudson-Weems (2004:60) explains, childbirth and maternity are vital parts of womanhood, as is having a tradition that a family can uphold and follow. According to Hudson-Weems (2004), the 'true' Africana woman is family-orientated, and the concept is coined around the importance of mothering and nurturing. Maerten (2004:3) summarises:

> Reproductive tasks are very important to African women and they are never inferior to any other role. To African women, motherhood is an inherent aspect of womanhood and should not be questioned. Being a woman implies being a mother.

There is a similar emphasis on the importance of childbearing in the majority African cultures. Msimang (1990:311) explains that, in Zulu traditions, when a woman is proven to be infertile the husband can marry one of her sisters in order to perpetuate his family name. Similarly, if a

man is proven to be sterile, his family will send him away and during his absence a man will stay with his wife until conception. In Zambia, there is a proverb that states: 'kukwata kana kamo: kutanganina na Lesa', which translates to: 'Having one child is contending with God'. This proverb strongly encourages women to have more than one child since one child could easily be taken by God at any time, consequently leaving her childless, which is a tragedy (ibid). In the work by Nigerian novelist Emecheta, African women have been described as having an 'obsession' with having multiple children. Emecheta uses the characters in her novels to convey the message that there is a 'need' for child rearing.

Existing African literature has largely focused on the importance of becoming a mother, largely neglecting the notion of motherhood as an independent, autonomous decision as opposed to a cultural requirement. However, one example of work that does exist on the negative outcomes of placing motherhood as a cultural imperative is Tabong and Adongo (2013), who wrote about infertility and childlessness in northern Ghana. According to the participants in their study, there was a view that their marriage had not been ordained by 'the Gods of the land or the God' if a child was not born through the union (Tabong and Adongo 2013:5). The study establishes that infertile couples become victims of social stigmatisation. Tabong and Adongo note that out of the participants interviewed, more women than men felt affected by their inability to conceive as they were often branded 'witches' or the cause of the children's death. As the infertile female got older, the pressure to conceive became greater. Results further indicated that because of this pressure to have children and their inability to do so, women often suffered from depression and a declined sexual interest towards their partner. My study contributes to this strand of research in the sense that it explores the negative effects that this cultural emphasis towards motherhood can have on women in African countries.

African feminist/womanists who have argued the need to place motherhood at the core of their theory contend that motherhood is largely neglected within western feminism. According to Hudson-Weems (2004:35) for example, many white feminists want independence from 'needing' to fulfil the role of mother, and that some women even argue that they should be liberated from 'their obligation to men'. Similarly, American author and academic Roiphe (1997) has discussed the reasons that 'real' feminists seem almost 'embarrassed' to be associated with being mothers and avoid even discussing the topic of motherhood. White feminist Betty Rollin also states that 'motherhood is none other than a concept adopted from society by women' with Kate Millet similarly arguing that the 'traditional role of the mother' must be put to an end (Hudson-Weems 2004: 73).

Moreover, many historical accounts of feminist writing have been critical of women's choices, including those who chose to be stay at home mums. African scholars see this as almost dictating how motherhood should be experienced, when ought to be appreciated. According to Hudson-Weems (2004:34), modernity and western customs of working women have created 'havoc' for African(a) children who once had the security and support of their mothers. Western culture has conveyed the implication that children do not need the support and comfort of their mothers. This western value placed on the working woman over the 'housewife' has created years of 'hurt and rejection' for these children. In western countries, Africana women on welfare are often 'condemned for not having a job' and accused of not being positive role models for their children, despite offering 'an adult presence' in their lives (ibid). Nevertheless, Africana womanism states that 'African women are seeking to reclaim security, stability and nurturing of a family-based community' (ibid).

It is important to acknowledge that there is also a prominent strand of white feminist theory grounded in motherhood and the maternal body. For example, work by Adrienne Rich (1986), *Of Woman Born: Motherhood as Experience and Institution,* and Carol Gilligan's 'In a Different Voice' (1982) are examples of 1980s feminist maternal scholars, which state that mothers have been let down by feminism. These feminists argue that there is a need to equally support women who choose to be mothers as well as appreciate women who do not (see Kinser 2010). Another example is a study on 'The Importance of Motherhood among Women in the Contemporary United States', by McQuillan et al. (2008), who argue that motherhood is more than just the 'trade-offs between work and motherhood'. The study looks at what it means to be a mother using both participants who were mothers as well as participants who were not. Studies such as this, which have strongly contributed to gender and feminist research in the west, have been overlooked by indigenous theorists who appear to position all western scholars as radical feminists.

My thesis recognises that, whilst the power of motherhood in African feminisms/womanisms certainly has positive implications and is later noted as what motivates my participants to survive another day, centring motherhood like this is problematic. In addition to the fear of infertility and other pressures as discussed above, it could be argued that the strong focus on African women as mothers taps into colonial stereotypes. For example, the Victorian ideal of womanhood had black women taking on the role of the 'mammy'. A mammy was a black 'rotund, hand kerchiefed house servant who humbly nursed her master's children' (Roberts 1997:56). Similar to the representation in African feminist theories of the African woman as a strong and nurturing mother, the Mammy was depicted as 'the perfect mother' but also the 'perfect slave' for colonising white women (ibid). According to Roberts (1997:63) white people

'adored the Mammy for dutifully nurturing white children'. This idea of the African woman needing to be a nurturing mother arguably reinforces this idea of enslaving women to the household and forcing them to reproduce. There once again becomes this expectation for African women to be doting mothers in the home which ultimately may disqualify them from receiving any needed support. I question if African feminisms/womanisms are therefore in ways veiling their potential to disempower women just as non-"white" women were disempowered during colonisation, because of the imposition of colonial frameworks like this that were disadvantageous to them (Lugones 2007:190).

Family Structure: The Wife and Mother

According to African academic Nnaemeka (1998), there has been great dissatisfaction amongst many African women with how western feminism views traditional marriage and family structures since this is a significant and uniting part of their culture. Feminism 'dismantles, or in some cases inverts the traditional roles' and 'redefines the male and female roles in society as anything but traditional (Hudson-Weems 2004). Indigenous theories do not aim to redefine gender roles, instead accepting traditional positions, emphasising the importance of acknowledging biological differences. African(a) gender roles 'have always been somewhat relaxed' in comparison to the gender history of the west (ibid). African theory does not, as Chika Unigwe (2009) notes, aim to rip 'women from the family bosom' and set them aside on 'their own pedestal' (cited in Ezeaku 2014:35). The theories described in this chapter do not reject the traditional vision of marriage. The traditional role of head of house is not seen in the same disapproving light as it is in the west (Hudson-Weems 2004:64). In Stiwanism for example, it is through marriage and having a family life that a man and woman become united (Coulibaly 2015; Ogundipe-Leslie 1994). Also, the role of the husband as the "protector" of his family, physically if necessary, is not rejected for the most part (Hudson-Weems 2004:65). Africana womanism 'comes from a legacy of dedicated wives and mothers' and the main setting for a woman culturally is often the home. In her home is her heterosexual marriage and childbearing life (Ezenwanebe 2015:267). The typical African(a) woman, according to Hudson-Weems (ibid), is likely to focus on her children and family's needs over a career.

Klatch (1987:128) argues that most western feminists believe the role of a wife and mother should not be an expected 'duty'. Klatch (ibid) further explains that being a wife and/or mother can become an oppressive part of womanhood when it is used as 'a denial of individual rights'. Disagreeing with this viewpoint, Hudson-Weems has said that whilst many western feminists are more concerned with 'self-realisation and personal gratification', this is not the case for the Africana womanist who never see the role of a wife as oppressive (Hudson-Weems 2004:58). The role of the woman as both a 'wife and mother' as being oppressive is a western way of

thinking and should not be imposed on the Africana woman who largely see this as a blessing. It is her responsibility to 'handle' the 'chaos, confusion and congestion, even while washing dishes, feeding the baby or cooking dinner' because she is able and she is strong (Hudson-Weems 2004:71-72).

Ogundipe-Leslie (1994: 211) notes that a number of conservative African men wrongly argue that "real" women have to be married and if you are not, you are not a "real" woman. Some men, according to Ogundipe-Leslie (ibid), go so far as to say that if you do not have children, "you are not human". In many African countries there is still a great sacredness around a woman's body and the power of the female body as 'a sacred vessel…a woman's vagina is sacred […] women's bodies are sacred…because her body has produced children' (Ogundipe-Leslie 1994:213). These men and women belong to 'The Married Women Incorporated', a group Ogundipe-Leslie labels as those who are afraid to 'shake the status quo' and want to maintain the security women have through men. Rather they 'cling to the respectability of being married'.

What is missing from these theories, however, is an acknowledgement that there are certain economic circumstances, such as extreme poverty, which may hinder women's ability to fulfil the role of a stay at home wife and mother. Or even the acknowledgement that there are women who choose not to be in a heterosexual marriage. My research fills this gap in the sense that it explores the experiences of women who are in located in poverty who and/or need to work to be financially independent. My research also looks at women who choose to "exit" their marriage despite it being culturally unacceptable to do so. I explore whether, and if so where, they can still fit into these African feminist/womanist theories that outline expectations that not all African women are able or want to uphold.

Complementarity

A vital part of African feminist/womanist theory and African culture generally is "complementarity" i.e. the collaboration of both genders (Ezeaku 2014:35; Ezenwa-Ohaeto 2015:62). Nnaemeka (2004:380) notes that the African man is not 'the other' but is half of the whole human, and without one another they are incomplete. Igbo proverb 'Egbe bere ugo bere, nke si ibe ya ebene, nku kwaa ya' translates to, 'May the eagle perch and may the kite perch but let the one that hinders the other from perching lose its wings' (Nnaemeka 1998:11; Chukwu 2005:49). This relates to the idea that men and women complement one another, and that women need to be ready and willing to negotiate with and around men, despite how challenging that may sometimes be. African women, according to Namulondo (2010:9), are willing and ready for this negotiation with men because 'They challenge the continual constraints of their

everyday lives'. 'Knowing how to negotiate cultural spaces shifts the argument from gender confrontation to gender specific imperatives' (ibid).

African feminisms/womanisms were designed with the aim of creating an all-inclusive social reformation, cooperative with men, that supports the African communal life (Ezenwanebe (2015:266). The variant theories further argue the need for social transformation in Africa for *both* sexes with a mutual aim of making men an ally and co-partner with women in order to build a harmonious society. Ezeigbo (ibid) explains that so as for women to become empowered, they need to work with society. Emotional needs and companionship between men and women are emphasised within African feminism/womanism, with Hudson-Weems (2004:69) emphasising that without it 'life is not complete'. Likewise, Ezeigbo argues that men are African women's natural allies against globalisation and neo-colonialism. Ogundipe-Leslie (1994:230) adds that men need to be 'liberators' to 'ensure a fuller life for their mothers, daughters and sisters'. However, my study offers space for mothers to act as the liberator for both their children and their family, in the absence of the father.

Acholonu (1995:111) likewise states that whilst Motherism is about the 'cooperation with nature' it is also inclusive of men: a motherist can be either male or female. A motherist is someone concerned with issues that concern Africa such as malnutrition, hunger, starvation, and political and economic exploitation, as well as, homelessness around the world, morality, drug addiction, the degradation of the environment, the depletion of the ozone layer through pollution and broken homes (Acholonu 1995:111). The male motherist writer, however, will not demonstrate sexism in his work, nor will he create a dominating or patriarchal perspective. To Acholonu, the terms patriarchy and matriarchy are western creations that are not applicable to 'African social realities'. Therefore, new terms are needed 'to account for African socio-cultural realities without any exaggeration or distortion'. As a result, there became the introduction of the terms 'patrifocality' and 'matrifocality' in the motherist theory. The terms 'patrifocality' and 'matrifocality', according to Acholonu (1995), describe the complementarity between men and women.

The descriptors used in Africana Womanism emphasise the importance of community and family values, as well as the need to be cooperative with the male gender in order to move forward as a community. These descriptors include being a flexible role player, male compatible and in concert with the male (Hudson-Weems 2009:46). These are the key characteristics according to Hudson-Weems (ibid) that an Africana Womanist entails and/or what she should strive to be for the sake of bettering oneself as well as the wider community.

In my research there is also a similar understanding that men and women are required to be 'co-partners' and need roles in the public and social sphere that are complementary to each other so as to achieve social transformation (Ogundipe-Leslie 1994). My work does *not* argue that gendered roles should not exist, as this would also be taking a western stance, and this is not necessarily wanted by my participants. I established that the majority of my participants longed for male support and were far from antagonistic towards men. My work therefore takes an African feminist/womanist lens in the sense that it supports the need to accommodate men to produce change and empowerment for women. My research however brings to light the gap that exists in working in complementarity with men when at present certain 'groups' of women are being refused to exist as "co-partners" with other women, let alone with men.

The Strong Black Woman

As previously highlighted, there is a significant amount of emphasis on the 'strength' of women presented within these indigenous theories. For example, in snail sense feminism the snail collaborates with rocks to accomplish its journey. The 'lubricated tongue' does not get destroyed or damaged by harsh objects in the process of movement because it has learnt how to move safely and efficiently to avoid danger. As noted by Ezeigbo (2012), African women are wise and tough individuals who can cope with any daily obstacles they face. Additionally, Hudson-Weems (2004:65) records and emphasises 'strength' as one of the eighteen descriptors in her Africana womanist theory. My participants are also later depicted in my analysis chapter as needing to manifest strength in order to survive in Zambia. Moreover, this draws parallels to the idea of the 'strong' black African women (SBW) that is present in western academia and the wider media.

However, research now suggests that this portrayal of black women as strong that has existed historically and is manifest today creates an internalisation of mental and physical health problems. West et al. (2016), for example, use thematic analysis of 90 participants and an intersectional examination in a study entitled, 'The Price of Strength: Black College Women's Perspectives on the Strong Black Woman Stereotype'. The research determines that whilst the characteristics of strong black women (SBW) aims to be positive, there is often too much pressure put on black women- and perhaps in this case the woman as she is depicted in African feminism- to conform to this image. According to West et al. (2016:391), racialised perspectives of black women force the self-perception of needing to be 'tough' and internalise gendered traits. The traits of the SBW image is displayed in my results chapter as a way of these women dealing with the multiple oppressions they face. However, women that often embody the SBW imagery often experience negative outcomes, such as 'depression, overeating, self-silencing and reduced help-seeking and self-care', because of the fear of inadequacy (ibid).

Being perceived as a tough woman and being expected to be strong is shown to cause women to feel reluctant to gain the support services they need. Women may also take 'negative perceptions' of themselves more personally because they are not living up to societal expectations of 'indestructibility' at all times (West et al 2016:394). This can cause them to try and hold in emotions e.g. sadness or anger and be in denial of accepting diagnosis such as depression. In their study on Rethinking Strength, Black Women's Perceptions of the "Strong Black Woman" Role, Nelson et al.(2016:551) state the SBW is expected to be, independent, caring, high achieving and emotionally contained. This is similar to the description of women in indigenous feminisms.

'African' Gender Equality, Oppression & Liberation

There is clearly a shared understanding in African feminism/womanism that a type of freedom and strength exists that involves being a wife, mother and proud ally to her male counterpart. So far this has been highlighted as differing in what it means to be female and 'liberated' compared to western feminisms, in which there is a strong focus on gender equality. I now turn to a discussion on the idea of liberation when located in an African context, where I further locate my study.

Gender Equality

According to the African writers presented in this chapter, gender equality does exist in Africa, however, equality is conceptualised in different ways to what it is in the west. African theory embraces biological difference and appreciates the idea that men and women are biologically diverse. For that reason, it is not necessary for them to be treated the same, but this does not mean that they are not 'equal'. Whilst men cannot give birth to a child, women were given this 'gift' and therefore it is their god given role to be a child bearer and nurturer (Hudson-Weems 2004:65). Gender is socially constructed, with sociological meanings bound by 'biological sexual difference'. Gender 'defines roles, rights, responsibilities and obligations of women and men' and social expectations and behaviours are associated accordingly (Ortenblad, Marling and Vasiljevic 2017:5). If expectations of behaviour are social constructs, it can be said that there cannot be a homogenous outlook across the globe surrounding these expectations. Understandings of gender equality may look different for African women, for Asian women and for women worldwide who have not been raised in the west.

Nnaemeka (1998:63-64) states that whilst the western woman argues, 'What a man can do, a woman do better,' the African woman declares, 'What a woman can do a man cannot do.' This is not to say that one sex is better than the other because he or she can do "this" and that the

other cannot. It is simply emphasising gender difference with appropriated gender roles of equal value that form a structural community. Nnaemeka (1998:52-53) states that, 'The African worldview underscores the idea that both genders have the same divine source, even though each has its own distinctive roles to play in the life of the community.' Gender differences should be recognised and appreciated. Men and women do not need to have the same roles in society, they just need roles of *equal* importance. For example, some feminists may regard a woman as if she not equal or liberated in a home where the man is controlling the finances and the woman nurturing the children. However, for 'the African woman', she may believe that she is as 'important' and 'fulfilled'. In contrast, there is room for research that explores if and how gender equality works in this context when, for example, a woman takes on both her role as the mother and nurturer, as well as the "male role" of the head of the house and financer.

Moreover, African(a) women do not trust the feminist movement due to historical experiences of betrayal from white counterparts and organisations led and controlled by white people. 'Africana's are the grassroots of people who depend on the support and confidence' of their trusted communities (Hudson-Weems 2004:26). Unlike the feminist movement, African(a) women are not 'issue-oriented, instead they focus on tangible things that can offer an amelioration of or exit from oppression' (Hudson-Weems 2004:26). African(a) women have never been viewed as the 'property' of the man like they once were in the west. The blame of women being viewed as the weaker sex is the imposition of a foreign masculinist colonialism. Likewise, as noted above, African(a) men have not historically had the same institutionalised power as the white man had to oppress the white woman. As touched on in my discussion on complementarity, the African(a) man was/is not an opponent as he too does not share the same privileges or advantages as the white man may. Therefore the 'presence' of a man 'assures' the African(a) woman of 'the struggle toward a *common* destiny' (Hudson-Weems 2004:7).

Whilst in some African traditions it can be argued that 'male domination' does exist, my research supports the argument that the focus on gender roles is still not of key importance to the Africana people (ibid). Hudson-Weems (2004:69) states that if the Africana man does not show respect towards his female counterpart, he is ultimately disrespecting himself. Women are 'essential to the human race' so should therefore be acknowledged as an important part of life. Nigerian female playwright Dr Zulu Sofla (1992) states, 'it (the dual system between African men and women) is not a battle where the woman fights to clinch some of men's power, (which) consequently has set in motion perpetual gender conflict that has now poisoned the erstwhile healthy social order of traditional Africa' (cited in Hudson-Weems 2004:47).

My study, as noted, typically addresses liberation for women as being in conjunction with complementarity i.e. working in *partnership* with the male gender. It therefore supports a type of female liberation that does not involve being independent from men.

Oppression and Liberation

I now explore the widely applied western term of 'oppression' on African women in conjunction with this notion of liberation. Often women who are not 'equal' according to western standards of equality are associated with the term oppressed. According to the definition of 'oppression', those who are oppressed are not treated with respect. Acholonu (1995) argues this as highly inapplicable to African women who are seen as respected and important figures in the community, vital in the cycle of reproduction and the continuation of humanity. Cunningham (2006:57) notes, 'as indigenous women, we do not see our cultures as the source of gender oppression […] the traditional notion of duality between men and women in indigenous worldview is closely compatible with our vision of feminism'. Cunningham (ibid) further states that struggles women face are alongside indigenous men, against the patriarchal system. The application of the term oppression in this case, loses its power because there is a failure to acknowledge cultural divergence. It can therefore be argued that the chief 'oppressors' in this case are consequently not the male 'dominant forces' in African society but, however, are those who consistently disregard claims by the so-called "oppressed" that they are not subjugated.

Moreover, as noted earlier, where there is complementarity, there is liberation. A woman's household role may serve of great importance and does not hinder her extent of feeling 'free' (Hudson-Weems 2004; Acholonu 1995). According to Hudson-Weems (ibid), collectivism is the only true way to aim towards a 'free' society. A society that is made up of a 'system of values which disadvantage women offers clear proof of men's alienation'. A society that is free would have 'neither a master nor slave, neither tyrant nor tyrannised, neither colonial nor colonised, neither chief nor subordinate, the sex which oppresses is not a free sex'. Hudson-Weems (2004:59) concludes that the struggle of the African womanist is intertwined with the struggle of the male which, as previously noted, has the entire community victimised not just the female (ibid). Therefore, women require men to participate in the work towards liberation, unlike western feminism that does not "*need*" the participation of the man in their movement. This relationship that African(a) men and women have is unique as they have participated together in the 'struggle' for survival in a 'hostile and racist society' (Hudson-Weems 2004:61).

African womanist and feminist theories are therefore in a collective struggle that include 'all' African(a) people regardless of gender. By creating an agenda that is independent from feminism, African people are able to take a step towards 'human harmony and survival' (Hudson-Weems 2004:31). In order for African(a) women to be empowered, they must promote opportunities for both men and women for the survival of the African(a) race. Hudson-Weems (2004:31) emphasises that if African(a) men and women fight amongst themselves within the community, ultimately they will be 'defeat themselves on all fronts'. These theories do not, however, ignore the fact that in the past there have been fights between men and women within their own community against sexual discrimination, as well as race and class discrimination. However, they argue African people will stop short of eliminating 'men as allies in the struggle for liberation and family-hood' (Hudson-Weems 2004:34).

In conclusion, indigenous movements present a type of liberation that is about African communities and African people being able to free themselves from domination from the west and the system that they did not 'ask' for. Liberation is about gaining back independence as united African countries and united people and showing the west that they can survive in the poor conditions that have been imposed on them, because of western impact. African men and women are partners in this battle for survival and, according to Ault (1983:192), are fighting to rebuild the structures that they once had. It is about looking beyond gender in order to focus on the impact of the west on them and the various issues that are specifically relevant to them that are restricting their countries' development. My research uses this idea of a postcolonial notion of liberation, however it does so in a way that explores what this may look like in the lives of Zambian women located in poor economic circumstances with competing priorities.

Prostitution in Africa

My chapter now looks at some of the existing literature on prostitution in comparable African countries that was available to me at the time of writing this research. I argue that although some work on prostitution in these countries exists, there is little work available that focuses on the first hand perspectives and voices of prostitutes themselves.

Helle-Valle (1999:381) argues that in Botswana there is much evidence that exists to argue that the male gender was already favoured in precolonial society. Females were considered "inferior" to their male counterparts and the household was the female domain. Women were typically considered to be 'indispensable sources of production and reproduction, both on a system level and from the perspective of each male' (ibid). Whilst the colonial era brought some positive change for the female gender e.g. girls were able to gain an education similar to boys,

women were yet to benefit from any political and economic opportunities and the household was still considered to be their main responsibility. Botswana is comparable to Zambia and other African countries that have been subjected to the colonial gaze in that they are comprised of pre-colonial, colonial and post decolonisation histories that have had substantial consequence to contemporary prostitution. In much of the existing literature today, there is a failure to acknowledge relevant colonial histories and individual knowledge of prostitution experienced in the developing world, which inevitably demonstrates a gap in existing knowledge of and around sex work.

Moreover, similar to that of the "damage", in present day Botswana there is a common term known as "bobelete" that is used to describe women who engage in prostitution or what is deemed behaviour that is promiscuous. In English terms it literally translates to 'promiscuity' or 'prostitution' (Helle-Valle 1999:375). It is unclear exactly where the term came from, however, it appeared to have emerged in the 1990s and has also been associated with women who have children outside of marriage with different men, as well as married women who are unfaithful. It has since become a derogatory term with stigma attached to it (ibid).

Tavory and Poulin (2012) conducted a study *on Sex Work and the Construction of Intimacies: Meanings and Work Pragmatics in rural Malawi*. In their study they noted how women often wound up in prostitution due to working in low-paid causal labour such as selling madasi[4], the earnings from which were not sufficient for their survival (Tavory and Poulin 2012:216). The money made from prostitution was used to support their families and send money monthly to various family members (ibid). In their study, prostitutes are categorised into "bar girls" and "freelancers", bar girls living and working in bars and freelancers being women who are not 'tethered to a specific working environment' (Tavory and Poulin 2012:211). Tavory and Poulin (2012:212) conclude that most existing research typically ignores the 'historical formation of sex work' and there has also been little work to historicize the specific experiences of sex workers.

Van Blerk (2008:247-248) in her study on *Poverty, Migration and Sex Work: Young Transitions in Ethiopia* argues that like in many other African countries, the education of men has been typically prioritised over that of the woman. Women in rural households have been expected to focus on childrearing, fetching food and water, cooking and preparing food, etc. Van Blerk further notes that many girls who choose to leave home often do so with the intent of becoming a maid. However, because of difficult and abusive experiences working with their employer,

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[4] doughnuts

many transition into prostitution. Van Blerk further adds that other women located in poverty often go straight into prostitution at a young age in order to live independently and survive. Other reasons noted in Van Blerk's study include a need to "escape" from traditional cultural practices as well as the stigma associated with pre-marital pregnancies or failed marriages (ibid). For the majority of the women in the study, poverty could be averted through working in the sex work industry.

This is dissimilar in a sense to the work by Fitzgerald-Husek et al. (2011) who carried out a study entitled, "I do what I have to do to survive": This comprises of an investigation into the perceptions, experiences and economic considerations of women engaged in sex work in Northern Namibia. Somewhat comparable to my research, Fitzgerald-Husek et al. (2011) use a qualitative approach, with the aim of showing the experiences and economic considerations of regarding prostitution for women in Northern Namibia. The study showed that in semi-urban and rural areas, where poverty is high, there are evident power imbalances, a lack of education and less employment, particularly for women (Fitzgerald-Husek et al. 2011:2). The study concluded by noting that 'heterogeneous entities dependent upon the characteristics of the man (known, stranger, wealthy, attractive to the woman) and the woman (in financial need, desiring love) all influence condom use' (Fitzgerald-Husek et al. 2011:1). Furthermore, it was proven that prostitution could not provide the financial support that these women needed in order to survive and live independently. Because of their economic circumstances and desperate need for financial income, men could negotiate the prices and conditions for the sexual exchange and 'thus the women remained economically dependent on the male' (ibid).

Evidently there is existing qualitative research conducted around prostitution in African countries that centres on the voices of prostitutes like my research does. As earlier noted, there has often been the recognition of the widespread assumption that women share the same conditions of oppression globally, despite cultural or geographical settings. My research is informed by a "community" of prostitutes and dismisses the pretence to a homogeneity of experience and through a multi-method methodology, acknowledging diverse and individual histories of prostitutes in Zambia.

The Outliers: Prostitutes & Prostitution Stigma

It is clear that African feminist/womanist theories are strongly based on gender and cultural 'norms' which emphasise a distinct 'type' of African woman. What is problematic, however, is that there are other 'types' of African women who also live in developing countries. As earlier noted, these women appear to be missing from these theories as they are not be representative of the stereotypical, "traditional" African woman. As noted earlier, examples of such "outliers"

include (but are not limited to) prostitutes. My chapter now gives an opportunity to examine these "non-traditional", "non-conforming" African women who are excluded from these indigenous theories more closely. I explore what being an outlier to indigenous movements-which aim to be supportive of all African people may mean for these women.

This brings me to a discussion on stigma and more specifically, prostitute stigma, that I later return to in my thesis. Stigma theory is key to my later exploration of the concept of the damage which, as noted, emerged from my data. I establish the "damage" as relating to stigma, chiefly because women become stigmatised by the "damage".

Stigma: An Introduction

The term 'stigma' originates from an ancient Greek practice that involved 'social pariahs', i.e. 'soiled' individuals being 'branded' by the burning of a distinguishing mark into his/her skin. The blemished person became 'ritually polluted' and from then onwards more widely disapproved, avoided and socially unaccepted (Goffman, 1990:9). This bodily sign that was imprinted onto the individual exposed and promoted a disapproving and abnormal moral status of that person. He/she became 'blemished' both physically and publicly and became then identifiable as having a damaging virtual and social identity (Yang et al. 2006:1525).

According to Goffman (1963:3), stigma can be described as 'an attribute that is deeply discrediting', a stigmatised individual becomes discredited from a 'whole and usual person' to a 'tainted and discounted one'. A person takes ownership of their stigma, of how society perceives of them, based on their position in society and the stigma they possess. For example, Goffman (1963) explains that an individual with a mental illness, therefore a stigma that may not necessarily be overt and visible to the public eye, becomes stigmatised when their 'illness' is disclosed and made public. The status of that person will then shift publicly from a 'normal' status to a 'discreditable' one, and the individual will then sustain their discreditable position in society. In this transition, as Goffman describes it, an individual must take 'control of identity information' (Yang et al. 2006:1527). The social identity becomes prescribed to the individual and the status of that person is altered; a new social identity is then formulated based on their new control of identity information (ibid). Discredited individuals are placed into a 'social situation' that contains a 'tainted' social label. This consequently influences how they are treated and perceived by the wider public, often resulting in discriminatory and prejudiced behaviour towards them.

Whilst the definition of stigma has been since adapted and today may differ slightly in understanding and theorisation, the term 'stigma' maintains its meaning in the sense that it

violates what is perceived as 'normal' or expected by society. Like its original meaning, prior to the Christian adaptations of stigma (the religious and medical allusions of stigma that were later added to the term), stigma today refers less to the bodily evidence of stigma, but more so to the disgrace that it signifies and can include a wide range of social groups, for example homosexuals, transgender people, prostitutes, people with disabilities etc.

Stigmas and coping strategies have since been examined through micro (intra/interpersonal), meso (social/community), and macro levels of analysis (organizational/political) (*see* Logie et al. 2011:9). Public stigma at meso level, often referred to as social stigma or enacted stigma that describes 'the phenomenon of large social groups, endorsing stereotypes about and acting against a stigmatised group' (Corrigan et al. 2005a:179). It is concerned with public reactions, whether psychological or social, towards the individual that has violated the social norms (Bos et al. 2013:7). Finally, with structural stigma at macro level that 'refers to the rules, policies, and procedures of private and public entities in positions of power that restrict the rights and opportunities of people' (Picco et al. 2016: 500; Corrigan et al. 2005b). My research is particularly concerned with stigma at the micro level, which can be described as 'a process whereby affected individuals endorse stereotypes, anticipate social rejection, consider stereotypes to be self-relevant and believe they are devalued members of society' (Picco et al. 2016:500; Corrigan et al. 2005b).

The two diagrams below (see fig. 1 and fig. 2) examine micro-to-micro links, i.e. the relationship between 'public attitudes and subsequent discriminatory behaviour' (model A) and macro-level variables, what 'macro-level variables implied by structural discrimination add to casual models of stigma' (model B) (Corrigan et. al. 2004:487). This is relevant to my research as they will help determine, for example, the attitudes that stigmatised people carry surrounding themselves and life opportunities and how these may be affected by structural discrimination (ibid). Macro-to-micro links, as noted by Corrigan et. al. (ibid), are no longer a viable type of analysis due to 'only a small amount of variance in individual-level variables is attributable to macro-level variables'.

Model A: Micro-to-Micro Links

Public stigmatizing attitudes

Self-stigmatizing attitudes

Micro level
Source of stigma

Micro level
Impact of stigma

Public discriminatory behaviors

Loss of opportunities

(Fig 1. Corrigan et al. 2004:488)

Model B: Macro-to-Micro Links

Structural discrimination with intent

Structural discrimination without intent

Macro level
Source of stigma

Micro level
Impact of stigma

Self-stigmatizing attitudes

Loss of opportunities
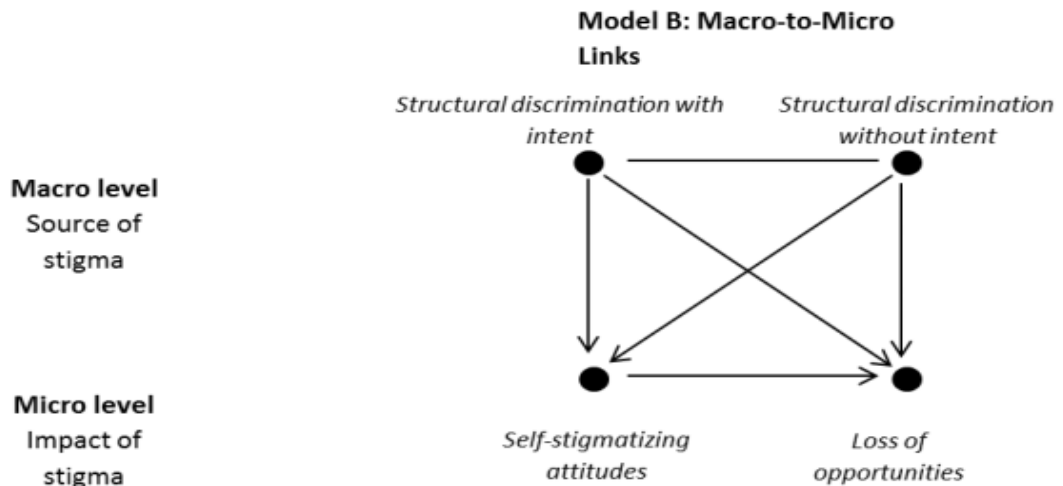
Corrigan *et al.*, 2004: 488

(Fig 2. Corrigan et al. 2004:488)

Prostitution Stigma

Goffman (1990:135) states that there are codes of conduct and politics that 'instruct' individual's how to treat others and how to have an 'appropriate attitude regarding the self'. Women who publicly expose sexual behaviours that involve multiple partners and/or sexual behaviour in the exchange for money, according to Alonzo and Reynolds (1995:304), typically violate the accepted norms of social conduct. Prostitutes consequently fall into the category of those with 'moral deficits' due to engaging in 'work' perceived as 'immoral', 'flawed' and

'universally despised' by the norms of the civic (Koken et al 2004:15). These influence impressions of the 'nature' of a prostitute, who are often regarded as holding spoiled beliefs, are perceived as 'weak willed', 'blemished' and as a individuals who holds 'passions' deemed to be 'unnatural'. In African culture, prostitutes ultimately fail to live up to what is demanded of women and are often portrayed as vectors of disease and as a source of disease transmission (Scambler 2007). According to Wong et al. (2011:51) prostitutes represent a marginalised group 'that is widely subjected to processes of stigmatisation'.

Many psychologists emphasise that there are significant effects of stigma on the person's self-esteem and emotions, these effects will be explored in my results chapter where I discuss my participants ill-experiences with the public. Example effects of stigmatising attitudes on prostitutes are depicted to have perpetuated their vulnerability, created a loss in social status, encouraged discriminatory behaviour and attitudes towards them and various negative stereotypes (Wong et al. 2011:52).

As previously noted, in addition to the societal level, stigmatisation also occurs at the individual and interpersonal level. An individual can be subjected to non-verbal forms of discrimination or discomfort upon disclosing their stigmatised status (or their stigma is apparent to the public eye), even if they are not explicitly rejected. Examples of these subtle rejections include where others avoid eye contact with the stigmatised person or avoid sitting next to him/her on public transport, and so on.

In many cases, however, stigma symbols are 'displayed', or overt to the wider public. Goffman (1990:61) gives the example of the wrist markings on a person who attempts suicide. For the prostitute, stigma symbols typically include heavy makeup or revealing dress codes. For these women, their stigma symbol needs to be apparent in order to attract their clientele: 'If the stigma of the individual is visible, then contacting others will see the stigma' (Goffman 1990:86). As a result, sometimes the individual will choose not to disclose their stigmatised status in certain situations. This is applicable to prostitutes, who frequently choose to portray their 'prostitute identity' only at night. By day, they may attempt to portray oneself as having a 'normal' occupation, in order to keep their identity from appearing 'soiled'. Moreover, when prostitutes migrate, they may have the opportunity of creating a new social identity due to there being no pre-existing knowledge of them in that social space (ibid). However, Bos et al. (2013:7) note that those who 'pretend' to be 'normal' still retail a 'discreditable' status, as there remains potential for the stigma of that individual to be revealed.

On the other hand, the stigmatised person may also choose only to be associated with or form social groups with 'likewise' individuals, due to sharing a mutual understanding, moral support and relatable experiences. For example, my later results chapter displays prostitutes as being able to share sympathy or compassion with other prostitutes due to having a similar 'standpoint in the world' and due to also sharing the same/similar stigma (Goffman 1990:36). This is also explored in conjunction to the African feminist/womanist notion of a shared sisterhood being present amongst African women.

The virtual and social identity of 'the prostitute' causes various discrepancies that require her to reclassify and position herself into an 'appropriate' category to satisfy societal expectation. When she tries to 'correct' her 'blemish', instead of the stigma being removed completely and a 'fully normal status' being restored, she will become a person who once had a blemish and that has since been 'corrected'. This transition of moving from 'blemished' to being free of that 'blemish' in this research and cultural context is described as becoming "reformed". Regardless, if she were to choose to stop engaging in prostitution and make it public knowledge that the she is no longer part of 'that' group of individuals, she would never be classified as a 'fully normal' member of society or be fully relieved of their stigma (if not physically, psychologically). The prostitute would instead become known as an individual that used to engage in prostitution, in immoral sexual behaviour, but has since 'corrected' their 'undesirable' behaviours (Goffman 1990:20). Often, prostitutes attempt to rectify their blemish or use their stigma for 'secondary gains' by joining various non-governmental organisations (NGO) that 'transform' and 'rehabilitate' prostitutes. This is to portray and emphasise public awareness that they have 'corrected' their 'condition' and are trying to 'correct' others that remain stigmatised (Goffman 1990; Alonzo and Reynolds, 1995).

My research is mostly concerned with what Goffman describes as the 'third and fourth' 'pattern of socialisation'. The third pattern is demonstrated by those who learn they are 'stigmatised' or flawed at a later point in their life, or those who become stigmatised at an older age. For example, a prostitute who started 'work' at a very youthful age may only have come to truly realise their 'place' in the 'out-groups' of society later in life. Conversely, an individual who once had a 'fully normal' status and then became a prostitute later, with an understanding that they have become 'discredited' later in life. The individual has learnt 'about the normal' prior to 're-identifying' oneself.

Although stigma and prostitution have been widely studied in academia, stigma, through the eyes of prostitutes themselves has been understudied (Wong et al. 2011:52). Research is limited when drawing on the experiences and voices of these women themselves in relation to

addressing stigma (ibid). The words and perceptions of those who are stigmatised, particularly prostitutes, are often ignored and replaced by theoretical assumptions and outlooks from the researchers or academics themselves. Wong et al. (2011:52) further explain that existing research specifically looks at how diseases are contracted and focuses on the transmission to the 'general population'. There is space for research to pay more attention to the psycho-social health of prostitutes, which currently appears insignificant in comparison to the 'public health of the community' (ibid). There is also a 'relative silence of prostitutes in international literature on stigmatisation' and therefore limited attempt to understand this marginalised population (ibid). My research consequently aims to fill these gaps by giving a much needed, first-hand perspective on the lives and experiences of prostitutes.

Prostitution Stigma in Africa

Often, prostitutes are viewed as 'at risk' or prone to be labelled as 'at risk'. They are not only concerned with being in the 'out-group' category but are also concerned with the notion that being part of that 'out-group' means being labelled with disease even though they may not have it (Wong et al. 2011). The concern may not be entirely towards the risk of having HIV/AIDS, but towards the 'social risk of being perceived as being in an at risk group'. This therefore represents what Markova and Wilkie (1987:389) describe as the 'socially worried well'. Existing work by Agha and Nchima (2004) on prostitution in Zambia found that because of the association with prostitution and HIV, prostitutes often engage in sex without the use of a condom for fear of being labelled diseased if she were to request the use of one. This then increases the likeliness of these women contracting sexually transmitted diseases and the HIV virus. My research touches on condom use amongst women in Zambia and their clients, which was not without its problems, nor was it consistent. This likely relates to the fear of being exposed as failing to meet the gendered expectations of the African women that I discuss throughout my work.

Work by Kiremire (2006:24) on 'Gendered Poverty breeds trafficking for sexual exploitation purposes in Zambia, Agenda: Empowering women for gender equity', explains that for most women, prostitution appeared a 'vocation', entered into due to lack of alternative options and therefore as a means of survival. Post-independence, HIV/AIDS has become largely focused on, and has influenced the public health discourse. With the prejudiced viewpoint of urban, female prostitutes as being one of the largest 'foundations' of infection, 'sexual networking and transactional sex' has become a core focus in the study of the prevalence of HIV in Africa to date (Merten and Haller 2007:75). My research further touches on how prostitutes have become the scapegoats for HIV in African countries where HIV is prevalent and shows how some

women position themselves 'vis-à-vis prevailing norms as moral selves in the context of HIV/AIDS discourse and how they perceive their risk of becoming infected.'

Prostitution Stigma in African Literature

Prostitution in African literature remains understudied and there is limited scope of discussion on the topic. According to Ajibade (2013:967), the disapproving outlook on women in prostitution is generally still present. In African fictional literature, prostitutes are often blamed for the problems in society and are presented as "damaging" the solidity of the community. Prostitutes are portrayed as people that readers should not sympathise with and as 'evildoers' who deliberately engage in prostitution out of choice (Wasosa 2011:27). Male Ugandan novelist Okello Oculi's story 'Prostitute' (1968), for example portrays character Rosa as a woman who turns to a life of prostitution. Rosa is depicted as both a victim and victimiser and is viewed by others as 'a symbol of the decay in society' (Falola and Hoyer 2017:187). According to Falola and Hoyer (ibid), similar themes permeate most African novels featuring prostitutes, where the prostitute is, 'aligned with traditional views of the sexual pervert, sexually depraved, deviant and an indecent person.'

However, a few writers have shed a more sympathetic light, portraying prostitutes as having to engage in sexual activity out of economic necessity in the struggle for survival . According to Chitando et al. (2015:39), one such example in African literature is the book entitled *Uncertainty of Hope*, in which women enter into prostitution because of the 'fear of economic survival of their families'. In another example, the Shona[5] novel *Mapenzi* written by Mabasa (1999), prostitution is blamed on the neo-colonialism system, but it is also blamed on the individual. In p'Bitek's Song of Malaya (1971), translated to 'song of prostitute' for example, the story is narrated by the prostitute. Malaya however loosely translates to 'whore' (Oldfield 2013:94). Despite this, the prostitute is portrayed as being able to exhibit a sense of triumph and power through her control over her clients. In the passage 'sister harlots whenever you are wake up wash up brighten up go gay and clean', character Karibu is calling together her prostitute sisters in unity (p'Bitek 1971: 132). However, beyond popular culture, there is very little discussion on the reasons that women enter prostitution in developing countries and the issue has been largely neglected by indigenous researchers.

Sex Work and Whore Stigma

In western academia there have been much work done on sex work and stigma, particularly in the last decade. Sprankle's (2018) study on 'The Role of Sex Work Stigma in Victim Blaming

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[5] A Bantu ethnic group native to Southern Africa

and Empathy of Sexual Assault Survivors', for example argues that sex workers face numerous barriers when it comes to healthcare, social services and justice. Sprankle notes that sex work research is often looked at only as inherently harmful, and not through stigma and its effects (ibid:243). Sprankle continues to state that by sex work often being researched from the perspective that it is inherently harmful often merely 'reproduces the stigma against sex work that casts women in the industry as victims and/or deviants' (ibid:243). Sprankle (2018:242) further notes:

> 'Recommendations for sex work decriminalization, changing the conversation of academic discourse on sex work, and educational initiatives are proposed to reduce the stigma of this marginalized population'.

Pheterson (1993:46) in her existing research on Whore stigma (whore meaning prostitute), argues that the use of the term "whore" to describe prostitutes, for many, is not shameful (by definition). Whores become oppressed women because they are criminalised and segregated from the wider community for 'selling their femininity in direct sexual form' (Pheterson 1993:57). Often those that argue they are aiming to "liberate" women, are in fact restricting them from their right to work.

Pheterson further argues that whilst it is true that many prostitutes, particularly women who are considered addicts, or like those in my study who are poor, young or black, often have 'less choice' than those who consider themselves independent whores in the west.

The indiscrimination women often endure, however rather than an inherent characteristic of prostitution is 'considered by an infringement of their safety and denial of their rights' (Pheterson 1993:39-40). In Amsterdam, for example, Whore's who stand behind a window carry out all negotiations independently and have the right to refuse anyone they choose to. Reasons for refusal typically include someone who is rude, refusing to use a condom, suspected of being violent etc. The assumption, therefore, 'that whores go to bed "with anyone" is, in practice, not true for all whores and not desirable to any of them" (ibid). However, Pheterson (1993:40), as noted, acknowledges that undoubtedly this may not be the same for all women. Sex work consequently needs differentiating and modifying across different settings as the lack of choice in prostitution 'is not inherent to prostitution but to abuse, poverty, poor working conditions, inexperience, or despair. Ironically and tragically, the more dependent a woman is upon prostitution for her income, the more forced she is to break a law and the more hindered she is from reporting abuse' (Pheterson 1993:43-44).

Conclusion

In the first half of this chapter I explored the key themes that I have taken from various African feminist/womanist theories. These included the importance of motherhood, family structure, complementarity and the strength of African woman. I established that by placing motherhood at the core of their theories, indigenous feminists/womanists add to psychological stress and the economic pressures of African women. I also established that there are certain groups of people that are excluded from these theories (that aim to represent 'all' African people) because there they are unable to meet the expectations of the woman that have been described. These 'groups' of people include (but are not limited to) lesbians, bisexuals, transgender people. Since my research is ultimately about women who are prostitutes, my literature chapter continued with a discussion on female prostitutes. Prostitutes have been depicted as being unable to meet many of the social expectations outlined in these theories, such as being a traditional wife in a traditional marriage within a structured home and being a model of virtue in the community. My research explores where, if at all, such women can fit into African feminisms/womanisms that supposedly aim to empower all African people.

I have since established that although African feminist/womanist theories are culturally more appropriate and much more consistent with Zambian women's self-understanding of themselves as women, there is room for them to be challenged as ultimately, they appear to be "unfriendly" to prostitutes. By reinforcing an ideal-type of African woman, indigenous theories create potential to reinforce prostitute stigma and disempower those they seek to empower. Moreover, as noted in the previous chapter, it was colonial state powers that influenced certain gendered roles that included the woman as the wife and mother and prior to this there was evidence of women fulfilling roles such as village chief, warrior, etc. Therefore, the same indigenous theories that aim to be free from the west are arguably guilty of mirroring many of the same gendered ideals impacted by colonialism.

These ideals also create potential barriers to creating a 'genuine sisterhood' and fulfilling the shared goal of *all* African people working together in complementarity. Whilst we are unlikely to see a 'pro-sex work' movement emerging within African in the foreseeable future, women who engage in prostitution (like other outliers to the traditional African woman) should at the very least be acknowledged as valid members of African communities. My research gives the opportunity for 'more narratives of African women's identities, lives and roles and statuses' to be told (Ogundipe-Leslie 1994:251).

The second half of my chapter has explored the western theorisation of Stigma which have flourished from the work of Goffman. Although I set out to use only theories that I could argue

were culturally appropriate to my research, I found that stigma theory functions in a certain way, with characteristics that are still very much relevant and applicable to my research. Stigma is a social process which, according to Weiss, Ramakrishna and Somma (2006:280) is 'experienced or anticipated and characterised by exclusion, rejection and blame or devaluation about a person or group'. It is particularly useful in my data analysis chapter where I explore the lived experiences of my participants. I combine stigma theory with variant African feminism/womanisms because my research argues that certain indigenous perspectives, that I have discussed in this chapter, that are meant to liberate indigenous women from the west, are instead reinforcing or contributing to existing stigmas.

Chapter Four: Methodology

This chapter outlines the key factors considered throughout the design process with reference to the literature and details of the methods I eventually used in this study. I begin by discussing the epistemological framework that underpinned my research. I also provide a reflexive account on my researcher positionality, which I view as a crucial point of discussion and as such this permeated many of the decisions I made throughout my research process. I argue that I straddle an "insider-outsider" status in the Lusaka community and I explore the reasons that I may occupy this ambiguous status, highlighting the major implications that this had when I was in the field and how I tackled this issue. I then turn to a discussion of the rationale behind my methodological approach, which entailed both an ethnographic and life history methodology. Finally, I discuss the ethical considerations that emerged in relation to my research including the data management process and the techniques used to analyse my participants narratives.

Feminist Epistemological Framework: A Postcolonial Sensibility

The following question, posed by Marshall and Young (2006:65), contributed to the initial thinking behind my research design:

> How does this research employ indigenous knowledge and literature to reject empire and envision alternative methodologies that rename the experiences of non-Western women from their standpoints, and envisions other ways of representing voices of women and other oppressed groups in research reports? (cited in Chilisa and Ntseane 2010:620).

Taking these considerations into account, my methodological approach and epistemological framework aimed to draw upon African feminist/womanist approaches for guidance, prior, during and post data collection in an attempt to remain culturally and ethically respectful. When I began my research, however, indigenous feminisms/womanisms were still in their infancy and consequently there were scarce resources to draw upon surrounding suitable methodological practice and researcher guidance. In an attempt to overcome this barrier and to try and remain culturally appropriate, I focused instead on how I could use African feminisms/womanism(s) to guide the structure of my interview questions. One way I did this was by carefully framing my questions so they did not make assumptions regarding my participants being victimised or subjugated which, as discussed in my literature chapter, are misconceptions of African women that often appear in "white" texts. I elaborate on this issue further below. Another example of how I used indigenous frameworks to guide my research was when analysing the data collected from my participants. These indigenous works assisted me in framing how I interpreted the narratives and their meanings, for example, guiding how I interpreted power relations and

gender, specifically when located in an African context. I return to this in more detail later in this chapter.

I also applied a postcolonial feminist lens to acknowledge the inevitable impact of my positionality throughout the research process and how this might impact upon the conclusions that I draw. A more detailed discussion of my specific circumstances follows later in this chapter. Mindful of the fact that western guidance could never be wholly relevant to my participants, a postcolonial feminist lens appeared more appropriate because, in ways similar to indigenous frameworks, postcolonial feminism contests western discourse of imperial feminism. Imperial feminism has been argued as depicting white, western women as bringing gender equality to their 'racialized sisters' and has a degree of bias when researching 'non-western' people and diverse cultures (Deckha 2011:133; Mohanty 1991). By taking a postcolonial feminist position, according to Ozkazanc-Pan (2012:574), the researcher can 're-examine' western feminist theories and their 'epistemological assumptions' that have been 'based on positions of power and privilege in the West'. A post-colonial standpoint assisted in recognising that, as a researcher, raised and educated in the United Kingdom, my knowledge has developed within a western context and as a product of western thinking. Indigenous academics could argue that I may not be an entirely appropriate person to be driving a study such as this due to cultural bias. In an attempt to address this issue, I referred to Vanner (2015:1), who employs postcolonial sensibility to acknowledge positionality, power and privilege in research. She encourages researchers to stay mindful of 'ethical and cultural sensitivity' and the 'negative effects of power' when working within postcolonial contexts and emphasises the need to place positionality at the centre of research design:

> The process of setting out an epistemological and methodological framework that integrates and accounts for the power connected to positionality is recommended for all researchers but particularly for new researchers seeking to establish the principles that will guide their research (Vanner 2015:2).

In addition, I was aware that, as a new researcher, I might be more inclined to fall into the 'pitfall' of attempting to maintain a degree of 'neutrality' throughout the interview process. In an attempt to avoid this pitfall and to address any power imbalances, I kept a reflexive account throughout the data collection and analysis process. I did this following Vanner's example, trying and avoid misinterpreting and exploiting my participants (ibid). Through my reflexive account, I continuously referred back to the objectives of my research, which included giving a voice to "damaged" women who have been ostracised, thus giving them a platform for their voices to be heard by society and in the wider academia. Postcolonial feminist positions argue for the acknowledgement of 'messy intersections of subaltern agency and researcher

reflexivity', which in turn often complicate the concept of 'who can speak for whom' (Ozkazanc-Pan 2012:575).

I have attempted to address potential issues of western bias in 'speaking on behalf' of the women in my research. The main way in which I have done this is through reflexive strategies that continuously encouraged me to evaluate my own presence and how the knowledge I had gained prior to this study was influencing the different stages of the research process. I acknowledged that I would inevitably need to draw upon specifically tailored African feminist/African womanist methodological frameworks to guide the study and challenge western approaches to research. I also drew upon postcolonial guidance, despite being of western design, which promotes a continuous practice and modification of reflexive awareness in order to remain sensitive to research relations as being 'never simple encounters, innocent of identities and lines of power'. Rather, these are always embedded in and shaped by cultural constructions of similarity, difference and significant (DeVault and Gross 2012:15).

Applying a Postcolonial Feminist Epistemology to a Life History Methodology

Once I had decided upon the epistemological framework that would guide my research, I acknowledged Step Two of Vanner's (2015:2) design, which encompassed finding a core data collection technique that could 'minimise the negative effects of power on the research participants and maximise their empowerment'. However as discussed above, despite having taken on a postcolonial sensibility during the fieldwork stage, it became apparent that thinking I could "empower" my participants was inappropriate, particularly when coming into the field as a western researcher. I have since eradicated any such language that would suggest that I could "empower" these women.

Such considerations led me to choose to use life history interviewing because this approach is particularly useful in positioning the researcher with minimal "power" and is commonly used in studies on stigmatised women whose voices often go unheard. Influenced by the work of feminist Ann Oakley (1981), interviews are 'best achieved' where there is a 'non-hierarchical' experience and interview reflexivity is practiced:

> Where both share the same gender socialisation and critical life-experiences, social distance can be minimal. Where both interviewer and interviewee share membership of the same minority group, the basis for equality may impress itself even more urgently on the interviewer's consciousness (Oakley 1981:55).

By encouraging participants to lead the interview, 'power' can be shifted onto the participant (Oakley 2005). I believe that such techniques in interviewing could help me to resist attempting to speak for the respondent. Life story techniques are said to create far less biased interviews

compared to other interviewing techniques, where the interviewer has far more influence (ibid). In addition, life histories strengthen the research as they enable the researcher to amass rich, extensive, first-hand qualitative data. I elaborate upon the life history method later in this chapter.

Whilst considering my research design, I scrutinized a wide range of existing empirical feminist studies on and around prostitution. For example, one such study that I looked at was Mandiuca (2014) on 'the impact of a prostitute mother on the child's life circumstances'. In this study, qualitative interviews were conducted with five female prostitutes to explore the experiences of children growing up around mothers who practiced street-based prostitution. The use of qualitative interviewing in this study enabled the researcher to probe further, giving the readers the opportunity to understand each individual story in depth. In acknowledgement of strength of studies such as this, I confirmed that qualitative interviewing was similarly appropriate for my study. I then went on to read several studies such as Burgess-Proctor (2012)'s study on 'Pathways of Victimization and Resistance: Toward a Feminist Theory of Battered Women's Help-Seeking', which used life history methodologies. This study was based on semi-structured life history interviews with 22 'battered' women. The life history method not only enabled the production of in-depth stories, but according to Burgess-Procter (2012), effectively enabled the women to shift the 'power' away from the interviewer through the participants' ability to 'control' the interview.

However, it is important to reiterate that the studies I have discussed so far came from western feminists. As noted previously, the primary reason that I refer to these is because when I began conducting my research there were limited postcolonial feminist works available, especially any that employed life history methodologies. Consequently, I recognise that my study may be prone to western academic and African feminist/womanist critique due to my methodology coming from western guidance (Vanner 2015). However, the analysis of my participants' narratives has been significantly guided by African feminist/womanist theory, which has grounded my research and driven how my thesis developed.

Who am I? Researcher Positionality & Reflexivity

Although life history methodologies aim to make the participant the 'dominant figure' in the data collection process, I acknowledge that as the researcher, I have nevertheless been the 'dominant decision maker'. Sandra Harding (1991) and Donna Haraway (1991) argue that behind any knowledge gained, there is always influence from an original 'producer'. So, whilst my research was driven by the spoken words of Zambian women, as the researcher I inevitably

influence the interpretative process, and therefore I was aware that I needed to remain mindful of this throughout.

As such, I positioned myself as a 'reflective feminist researcher', drawing upon a postcolonial feminist lens. Chilisa and Ntseane (2010:619) describe a 'reflective feminist researcher' as an individual who can 'listen with compassion' to the stories of their participants and 'makes visible their stories [...] that they employ when they communicate their life experiences'. Feminist researchers acknowledge the 'co-creating' role they play in data collection and the construction of knowledge and seek to address any inherent bias through continual 'reflexive practice'. 'Reflexive practice', a term argued by Nancy Naples (2003:214), refers to a more 'thoughtful process', and that the aim is to avoid 'invok[ing] the unconscious responses to stimuli associated with reflex'.

I straddle a unique position in some ways, being a Zambian woman residing in the west. I am the child of a White British father and a Black Zambian mother of Nyanja/Chewa tribe, and can be identified as a female, of mixed White and Black African ethnicity. I previously lived in Lusaka, Zambia but I have resided permanently in the UK since 1996. I have remained in the UK educational system from 1996 until 2019. It can be argued that my gender, nationality, cultural familiarity, networks and position in straddling insider-outsider status vis à vis the community being researched provided a way into interviewing a socially stigmatised group. It might also be suggested that growing up in London provided me with some distance from the dominant perspectives and local discourses around religious moralism and the stigma of prostitution.

On the other hand, it could be counter-argued that my positionality is problematic. For example, during my time in the field there were several moments where I felt particularly western and "white" and consequently also viewed as an outsider to my participants. For example, the way I ate nshima[6] was often grounds for entertainment amongst locals, and despite my mixed complexion I was frequently referred to as a Mzungu[7]. Goodwin et al. (2003:570) proclaim identity as having both 'enabling and disabling' elements, meaning that how the interviewees perceived me was integral to how my results developed. My class, educational, social and political differences could have consequently preconditioned 'exploitation in the research process' (Sultana 2007:374; see also Bhopal 2010). So, despite having once lived in Lusaka and therefore having familiarity with the location, there was a clear, indisputable differentiation to

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[6] The staple food in Zambia. A thick porridge made from cornmeal.
[7] A white person

the home I once resided and the fieldwork setting that I entered. My English accent was problematic at times due to it differing significantly to the sound of the local dialect and accentuating my 'otherness' and heightening my association with the western world, indirectly exerting an unintentional 'authoritative' stance over participants.

My social distance, however, could be narrowed through shared gender socialisation. Burgess-Proctor (2012:322) uses the feminist principle of 'reducing hierarchy' through the notion of 'shared experience of gender'. Through woman-to-woman interviews, I similarly believe I was able to build rapport and went some way towards dismantling my status as an 'outsider'. By acknowledging our shared gender, I believe I encouraged non-exploitive, reciprocal research, further legitimising the data. However, although this concept of 'shared experience' is valuable, it can also be problematic to assume the experience of gender I hold was comparable to what it means to be a 'female' prostitute located in Lusaka. To presume shared experience merely based on the notion of being female, without recognition of location to which the 'other' is situated, would be to contribute to the western gaze of women in developing countries. Oakley (2005:230) explains that all too often there is an assumed sociological assumption about the role of the interviewer; 'where two people may claim commonality on one dimension, may fall apart on another' (Song and Parker 1995:246). So, rather than assume an 'automatic alliance', I followed the feminist standpoint epistemology that encourages researchers to evaluate their presence (Malterud 2001). The epistemology encourages how the position or knowledge of the researcher may outline the different stages of the research process (ibid).

Moreover, the degree to which I could identify with the respondents' ethnic group was ever complex due to my mixed white/black ethnicity. During colonialism, racist experiences with the British and Europeans resulted in Zambian people typically developing pessimistic attitudes towards the "mzungu". According to Tembo (2012:84), the stereotypical mzungu in Zambia is deemed as self-centred, manipulative, exploitive and 'always rich'. A child of a 'Dona' (a Black Zambian woman married to a mzungu) is often referred to as a 'half caste' and expected to have a separate, distinctive culture that is more comparable to European culture (Tembo 2012:85). As noted previously, I was continually referred to as a "mzungu" during my time in the field and references were often made to me being "rich" and this is something that I reflected on continually. Arguably being 'half white' influenced the level of 'acceptance' received by the participants, as not only did I appear more "advantaged" in education and wealth, but the colour of my skin may have created the stereotypical association of having manipulative and exploitative tendencies. As a western researcher, it is possible that I not only represented 'a colonial past, but also a neo-colonial present' (Vanner 2015:1).

Furthermore, my original inexperience with the lifestyle of prostitution may have inadvertently caused a barrier to creating meaningful rapport with participants. Repeatedly ethnographers have failed to understand the cultural norms of their research setting and to show an understanding of the political dynamics and 'interpersonal peculiarities' within it. This has resulted in respondents often 'setting them straight' (LeCompte and Schensul 2015:28). This may have unconsciously caused me to invade practices or routines since I was to not accustomed to their way of living. Equally, at times I might not have fully grasped the 'tacit rules of engagement' (ibid). For example, initially I referred to my participants as being "independent" or "strong", however I was corrected by the NGO gatekeeper who explained that prostitutes in Zambia, a Christian Nation, should never be spoken of in such positive language.

Despite the dissimilarities, I optimistically hold the view that I was not wholly different. Moreover, Clark-Carter (2004) argues that difference does not necessarily impact research negatively. Often, when shared identities between the researcher and the researched are evident, researchers take for granted what they believe they already 'know', and assumptions are made (Liamputtong 2010:116). Chawla (2007:2), cited in Liamputtong (2010:119) contests the notion of needing to be an 'authentic insider'. Chawla (ibid) states 'we are all "another's" in the field […] there will always be facets of ourselves that connect us with the people we study and other factors that emphasize our differences'. Of course, one must acknowledge what can be perceived as 'weaknesses' in the research process, and therefore it was important to pay careful attention to how differentiation can work for the research; which I believe I have done. Through continuous reflexivity, I acknowledged how I may have been influencing the outcome at each state of the research process, beginning with the research design right through to analysis and the write up of my thesis. At this stage, I consequently adapted the questions, language I used (i.e. using local dialect where possible), changed my mannerisms (e.g. curtsied to the elders) and remained wary of my dress code (e.g. I wore a chitenge[8] to remain culturally appropriate and respectful) (Glesne 2006).

The Location: The Non-Governmental Organisation

The non-governmental organisation (NGO) used in this research was located in Lusaka, Zambia. It was described as a Christian organisation with staff members and attendants belonging to either the Protestant or Catholic church. Staff members have reached out to over 7000 female prostitutes since its opening. Prostitutes were recruited by the organisation using

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[8] A piece of cloth typically worn by women wrapped around their chest or waist.

street and network-based sampling and also by targeting and recruiting an influential "Queen Mother" (i.e. the leader of a small cluster of prostitutes).

The organisation described itself as "non-partisan" and "interdenominational in nature" and aimed to protect what they believed were the best interests of prostitutes and vulnerable women. It also aimed to provide educational and nutritional support, health services, rehabilitation (by "choice"), awareness activities and offered self-help groups. For the women who "chose" not to "exit" prostitution, safety training and support was provided. Due to its dependency on donations, which were limited, unfortunately the consistency of the services on offer to those who attended were generally quite limited.

The NGO had three main centres across three locations in Lusaka. It was only possible to access one of these centres since it was the rainy season and poor road conditions resulted in limited access to the other two. Whilst this meant that I could not reach the range of participants that I had originally intended, it enabled me to develop a closer rapport with those at the centre where I was based. The centre that I attended was said to be made up of approximately 60 service users, however the total number who attended during my time at the setting was just 28. Service users all self-identified as prostitutes, "reformed" prostitutes and/or victims of domestic abuse and were all female. Service users who identified as victims of domestic abuse only made up a minority of the attendants. Due to the focus of this study around prostitution, these women were not interviewed for my research.

According to the NGO, service users generally cycled between several stages that they aimed to address through their work and which should be recognised in the research. First, there was the contemplation stage, where the individual was undecided about leaving prostitution and in which the NGO aimed to persuade them of the need for "reform". Second, there was the action stage, where the prostitute was making/had made the move to leave prostitution. Then came the maintenance stage, which was about maintaining their new lifestyle. After this there was the potential to relapse, and then the actual relapsing stage. These stages were all incorporated into weekly focus group discussions at the centre and discussed accordingly.

Ethnography

My first stage of my data collection was an ethnographic study at the setting. Due to my existing relationship with an NGO 'gatekeeper', I was able to negotiate access to the centre prior to arriving in Zambia. I began the ethnography during the month of April 2016, in Lusaka, Zambia and remained there for one year. As discussed above, the entire ethnography stage was based at the one NGO.

According to Singer (2009:191), ethnography can be understood as the study of individuals through intensive fieldwork in 'their own cultural environment' in order to gain an understanding of the world they live in. It involves what Lindlof and Taylor (2002:16) described as 'a holistic description of cultural membership' and requires the field to be 'politically and epistemologically intertwined' (Gupta and Ferguson 1997:3). There is an 'apparent gap between what people know or say and what they actually do', and through observation, researchers can explore and attempt to understand any disparities (Monsen and Horn 2008:69). In view of this, the designed ethnographic methods consisted of on-site observation and participation techniques that aimed to assist in the understanding of the world in which the participants lived. This was thought to enable a better understanding of the health, experiences and potential vulnerability of the women that attended the centre prior to the interviewing stage. I also acknowledged Stacey (1988:21) who writes that many feminist writers have argued ethnography as a suitable method of study in its ability to be a 'contextual' approach to knowledge that can enable an 'egalitarian, reciprocal relationship between knower and known'.

Research Instruments

Prior to entering the field, I created sample checklists as a preliminary guide concerning the general themes I aimed to address during the ethnography. Examples include: perceptions of prostitution, everyday practices, health and health care services (sub-topics around sexually transmitted infections including HIV), cultural/social gendered constructions (sub-topics around in school education, family environment). However, these checklists evolved continuously as my research progressed and as my understandings developed.

Stage 1: Observation and Participation

The first stage in the ethnography involved informal introductions and observation at the NGO setting. I introduced myself to the entire group and explained what my role as a researcher entailed. I briefly outlined the research I was conducting during my time in Zambia and what I aimed to contribute to the NGO whilst there. I explained relevant confidentiality agreements and how the data would be used. I further encouraged those present to ask any questions that I had left unanswered.

Ethnographic research relies on the willingness of participants in 'allowing the researcher to participate in their daily life' (Shariff 2014:5). Trust needs to be built so that 'the subjects can speak through the research' (ibid). Therefore, for the first two weeks at the centre I acted purely as an observer so that service users could get used to my presence and get to know and feel

comfortable with me. No notes or recording devices were used at this delicate stage as I did not want to be intrusive. I attended the support group meetings, where I listened carefully to the individual voices, anxieties, battles and general experiences the women faced in their everyday lives. I did this prior to participating in any discussion (unless directly addressed by the service users themselves) in attempt to avoid influencing and/or shifting the power dynamics.

This period of observation created an opportunity to see the behaviour of the participants in a safe, comfortable environment and to reflect on their circumstances, character and life events (Denscombe 2014). It enabled me to become familiar with the way the centre worked, how the service users interacted with one another and with staff members and get a general overview of how the support groups were carried out. The meetings were focused around what each person had been doing daily, their general well-being and how they were planning to exit prostitution and "reform" in the future. For instance, it was through this process of observing and "listening" to the way the service users referred to themselves that I soon realised it would more appropriate to use the term 'prostitutes' as opposed to 'sex workers', a western term I had wrongly assumed more "appropriate". Those who were no longer in prostitution, as previously noted, tended to self-identify and were referred to by others as having "reformed". For "reformed" women, discussions were centred around how they were to remain "reformed" and how they could encourage others to "reform". In this way, through systematic knowledge gained from the women themselves, I was able to focus on the kind of language that was more culturally relevant and understand more about the context of their lives.

This observational period also enabled me to gain a better understanding as to why the NGO used the group discussion format. The support groups enabled the women to discuss their anxieties informally, in what appeared to be a non-hierarchical setting. The groups aimed to serve what they perceived as being in the best interests of the service users, offering comfort through discussion of shared concerns. According to Wilkinson (1999), focus groups offer the possibility of helping to shift power to those participating. By discussing sensitive and/or traumatic issues in a group, a sense of solidarity can be created through solace of mutual experiences.

After observing the support groups for several weeks, I started leading a weekly focus group, though under staff supervision initially. By the second month at the NGO, support groups became integrated into my ethnographic methodological approach and I was able to devise questions that were relevant to the emerging research themes. These themes included marriage, motherhood, public stigma and terminology such as "the damage". With staff and participant

consent, I was able to lead a total of four support groups, each lasting approximately two hours. I followed the example of Bloor et al. (2001:10-12), who explain the use of focus group in the triangulation process can enable researchers to 'compare results' using a 'collaboration of findings via one method by findings produced by another' and/or follow up information regarding later developments of the study.

The support groups enabled me to sharpen my understanding of shared meanings surrounding local terminology such as " the damage". Additionally, the focus groups allowed me to build a better rapport with my participants and become better attuned to cultural differences and language, as well as encouraging further reflection on my researcher positionality. Whilst the focus groups were invaluable, I do not directly refer to the data obtained from these in my analysis due to the structure of the groups and participant responses (when a staff member was present) appearing significantly guided by the NGO teachings.

Stage 2: Problem Formulation

Through my time conducting an ethnography, I was able to refine my research focus (Singleton and Straits 2005). Originally, the dominant recurring themes that I intended to study were police brutality, public stigmatisation, HIV fears and the need to exit prostitution. The support groups also appeared to be significantly influenced by the concept of public immorality, 'a theory of morally wrong acts and a corresponding theory of attributing blame for such acts' (Richards 1988:123). The groups were guided by religious scriptures, with their principles of right and wrong, and they often ended with prayers asking God for forgiveness for their wrongdoings and to offer guidance so that they could start a better life. It was from such observations that the theme of morality emerged.

Additionally, the theme of motherhood became prominent by the end of my first month at the centre. By the month of August 2016, my observations on and around the struggles of motherhood and prostitution enabled the reconstruction of the life history questions and questionnaires for the interviews that were to follow as it became evident that this was a crucial issue. It was also during this time that I first acknowledged the recurring use of the word "damage" and got an insight of its weight in their everyday lives. However, it was only until the life history interviewing stage that the language around "damage" truly became the focus of my research.

Methodological Implications

A weakness in my ethnographic approach was the one-sided nature of the NGO's in their goal of "reforming" their attendants. Whilst the participants seemed to agree with the belief that

prostitution was wrong and that "reform" was necessary, these beliefs arguably added to feelings of low self-worth especially with the continuous emphasis on immorality. Moreover, what was especially troubling was that there appeared to be no constructive, practical alternatives offered to these women for surviving the conditions of extreme economic deprivation and low social status that they endured. However, the NGO was able to provide a comfortable environment, as well as a community of like-minded women who could join together in a setting away from the public by whom they were frequently tormented and abused, both verbally and physically.

Whilst my access to the centre had been granted by the gatekeeper, gaining individual consent from the women during the ethnography stage was at times impractical due to the continuous comings and goings of the women at the centre. Also, according to Davies (2008:58), during ethnographic fieldwork, gatekeepers usually have authorisation over members of that community, however, the consent given does not always denote approval from every individual. By taking information about the prostitutes without their consent or knowledge, I could be invading their privacy and the corroding the trust of all community members. Therefore, this issue of consent which was particularly problematic, especially when aiming for my research to be 'non-exploitive'. I did, however, attempt to overcome this issue of consent by giving frequent, ongoing explanations to any service users that I had not met before, discussing the nature of the research and my research intentions, so that I gained consent from all new members where possible (Davies 2008:59).

After spending six months at the organisation I extended my time volunteering at the centre by an additional six months, meaning that my time volunteering at the centre amounted to a total of one-year. This was necessary due to the centre only being open sometimes twice a week, making it harder to be consistent in participant-researcher engagement. I believe this extra time at the NGO enabled me to develop better rapport through my continuous engagement with the participants, but also led to improved self-awareness and knowledge that I believe I could not have achieved after just six months. The women also needed to fully understand my intentions as a researcher and their rights as participants. Additionally, this meant that I was able to observe their lives over a longer timeframe, including witnessing significant life events and experiences that had been discussed during their initial interviews, such as falling pregnant, how they reacted to this and how they coped post childbirth. Towards the end of my time at the centre, I also witnessed two participants "reform" and see the praise they received from doing so.

Life History Interviewing

Although the study used a multi-method approach, the central research method was life history interviewing. Qualitative, in-depth interviewing is a widely used method of data collection in qualitative research that aims to achieve a 'holistic understanding' of the participants' situation or point of view (Berry 1999). However, the life history methodological approach has the potential to achieve an even more nuanced, detailed account. This method accentuates every contradiction, confusion and moment of indecision of the interviewee, whilst emphasizes critical moments within the respondent's life that are of great significance to the understanding of the issue at hand - in this case, membership in the marginalised prostitute community. The following section describes the implications of using life history data collection process, and I explain how I used this approach in my study, including an overview of the "sample" and questions I asked whilst interviewing.

Snowball sampling

I felt it was important to recruit and interview some participants who did not attend the NGO. To do this I used a snowball sampling technique, initiated via contacts made at the centre. Snowball sampling is a method of recruitment that involves non-probability and judgemental sampling. The use of snowball sampling via NGO contacts appeared a more feasible method in overcoming problems of data sampling in a study such as mine which involves hidden populations. Moreover, this informal method of gaining participants and has been found to be particularly useful in studies of sensitive issues (Faugier and Sargeant 1997:792). Importantly, it was also thought to be a safer option than street-based sampling, which incidentally was not approved by my university for safety reasons.

The goal was to gain access to a wider sample of participants across various locations in Lusaka in order to broaden the scope of the data and determine the extent to which existing participants' responses had been influenced by the teachings and guidance of the NGO. By doing this the significance of their geographical location (e.g. rural or urban) could also be acknowledged. Although I aimed to recruit a minimum of ten participants from outside the NGO, the number that I actually achieved was only four. Whilst four participants are not a substantial amount, in a country where prostitution is highly stigmatised and often results in prosecution, receiving even one participant outside of the NGO would have been an accomplishment.

Participant Criteria

The epistemological integrity of my research was validated through my choice of participants (Marshall and Rossman 1999). In order to select potential participants, I observed the women at

the centre to ensure they fit my criteria which was based on three factors: they had to be female, self-identify as a prostitute and be over the age of 16 (the adult age in Zambia).

The Final Sample

In total, 20 women were involved in my life history interview phase of the study. Of these, 16 participants were recruited from the NGO and, as noted above, 4 were referred from outside of the organisation. The ethnographic phase, as discussed previously, took place prior to life history interviewing, and this helped me to build a rapport and trust with the participants, as indicated by the fact that participants were willing to refer prostitutes from outside of the NGO.

The interviews were held in a private room at the NGO, where the participants felt comfortable. Each interview lasted an average around two hours. For the four interviews with participants who did not attend the NGO, a private office near the town in which they were located was hired. The demographic information needed such as the participants age, religion, tribe, number of children etc was taken prior to commencing the interview through the questionnaires (see Appendix D). I used these questionnaires with the aim of achieving an overview of each participant prior to the start of their interview. The questionnaires were used to complement the free-flowing nature of life history interviewing as they would enable me to avoid asking such structured questions during the interviewing process. The questionnaires were also designed to be used in conjunction with the thematic analysis phase of the life history interview results to determine if there were any relationships, for example, across tribes, age or religious group.

The participants were all females of Zambian nationality, aged between 16 and 50+ (see fig 3.) and all were mothers to at least one child.

Table to show participants' ages at the time of interviewing	
Age at interview	*Participant count*
11-15	N/A
16 – 20	1
21 – 25	3
26 – 30	5
31 – 35	3
36 – 40	4
41 – 45	1
46 – 50	1
50 +	1
Prefer not to say	1

Fig 3.

The youngest age to have started working in prostitution was 11 years and the oldest was 36. The majority entered prostitution throughout their teenage years or '20s. (see fig 4.).

Table to show participants' age entering prostitution	
Age entering prostitution	*Participant count*
11 – 15	4
16 – 20	9
21 – 25	4
26 – 30	2
31 – 35	N/A
36 – 40	1
40 +	N/A

Fig 4.

12 participants were former prostitutes 'struggling' to remain 'reformed' and 8 were still working in prostitution (see fig 5).

Table to show the prostitution status of my participants	
Prostitution status	*Participant count*
Still in Prostitution	8
No Longer in Prostitution	12

Fig 5.

All participants lived in Lusaka at the time of data collection. One participant identified as a 'Queen Mother', the boss of all the prostitutes that attended the NGO, as well as being a prostitute herself. Her participation encouraged other women to participate in the study. The participants were of either the Bemba, Luvale, Nyanja/Chewa or Lozi tribes and all self-identified as Christians. Only 2 out of 20 participants did not speak English fluently, therefore a multi-lingual female translator was used when necessary. Twelve women became pregnant during their time working as a prostitute (see fig 6.).

Table to show the pregnancy status of my participants	
Pregnancy status	*Participant count*
Got pregnant before prostitution	8
Got pregnant during prostitution	12

Fig 6.

Only 1 participant completed secondary school, whilst 2 participants had never attended school (see fig 7).

Table to show how far my participants got in their education	
Education completion	*Participant count*
Primary school	1
Grade 7 – 10	15
Grade 11 – 12	1
Secondary Education	1
N/A did not go to school	2

Fig 7.

Some 4 participants revealed that they were HIV positive whilst 8 participants had not been tested (see fig 8.).

Table to show the HIV status of my participants	
HIV status	*Participant count*
Positive	4
Negative	6
Unknown status	8
Prefer not to say	2

Fig 8.

Research Questions

The interview questions for the life history method were altered and tailored continuously throughout my time in the field (see Appendix E for an example). The purpose of this was to ensure that the questions developed in tandem with any new understandings that emerged from my observations and participation in the NGO setting. This decision was based on the guidance of Glesne and Peshkin (1992), who advise researchers to create questions that remain culturally relative and within topic. Therefore, it was only when understanding the field that I could create relevant, original research questions with language appropriate to the geographical setting of the fieldwork and culture of my participants.

During the first round of life history interviews, the questions asked were relatively broad. My prior understanding and knowledge of cultural expectations and societal stigmatisation, obtained from the ethnography enabled 'theoretical sensitivity', the pre-attentiveness to data,

prior to obtaining results, of common themes that could occur (Strauss and Corbin 1990). Therefore, part one of the interview, as predicted, included 35 semi-structured questions grouped in the following thematic categories:

- Introductory questions
- Childhood experiences
- Gendered experiences i.e. experience as a woman in Zambia
- Reasons for entering prostitution
- Experiences as a prostitute

Whilst there were many pre-prepared semi-structured questions, not all questions were used during the interview and instead only relevant questions were asked according to the direction of the conversation. Examples of questions asked included:

- Can you tell me a bit about yourself?
- Can you tell me about some childhood experiences?
- Can you tell me about your entry into prostitution?
- Can you about your life when working as a prostitution?

The semi-structured interview technique enabled flowing responses, the respondents to go into eminent detail and the production of in-depth qualitative information. The questions aimed to remain broad so that for the participants could 'lead' the direction of the interview with minimal interruption. If the participants identified as "reformed" the questions were adapted to use language in the past tense accordingly. The same introductory questions however were asked of each participant. The questions were structured through the concept clarification of words such as prostitution, experience, as a woman in order to keep the interviewee connected with rationale of the study. By asking broad questions I was able to hand more control over the participants and away from myself, creating more unconstrained and flexible interview, arguably enhancing internal validity. The interviewees were not guided to the extent they would be, for example, if I were to use structured interviewing that arguably sways participant responses and restricts the researcher from grasping what was truly important to the participants. I also made a conscious effort to avoid steering the participants responses, even through subtle changes in my tone of voice or use of words used when asking questions.

The interview questions were set out in chronological order, from childhood to present day experiences. Participants were then asked to go into greater depth where necessary. The chronological order created a 'before, middle and after' structure which I believe aided theoretical thought and sociological investigation during and after the storytelling process. It enabled a sense of structure amid the free-flowing interviews, which assisted in the later organising of the copious amounts of data obtained. It also enabled me to see how their social position had been affected and influenced across the different stages of their lives.

The interview questions were phrased very carefully and delivered at a slow pace. I emphasised that it was fine to stop the interview at any point. 'Rich descriptions' were encouraged by me, the researcher, by asking 'probing' questions where necessary (Hickman 2006:45). The purpose of this kind of 'probing' served the purpose of delving further into parts of participants' stories and finding out more information around the recurring themes e.g. motherhood. Accordingly, Rubin (2005:4) notes that conversations within interviews are unique, and that the interviewer 'elicits depth and detail' about the topic, whilst the participant can also take control accordingly. Therefore, guided by the responses given, the questions become narrower so as to further delve further into what the participant was trying to explicate.

I did not take notes during the interview, so that I could engage in full eye contact throughout. However, I took reflective notes after each interview on my observations of body language, detailing any questions I may have missed and any general thoughts that I wanted to remember and address in the follow up interview. I did this in acknowledgement of Silverman (2000), who advises interviewers to see the 'effects' that the questions asked have on the participant. On reflection I realised that the phrasing of some language was not clear and at times was not understood by the participants. This was evident through responses such as "I don't understand", "What?", hesitations and long pauses. This was taken into account and the language used in the subsequent interview was more carefully considered and altered accordingly.

Originally, I had planned to conduct the first and second interviews six months apart. However, the exact length of time between each interview was established by two more pragmatic factors: first, the length of time transcribing the first round of interviews would take; and second, the participants' availability. As a consequence, they usually ranged between two months and four months. For one participant, her second interview took place approximately one year after the first interview due to the participant becoming sick.

For the second interview, the questions were restructured and follow up questions were developed according to information retained from previous discussions/points made in interview one (Silverman 2000). Examples of more developed questions included:

- Last time you mentioned getting expelled from school, can you tell me more about your experiences as a 'girl child' at school?
- Can you tell me more about your life around the time you became pregnant?
- Can you tell me more about your experiences attending the clinics?
- Other 'follow up' questions included questions themed around motherhood, "damage" and HIV that had also emerged as prominent themes from interview one.

Diary Extracts

Diaries were given to the women at the end of their first life history interview. It was reiterated that this was entirely voluntary and that they could be given back to me at any point during my time at the NGO. I also gave participants the option of keeping their diaries, rather than handing them back to me, if they preferred. No guidelines were given as to what should be written in the diaries and I encouraged participants to write freely on anything they felt comfortable writing about, in whichever language they chose. Not all participants contributed to this activity, however, due to their inability to read and write. A total of 11 participants submitted diaries. An example of a diary extract is shown below (fig 9):

So I came an expart experience in prositution This time I have all the exprr in prositution. As now I am a queen mother, my work is to see that these young prositutes are looking beauty and attractive to men and make sure around 16 30hrs they start to prepare themselves, 1700hrs they start off to bars and come back around midnight some in the mornings so that they make enough money. when we met in the morning we sit together account the money and make budget. If the money is enough, we even buy clothes so that we look beauty to men and the rest we buy food.

(Fig 9.)

Data extracted from the diaries were used to add to the analysis and shed light on the first hand experiences and injustices that these women faced; to elicit their truths and encourage compassion. Life histories overlapping with diary extracts were used to depict the participants life narratives and encourage less chance of creating a western stance over their life stories. Displaying the direct written words of the participants themselves can be used to further validate the life history method. This forces 'outsiders' to pay attention to their stories, and arguably enables participants to grasp some of the power that has been taken from them in their lived experiences (Burgess 1999).

Reflections

As discussed previously, by volunteering at the NGO for 12 months, I believe I was able to make the participants feel more at ease in participating in the interviewing process. I suggest this due to the influx of women that approached me by the end of my time in the field, eager to participate in the research. This is crucial to the success of any form of qualitative interviewing, especially when delving into sensitive, emotive topics.

A strength of the life history method is its ability to explore and draw attention to sensitive and under-researched issues in society. The life history method enabled me to use individual stories to depict genuine, detailed experiences of individuals and encourage a meaningful and more complex knowledge of societal issues. Feminist theorists have long argued for social change; a movement that life histories encourage through understanding the experiences before attempting to theorise them (Westmarland 2001:10). Through the 20 life histories collected, pathways into understanding and identifying how the participants histories 'initiated, facilitated, or otherwise compelled their 'offending' behaviours' were created (Burgess-Proctor, 2012:314). The women had experienced incidents of social stigmatisation including physical and/or emotional abuse due to their 'immoral' social status. The life histories enabled a relationship between how each individual life narrative related to prostitutes' positionality in society to be acknowledged. The method enabled 'their' view on reality to be shared; an 'inside' understanding; the 'being there' attribute in insightful, quality research (Geertz, 1988). The stories told were not isolated in experience and 'constituted the dialectics of power relations and competing truths to wider society' enabling broad contextual meanings to be established (Bron and West, 2000:159).

Denzin (1992) further suggests that through the use of life histories we can circumvent 'disempowering those we seek to empower' (cited in Hatch and Wisniewski 1995:126). By aiding the respondent to focus on her story, I believe I was able to shift the focus and power back to participants to create a non-hierarchical experience to the best of my ability. The themes that became apparent through this form of qualitative data collection elucidated the recognition that 'the social is present in the person – it does not end at the skin' (Connell, 1994:43). The life history method allowed for internal validity by getting first-hand experiences and reaching beyond 'pathologized conceptions of identity' that characterize, narrow and adjust issues (Sosulkski et al. 2010:30). Having said this, it must be reiterated that my study takes a postcolonial lens so therefore I do not wish to claim that my research will empower my participants, that is not the aim of this research.

Implications

As with any methodological approach, there are potential limitations within my research and these were carefully considered so that I could find ways to counter them. To begin with, despite English being the main language used in Lusaka, it was typically a language than Zambian people learn at school, i.e. by those who can afford an education. The participants all noted that they had long been living in poverty, so only one participant was noted to have completed their education. Other participants had learnt English through parents or peers. As a result, not all participants were completely fluent, so at times, their sentences sounded jumbled and my questions were not fully understood. I attempted to overcome this barrier by allowing more time for the participants to collect and express their thoughts, as well as using relevant phrases I learnt in their tribal language such as, "Do you understand?" and, "Am I clear?" to determine if I needed to find another way of communicating the question. I also attempted to reword and simplify questions where appropriate.

Also, as previously noted, two participants chose to speak in their tribal languages (Bemba and Nyanja, respectively) for the entire interview. For these two interviews, translators were appointed. Whilst a translator was necessary, there are several notable flaws of having an additional person present during life history interviewing. First, the level of depth the participants went into may have been restricted. This was evident at times during the interviews when short responses were given and there was an evident reluctance to go into more detail. At times I consequently had to ask more questions than ideally required for life history interviewing, as short answers were repeatedly given. Since the interviews typically delved into topics around the police and/or illegal substances used or highly sensitive issues such as HIV status, it is not surprising that participants would be reluctant to open up further, especially with another person present. There may have also been the fear that the participant's identity would get disclosed by the translator (despite having a confidentiality agreement with them) and that they might later be further shamed by society. In an attempt to address this limitation, I allowed the participants to choose their translator who, in both cases, was a friend who could speak English. Also, those participants who could not speak English may have felt less comfortable around me, in comparison to other participants, as I was less able to build rapport with them due to the language barrier. Finally, there was also the possibility of the translator incorrectly translating or reinterpreting their stories according to her own judgement.

Some researchers have previously attempted to discredit the life history approach and argued that it is less reliable and/or has less credibility due to it being a personal account. Hatch and Wisniewski (1995:126) argue that all too often qualitative researchers are reluctant to accept life histories as 'paradigmatic knowledge' or a legitimate form of inquiry. Typically, this is due to

life history methods having a reliance on 'human perception'. Equally, participants may change their history to create a "better" story because they believe their truth is inadequate. There is the possibility of self-bias, selective recollection and as questionably partial in information. This is a possible limitation when regarding it as a tool to look at broader sociological understandings of women in prostitution as the research is basing its data on a "personal story" as its prime source of information (Salazar 1990).

I acknowledge these arguments regarding the limitations of the life history approach, however, by using a sufficient number of participants and conducting multiple interviews with participants, I have gone some way in addressing these issues. Any inconsistencies from the first interview was also followed up in the second one. I also 'triangulated' my findings (to an extent), cross-checking where necessary to 'validate' the definitions of language or phrases used, such as "Cassava prick" or "a quick time" or general understandings of "damage" that may have initially been unfamiliar to me. This was an attempt to avoid inconsistencies and outliers that are often ignored by researchers when prioritising a better "story". Overall the aim of the research was to produce raw data and whilst there may have been some inconsistencies, every interpretation of events remains valid and for these women, whose voices are rarely heard. It was important to allow them to speak their own truth. In addition to this, it is important to remember that qualitative research in general seeks authenticity as opposed to being overly preoccupied with reliability and objectivity.

It can also be suggested that researcher bias may influence the way the story is told through their background, worldviews and interpersonal skills (see Salazar 1990). Such influence can permeate the questions being asked and the probes used, all be predisposed by the interests of myself as the researcher and how it will benefit the research. This influence may have also occurred after the "data" had been collected in the editing and transcribing phase, as well as later in the analysis. I suggest this as, like any researcher, I selected the parts that were to be further analysed, that I thought were of 'relevance', arguably constructing the knowledge in the process.

On reflection I also realise that I had romanticised the participant recruitment phase in the research, expecting an influx of participants to immediately come forward. My participants could be categorised as a hard to reach population. In Lusaka, as previously noted, whilst the act of selling and buying sex in itself is not criminalised, prostitutes are often targeted by nuisance laws, soliciting for immoral purposes and living off the earnings of prostitution and are arrested and 'punished' with violence by law enforcements (Meerkotter 2012:52, Crago 2014). Consequently, to be acknowledged as a member of this population is potentially threatening.

Therefore, it stands to reason that these women prefer to remain hidden or live and work in disreputable locations, further reinforcing the 'dirty' label allied with prostitution (Heckathorn 1997:174). According to LeCompte and Schensul (2010:257), marginalised groups often try to remain hidden or avoid the general public and should not be assumed as essentially unified. Likewise, Benoit et al. (2005:264), suggest that outsiders are often viewed with mistrust, and prostitutes are unlikely to cooperate, reveal their identity or give personal information to those considered outsiders or non-prostitutes. As such, the number of participants who initially came forward was extremely limited.

To overcome this difficulty in recruitment, I openly discussed my research in the group sessions, explaining that I was looking for participants and providing information and leaflets on the procedure and issues of confidentiality. The aim of this was to give the women the opportunity to come forward independently; an approach that aimed to respect the women's agency. Nonetheless, the final total was more than sufficient, especially given that life histories generate considerable amounts of data with each participant, so even a small sample has proven to be adequate and of substantial research value.

The process of snowball sampling for further interviews outside of the NGO attendants also posed further implications to the method. Snowball sampling is often seen as problematic due to it arguably excluding others outside of this social network. The initial points of contact drive the subsequent contacts and can therefore limit the 'types' of prostitutes in the sample. This may result in the research being based on prostitutes who share similar experience/views on prostitution. As a result, prostitutes who have fewer social connections or those who do not attend the NGO (i.e. the more hidden prostitutes) are likely underrepresented. According to Johnstona and Sabinb (2010:38) this may violate the principles of sampling as this produces biased data. Due to the research being predominantly based on life histories, I argue that the stories are all individually significant, even if their views cannot be generalised to all prostitutes. The research aims to give the respondents a platform to speak and have their voices heard, not to imply that the researched population speak for all prostitutes. As LeCompte and Schensul (2013:258) note, it is wrong to suppose the features taken from a study on one part of the population are applicable to an entire population.

Ethics and Consent

Life history and ethnographic research have the potential to subject participants to a 'greater risk of exploitation, betrayal and abandonment' than other approaches (Stacey 1988:21). One way in which this can occur, as discussed previously, is through the failure to recognise researcher positionality and power relations:

> When Western feminists enter developing settings, they cannot escape the power relations that exist between those societies or between themselves as academics and their research subjects, even when they wish to do so. Western researchers are in a position of power by virtue of their ability to name the categories, control information about the research agenda, define interventions and come and go as research scientists. (Staeheli and Lawson 1995:332)

As noted previously, I attempted to address the issue through continuous reflexivity, and drew upon African feminisms/womanisms as the framework for the interpretation of power relations. In South African philosophy, it is believed that one can have 'power over the individual without crushing the individual and allowing the individual to blossom as a person' (Senghor 1966:5 cited in Ringrose 2012:25). This was a philosophy I hoped to abide by through my continuous attempts of awareness to power relations and considerations of the participants best interests. However, despite this at times it was evident that there was a power imbalance that could not be eradicated, particularly within the ethnography setting. For example, during the ethnography, the women at the centre would often bring me lunch and curtsy as a symbol of respect. Another example includes when washing the dishes, they refused to let me help, not just because I was still perceived as a guest but because I was told I was a "mzungu". Consequently, despite all attempts to create a relationship of equality with participants, this turned out to be impossible.

Also, as discussed previously my personal ethics were challenged at times when working within an organisation where their agenda was not entirely aligned with my own politics. For example, the NGO talked to their service users about the "unholy nature" of engaging in prostitution and strongly encouraged them to "reform". As discussed previously, I viewed these women as survivors and with respect, which appeared incompatible with the NGO's beliefs. I questioned whether I ought to voice my thoughts on this issue and even whether I ought to work with this NGO at all. However, due to Zambia being a Christian nation, such views towards prostitution appeared to be universal and I had to remain mindful of different cultural views and expectations. Furthermore, in taking a postcolonial sensibility, I did not want to present the view of myself as a western researcher coming into their setting and passing judgment on what I believed was wrong or right.

African Philosophical Ethical Framework: The Transformative Healer

In considering the ethical implications of my research, I was drawn to the work of Yaa Asante Waa Reed (2001:175) and Chilisa and Ntseane (2010:619) who describe the African philosophical view of the researcher as a 'transformative healer'. In rejection of the Euro-western methodological discourse on searching for 'universal truths', Chilisa (2010) suggests this as an alternative, more ethical role for researchers (cited in Ringrose 2012:31). The 'healer' challenges the application of western methodologies by being sensitive to 'working *with* the communities' to 'bring social transformation' (ibid). Chilisa and Ntseane (2010:619) argue that African feminists use the 'transformative healer' as an ethical framework that illustrate the responsibilities of the researcher as a person who works *with* the community and who is 'actively involved in healing, building communities and promoting harmony'. Chilisa and Ntseane (2010:619) explain that African feminists often emphasise healing methods as 'necessary research tools for life-enriching and transformative experiences as well as spiritual growth for girls/women suffering from multiple oppressions and domination'. Ringrose (2012:25) advises that researchers need to be reflective so that they can employ and/or make visible how these women take on the healing methods when they narrate their stories.

I was aware of this indigenous ethical framework prior to entering the field and, in truth, I was troubled by the idea that I could assist my participants in any substantial or meaningful way. For me, these frameworks presented a romanticised and pressurised view of the researcher, and I felt that in reality, being able to make a significant difference to the lives of one's participants is not achievable in most cases. I therefore wanted to be particularly mindful of participants' expectations of what I could offer in return for their participation, and I frequently reiterated this throughout the recruitment and data collection phase of the research process. Despite this, it was clear that many participants still looked to me for 'rescuing'. In fact, the theme of needing to be "saved" by someone, that often appeared directed at me, was present in many of the interviews. Katungu, for example, used a direct approach and cried, 'I beg you Daisy, I want to stop being a prostitute, if you could help me, some money so that I can start a business.' Others were less direct; for example, Lukonde stated, 'If someone can come in the future or build me a house, I can be very happy,' and then reiterated in her second interview, 'If someone can stand up and assist us, we would be very grateful.'

I often found myself feeling extremely emotional after hearing such emotional pleas for help during the interview process. I found comfort in talking to my partner, where I was able to share and reflect on my personal emotions with him. Also, rather than focusing on what I could not achieve, I tried to reflect on what was possible. I framed these thoughts by focussing on the following questions noted in Ringrose (2012:31):

1. 'What is my purpose as a researcher?'
2. 'What needs to be done about social transformation and to heal those who are suffering?'

Whilst I acknowledge that neither I, nor my research, could 'heal' the participants as such, I could bring about a certain level of visibility to their stories and contribute to raising attention to their plight, as well as highlighting changes that are needed in policy and program. I also believe that in listening to these women with compassion, research can be therapeutic and, in this way, to an extent, I could perform the 'healing' role. Additionally, if any of the women interviewed had not been receiving support through the NGO, I provided them with information at the end of the interview, signposting them to a range of medical and psychological support resources, such as Kara Counselling Hope House and the SOS Social centres located in Lusaka. I also followed the basic goal of African philosophy of caring for 'ubuntu' (humankind). Muyingi (2013:561), explains that 'the key to understanding African ethics' is to have dignity and respect of every human being and their community. Respect, dignity and concern for the welfare of these women is something I kept at the forefront of my mind and strived to achieve throughout the research process, through reflexive practice, self-awareness, awareness to difference and abiding by traditional ethics.

Paying Participants

The two interviews took a combined total of between three to four hours for each participant, which is a substantial time loss for these women who, for the most part, "never stop working". I therefore felt strongly that I should pay the participants to compensate them for their time, despite existing studies suggesting that there are ethical implications in paying participants. For example, Sandel (2003:77-85) argues that paying participants means that their involvement in the research is not truly voluntary. Head (2009:343) contributes to this idea stating, 'payments to participants could be said to degrade the idea of a common good that research contributes to, and instead transform it into another marketized exchange'. Head (2009) however also states that a monetary incentive increases the chances significantly of recruiting participants. Attracting customers, however, was not my motive for paying the women involved in this study. My concerns were centred around the fact that those involved spoke of their desperation to exit poverty and their immediate need for food and money. Whilst participating in the interviews would not solve their problems, nor would it enable them to start a business like most longed for, it could provide them with a small stipend that could buy food for themselves and their families food for a week. I suggest this because it was established during the interviews the women made an average of the equivalent of $2 per day. I offered the women the equivalent of $10 per interview, therefore a total of $20 for both interviews. Food and drink

were also provided for the women, most of whom took it home to share with their children. For these women, $10 was a substantial amount and enabled me to have a sense of 'giving back' to these women for participating in my research and taking the time to share their stories (Oakley 1981).

Additionally, as Head (2009:337) and Rowlingson and McKay (1998) explain, payments can act as a token of gratitude to thank participants for their time and contribution to the research. Likewise, the act of paying an interviewee can, according to Goodman et al. (2004:821) can address power imbalances through the participant also compensating from the data collection, 'especially when researchers themselves are likely compensated through salaries or other external rewards'.

Data Management

Interviews were recorded using a small digital voice recorder (Olympus WS-831), positioned on the table for minimal distraction. The digital audio recordings of the life stories of the participants were extensive in volume due to the life history methodology employed.
The data was classed as sensitive data due to it containing confidential information. To protect the information received, the digital audio recordings were stored and backed up regularly on my laptop, external hard drive (kept in a locked cabinet in my home that only I had access to) and Google drive. The interview transcripts were transcribed by me personally, and participants were given pseudonyms to protect their anonymity. The transcripts were also stored securely according to the same method as the audio files. 'Speaker tags' were used throughout the transcripts to signify where questions were asked by the interviewer were added where relevant.

To organise the data, descriptive metadata was used to describe the content of the interviews as well as information about the formats, rights, file size etc. The metadata, anonymity of interviews, file formats and procedures were continuously developed throughout the data collection and research process. Any files that contained names were encrypted and password protected and only accessible by me. Hard copies of field-notes, any interview notes taken post interviewing were again kept securely locked in my locked cabinet. After the notes were documented onto a laptop and then backed up, the hard copies were destroyed to ensure they could not be restored and misused at a later date. I also checked the Data Protection Act continuously for any further standard protocols I should follow throughout the research process in order to ensure data security.

To ensure quality control, prevent distortion and misrepresentation of the data, the data collected was profusely checked to ensure it accurately displayed what was discussed within the interviews. I gave all participants the option of reading and making any changes to their final transcripts. For the participants who could not read and write, the translator was present through the checking process.

Anonymity and Confidentiality

Anonymity and confidentiality were of upmost importance in this research project for several reasons. As discussed previously, the penal code under current Zambian law proclaims that the act of selling or buying sex in itself is not criminalised. However, prostitutes can still be arrested under the following offences: soliciting for purposes that can be deemed 'immoral', living off 'wages' earned through prostitution, violating nuisance laws and for keeping a room/house to use for prostitution (Kiremire 2006:23-24). The Penal code consequently makes it complex for prostitution to occur without violating the law and accordingly makes it uncomplicated for prostitutes to be prosecuted by law enforcements (Meerkotter 2012:52; Crago 2014). As also noted, there are great levels of stigma surrounding prostitution in Zambia. Additionally, the vulnerability of some participants was further heightened because of their HIV status, rejection from loved ones and traumatic past experiences. With this in mind my participants were informed of the purpose and objectives of the research and had been given relevant consent forms, prior to the interview date to take away, read and sign once fully understood. The consent forms would then be taken to the interview where any relevant questions the interviewee had were discussed prior to the interview beginning. The translator was appointed by the gatekeeper and confidentiality ensured (to the best of my ability).

All names, addresses and identifying features given in the interviews were removed from all transcripts, replaced with pseudonyms and vague descriptors. However, the data was still distinctive to each individual, meaning that it was still possible for them to be identified. Additionally, there was still the possibility of individuals being identified by virtue of being a service user at the NGO. Therefore, I needed to be realistic about the extent to which I could protect the anonymity of the participants and had to be cautious when explaining the degree of confidentiality I could offer. As Davies notes, the goal of disguising identity completely can often be 'idealistic' (2008:60). The participants were aware of such potential prior to signing the consent form.

Additionally, since the life history interviews were carried out in the same setting where the ethnography occurred, I also had to be extra cautious that I did not reveal any details to other participants in the study. DeWalt et al. (1998:273) explain that it is the responsibility of the

ethnographer to carefully consider what the impact of information the researcher produces will be and to make mindful decisions on what should and should not be reported. Moreover, as noted previously, four participants were not from the NGO and were recruited through snowball sampling. For these participants, their interviews were held in a rented office. Due to the setting being more public, there were times where I was concerned that the security guards were becoming suspicious. For example, on one occasion a security guard asked us what the interviews were about and then asked us to leave for 'inappropriacy', despite us not informing him of the topic. This encouraged me to think more deeply about issues surrounding ethics and participant safety, as it made the interviewee feel uncomfortable and increased the potential for further stigmatisation. I then chose a more private setting for the follow up interview with the non-NGO participants, opting for an outside garden instead.

Thematic Analysis

In analysing the data, I acknowledged two main guidelines for qualitative analysis as outlined by Boyatzis (1998:11). The first of which is 'the sensing themes' and identifying noteworthy moments in interviewing. The second part is 'interpretation', where the information and themes are interpreted according to context or theory, linking to prior knowledge obtained from the existing literature. Coming from a postcolonial feminist framework, l searched for an analytical technique that could be informed by indigenous standpoints (Chilisa and Ntseane 2010). I wanted to highlight the shared, localised perspectives and individual experiences to shed light on the lives of women in Zambia (Lewis 2008:575). To do this I looked for a method of analysis which could acknowledge thematic similarities in the spoken word, as well as any disparities, and assist in determining which research 'question' or 'topic' needed the most attention for discussion.

According to Braun and Clarke (2006) a method useful for the examination of similar and diverse perspectives in qualitative data is thematic analysis. Braun and Clarke (2013:175) state that thematic analysis 'aims to focus on the participant's standpoint - how they experience and make sense of the world'. Nowell et al. (2017:2) similarly argue that thematic analysis provides credibility when working with a substantial amount of qualitative data and assists in the framing of specific research questions. It does this through offering a systematic method that enables researchers to provide readers with consistent, 'rich', 'detailed' and yet complex accounts of the data (ibid). As noted by Guest et al. (2013:13), thematic analysis is typically less concerned with creating a theoretical model and more so with producing 'recommendations to program and policy change', which is consistent with the anticipated outcome of my research. Braun and Clarke (2006:84) explain that there are two levels of thematic analysis, 'semantic and latent'.

The semantic level does not 'look beyond what the participant has written or said'. In contrast, the latent level 'examines the underlying ideas, assumptions, and conceptualisations – and ideologies - that are theorised as shaping or informing the semantic content of the data' (ibid). This is the level of analysis that I aim to achieve through this research.

The Stages of Analysis

Thematic analysis involves a series of tasks, including 'the process of reading through textual data, identifying themes of the data, coding those themes, interpreting the structure and content of the themes' (Guest et al. 2013:13). The aim is to find key patterns in the data and to deconstruct key vocabulary, and it is appropriate for the analysis of the 'spoken word' in interviews, focus groups and observation field notes. Hall (2008:259), Boyatzis (1998), Ryan and Bernard (2000), describe this process as the 'explicit' process of coding the information into categorise, pulling the qualitative data together through similar phrases, sentences, words and so on that highlight shared understandings.

Stage 1: Immersion in the Data

The first step was to transcribe the data. Despite it being a time consuming task, I did this myself rather than outsourcing the transcription (see Appendix F and G for small samples of my transcripts). In fact, this was a beneficial process as it enabled me to become fully immersed in the data, becoming intimately aware of the content of each interview, the language used and the emerging themes. As such, the analysis arguably began with the transcription process, through which I developed a deeper appreciation for each individual narrative. At this stage I had already developed some clear ideas about possible codes that could be used for the more next stage of analysis (Braun and Clarke 2013:175).

Stage 2: Coding the Data

Once all the data was transcribed, I re-read each transcript in search of inconsistencies, key patterns, language, themes etc. that had been missed. After doing so, I could systematically code the data in an organised and meaningful manner.

The research used theoretical thematic analysis, as opposed to a more inductive approach, due to being more concerned with 'addressing specific research questions [...] and 'open coding, that developed and modified codes' as I worked through the transcripts (Maguire and Delahunt 2017:3355). Some of the issues that I was interested in and which I therefore coded include: 'education', 'marriage'. 'damage', 'violence', 'pregnancy', 'police', 'clinics', 'hospital', 'motherhood', and 'bride price'. For example, if a participant spoke about experiences of

physical abuse with a client, wife of a client, representative of state or general member of public etc., I would highlight and categorise the text segment using the colour code for 'violence'. An example of this can be found in Appendix H.

Most qualitative researchers make use of widely available software such as NVivo to assist in the grouping of themes and sensing patterns. However, despite having access to such software, I preferred the more simple route of rigorously going through the hard copies of each transcript with a highlighter, whilst recording notes into a Microsoft Word document. The codes and notes were categorised by the names of the participants and relevant data extracts (see Appendix I).

Stage 3: Establishing Themes

My next step was to identify themes and sub themes that had emerged from the data (see Appendix I). A theme has been described as 'a pattern that captures something significant or interesting about the data and/or research question [...] characterised by its significance' (Maguire and Delahunt 2017:3356). To do this I fitted the codes into broader themes to search for connections between them, for example:

- Entry into prostitution: **damage**, **education**, **marriage**, **poverty**, **motherhood**
- Reasons to stay in prostitution: **damage**, **education**, **marriage**, **poverty**, **motherhood**
- Lack of education: **pregnancy**, **damage**, **poverty**,
- Prostitution Experiences: **violence**, **damage**, **poverty**, **pregnancy**, **clinic**
- Healthcare: **damage**, **clinic**, **marriage**, **poverty**,
- Experiences in prostitution: **violence**, **poverty**, **clinic**

In doing this I was able to see where the data overlapped, the frequency of occurrence of each theme and determine prominent sub-themes across interviews. All the codes fitted into at least one of the broader categories. I also sectioned relevant 'quotes' and/or segments of the transcripts underneath each theme in a separate document, labelled with the participant's name beside it so there was not a 'cross-contamination' of data.

Stage 4: Reviewing, Defining, Naming

I began reviewing the themes, carefully considering the relevance of each, following a checklist of questions provided by Maguire and Delahunt (2017:3358) for researchers conducting thematic analysis:

1. Do the themes make sense?
2. Does the data support the themes?
3. Am I trying to fit too much into a theme?
4. If themes overlap, are they really separate themes?
5. Are there themes within themes (subthemes)?
6. Are there other themes within the data?

I also looked at the coherence of each theme and sub-theme, searching for any possible connections that I may have previously missed and/or deeper meanings that remained unexplored. It was during this stage that the significance of the theme of "damage" became apparent. The term was consistently used across all narratives and it was connected to all of the other themes in some way. For example, the core theme of "damage" was associated with the lack of education, the "lack" of marriage, public experiences of violence etc. "Damage" as a theme then became more defined i.e. I looked at 'the essence of what each theme is about' (Braun and Clarke 2006:92; Maguire and Delahunt (2017:3351). This allowed me to question the 'how' and the 'why' it was important, for example: 'What does the damage actually mean? Why/how does the damage link to negative experiences? Why do women who are damaged leave school? What do "damaged" women want?' I followed this by creating a damage cycle map that defined the term and reviewed its connection and relationship to the other themes and subthemes mentioned. The thematic map was subjected to continuous alteration and modification throughout due to the complexity of the term and its deeper meaning (see Appendix J).

Stage 5: Producing the "Report"

This stage describes the process of writing up the final "report". The thematic map that I had already created guided the written analysis. It served to draw attention to a new, overall narrative that, by this stage, been created from the data collection (Braun and Clarke 2006). By looking closely at the findings and exploring prominent themes across multiple narratives, an understanding of "damage" and its relationship to broader social and structural issues could be established. The new narrative established this "damage" to Zambian women as relevant to related broader contemporary and historical studies of stigma and power relations. It also made me question variant indigenous studies such as African feminism/womanism that were created to accommodate all African people.

Triangulation

Adapting my methodological design early on in my research process to include ethnography created meant that I was able to triangulate my findings, and I believe enabled me to gather 'rich data' (Jick 1979). As Denzin and Lincoln put it:

> Triangulation is the simultaneous display of multiple refracted realities. Each of the metaphors 'works' to create simultaneity rather than sequential or linear. Readings invited to explore competing visions of the context and to become immersed in and merge with new realities to comprehend (2005: 5-6).

According to Denzin (1978) and Creswell (2003), triangulation enables data to be supported and have increased internal and external 'validity' through cross comparison and the integration of

qualitative results. Whilst 'objective reality can never be captured', with a combined ethnographic and life history design, I gained a clearer picture of the social life of my participants by comparing the extensive data taken from the life history approach with information gained through observation and participation (Flick 2002:226-227). By using multiple methods, I believe I have secured an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon in question (Denzin and Lincoln 2005:5).

Conclusion

In this chapter I have outlined the design of this research from my theoretical framing to my methodological approach and ethical considerations. I have detailed every research encounter from the recruitment stage, to the data collection methods, right through to the final analysis and write up.

Due to the sensitive nature of this work, I have acted as a 'reflective feminist researcher', with a postcolonial feminist lens. This guided me through the various implications that came with straddling an insider-outsider status in the Lusaka community.

Whilst my study utilised a multi-method approach, it has been ultimately concerned with a life history methodology, that is at the core of my thesis. This is because my study aims to examine the lived experiences of female prostitutes in Zambia and this method enables a space to be created for individual experiences and voices to be heard, that are often unheard in the wider community (Takhar 2013:72). By recognising each individual story, wider societal issues can be addressed (Burgess-Proctor 2012). Chapters Five and Six that follow provide an analysis of these narratives that have been collected using this life history method.

Chapter Five: Case Studies

In this chapter I share four of my participants' (edited) life story narratives. Due to the of the highly sensitive nature of the topic and my need to do justice to these women's stories, I use this chapter to provide a deeper insight into my participants' lives and the complexity of their lived experiences including those that go beyond the "damage", rather than delving straight into my analysis. All my participants' stories are important and of equal value, however I am limited by space. In view of this, I have included short biographies of all my remaining participants, in my thesis appendices (see Appendix A). The key themes presented in these narratives include poverty, the damage, gender discrimination in education, rape and sexual abuse, and motherhood.

Mwiza

At the time of her interview, Mwiza was 27 years old and single with two children. Mwiza's father divorced her mother when she was six years old. Her father then remarried and stopped providing financially for her family. Consequently, Mwiza, her mother and siblings moved into their grandmother's house. Her mother died when she was eight years old and so she was sent to live with her uncle. She described him as a "mean" man that was extremely violent towards her and her sisters, often threatening to kill them:

> He told me and my two sisters, 'I won't be able to take care of you. I even told your mother if she dies, I won't be responsible so you should start working.' So, I started working as a maid, yes at 10, so I decided to look for school, I loved school by then but no sponsorship. I stayed there, I worked for six months but I never got any salary, my uncle used to take that salary. When it's month end, he would collect the month then he'd say, 'No, I will look for this money then I will keep this money, I will buy something for her or take her to school,' but that was a lie.

> [...]Then he was telling me, 'Nowhere we are going there, a lot of food I will give you,' and by then I stayed for, should be a day, yes a day without eating anything but I could, I could do anything at home, wash, clean anything at home even if I cook, I prepare for them, immediately I prefer for them to eat the food then they send me away. They tell me to go, maybe fetch water or just go and do something. When I come back, they have finished, so I had to collect those things then I wash them. If I don't wash them then I don't sleep in the house, I sleep outside.

Mwiza ran away with her sisters but they were found by policemen who, instead of "saving" them, tried to rape them. She developed rape trauma syndrome and tried to commit suicide by drinking a combination of crushed needles and rat poison:

> So, I closed my nose and my eyes, and I had to open my mouth so, so wide so I could put a lot. Here it was horrible. It was paining. So, after I finished, I took some needles, two needles and my uncle, my uncle was a drunkard, so he had a lot of bottles in the house. So I smashed some, then I broke some needles, then I also smashed, then I put some water, I drink because I heard that if you put some glasses they cut the intestines

> so I had to drink and I thought now I am done. I said, 'God receive me, I want to be with my mum,' and that's when I collapsed.

Luckily, she was found by her uncle who nursed her back to recovery.

Just when things started looking up for Mwiza, her and her sister were raped by a friend of their family who they also referred to as "uncle". Mwiza ran away and entered a life of prostitution to survive. Not long after engaging in prostitution, she fell pregnant. For fear of falling into absolute poverty if she were to have no income coming in, she attempted an illegal abortion. However, her abortion failed to work and Mwiza saw this as a sign from God to keep her baby. Mwiza managed to find work with a local charity that assists local clinics with HIV testing and stopped working in prostitution. The money however was so meagre that every day she contemplated returning to prostitution.

me. At the age of ten I was sent by to go and buy something and one of our family friends who we called uncle took me and raped (diffled) me. In the same year I was involed in the road accident and was adimeted in the hospital.

In the same year my uncle and Aunt told me to start working and so Inrobed and a modion. So I never got my Salaries but my uncle did. One day when I stoped working. At the age of 15 my sister introduced me into prostitution and after that I faced so many challenges.

Chanda

At the time of her interview, Chanda was aged 33. She grew up in Siavonga but later moved to Lusaka, where her siblings lived. There was a total of nine children in her family (including herself), three girls, and six boys. In 2001, Chanda was expelled from school for having sex with her headmaster. It was the same headmaster who expelled her from school. She explains:

> At that time, I didn't know my rights. I was supposed to take them to court or the police so that I could sit for my exams, but I hadn't known what courage was, that life was punishing me.

Because of her expulsion, her parents became very angry and so she ran away from home. This resulted in her entering into prostitution for survival. Chanda's parents are still alive, however she has since lost contact with them.

Chanda described a traumatic event that took place when she was trying to find transport that could take her to Lusaka to be with her siblings. Since she had no bus fare, she offered sex as payment to a bus conductor. However, the bus conductor arranged for three other men to also meet with them. Each conductor repeatedly had sex with her against her will:

> One after the other, straight in, straight out at the same time...They were just exchanging. Exchanging the other one comes, the other one comes.

The bus conductors then spread rumours around the village that they had had sex with Chanda, with the news even reaching Chanda's father. She described the feeling as "shameful" and blamed herself for what had happened. She described it as the worst moment of her life. Chanda became dependant on alcohol as a way of coping with her traumatic past and coping with prostitution.

Chanda has only ever had one boyfriend throughout her life. However, this relationship ended when her "damage" became publicly visible because she fell pregnant outside of marriage. Despite her boyfriend having contributed to the "damage", he refused to provide any financial support to help her or to look after their child. As a result, Chanda felt that she could not escape prostitution. When I met her, she had three children, two of whom were fathered by clients.

When I first interviewed Chanda she had recently stopped working in prostitution because she was diagnosed with HIV:

> What made me stop? I found out that I was HIV positive. By that time, I've got kids to look up for. So, I had to stop so that at least my health can be sustained. I had to stop. And I came to know God when I found out that I was HIV positive, I thought I should just change because at times again I feel bad again when you sleep with someone you are infecting, it is not good especially when you know God. It is not good. So that is what made me. When they told me I was HIV positive I refused. I said, 'No, I can't be positive. Why me? Why me? I am looking healthy. Me being positive no.' But there came a time where I was very sick. I got ill, I nearly died, then they introduced me to RV's. That is when, I just accepted it. I had to accept my situation. That is why I am still here otherwise I would be long gone.

However, Chanda returned to prostitution soon after because she was in acute in poverty. She thereafter preferred to be named neither a sex worker nor prostitute. She chose not to define herself and believed God would give her a chance to change and one day redefine herself, stating, 'God allows people to change, God lets people change their name and who they are.'

Bridget

When I interviewed Bridget, she was 36 years old with two children. She first became pregnant at the age of 16 and consequently did not finish school. She got married to the man who she got pregnant by, however, he soon divorced her to be with another woman. Soon after, Bridget entered prostitution because she had no income and needed to feed herself and her child. She also longed for her children to be educated. She moved into the "Queen Mother's" home, where several other prostitutes also lived. They all slept on the floor in one room. She explained the Queen Mother's role as follows:

> The Queen Mother would just be staying at home waiting for us to make money, she was like the boss, doing nothing only waiting for the money the girls would bring. The job which that Queen Mother had was to just direct us to go to the places where rich men are found. So, she could, she was the one telling us the places to go but her she would stay at home doing nothing. We used to go with different men, old men, old men when we are given money the Queen Mother would make sure she took all the money without leaving us anything. One day I was drinking beer in the bar, I found a man, that man started encouraging me saying, 'Why are you coming in this place? Don't you know you are very young and very beautiful? Do you know that you can change your life? You can find a man that can keep you and your children.' And when I started thinking about what that man said so I failed to continue that night to do prostitution, I failed because of those words. I went back to the Queen Mother without money and when I went there, I was beaten and chased away.

Bridget became HIV positive whilst working in prostitution, where she was engaging in unprotected sex. It was upon discovering she was HIV positive that she decided to stop working in prostitution. She blamed her estranged husband for her feeling forced into prostitution and contracting HIV:

> My husband leaving me, that is what caused me to go back again to sex again. I went back to prostitution. It was times two for me to start sex working. I was not managing, I was thinking, 'How I am going to, what am I going to give my children?' So, I should just go to prostitute so that I can be giving them food, clothes, taking them to school.

Bridget now attempts to find money by any means, typically by selling homemade peanut butter. Bridget, like my other participants, lives in poverty.

Eva

Eva was 24 years old at the time of being interviewed. She described herself as a 'strong Christian' and has five siblings; three sisters and two brothers (one of whom had passed away). All remaining siblings now lived together, including Eva in a small house in Lusaka. Her mother was alive, but her father died when Eva was very young. She became pregnant whilst she was at school and was consequently forced to leave because she had become "damaged". She was told it would be bad for the school's reputation if she were to remain in school:

> I was supposed to be pregnant with a man who would marry me but since I was an early mother it's difficult for you to have a baby, a child, so since this time things were difficult for me, my friends they were laughing at me, things were complicated for me. Actually, it affected my life as I told you earlier, as an early mother things they are difficult, your friends they start laughing at you, 'Have you seen that girl, she is pregnant now, how can you be?' When you are positive, you stop being positive because you are pregnant [...] A lot of people laughed at me all over, teasing me, so I wanted to kill myself.

Eva was only 11 when she started working in prostitution. Her friend introduced her to her Queen Mother. Eva still works in prostitution but hopes to one day "reform". She worked both day and night. In the daytime she sold beers and lollies, and in the night time she engaged in street prostitution. Her family did not know she worked as a prostitute.

The money Eva earned from prostitution was given to her Queen Mother, who provided her with a wage. If Eva did not return from her night shift with an amicable amount of money, she was beaten by her Queen Mother, or by men referred to as, 'her [the Queen Mother's] gym men', who would beat and rape her. When I asked why she had a Queen Mother if she were so violent towards her and took any money she earned, she explained that it was due to the hierarchy that exists on the street amongst prostitutes. Prostitutes who have been working in the prostitution business for a longer duration of time tended to have more control over the streets. For example, only those believed to be high-class professional prostitutes were permitted to loiter outside the hotels. Having a Queen Mother made her feel protected from other prostitutes who she feared when she first began working.

Eva continues to work in prostitution because of her child being 'fatherless' and because she is 'damaged':

> I was damaged, so I had no support for my daughter… I cannot wait to feed my children, I need money every day.

She referred to her 'sex pills' as a drug she used to help her through the night. The medical name for the drug was unknown but she described it as, 'sometimes blue, sometimes brown, sometimes even white", approximately 1 cm in size and to 'activate' it they would drink beer.

Chapter Six: The Results

This chapter explores the key term that was extracted from my participants narratives that was described as "damage" or " the damage". As discussed previously, damage can be summarised as the idea of an unmarried woman who has become spoiled by sexual contact. This type of "spoilage" often becomes manifest by having an illegitimate child, and a prostitute is also defined as a damaged woman. However, when a woman becomes damaged, for instance by becoming pregnant outside of marriage, she is also more likely to enter into prostitution. Consequently, damaged women are usually associated with prostitution and subjected to various forms of stigmatisation.

I begin my analysis by scrutinising the concept of "damage". I look at its origins, arguing that it is likely a product of the "civilising project" of colonial times, as it reflects the historical English legal codes and Christian moral frameworks that were imported into Zambia. I come to this perspective because the notion of damage shares many similarities with cultural ideas in the mid-to nineteenth Europe. Then the chapter uses narrative analysis to present how damage operates today as described by my participants. Their experiences of the damage are categorised into four themes; internalised damage, the 'hule'[9], education and health care provisions, and as such I follow this structure in my discussion. All participants described the negative and discriminatory experiences that were associated with damage. Within these themes, where relevant, I look at the three levels of stigma, i.e. micro, meso and macro, as outlined in my literature review (Chapter Three). These three levels of stigma are presented as being interlinked and working in conjunction with one another. Where appropriate, I also discuss the three interrelated manifestations of stigma as developed by Bos et al. (2013), that are self-stigma, public stigma and structural stigma.

The final part of this chapter explores where, if at all, damaged women fit into the African feminist/womanist theories discussed in my literature chapter. I establish that there is also great ambiguity as to whether my participants could ever be representative of 'the African woman' as described by these theorists, even though their stated aim is to strive for the liberation of all women. I then look at alternative versions of womanhood that can, and evidently do exist.

African feminisms/womanisms are likely to take a dim view of prostitution as my participants contradict what they praise about 'the African woman'. Despite this, my chapter concludes that the values of femininity, maternal ethics and home, which African feminists/womanists hold

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[9] A prostitute or promiscuous woman.

dear, are also what my participants represent and value. My participants, in their own unique way, represent 'the African woman' and this connects them with African feminism/womanisms.

Part I: The Origins of Damage

This chapter now looks at how the existing notions of damage may have come about in Zambia. I explore this issue through the following themes that have relevance: 'The Rogues and The Vagabonds', 'Western Christian Influence' and 'Commodifying the Woman'. This discussion closely relates to my previous chapter, Chapter Two, in which I explore colonial influence in Zambia, because I argue that damage, like stigma surrounding prostitution, has likely to have been significantly impacted by colonialism.

The Rogues & The Vagabonds

In Chapter Two I have argued that the rise of prostitution in Zambia was largely a consequence of the impact that colonialism had on gender relations, combined with the scarcity of employment opportunities for women. It is likely, however, that prostitution may have existed in Zambia far earlier than colonial reign and before Western influence. Although there is little evidence of pre-colonial prostitution in Zambia specifically, historical acts of sexual activity in the exchange of a form of gift or payment have been recorded as occurring in African countries long before they were invaded by colonial state powers. For example, there are historical accounts during the time of the Pharaohs that depict prostitution as a 'sacred indulgence' in ancient Egypt (Little 1984:88-94). In central Africa, prior to the influx of European settlers, it was argued that some chiefs encouraged women to provide sexual services as payment to traders (ibid). There is also evidence of prostitution in developing cities in precolonial West and East Africa (ibid).

Whilst acts of prostitution may have existed prior to Western influence, they were not punishable by law. In most places, official laws surrounding prostitution that aimed to regulate and punish those selling sex came with the colonial powers under which the incidence of prostitution increased. In Zambia, for example, the British laws and regulations imposed during the colonial period targeted 'promiscuous' women. As discussed previously, these laws did not specifically state that prostitution itself, i.e. the act of selling sex, was illegal. Prostitutes instead became criminalised by falling under the category of the 'rogues and vagabonds' that caused disruption to public conduct and public expression, which was strictly controlled by colonial rulers. Stigma surrounding the act of selling sex was implicit in laws such as this, which ultimately depicted prostitution as an unlawful practise that needed to be controlled. Imported

colonial laws arguably contributed to shaping indigenous people's views on prostitution and contributed to the development of negative attitudes towards prostitution.

Moreover, local courts in Zambia were established in order to replace the native courts that existed prior to colonial invasion. Although traditional courts are still in existence in Zambia today, they are no longer recognised as 'courts of law' (Matakala 2012:25-26). Similar to other colonised countries, the legal systems that were once imported into Zambia have remained for the most part. Despite the legal systems being revised during independence in the 1960s, they remained, like those of the pre-existing British legal system. An example of this is the English penal code, which uses a catchall definition of 'idle and disorderly persons' to target prostitutes (Long et al. 2003:278). In independent Zambia today, according to Meerkotter (2012:52), the categorisation of the prostitute still falls under the label of a person perceived as 'idle' and/or 'disorderly' and a person who behaves 'indecently' in public. For my participant Kaonde, this was significant in her experiences with representatives of the law:

> We were taken. When you are found at night you are taken by the police, 'idle standing' [sic]. We were taken to the cells. If you have money you give them, you are out. If you don't have money, they beat you, then they use you, then they tell you to go.

During the colonial period, the term prostitute also became applicable to a wider sphere of people. According to Parpart (1994), the term not only applied to women who sold sex for money or in exchange for transactional goods, but also to 'non-conforming' women such as those who divorced from three or more marriages. According to my participants, in Zambia today the term 'prostitute' is equivalent in local dialects to 'hule'. The term 'hule', used to denote a promiscuous woman, was used continuously by my participants when describing themselves or narrating how other people labelled them. It is perhaps an effect of colonialism that this term describes *any* woman who displays sexual profligacy and does not only refer to those who sell sex for financial gain. The term 'hule' is later discussed in this chapter as being associated with damage in the sense that those who are damaged are labelled a 'hule' and vice versa, even if they do not sell sex for financial gain. This contributes to my argument that the emergence of damage itself or at least its associated stigma has ties to colonialism as it is likely that is was during this time that the attributes of the 'hule' became stigmatised.

Not only did prostitution become punishable under colonial law which, as noted, heightened if not caused stigma surrounding prostitution, but prostitutes and others who engaged in promiscuous sex were also held liable for the spread of sexually transmitted diseases. Victorian England, according to Flint and Hewitt (2015), held local 'over-sexed, promiscuous' African women responsible for the infection of British soldiers and the 'contamination' of Europeans.

As a result, British men were prohibited from indulging in sexual activities with African women (Flint and Hewitt 2015:300). Within colonial narratives African women were depicted as having an 'aggressive, animalistic' sexuality, as well as being 'unhealthy' and a source of venereal disease (Flint and Hewitt 2015:297). This is an example of European powers assuming that they were 'culturally, morally and materially superior to the colonised peoples', who they perceives as being in need of enlightenment and a change in behaviour (Davie and Mclean 2017:934). This attitude towards African sexuality and promiscuity in association with disease has remained in modern Zambia where prostitutes are depicted as being 'unhealthy' women and as those responsible for the spread of sexually transmitted disease (Mgbako 2011). My participant Lukonde highlighted this when she described an experience in which the wife of her client had reported her to the police:

> She said, 'Ah no, this one is a prostitute; [sic] is a prostitute, she can even give my husband HIV'.

Research by Mgbako (2011:1180) also found that prostitutes in Africa in general are often stigmatised as 'vectors of disease'. Representatives of state and the media have historically and continue to use macro level influence to reinforce this stigma (Logie et al. 2011:8). My participant Chikondi explained: 'The police said that we were the ones that were bringing diseases into the country and destroying the country.'

As a result, the majority of my participants noted their reluctance to be tested for HIV as they believed they had likely already contracted the virus and it would consequently be a 'waste of time'. This assumption may have been based on their acknowledgement of the high HIV statistics in Zambia and the spread of HIV commonly occurring through engaging in sex with an infected person. However, my participants may have also developed this attitude towards the virus because of the public stereotype that *all* 'hules' were HIV positive and the cause' of the HIV epidemic. I suggest this because even my participants who explained they had always used condoms believed they must have already contracted the virus. This behaviour of associating 'hules' with the spread of HIV is merely another example of the stigma surrounding prostitution that I previously argued was created in Zambia by the colonial west, which I also argue in this chapter as working in conjunction with damage stigma.

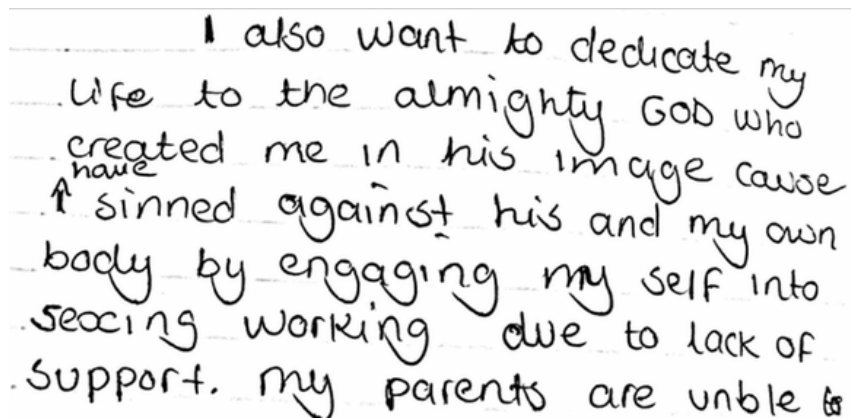### *Western Christian Influence*

A key link between damage and the colonial period is the centrality of Christianity to processes of colonisation (Igboin 2011, 101). Although some African people still follow and are influenced by traditional religion, in Southern, Eastern and Western Africa, Christianity has taken prominence over these local beliefs (Lugira 2009:10). In the past century, Sub-Saharan

Africa has seen the largest increase in its Christian population, making up almost one quarter of Christians worldwide (CNN 2011). Postcolonial Zambia is now referred to as a 'Christian nation' (ibid). All my participants described themselves as Christians and noted that they had attended church during childhood. The majority of my participants continued attending church as adults. Chikondi, for example, noted that she was 'born in a family where they know God', whilst Chola (a "reformed" prostitute) explained that it is through God that one can find redemption and receive forgiveness:

> We go to church together and they have all with their heart forgiven me for all that I was doing.

The equation of sex with sin ,as discussed in Chapter Two, shows a resemblance to participants' narratives of damage that similarly rested on the idea of sex outside of marriage as a form of wrongdoing. Echoing Bible teachings (see 1 Corinthians 6:13; 1 Thessalonians 4:3 NIV), damage is caused by sexual immorality. As all my participants were Christian, all believed they had 'wronged' God by participating in prostitution. This was first presented in Bianca's diary:

I also want to dedicate my life to the almighty GOD who created me in his image cause I have sinned against his and my own body by engaging my self into seacing working due to lack of support. my parents are unble to

Similarly, Katy said:

> When I started doing sex, I prayed to God like, 'Please God forgive me,' and 'I never went to church [...] because I was doing bad things.

Many participants, like Katy, explained that they no longer went to church due to the guilt associated with their sexual misdemeanours. For example, Katungu explained: 'I have that guiltiness whereby I go to church I would just sit', whilst others like Eva explained that they no longer felt welcome by the people of the church because of their damaging behaviour. Eva explained her discomfort:

> People they are still pointing at me even if I have changed people, they are still pointing at me. Others they say that is a prostitute, [sic] used to be a prostitute, have you seen her. [sic] Used to go to the church to go and pray, they are just pretending, maybe they are dating the pastor. They say a lot of things.

Like other participants, Eva was restricted from full participation in church because of judgments about her 'promiscuity' and perceived lack of moral fibre (Evans 2014b:347-349; Mitchell 1956:15).

The idea of sexual immorality and consequential stigmatisation of women has a similar dynamic to the idea of the 'loose' or 'fallen' woman described in mid-to nineteenth accounts of conservative cultures in Europe. According to Anderson (1993:2) and Barnhill (2005:7), in Victorian culture, the term 'fallen woman' was similar to the connotations of damage. It was applied 'to a range of feminine identities: prostitutes, unmarried women who engage[d] in sexual relations with men, victims of seduction, adulteresses[…]'. Wyman (1951:167) explains that the fallen woman was labelled as 'weak' and lacking in the womanly virtue that defied feminine chastity. In the mid-to nineteenth centry Europe once a girl 'fell', she often became subjected to 'dishonour and death' or avoided facing 'public shame' by committing suicide (ibid). Novelists after 1860 associated the 'sexual sinner' with the 'poor country girl lost in the city wilderness or an underprivileged slum-weller' (Wyman 1951:168). Other past definitions of the 'bad girl' 'type' include "whore", "public" or "loose woman", or the "ruined virgin" existed in the Victorian literature of the West prior to the portrayal of the 'whore' in Zambia (Gamson 2001:158). For instance:

> The ideal Victorian woman, or the 'angel of the house' was defined by her role within the home because the family served as a sanctuary for the "preservation of traditional moral and religious values"...when a woman deviated from the Victorian construction of the ideal woman, she was stigmatized and labelled. (Zedner 1991:12; see also Barnhill 2005:3).

Evans (2014b:349-350) and Parpart (2001:278) argue that Christian-colonial norms in Zambia during the mid-colonial period (1940s-50s) also required women to be 'dependent housewives', as well as good mothers and wives. During the mid to late colonial period (1940s -1960s), according to the Chingola Court Report cited in Parpart (2001:279), the 'African Christian elite' feared that 'bad girls' would prohibit their respectable status in colonial towns'. In order to prevent this, the elite 'supported rural repatriation, not only of out and out harlots but also of divorced and unattached women in general' (ibid). This was done so that the Christian elite could distance themselves from the 'sexual immorality' of women in their communities. This mirrors the exclusionary and ostracised experiences that were described by my research participants. My participants described the social exclusion they experienced across multiple platforms, including healthcare provisions, education, and the church. Additionally, my participants narrated experiences with members of the public, typically those of middle and upper class, that were negative and/or abusive. Chomba described verbal taunting from women in the community such as 'You are a bitch, you just undress anywhere.'

In the 1930's, according to Chanock (1998:151-152), there were 'Christian concerns' from missionaries in Zambia surrounding 'urban control'. To address such concerns, Churches encouraged women to remain married and made it harder for women to divorce by denying those who attended church the right to divorce. This prohibition still exists in Zambia and was presented in some of the participants' narratives. Mweshi, for example, spoke of her violent marriage and her family's encouragement, despite her husband's infidelity, and physical and verbal abuse towards her, to remain in that marriage. Despite her years of unhappiness, Mweshi remained in the marriage until her husband left her for another woman. The reason for remaining in the marriage, aside of her family's encouragement to do so, may have been also due to negative experiences and encounters with the public when she was identifiable as a single and unattached woman 'loitering' on the streets. This was demonstrated when Mweshi reported an experience with a passer-by:

> He asked me, 'Why are you wearing [sic] like this, you are supposed to be married not standing in the road.' Then I said, 'Me I am not married," then he even beat me up'.

In summary my participants reflected certain Christian ideologies and Christian colonial norms through their narratives, that placed promiscuity as a wrongdoing and that also valued chastity and marriage. Additionally, my participants' narratives descriptions of the damage were reminiscent of the mid-to nineteenth century European notion of the "fallen", or "loose" woman, which can be argued as colonial officials attempting to construct, or perhaps correct, the moral character of indigenous women. Taking all of these factors into consideration, it can be argued that it is likely that the damage and its associated stigmatisation in Zambia derived through a process of cultural hybridisation.

Commodifying the Woman: Virginity Damage

In Zambia it is customary that when a man damages a woman (i.e. gets the girl/woman pregnant outside of marriage) he is expected pay a fee to the parents of the girl/woman he has damaged. Damage payment is communally known as a 'damage fee' and is believed to act as a type of compensation to rectify the damage that has been created. The payment amount is typically negotiated by the two families. This was clarified by Chikondi who explained:

> It's called damage because here in Zambia when you are damaged it means that, that man gives [sic] you pregnant without paying any money to your parents [...] There [sic] are something which the men pay when you are pregnant.

Aspina similarly described damage payment as 'something which the men pay when you are pregnant'.

When negotiating the value of the damage payment, Chikondi explained that the calculation is about both gender and class:

> They pay maybe they say, 'You have damaged our child, we give you, we will charge you maybe […]' When you are educated, they charge maybe 5000, 10,000. Yes, maybe you are not educated, they charge you that, 'Because of destroying our child's education or child's life, we will charge you maybe 5,000.'

The process of paying for the damage and disputes surrounding missing or insufficient damage payments often become legal battles. According to the Laws of Zambia (2003), in the Local Courts Act, cases surrounding the payment of damage appear under the category of Matrimony Cases, in civil law. Within matrimony cases, a person can be charged under the following; Virginity Damage and Causing Pregnancy. The phrasing of Virginity Damage in itself has never been written into any act, but is a term established and used in local court records (Matakala 2012).

Examples of 'virginity damage' and 'causing pregnancy' court cases include one that was reported in Zambian newspaper, Tumfweko, in an article entitled, 'I Will Not Pay, She Was Not A Virgin When I Found Her' (Tumfweko 2012). As this title suggests, this example describes a man arguing that he should not have to pay damage fees because the woman in question was not a virgin. The article implies that because of the woman's 'promiscuous' nature, the man should not have to take responsibility for the 'loss' of her virginity. Another example includes a Mwebantu article, 'My pregnancy is proof you made love to me' (Mwebantu.News 2017). This article describes the father of the damaged woman suing a man in a court battle for not only taking his daughter's virginity, but for making the damage visible by impregnating her. Here, the pregnancy was described as the "proof" of the damage. Other examples given in the article of evidence of damage include sexually transmitted diseases, with emphasis on Zambia's prevalent HIV.

For my participants, the fees required to take their Virginity Damage and/or Causing Pregnancy cases to court were not financially feasible. Where court fees could not be afforded, the rights to the child could be used as leverage in an attempt to receive a damage payment. Chola for example explained:

> If the owner of that child wants the baby, he wants to [sic], he has to pay the damage. That's when he can have the child. He can't even have the child without paying damage [...] You can even take him to court.

For my participants, however, none of the fathers of their children wanted any involvement with their child and so such leverage proved ineffective.

Ultimately damage laws were created to act as a 'deterrent' to women, creating structural discrimination with intent through the proclamation of damage as a defiance of law, public morality (Corrigan et al, 2004). Since damage is controlled and monitored by local courts, my argument that it has been significantly impacted by colonial rule is strengthened. This is because I previously established that English legal systems were imported into Zambia. Also, in Victorian Europe, contravening feminine norms was similarly depicted as a criminal act and as such 'female wrongdoing was judged according to the law and the idealised conception of womanhood' (Barnhill 2005:iv). Damage laws evidently have a strong resemblance to the Victorian European laws surrounding promiscuity (Matakala 2012:14).

Bride Price and Virginity Damage

As discussed in Chapter Three, the Literature Review, African academics such as Ogundipe-Leslie (1994) have argued that it was during colonial invasion that bride 'wealth' became commodified to bride 'price'. This change occurred to meet the obligatory heavy taxation and loss of finances that exploited Africans and aided the colonising nation. Colonial state powers influenced the change in terminology of bride wealth to bride price, which impacted upon the traditional meaning and people's modes of thought (ibid). Bride price, according to Chola, can be understood as:

> It's in our tradition. In tradition, the bride price is too important because when that time, you start facing things, like a lot of circumstances in your home, when you start facing them you have to take the same man to the court even if it's you who has made [sic] a disappointment to the man.

Discussion on bride price is relevant to understanding the origins of damage as my participants' narratives portrayed bride price and damage payments as being interlinked. This first became apparent when Mwiza used the terms damage and bride price interchangeably and in strong association with one another. This is apparent in the following explanation that she gave:

> When you have impregnated a woman without paying damage you can even go to the court even if you go, even if a man can go to a court and put sermon for you [sic], they have to ask him, 'Did you pay bride price? Ok no, then that is not your child.

In this way, Mwiza explained that if a man did not pay bride price or damage payment, he had no entitlement to his child.

Chola similarly used the terms of bride price and damage in association when she explained:

> The man can't even come and get those children without paying bride price. Yes, unless they pay, or they pay damage, when you damage a woman [...] he never even bothered to pay the bride price or even the damage [...] I think you know, someone pays the bride price so that means there is a connection between the man and wife but her situation, the husband never even bothered to pay anything so it was a boyfriend/girlfriend relationship.

The above statement, made by Chola, implied that if the man that caused the damage paid the bride price, which would make them married by tradition, the damage fee was not needed. Without the payment, the relationship was not bound, and the couple would still be engaging in damaging behaviour outside of a marriage. Likewise, Chomba described her own father telling her that, 'unless you marry my daughter, you have damaged my daughter'. When Chomba specifically said 'unless you marry her', she was suggesting that if she were to marry this man, she would no longer be damaged.

Bemba proverb states, 'Ing'anda ishibwelela mpango: ibusu,' which translates to 'a house without lobola is poor', meaning if the woman does not receive her bride price that family will remain or be sentenced to poverty. Participant Chanda illustrated the damage as a loss of "investment" for her parents when she explained 'my parents reacted very badly. They are angry because they wasted a lot of money'. Using this example, the act of 'paying' for the damage can be argued as having been introduced to compensate for the loss of bride price and financial investment in a daughter. The damage here appears more concerned with gaining financial compensation for this loss of bride price than it is with the loss of virginity, purity and defiance to public morality itself.

These examples not only imply that the damage can be wholly removed through an exchange of capital, which significantly differentiates it from stigma, but emphasise the damage as grounded in economic value. Also, because of the damage's close association with bride price, my argument that it is likely to have been impacted by the imposition of colonial-capitalist western frameworks is again strengthened. I suggest this because it is likely to have emerged in conjunction with the commodification and regulation of bride price, which was established in Chapter Two as having taken place under the influence of colonial state powers (Ogundipe-Leslie 1994:211).

Summary

Where the damage originates from exactly is missing from the existing literature and was unknown by my participants. However, it has been argued that it is likely a product of cultural hybridisation that took place during the colonial era. I argued that this is because the effects of colonialism influenced the term prostitute so that it would encompass *any* woman who displays sexual profligacy. The English imported laws that targeted prostitutes, targeted promiscuous women in general and arguably contributed to the stigmatisation of them. In modern day Zambia, typically those who are sexually active outside of marriage are deemed damaged. Since

damage is a negative term that is applied to promiscuous women and also contributes to the stigmatisation of them, it is likely that it was significantly impacted by the impact of colonial state powers condemning promiscuity.

Moreover, like the stigma surrounding prostitution, the stigma surrounding damage has been presented as being heavily impacted by Christian-colonial ideologies, because Christianity has required modesty and female subservience. So, with the continuation of colonial laws and Christian-colonial ideologies, my chapter has produced a strong argument that colonial imposition has heightened the stigmatisation of promiscuous women and the consequential introduction of the damage. I also gave an overview of 'virginity damage' and 'causing pregnancy' as they appear in civil law. It was established that damage payments and bride price are interlinked. As bride price has been previously established as having been influenced by colonialism, I strengthened my argument that the damage is likely an example of cultural hybridity that was created through the colonial influence mentioned. As Loomba (2005:53) notes, Zambia is a postcolonial country and colonisation changes a country forever, and as such, 'no branch of learning is left untouched by colonial experience'.

The relevance of looking at the origins of damage becomes relevant again later in this chapter when I discuss where my participants, as damaged women, fit in, if at all, in African feminist/womanist theories. I establish that the same African indigenous theorists that claim to maintain their distance from colonial influence, and to liberate all African women, instead reinforce many of these same gendered norms that were impacted by colonialism.

Part II: " Damage" and Stigma

'Khunyi janjamba jakulichavila'

'Firewood for cooking an elephant is gathered by the elephant itself: A self-imposed problem'.
— Luvale Proverb (Sumbwa 1993:53)

Part II of this chapter now looks at how the concept of damage works in Zambia, in my participants' lives. It discusses the challenges my participants faced, many of which, as discussed in the section above, are likely to have stemmed from colonisation. It must be noted, however, that the damage may have operated differently in the past and that these observations cannot be generalised beyond the women in this study. The aim of this is to show the level of stigma my participants habitually experienced because of this damage and to highlight the significant impact it has upon their lives. Establishing this contributes to my later argument that women, like my participants, who are stigmatised and continually discriminated are currently

unsupported by indigenous feminism/womanism(s) movements who claim to liberate African women.

To this end, I first return to stigma theory, since stigma bears a close connection to, and is typically an outcome of the damage. As noted in Chapter Three, the Literature Review, the term stigma was first developed by Erving Goffman (1963:3), who described it as, 'an attribute that is deeply discrediting'. It is a process through which a person becomes discredited from a 'whole and usual person' to a 'tainted and discounted one'. Goffman (1963) as cited in Koken et al. (2004:15), argues that there are three types of categories in which a person can be stigmatised. The first category refers to an individual who belongs to a group that has a physical deformity or 'handicap'. The second are those who belong to an ethnic or racial minority group, and the third are those with 'moral deficits' (according to societal standards). My research is more concerned with those perceived as having 'moral deficits' than it is with a physical deformity, handicap or ethnic/racial background.

As mentioned already, damage, or " the damage" as some participants referred to it, is a term that was commonly used by participants throughout my interviews that signified, like stigma, when a person becomes 'spoiled' or 'ruined'. According to the Oxford dictionary, the western definition of the word "damage" is, 'Physical harm that impairs the value, usefulness, or the normal function of something.' Equally, according to various interpretations provided by my participants, the Zambian understanding of the word "damage" can be summarised as a type of harm that ultimately results in societal and internal/emotional disappointment. Damage in this context, however, was consistently described by my participants as always being the result of a sexual act.

In Zambian culture, as previously noted, women outside of marriage are expected to be virgins. The damage or 'spoilage' is then created when an unmarried woman has sexual intercourse that 'ruins' her purity, because the intercourse has taken place outside of wedlock. Typically, the damage becomes visible and heightened through the event of an illegitimate pregnancy. Chikondi clarified and explained the resulting damage as follows:

> Okay it's called damage when you are not in marriage. Yes, that's the point, yes it's called damage when you are not in marriage. When you are in marriage then you get pregnant that's not damage, but if you are not, you are outside marriage it's called damage. You understand?

In this example, the damage is depicted as both the consequence of having sex outside marriage and it is the pregnancy itself that has caused the "spoilage". When I began my research, I was not sure if my participants would perceive of themselves as damaged if they had not become

pregnant and if their virginity damage had not been exposed. For example, Chikondi's statement, 'It's called damage when you are not in marriage,' may be in reference to the actual process of having sex outside of marriage. This same sentence however could also be in reference to the consequential pregnancy i.e. illegitimacy as the damage, as opposed to the actual act of premarital sex. The statement 'When you are in marriage then you get pregnant that's not damage,' likewise implies that having a child that is illegitimate is damaging and not necessarily the act of having premarital sex. The same participant also emphasised the phrase 'when you are in marriage, then you get pregnant that's not damage' throughout the interview, clearly emphasising societal disapproval towards premarital pregnancies. Whether the term damage referred to the sexual act itself or purely the premarital pregnancy in this case was somewhat ambiguous.

However, upon interviewing a larger quantity of women, it became apparent that damage was about more than just illegitimacy and was also concerned with maintaining gendered expectations of women and public morality. Premarital pregnancies was not the cause of "damage" for all of my participants, with five women having conceived and given birth to their first child after marriage. Whilst their children were not illegitimate, these women were still recipients of discrimination and stigmatising attitudes towards them, as well as falling under the category of 'damaged' women. This is because they were widely known to be prostitutes, so became damaged by publicly engaging in and arguably promoting sex outside marriage. This however likely the case in many other countries where engaging in prostitution may be stigmatising and 'damaging' to a woman's reputation, even if premarital sex is not. Ogunyemi (1996:32-34) similarly explains that African women are not just nurturers of their own children, but are carers to the community as a whole. In the same way, my participants, as African women were perceived not just as a role model to their own children, but to the wider community in general, hence the disapproving attitudes towards their engagement in prostitution, which defies expectations. There was also the widespread assumption that, despite their children having been born in marriage, the father of the children was likely unknown due to their occupation requiring sex with multiple partners.

Internalised Damage

Unlike stigma that is typically interactional, the damage could be self-assigned, meaning that they might self-identify as being damaged, even if no other person but herself was aware of their "flaw". This presented the damage as impacting upon my participants psychologically and emotionally. For example, several participants noted that when their virginity was taken outside of wedlock, they "felt" damaged. The damage in this sense operated in a similar way to stigma

in the sense that, just as a stigmatised individual can internalise their stigma, the participants embodied their damage and self-identified as damaged.

The embodiment of damage also became apparent through phrases like 'someone damaged me, impregnated me' that were consistent across narratives. Not only did these phrases highlight the damage as cemented by an illegitimate pregnancy but also highlighted their own agreement and acceptance that they had now become now a 'damaged' woman. Micro level stigma, as noted in the Literature Review chapter, is concerned with inter/intrapersonal stigma experiences. This suggests that my participants not only felt an element of self-stigma at micro level but also a stereotype agreement (Goffman 1963:102). My participants were aware that they were now associated with a stigmatised, damaged group and that they did not meet the gendered, culturally accepted norms of society. These accepted norms (the role of the woman as a virtuous wife and mother) were established earlier as likely all participating in the process of cultural hybridisation and are established later in this chapter as also present in African feminist/womanist movements. Because my participants failed or were reluctant to challenge them, it can be assumed that they believed their assignment to the 'out-group' of damaged women was as it should be (Corrigan et al. 2005a).

The self-acceptance of such damage was further demonstrated when one participant, Bridget, associated another woman with the label of being "damaged". This was apparent when she stated, 'He went there and damaged that lady also, so she was pregnant also.' Internalised damage caused Bridget to accept or agree with the gendered 'norms' and battle with self-blame due to the years of experiencing stigmatisation (Bharat et. al 2014; Wong et al. 2011:50). Perhaps if there were social rights movements available in Zambia to women like Bridget, which challenged this idea of the pure, devoted wife and mother, there would be potential for the stigma surrounding 'damaged' women to lessen.

Moreover, there were many negative statements made regarding damage by my participants which emphasised damage as being a far from desirable attribute. For example, Kaonde referred to damage as being 'not good'. Chola explained, 'I do not feel nice' whilst Aspina noted 'It was very shameful.' All narratives highlighted the evident need to address and examine the long-term psychological effects of damage that seemingly included depression and self-hatred. This was particularly evident through discussions on suicidal thoughts associated with damage, as illustrated by Katy:

> When I was pregnant, I felt bad. A lot of people laughed at me all over teasing me, so I wanted to kill myself.

Similarly, Eva explained:

> You feel bad that you are on your own, then you can even [sic], others when you hear them talking rubbish things, you can even kill yourself.

Katy and Eva demonstrated particularly high levels of vulnerability and struggled to cope with the stigma associated with the damage. These examples of internalised damage manifested at the micro level as my participants were impacted by the damage on personal grounds. My participants also highlighted how there was an evident lack of public sympathy towards damaged women. This links to the meso, as the stigmatising consequences of their damage were encouraged by, or the outcome, of the social/community and their production of stigma surrounding the damage (Bos et al. 2013:7). The 'damaged' women in these examples show resemblance to the stigmatised person as described by Goffman (1990) in the sense that the damaged woman has recognised her 'different-ness' and accepted her damaged identity as a discredited being. The new and damaged identity resulted in the development of self-stigma and the self-stigma was the result of public stigma, social experiences and psychological impact.

Goffman (1990) explains that when a stigmatised person is in acknowledgement of their stigma, he/she often struggles with internalised blame. This may therefore cause the wider public to further detach themselves of any responsibility and isolate the individual further. Likewise, prostitution is usually perceived as being "self-inflicted" (rather than a consequence of structural inequalities). As a result, unlike an individual with a terminal illness, such as breast cancer, there is a lack of support or sympathy from the community towards these women (Alonzo and Reynolds, 1995:311). This lack of sympathy and support towards prostitutes is also later established as strongly present across African literature and indigenous African feminist/womanist movements. African literature and feminist/womanist movements in a similar way insinuate that these women "choose" to move away from traditional expectations of the African woman and as such feel justified in providing no support to these women.

Moreover, as previously noted, my participants spoke of attempts to hide their damage from public view where possible. At the micro level, Lukonde explained how she would often attempt to create the impression that she was a virgin when she was engaging in sexual intercourse with a man:

> Lukonde: I usually smoke something so my vagina is tight. It's more like a drug, it's a drug type. If you put it in your nose or your mouth and then you sneeze if you sneeze for three times it becomes small and if it's big it becomes smaller through the drug.

> Daisy: Why do you want it to become smaller?

> Lukonde: To pretend, to show that guy that you are not sleeping with another man [...] if you are from sleeping with a man you need to bath cold water. If you bath in cold water then your vagina will be normal, back to normal.

The reason for this was due to the financial value of the sex if she were to appear 'pure' being worth more and also because of the shame Lukonde may feel if she were to be associated to a higher level of virginity damage. In addition to this, there was the dream across the narratives that the man i.e. the client, may fall in love if she were to appear a lower level of damaged. This could be described, drawing upon the work of Helms et al (2017), as an interpersonal mechanism. This is because Lukonde was taking precautions to limit the chances of being exposed as significantly 'damaged', that could further restrict her chance of appearing 'adequate' and distance her further from the culturally sanctioned norms.

The 'Hule'

Existing work by Crocker et al. (1998) has described stigma as a socially constructed identity which becomes devalued by the characteristics of what it entails. In my study, when my participants became damaged, it caused them to appear as though they had gained 'abnormal' attributes that created a new socially stigmatised identity. This identity in Zambia as noted, is labelled 'hule'. 'Hule', as described by Aspina, is a 'stupid bitch, prostitute [...] that is a bitch, that is a whore'. Eva further demonstrated 'hule' as having negative connotations when she said, 'They think a lot of bad things. They say "Hule" about you, so they hate you.'

The 'hule' identity was the target of widespread social disapproval and can be seen as 'a discrediting social difference that yields a spoiled social identity' (Bos, Reeder, Pryor, Stutterheim 2013:3). This also influenced how participants were treated and perceived by the wider public. Mweshi noted:

> Those people show bad behaviour, stopping talking to me, calling me all sort of names [...] 'You are a bitch [...] see this bitch, I will kill you.'

The stigma associated with the 'hule' appeared to have the biggest impact in my participants lives because the 'hule' identity promotes an identity that is so incongruent with the idealistic African woman. First, being a 'hule' makes it public that the woman is engaging in sex outside of marriage and therefore takes on the stigma associated with promiscuity and prostitution. Being a 'hule' also displays an association with the damage and therefore also makes the individual prone to the stigma surrounding. Repercussions of being a 'hule' were consequently more severe and included experiences of violence, rape, abuse and even murder.

The 'hule' identity was symbolic and typically consisted of short skirts and excessive makeup that would be noticed by clients. This was described by Katungu as:

> Short skirts and at times we wear just like a bum short and if it's a skirt it should be like a see-through skirt.

Whilst Katungu understood the symbolism of the 'bum short' and the 'see through skirt' in connection to prostitution, she did not necessarily associate or realise her clothing could mark her or visibly connect her to the damage and its discursive function. Consequently, participants like Katungu, were at a heightened risk beyond their recognition of experiencing both prostitute related stigma as well as damage-related stigma. Moreover, Aspina, like Katungu, became more vulnerable to experiencing hate crimes and public condemnation because of her placement in public areas. For example, Aspina demonstrated prostitute and damage-related, public stigma whilst working at Devil's Street, explaining:

> They came to catch me, started beating, they beat me nearly to death. That's my worst part of this life of mine and when I think of it, I don't want, I just it wants to stop [sic]'.

Because of her connection to prostitution and the associated damage, Aspina became psychologically affected, as evident when she stated, it was the 'worst part of this life of mine… I just want it to stop'. By loitering at Devils Street, Aspina exposed her intention to engage in "immoral" sexual behaviours that included having sex with multiple partners in exchange for cash payment. She was therefore openly violating the sexual orientation of "normal" societal conduct that defied expected social order (Alonzo and Reynolds 1995:304). Overt public stigmatisation such as this, according to Bos et al. (2013:4), can result in dehumanisation, social rejection and act as an aversion to social interaction. Aspina highlighted this when she stated, 'I just want to stop', demonstrating misery as a repercussion of public stigma experiences. Examples of public stigmatisation associated with Aspina's damage also included verbal abuse, for example, 'even young children say, "Ah that woman is not married, she is a bitch, she is a whore."' The fact that even children participate in the public stigmatisation of these women highlights the extent to which damage related stigma is embedded in the social norms of the community.

Education

Discrimination by gender in the education sector in Zambia has been occurring from as early as the colonial period, when formal education systems were first introduced. This was established in Chapter Two, where it was established that the education system prioritised the education of boys over girls. Girls and young women were encouraged to focus on becoming "good wives" and mothers. The narratives of my participants show that a similar inequality among girls and boys in the education sector still exists post-independence. Although some indigenous movements discuss the importance of education for women and some efforts have been made to empower girls through education, there remains an overarching focus on women's role in the domestic sphere.

Discrimination surrounding education occurred at meso level through the organisational structure and management of the schools in local communities with micro effects. All my participants explained that they had become damaged whilst at school. When their damage became visible (i.e. they became pregnant), they were expelled from school or felt forced to leave. At the macro level, national policies in Zambia allow girls to remain in school until the birth of their child and return to education post-childbirth. However, most of my participants were actually unlawfully expelled on a permanent basis by local governments and/or school organisations, demonstrating the pervasive prejudice that still exists. Bridget demonstrated this in her story:

> In 1999 I stopped going to school because that time I was pregnant [sic]. I stopped going to school, so my grandmother was saying, 'So your friend has stopped going to school even you also you are supposed to stop going to school.' I said, 'Me, no gran, let her continue going to school maybe so that we can find the future [sic].' No, because by the time there was no way to go, even if you were pregnant you can't go to school. The time when we were going to school, if they just know you are pregnant, they chase you from school. So, the guy continued going to school up to, he finishes up to Grade 12.

Bridget was excluded from school because of her pregnancy, emphasising the social disapproval and the associated discriminatory behaviours occurring at the meso level. Her exclusion gave the community further "justification" that premarital sex should not be condoned and reinforced the 'social and cultural unacceptability' that occurred through being part of a damaged group (Wong et al. 2011:50). Like stigma and the psychological definition of the term, the devaluation of the individual in this example became the result of her damaging attribute (her illegitimate pregnancy) that had marked her. Bridget was impacted on a long-term basis as the damage and consequential discrimination significantly limited her opportunities (Corrigan et al. 2004). Her loss of opportunities included her inability to read, write and her loss of school certificates that created barriers to future employment. Bridget explained the importance of education and her long-term loss economically as follows:

> In Zambia jobs they are very difficult especially if you are not educated it's very difficult to find jobs in Zambia because even now if you want to be a maid, they want people who know how to write. They want people who know how to read, if you don't know that, you can't work. So, the most important what I can just encourage like my girls [sic], other women and my friends that it is important to go back to school so you know how to read, and you know how to write. Because things now in Zambia they are changing, if you don't know how to read and you don't know how to write you will never find a job.

Bridget had been particularly susceptible to entering prostitution due to lack of financial alternatives for an uneducated woman. All participants correspondingly stressed that without a school certificate, they too felt they were unemployable. This emphasis on the importance of education was reiterated across all interviews. Mwamba, for example, who was similarly expelled for her pregnancy stated:

> You have no certificates for the colleges. So, the easiest way for me to find money you know, to go into prostitution [sic].

Similarly, Chanda also presented evidence of the gendered, socio-economic damage associated discrimination that influenced her school education. Chanda described her expulsion as a result of engaging in sexual intercourse with her headmaster as opposed to falling pregnant while still at school:

> I used to meet with teachers in the bars, so they decided to expel me from school. At that time, I didn't know my rights. I was supposed to take them to court or the police so that I could sit for my exams, but I had known that courage was, that life was punishing me [...] School life was just okay, but I messed it up. I was very bright. The headmaster found me at the bar and then when I went to school the very next morning he announced at the parade that I was expelled and I thought he was joking then I went to write my Grade 12 exams then they couldn't allow me but I paid everything.

Prior to this Chanda was not working as a prostitute and would just socialise at a bar. Chanda demonstrated a lack of awareness of her rights at the time which could be argued as demonstrating an element of perceived public stigma. As noted in the literature review chapter, public stigma occurs at meso level and according to existing work on public and self-stigma by Pattyn et al. (2014), perceived public stigma often causes the individual to avoid seeking help. Perhaps in this way, Chanda avoided seeking help, or was less willing to look into her rights as she had already adopted some of the perspectives surrounding damage from the generalised community. As a result, these views may have caused her to have a lack of confidence and consequential reluctance to challenge authority. Also, perhaps from a more economic perspective there may have been a lack of finances to do so, i.e. the court fees required.

For Maggie and several other participants, it was more the general financial implications of having a child that pushed her further into poverty and caused her to leave school:

> I got pregnant by the time I was in Grade 9, then that is when I stopped going to school and I wanted to go back to school but I had no one who was looking after my child [...] No one was supporting me.

Maggie was from a community that differed from Chanda and Bridget, a school that presumably followed better practice in 'supporting' damaged women by allowing them to continue their education. Maggie, however, was placed with the financial "burden" of a child and rejection from her family because of her damage and their anger that they had 'wasted' so much money on her education. Presumably Maggie's family felt she were no longer "capable" of remaining a student with a baby to care for and therefore her education had been wasted. This similarly presented a loss of opportunities at the micro level, caused by her damage, that restricted her from achieving her fullest potential.

Inevitably the damage has negatively impacted my participants lives within the education sector. There is clearly little help available for young mothers in education, whether being from the government or from indigenous movements. In Zambian culture, for women, being a wife and mother evidently still takes priority over being educated. Young girls like my participants still feel pressured into leaving school so they can fully focus on their pregnancy and fulfil their duty as a mother. Likewise, there remains great ambiguity in existing African feminisms that stress the importance of being educated and being a mother as to which would take priority when falling pregnant at school. It is not made clear that a girl is capable of achieving both an education and being a mother. For example, in Snail Sense feminism, an indigenous movement discussed in my literature chapter, an education is noted as paramount to succeeding in patriarchal societies. Whilst it encourages women to be empowered through education, it fails to discuss the barriers and pressures women like my participants may face. There is clearly a need for more discussion to be had on how to best support "damaged" women in the education sector.

Health Care Provisions

I. HIV Testing

My participants' narratives displayed a heightened fear towards becoming labelled as damaged because of the association to HIV stigma as HIV was a recurring theme throughout my data. For the majority of my participants, the effort to exit poverty and provide for their child came at a cost to their health. The following diary extract by Bridget below highlighted this:

Jobless...
I never had any choice than to
start looking for durathr ways to
feed my children.
I started dating different types of
men to feed my children. After slee-
ping with differe men to make life
for my childre for almost 2-3years
One day I was attacked with
senior malaria and hospitalized
for a mouth. When I went for HIV
test I was tested positive.

Bridget was impacted at the micro level through her significant decline in health due to contracting the HIV virus. Three other participants similarly stated that they had a positive HIV serostatus. Six participants, however, believed that they were negative but explained that they had not been tested recently. As noted earlier on in this chapter, the majority of my participants noted that if they were not positive already, they 'expected' to contract HIV at some point because of their engagement in "risky sex".

My participants described discriminatory actions from healthcare providers that contributed to the loss of opportunities at both the meso and micro level. Jane, for example, in a focus group discussion, demonstrated this when she explained:

> There are nurses who can understand situations of a sexual worker that's why nowadays they have even formed up groups so that even they educate the nurses to know that we have got rights to health. Okay, because if they are told to bring a partner, where are we going to bring a partner? Some nurses will understand but some won't, 'There is no way you can sleep with a man that you don't know, you go and bring, if you don't have then I am not going to treat you.' […] You know the for a sexual worker, a sexual worker it's business, if you don't treat her she is going to go back again and she's going to transmit, transfer that diseases to another man and another man and for that, as for me I see no end of HIV [sic]. I see no end of STI's. If these are being chased to the clinics to say no, go and bring a partner [...] what are they going to eat so they have to go, whether they are sick or not and you know some of these STI's there are not wounds, big wounds whereby you cannot sleep with a man. They will go and sleep with a man, so they are giving a lot of people... So, I think there is on that part a lot of intimidation from those nurses who don't know a lot about us.

In this example, the nurse created a loss of opportunities by restricting Jane of her right to be aware of her HIV status, emphasised when she advised Jane to return only when she can 'bring

back' the man she has slept with. Jane described this as problematic when she questioned 'Where can we going to bring a partner?' The only men Jane interacted with were clients, therefore this requirement for testing was impossible for Jane to fulfil. By sending Jane away, the nurse was not only performing direct discrimination that affected my participant on micro level, but she may have contributed to the spread of various sexually transmitted infection and/or HIV on a wider scale at macro level. I suggest this because if Jane was tested positive, e.g. for HIV, she may have been more inclined to take precautionary measures when engaging in sex with her clients. Since Jane was restricted from her right to be tested, she may 'transmit to another man', who in turn, may transmit to another. This emphasised the importance for localised organisations and governments to examine health care providers, educate them on existing policies and correct practices surrounding individual rights to HIV testing.

Other participants demonstrated anticipated self-stigma at micro level, a common withdrawal strategy applicable to understanding how the damage influenced the participants self-efficacy (Fife and Wright 2000; Link et al. 2001). This was shown by participants feeling disinclined to re-attend health care services and check their status or (where relevant) access antiretroviral drugs. This was demonstrated by Kabwe who stated:

> If you go to the clinic you know they ask so many questions, so we are scared of those questions.

Kabwe's fear of disclosing to the health care providers that she was having sex with multiple partners and revealing the extent of her damage was emphasised through her wording of 'scared'. Goffman (1963:25), explains 'fear' as the great uncertainty the person has that comes from not knowing which 'category' that person will be placed in when the stigma is revealed. Goffman (1963:11) further proclaims, 'social settings establish the categories of persons likely to be encountered there. Similarly, Kabwe used her damage to manage situations and avoid interaction with societal 'in-groups'. As a result, Kabwe chose to avoid health care services to avoid questions or the infliction of further shame. Chanda similarly noted:

> 'When you go to the clinic, nurses don't care for you'.

Such discrimination increased the vulnerability of damaged women who may be living with HIV, and various sexually transmitted diseases. This increase in vulnerability was due to becoming disinclined to visit healthcare clinics to get tested, access drugs and information out of fear of being discarded or judged (Logie et al. 2011:2).

Riley and Odoom (2010), explain that there is a common 'claim in literature' that the stereotyping, stigmatising and blaming attitudes towards individuals with HIV/AIDS creates a preconception that those who are not part of this marginalised group are less at risk of

contracting HIV/AIDS. Because of the dominant forces in society i.e. the 'in-groups' constructing explanations to explain the inferiority of the 'out-group' i.e. the 'hule' or 'damaged' woman and how they can be represented as dangerous to wider society, creates pre-stigmatic fear in the community. Pre-stigmatic fear refers to the trepidation of what could potentially happen to them if they are exposed or in contact with this out-group. By blaming 'out-groups' like these, it creates an illusion for those belonging to the non 'hule' people that they are 'safe' through their established place within the prevailing 'in-group'. As a result, according to existing studies, the 'in-group' consequently feel less of a need to use precaution when engaging in sexual behaviour, inevitably exposing them to the potential risk of HIV and conversely, contributing to the spread of HIV with macro level impact (ibid).

The stigmatisation my participants faced surrounding HIV are likely to have arrived with colonisation as it was noted earlier that colonial state powers believed diseases were spread by promiscuous African women. Colonisation has therefore likely contributed to damage stigma, as in the local context, promiscuous women are understood as 'damaged' women and these women are still blamed today for the spread of disease. Modern day Zambian society arguably replicates some of the same colonial judgements that have stigmatised promiscuous women. Indigenous movements have been unhelpful in challenging these issues as they consistently prioritise topics such as motherhood over the HIV epidemic, despite HIV being a pressing concern in the majority of African countries. That is not to suggest that conversations on motherhood, complementarity etc are not deserving topics. However, there is a need to also explore topics such as prostitutes being the scapegoats for HIV as evidently it is negatively impacting female empowerment.

II.   *Childbirth*

Public stigma and anticipated self-stigma (meso and micro) were also present in relation to childbirth outside of marriage. Mwamba highlighted this issue when describing a conversation with a nurse:

> I get pregnant when I was 17 years. I go to the clinic, they said 'Go and bring back your husband.' I said, 'I don't have a husband.' They said, 'No, go and bring back your husband […] 'No, my husband is not around, you just treat me.' 'No, you are very stupid,' about me. 'Your pregnancy now grown up. [sic] You didn't come with your husband.' They talk about me. So, I deliver my baby at home without a card. I don't have an antenatal card, so I deliver my baby at home.

Like Mwamba, several other participants spoke of negative experiences encountered when attending the hospital to give birth without the father of their child present. Zambian laws do not stipulate that the father of the child must attend the antenatal clinic alongside the mother,

however, healthcare providers frequently excluded participants from healthcare facilities. Much like stigma, the damage associated with the participants became a 'specific application' of discrimination, stereotyping and prejudice. Goffman (1963:5) notes that a 'language of relationships' is represented through stigma; it is more than a mere 'characteristic' or 'label'. Similarly, my participants' damage radically affected how healthcare providers communicated with them and treated them.

Aspina, mother of six, similarly described the birth of three of her children as taking place at her home. Aspina explained her experiences of a home birth:

> The three of them I just delivered them home myself alone, I knew that this is my ninth month, I just went to buy a razor blade, cotton and whatever. I was ready, I put them, just feeling the, my body that today I am sick, I didn't want to tell anybody, it started, both of them, three of them started around 09:00 hours I started washing, washing, washing, sweeping, sweeping, sweeping, sweeping, 19:00 hours, yeah the time has come now, I just got my plastic and spread it [...] When I tell people that let's take her to hospital, take me to the hospital, they will say, 'She is a prostitute, why are you taking her?' Sometimes maybe when you reach at, by the roadside they will start telling you this and that so it's better than I do it myself.

Aspina chose to avoid the hospital due to previous discrimination that she had experienced in hospital and the anticipated stigma that an illegitimate pregnancy would incur. Despite having the right to access health care, Aspina portrayed an acceptance towards poor health care, and her internalisation of stigma made this seem inevitable (Benoit et al. 2018:460). Lack of sympathy that many women experienced with healthcare professionals reinforced their stigmatisation. Women like Aspina, were "aware" and "accepting" that they were not welcome at the hospital, and did not expect to be treated alongside "non-damaged" women. In a focus group discussion, my participants discussed how they helped with the birth of their friends' children in order to avoid experiences of stigma when attending the hospital. Sharon, for example said:

> You just wrap the baby in your shirt or maybe in your chitenge[10] after giving birth and then they do everything just there. They cut the umbilical cord.

This closely relates to work by Steele and Aronson (1995) who discuss 'stereotype threat formulation'. Similar to anticipated self-stigma, 'stereotype threats' refer to how an individual's 'performance' in society is affected by to his/her awareness of their stereotype, and they assert that this may in turn reinforce discrimination and prejudice surrounding the stereotype. In a similar way, by avoiding the hospitals because of the fear of judgement or rejection, the mothers were attempting to control how he/she experiences pregnancy and the birth of her child.

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[10] A piece of cloth typically worn by women wrapped around their chest or waist.

Home births, however, create increased potential for birthing complications and increased infant mortality, especially where they are born in unsanitary conditions without experienced midwives. Complications or future health issues put further strain on hospitals and clinics and can result in the death or the mother or child, further increasing early death rates. Additionally, population statistics are affected as women like my participants may be less inclined to complete statutory registration of parentage. This further affects the birth registration prevalence of the country, presenting macro level impact caused by meso and micro stigma experiences.

Summary

Damage has been established as a discourse that is distinctive amongst Zambian culture in its own right. Unlike stigma, damage has been described as only applicable to women and, unlike stigma, it has always originated from a sexual act. By describing the damage and its effects, I have presented a unique discourse analysis with findings not only relevant to 'damaged' women in this sample, but to all women in Zambia who may fear becoming damaged.

Part II of this chapter established that this notion of damage represents a way of encouraging women to follow a conformist path. Individuals who fail to conform, such as my participants, became victims of stigmatisation at micro, meso and macro levels. There is clearly a need for change at the political, economic and cultural levels to intervene with the negative representations and effects of the damage. More research on the damage and stigma should be used to inform public health policy, women's access to an education, health care services as well as effects of damage on HIV and STI risk, psychological effects, such as depression etc. (Logie et al. 2011).

Part III: Reproducing Stigma

I now turn to a discussion on the relevance of African feminist/womanist theories to the data that emerged from my interviews. The indigenous theories, as outlined in my Literature Review, focus on the importance of motherhood and nurture, traditional family structure and complementarity. These theories were established as wanting complete disassociation from western feminism(s) as they predominantly focus on achieving gender equality, which is not a pressing concern to the woman living in a developing country. Moreover, it has been argued that western feminism has all too often tried to create a singular 'African woman' who appears both victimised and oppressed which, according to indigenous scholars, is an inaccurate portrayal of the African woman (Nnaemeka 1998). For African feminism/womanisms, the aim of their movement is to empower all African people by uniting women with men in the fight for

independence away from the west, who are and have been their true oppressors (Hudson-Weems 2004).

With this in mind I now argue that, on the contrary, these same indigenous theories are too guilty of creating a homogenous outlook of 'the African woman'. In their attempts to retain what they believe is authentic tradition and culture, indigenous theories have instead created a singular image of the African woman who is expected to fit into a specific mould of femininity. I argue that African feminism/womanisms have ultimately contributed to the stigmatisation of any African women who fail to live up to the gendered norms. As a result, the theorists exclude many women, such as my participants, who represent outliers to the African woman described in their theories. Ironically, the expectations for women reflect those very same standards of femininity that were impacted during colonialism.

To be clear, I am not necessarily arguing for African feminist/womanist theory to be more accepting of prostitution. As I previously noted, arguing for a pro sex movement is taking more of a western stance and this was not necessarily what was wanted by my participants. Instead my thesis is now addressing the need to move away from the concept of a singular type of woman in favour of a movement that acknowledges the diversity of women. In short, I am asserting that indigenous movements need to recognise that there are certain circumstances like poverty, that may restrict women from reaching these gendered expectations and that women should not be blamed for their perceived shortfall.

The Single Mother

Part I and II of my chapter addressed the significant social pressure that my participants experienced, which imposed that they should be married prior to childbirth. This pressure was applied through damage laws and the general stigmatisation of unmarried mothers. As established, this is comparable to the Christian gendered norms which require female modesty and marriage, and it is argued that these were influenced by the west in the mid-colonial period. The expectations of women in colonial Zambia was that children need to have both a father and mother in matrimony present in their lives. Eva highlighted experiences of stigmatisation because of her non-conformance to these prescriptive, stereotypical, nuclear family ideals when she explained:

> When you are pregnant with your own house with your husband in the same house there is no problem, they can't, they can't even laugh at you. When you are pregnant while you are doing prostitution, they start laughing you deep.

This pressure to have both a father and mother present in a child's upbringing is also present in existing African feminist/womanist work, work that was designed to supposedly support all women and move away from western influence. At the core of African feminism/womanism(s), particularly Motherism, there is this much celebration surrounding the power of motherhood and need for family structure (Chilisa and Ntseane 2010:618). Mount-Cors (2016:46) explains in existing work on African feminism, whilst the mother is the most important figure to her child, and that a strong family unit requires all members to participate, including the father. A child can identify with his father, in ways that he cannot his mother (ibid). Likewise, Goredema (2010:34) states that in African culture a child who is fatherless gives them more room to be stigmatised. This relates to my participants who evidently have a family structure that is far from traditional. Simply by representing outliers to the traditional family norms, the children of my participants were continually discriminated against. Participant Sharon highlighted this when she explained how they frequently had people 'shouting at our children saying, "daughter of a bitch, or son of a bitch you are born through a condom", just like that.'

To avoid exposing their children to their damage, five of my participants noted that they had told their child that his/her father had passed away. These participants chose not to disclose the truth about their unknown father in order to protect their child until, "they are old enough to understand". Unlike other African womanist theorists, Ogundipe-Leslie (1994:212) acknowledges that single parent households do exist in Africa, but states that in these cases the father is usually still present and acknowledged socially. She does not take into account, however, the fact that this is not always the case. For instance, the majority of my participants had been rejected by their children's fathers, or the fathers of their children was unknown. Whilst there are evidently family structures that fall outside of these traditional norms, indigenous theories have denied them. The movements arguably contribute to, or at the very least fail to address, the ongoing stigmatisation of non-traditional families and single mothers that exists in countries like Zambia. There is a need for indigenous theorists to revisit their expectations of African family structures and acknowledge single mothers like my participants that exist. My results show that these women are in need of support as they are located in a society heavily guided by unachievable gendered norms. In supporting all women indigenous theories can work towards achieving a more liberating movement for African women.

Moreover, the role of the Zambian man was described by Katungu as 'the father, the head of the house' and by Mwiza as:

> The head of the house, or a man he is like Adam, he was the first one to be created and all women are like, you need to submit to men.

Similarly, Eva explained the role of the man and woman as:

> As for a woman, in Zambian tradition a man is the head of the house, so he has to do everything [...] As for house duties, in terms of house duties it is me that is supposed to keep the house clean.

The head of the house, as presented by Katungu and Eva, had no set specifications other than, he was simply to be male. He was long sought after and depicted by other participants as a 'well-wisher' that ultimately would improve their daily living and social standing. These examples highlight the prominent expectation for Zambian women to fulfil the traditional roles of wife and mother. This is also present in nego-feminism and motherism which, as noted by Ogundipe-Leslie (1994), Nnaemeka (2004) and Acholonu (1995), place value on the importance of traditional marriage and family structures in the community. Nego-feminism particularly has argued for African women not to be torn away from the 'family bosom' and for men and women to remain within traditional constructs. However, like other African feminist/womanist theories, Nego-feminism fails to acknowledge those who 'stray' from traditional constructs, but especially the obstacles many women face in trying to achieve them. The theories consequently contribute to the devaluing of family structures that sit outside of this norm.

The Mother, The Prostitute

As noted earlier in this chapter, when my participants' damage became known to society, their children became subjected to stigmatisation by association because of their mother's failing. When the damage was disclosed, their child was stigmatised or felt internal stigma (Goffman 1990:11). Many of participants recalled hearing the mothers and relatives of other children telling them not to play with their child because he/she was the child of a prostitute. Chomba explained:

> We can't tell our children cause if they know that mum is a prostitute, she will also start doing things which I am doing. So that's why we hide when doing that.

Chomba stressed that there was the possibility of her children being influenced by their mother's misdemeanours if they were to find out about her engagement in prostitution. This speaks to existing discussions on motherhood as a 'collective identity'. According to scholars such as Iwelunmor et al. (2010:1393), motherhood can be understood by looking at the role of the mother in a child's life and the importance, as well as expectations, of what a mother entails (ibid). In African literature the mother is always blamed for her daughter's choice of behaviour, even when she is an adult (Chakaipa 1964). Ogunyemi (1996:40), states in African womanism, the daughter will often follow in her mother's footsteps. Eva reflected this expectation when she said:

> I don't want my child to do like the way I, the way a grown up, the way I, I have spoiled myself because a child has to be an example to all the children.

The ultimate (maybe unintended) conclusions that can be drawn from an African womanist standpoint would be that if Chomba's child were born female, she would be more prone to becoming 'damaged' herself. As such, when she grows up she is far more likely to engage in premarital sex and/or prostitution by virtue of her mother's influence, and by being exposure to damage at an influential age. Following the same logic, the son of Chomba would search for a wife who is "damaged" like his own mother and he may also be more prone to "damaging" the daughter of another man, due to his tainted morals. This cycle that can be drawn from indigenous feminism/womanisms is not considered helpful in reducing experiences of stigma by association.

Moreover, as also previously described, the African(a) woman can also be summarised as a woman who is supportive of traditional marriage and gender roles (Hudson-Weems 2004). Katungu likewise demonstrated the importance of gender roles in Zambia, in a focus group, when she said:

> You find that in class boys can be there and it was like something which was said. It happened because you find that always in the class boys were found number one, number one because that intimidation started even at home. You find a parent saying no for the young girl she is willing to get married, that one he is going to work, such kind of a thing.

Katungu highlighted a type of cultural conditioning that began during early childhood when she explained that the girl was required to focus on marriage, whilst the son's attention ought to be on education and employment. Existing work by Ogundipe-Leslie (1994:77) acknowledges and reinforces the importance of girl or woman role as a wife when she states that a woman without a husband is often 'considered a monstrosity'. She explains:

> She becomes the butt of jokes [...] She is often seen by males in the society as an unclaimed and degenerating commodity to be freely exploited in all ways – emotionally, sexually and financially among other ways' (ibid).

Moreover, as argued in my literature chapter, indigenous theories place high levels of pressure onto women by articulating motherhood as an expectation, and as a role that is desired by all women, and necessary in order to feel fulfilled. These expectations of motherhood are present in many African cultures. Mwamba highlighted this as present in Zambia, as well as the economic strain that comes with motherhood when she explained:

> Being without a child is not good. Those people with no children there is a certain word they call them, ati 'chumba[11], chumba, she has no child that one she is a chumba'. You remain like that and in our tradition when you die there is a certain tree, they put in the coffin at [sic] you are going alone, you have no child here, just go alone you have no

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[11] A woman unable to bear a child.

> child to look after, go. So, when I look at that I said no, it's better that I have children, even if I have suffering with those children, let me suffer, I am proud to be a mother.

Because of the heightened economic pressures she knew she would face as a mother, Mwamba also explained she considered an illegal abortion:

> God makes the way, just keep the child. But at me I was looking, children? I will be failing to provide for them, how am I going to manage children? Yes. I never used those traditional medicines no cause what I heard that those traditional medicines they leave something in your womb, they are not good. Yes. So, I went for, in the drug store it was an Indian, an Indian drug store, that's where I got that medicine. Yes. But it hurt me, and it kept me in my mind that's when my cousin told me that you will do a bad thing. That's when I decided to, to go to the priest. I cried. I cried and I said to the priest that I won't think that thing again because that priest told me that maybe that child, maybe that child is a girl. I will never in my life decide to abortion. That I will never in my life.

Throughout Mwamba's narrative she was thankful for her children and appreciative of being a mother, in line with the representation of African women written in indigenous theories. So, in this way Mwamba follows a similar version of womanhood in placing motherhood as central importance in her life. However, because Mwamba is located in poverty, she felt forced into a life of prostitution in order to feed and provide for her child. So, despite Mwamba being a proud mother and having made sacrifices for the benefit of her child, she became stigmatised by wider society and unsupported by indigenous theorists. This was because her entry into prostitution defies social and cultural expectations of the African woman.

African feminists/womanist's like Ogundipe-Leslie have argued the need to move away from colonial influence. However it was during colonialism that this role of the girl as primarily a wife and mother first emerged showing links to the colonial past. To truly move away from colonial influence, it could be argued that perhaps indigenous theories should instead be challenging these norms and working towards empowering women who are not representative of this colonial influenced ideal. In doing so indigenous feminist/womanist movements are more likely to achieve their aim of being a unique movement, away from colonial influence and by being inclusive of all people.

Summary

African feminists have argued for the rights of African women. However, they have inevitably failed to address women such my participants who are prone to rejection from 'traditional' communities (Chioma Steady 2005). Just as indigenous theorists have argued western feminisms ignore the needs of women in developing countries, African feminism/womanism generalise African women and ignore those who may be considered 'outliers' or inconsistent to 'traditional' gendered norms. African feminist/womanist theories have completely omitted the existence of women, made women, such my participants. However, Africana womanist

Hudson-Weems does touch on prostitution in relation to African-American women. She proposes that African-American women have been forced into prostitution primarily as a consequence of 'racism in the United States […] more than it as the result of classism or sexism' (see Monroe 2005:71; Ntiri 2001). Whilst this acknowledgement of prostitution as existing is proactive, it not only ignores prostitution amongst those living on the African continent but also focuses only on prostitution in relation to ongoing 'battles' with the west. Inevitably, African feminist/womanist theory is unable to speak on behalf of 'all' African women generally. However, there is a need to incorporate or acknowledge a variety of African female 'experiences, struggles, needs and social recognition' (Coulibaly 2015:2).

The legacy of colonialism has also been presented here as there are Christian-colonial influenced expectations of women visible in my participants' narratives. With this in mind, the gendered expectations that my participants supposedly fall short of can be said to be linked to a global construct of gender, which has become hybridised with local traditions. So, despite African feminist/womanist attempts to be entirely disassociated from the west, they are in fact impacted by many of the very same Christian-colonial ideals that stigmatise other women, such as my participants.

Part VI: Alternative Versions of Womanhood

As previously discussed, indigenous theories have argued that there is an authentic African version of liberation that does not require African women to have equal gender roles. The same theories have further argued that gender roles work in different ways in African communities but are of equal value. In part III of this chapter I argued that African feminism/womanisms fail to empower all African people as they set out to do because they exclude women like my participants who are outliers to the categorical definition of the African woman. I concluded that by doing this, indigenous theories in ways echo the discourses that have discriminated against prostitutes and/or damaged women.

I now turn to a closing discussion on alternative versions of womanhood. I argue that my participants, as outliers to the traditional woman, are reformulating this idea of womanhood in a way that makes sense for them and their lives. My participants are representative of a low socioeconomic group of women that are "damaged" in many ways and so are consequently outliers to the African norm. Despite this, my participants are strong and are proud of all the things that they have been able to achieve despite becoming burdened with damage.

The 'Traditional' Wife

When located in a traditional family home where the head of the house is typically positioned as the sole financial provider, Docas explained there are many challenges a woman can face:

> Some men don't allow a woman to work. That's the difference between a man and a woman. The difference is that a man, men doesn't allow woman to work. Doesn't allow them. Actually let me say, there are men who can manage to work, but some they don't, they are lazy. As a result, if you are married you cannot sustain or live a better life in your home, because a man is lazy, and the woman is not doing anything. Whereby me, I can move.

Docas argued that women in a marriage with a 'lazy' man, i.e. a man that does not work and therefore cannot provide financially, are unable to create a "better life" for themselves. The statement 'woman cannot do anything' emphasised that the wife in a sense became helpless. Although Docas in this example is comparing herself to a woman in marriage, the statement appears less about declaring who is more or less liberated, and more about focusing on the positive of her own ability to be independent and do something about her own financial state. Since traditional marriage requires women not to work and to depend on the husband, Docas chose not to marry despite being in poverty because it could further limit her finances. Docas highlighted her own version of an African womanhood that has moved away from cultural expectations of the African woman as a financially dependent housewife. Docas presented herself as a woman who was able to deal with the economic circumstances that had been handed to her independently. It is unclear however whether Docas was priding herself on her choice of not conforming to marriage in its entirety, or whether she was purely emphasising the positives of maintaining her autonomy by choosing not to marry *when it does not bring financial gain*. In other words, perhaps if she were to find a husband who earned what she deemed a sufficient amount, she may care less about being a woman that is self-efficient and financially independent. She may in those circumstances opt to get married, because she could then live and sustain a better way of life. Whether her not wanting marriage was because it could lead to monetary loss or a loss of her independence and freedom in this case was unclear. It is also possible that Docas simply did not expect to find such a man willing to marry her given her damage.

Aspina, a participant who had once been married and became damaged later through prostitution, similarly explained:

> I was married once but I was used to that life that one man wasn't enough to me so I divorced him [...] I got married to him when I was; I think it was 35 or so, so because by that time I was making a lot of money, a lot of men, me I was young and beautiful they were giving me a lot of money but him. He gets me to his house gives me a small money. I was just wasting my time, so I just decided I don't want you. But he tried, 'No I love you.' I said, 'Yes, you love me, but your money is not enough to me.' [...] Even if

he gets his salary, he was not showing me money [...] these marriages which we cannot count because he can't help me with anything.

Aspina highlighted the fact that she had attempted to conform to traditional expectations of womanhood and marriage but actively chose to leave her marriage because financially, it was inadequate. This was emphasised through statements such as, 'was not enough to me' and 'he was not showing me money'. Aspina explained that staying with her husband, was 'wasting time' as he did not have a sufficient income, so the marriage didn't 'count'.

As a result, Aspina "chose" to challenge social expectations of the African woman and enter a life of prostitution in the hope of earning more money, despite the damage that she would gain. When located in poverty, Aspina accepted the damage in attempt to make her life better. There was also the insinuation that perhaps if her husband had been providing her with more money than she could earn through prostitution, that one man may been enough. However, for Aspina, the entry into prostitution and acceptance of its associated damage was (financially) the better outcome. By leaving her marriage, Aspina, like Docas chose to step away from gendered and cultural expectations of the African woman that fail to consider the hardship of those who live in poverty.

Although most of my participants chose to step away from their role as a wife, they were not necessarily challenging traditional structures. Regardless of unpleasant interactions with men experienced whilst working in prostitution, the majority of my participants still longed for a husband to "empower" them economically. Kaonde, for example, stated that, 'God blessed me with a man'; the use of 'blessed' highlighting her appreciation of marriage. This longing, however, was not so much for the desire of love and companionship, as the Africana women's descriptor 'male companionship' would suggest that African people supposedly require (Hudson-Weems 2009:46). Nor was it for the need of a man and woman to make one another feel 'whole', as suggested by Nnaemeka (2004:380). Instead, the narratives suggested that this want for a man again was purely so that she could be better off financially. This aspiration was expressed through various statements across the narratives through the sentiment 'if I can find a husband to provide'. Evidently for my participants, conforming to the traditional structure was less about love and more about economic value.

So, becoming the 'traditional' wife would still be the ideal version of womanhood for the majority of my participants, however, *only* when married to a man that could make them financially content. It was unrealistic for lower-class married women, and more especially for those living in poverty, to put sole dependence on the 'head of house', when all too often he was

from the same socio-economic group and therefore experiencing similar financial deprivation. Because of this, my participants believed that they had to move away from traditional expectations of the African woman and create their own version of African womanhood. Since all of my participants were born into the lower classes and had no/limited education, they were restricted significantly in the ways they could make an income. Entering prostitution enabled them to become financially independent, despite also resulting in them acquiring the damage.

African feminists/womanists tend to hold the assumption that there is a mutual dream amongst African people of liberation from the "oppressive" west. My participants, however, evidently dreamt of financial freedom to "move" and of having an adequate source of income, whether it be through their own work or a financially stable husband (Ault 1983). Lukonde said:

> Me I can stand like I am now; I can stand by our own, doing things, maybe I can be a business woman, doing my own, looking for money so that I can feed myself. What man can do even me I can do.

Finding themselves in poverty, my participants' priorities were more concerned with survival than fighting against the oppressive west. My participants, however, still represented many African feminist/womanist values. Aside from my earlier example of participants who rejected the actual *idea* of the traditional structure, they prided themselves on their strength as mothers and their ability to adapt to circumstances and survive. They displayed their maternal ethics through their ability to continuously negotiate their circumstances to feed their children. In Chapter Three I spoke about ways in which women can be liberated, that liberation is presented differently in African countries than it is in the west. My participants presented a postcolonial idea of liberation that was about doing what they needed to in order to provide for their families.

The 'Damaged' Mother

Some participants were married when they gave birth to their children. These participants had later become associated with the damage when they started engaging in prostitution. Bridget explained:

> I find that man don't have money I said, 'You don't have money let me just go for another one who has got money.' [...] If this one he doesn't have money you leave him you go to that one who has got money. If this one who doesn't have money, you leave him you got to that one who has got money. So that's how I joined to be a sexing workers through my friends saying, 'You can't have a man just like that. Your children will be suffering better you have twenty kwacha, ten kwacha so that you buy those small packets of mealie-meal for your children so that they can eat.' [...] I am told that when you are married, all the responsibilities come from the father, me I am just a helper, I can find money, yes, to buy small, small things but all the responsibilities like buying food, clothing the children and myself, whatever I want it's from the husband but if I don't see those things from the husband what can I do?

Like Aspina, when Bridget divorced her husband, the chief reason was the lack of income that he could provide. Bridget however, like the majority of my participants, described her decision to enter prostitution as being motivated by wanting to provide a better life for her children. In her traditional, conformist marriage, her children were suffering as 'that man' was unable to provide for them. It was the child-mother bond that was more culturally unbreakable than any other. The mother was 'the life-blood in the African family' and for Bridget, like other participants, the only way to 'suffer better' for that child, was to leave her marriage and enter prostitution (Mount-Cors 2016:46). Bridget explained that this was the duty of the mother:

> You can't even go to the father the father [sic], 'We want this,' they come to the mother. 'Mother we want money for hair,' or, 'Mum, I want new trousers, I want a new shirt.' But the father is there. So, the important [sic] of the money is for the children because the children they used to cry to the mother.

Similarly, Jane stated, 'I find the money to rent the house and feed my children'. Jane and Bridget prioritised motherhood, yet they took on the role of mother in a way that was different to the norm. Like my other participants, they chose a version of motherhood that came with the burden of damage, so that they could cater to the best interests of their children. African feminists/womanists need to do more to acknowledge women like Jane, and that her actions represent her commitment to motherhood and being a nurturer, ensuring that she can feed her children by any means necessary (Hudson-Weems 2004:72). For Jane and Bridget, the mother-child connection held greater importance for them than maintaining public morality. Rather than excluding women such as these from their theories, African feminist/womanist's should be praising them for their ability to still exhibit maternal ethics and strength, despite being located in economic deprivation. (Mount-Cors 2016:46).

The Agentic Woman

My participant Kabwe was an outlier in my sample, in the sense that she stated that she would always prioritise her right to agency over any financial stability a man could offer her. However, Kabwe argued that it was not the money that was problematic to her in marriage when following the traditional structure, it was the general level of male authority in marriage. Kabwe during an ethnographic focus group explained:

> We are very clever; we are not like the women in the house. A woman married, the husband will come, and that woman will bow to the traditional roles that we are given, and you don't refuse a husband when he comes. So, whether he has brought you STI [sic] or whether he has brought you HIV, you will always contract it. You won't even talk about a condom because if you talk about a condom your husband will ask you why you are talking about a condom and it will bring you a lot of issues.

As Kabwe stated, 'women in marriage' could also get infected with the HIV virus and other STIs because 'the husband' may well engage in sex with other women. In African womanist

research, Ogunyemi (1996:40) has stated, a man may either return to his mother or 'seek support from other women/wives' if his wife was unhappy with performing the tasks of a mother; 'hence the predominance of polygamous/polygynous Nigerian men'. Polygamy remains legal in Zambia and whilst the first wife must typically give consent, however, it is not uncommon for 'the man' to go ahead with acquiring a second wife without it. This was backed up by my participants who explained that men frequently engaged in extramarital affairs, and that many of their clients were in fact married men. In her narrative, Kabwe referred to 'the wife' as having low authority in the household. Therefore, the husband, whether faithful or not, could force unprotected sexual intercourse with her. Therefore, despite the wife being married and conforming to the traditional roles of Zambian women, Kabwe suggests that like the 'hule', she was still at risk of exposure to the stereotypical consequences of unprotected sex with 'damaged' women i.e. sexually transmitted infection. So, if acknowledging power relations in the Zambian home, the consequences of the damage can be inescapable for all women even those that abide by traditional structure and are deemed virtuous.

Kabwe further explained:

> But for a sexual worker she has the right to choose, me I am not going to sleep with you. There was a sexual worker I was talking to one time said here comes a thin man wanting sex and then he said he wants sex without a condom. 'You are already dead you just want to kill me if you want sex with me then you should go with a condom.' Then they convinced that man till they had sex with a condom so for these ones they can. They can. We are very clever. Even they know how to, we are very brave in short, braver than a woman at home.'

Kabwe presented the view of the damaged 'hule' as being emancipated by her ability to say no to men which, according to Kabwe, does not occur within a traditional marriage. Essentially, Kabwe described traditional marriage as oppressive, as it requires women to 'bow' to men, counteracting the Africana womanist position that argues 'a world free of oppression already exists within the traditional African philosophical worldview' (Yaa Asante Waa Reed 2001:175). African feminist/womanist theories have assumed that all African women want to follow all expectations of the traditional structure, when in reality according to Kabwe's narrative, some do not. Women like Kabwe, who are positioned outside of this norm, have found unique ways of positively expressing their position in society which she described as 'clever' and 'brave'.

As noted, where prostitution is mentioned in Africana womanism, it is presented only as a form of oppression (Monroe 2005:71; Ntiri 2001). It does not consider the possibility that these women enter into prostitution through free choice and that they are self-reliant, independent or empowered (see Ntiri 2001; Monroe 2005). Katungu explained, 'We are clever, even when we

are sleeping with them'. Katungu, like Kabwe, emphasised the prostitute's right to say no, and whilst they were often subjected to rape and violence, they remained agentic through their ability to say no. According to Ogaro (2013:164), prostitutes can join together to demonstrate the power that they have over men who desire sex. Katungu and Kabwe explained, prostitutes can control men through 'the power of sex in them', in contrast to the Zambian dominant discourse of men as the "agents of power" in society.

This speaks to existing western feminist discussions surrounding agency and gender and gives an insight into power relations that specifically look at the relations between men and women, and how they are structured in patriarchy. Kabwe presented the damaged 'hule' as a social actor that, to some extent, can exercise control. Kabwe, for example, was able to choose whether to use a condom, presenting herself as a dissenter of gendered constructs. She challenged the norms of traditional womanhood, self-proclaiming that she had 'power', despite being damaged and not representative of every aspect of the 'traditional African woman'. It must be noted, however, that I am not necessarily suggesting that other women in Zambia who choose to conform to traditional structures and remain within them, are not agentic. Just as agency can be demonstrated as the participant having the ability to *not* conform, the choice to conform can be presented as equally agentic and liberated especially when (according to the narratives), it is of financial benefit. I am merely emphasising that there are different versions of womanhood and postcolonial understandings of liberation that evidently do exist and yet are ignored.

In the west, pro sex work feminists look at personal agency versus freedom, how sex workers exercise individual agency and self-consciousness and form personal 'choices' (see Maitra 2012:360 and Ringrose 2007). By acknowledging women's right to agency, the ability to understand 'axes of power and difference' can be exercised (Yuval-Davis, 2006:203). By paying attention to the combined and detached complexities of intersectionality and agency, the world of the participants can arguably be better viewed through 'outsider' perspectives. Ringrose (2007:265) further explains that this in turn may then help enable one to look at the intricacies of individual realities and aid understanding.

However as previously touched upon, associating western theory to my participants is complex due African feminists'/womanists' argument for the recognition and implementation of indigenous theory in study of/around African(a) women. However indigenous African(a) theory, for the most part, are supportive of traditional norms and cultural expectations, positioning prostitution as a taboo. This therefore restricts debate around female agency on/around prostitution and potential 'oppressions' in the academic sphere. Topics surrounding prostitution in African discourse remains a neglected theme with no substantial discussions on

them (see Westermann et al. 1993). Whilst variant African feminisms such as Nego-feminism propose a collectivist approach, they clearly fail to incorporate all members of society into their theory. This further emphasises the need for African feminist/womanist theory to be revisited to acknowledge the diversity of African women that exist, so that a culturally relevant theory can be developed that is inclusive of "outliers" such as prostitutes and/or damaged women.

Conclusion

I opened this chapter with a discussion on the origins of the damage and concluded it as likely having stemmed from colonial efforts to modernise the indigenous population and "correct" the behaviour of indigenous people, which resulted in cultural hybridisation. My chapter also established that many of the challenges my participants faced were likely to have come about through colonisation. Just as I argued in Chapter Two that colonialism influenced the stigma surrounding prostitution, the emergence of the damage itself or at least its associated stigma has ties to colonialism. This is chiefly because Christianity positioned women as modest and subservient and the damage and prostitution stigma typically rest on this idea of sex outside marriage being a form of wrongdoing. Colonialism has contributed to this idea of damage through the stigmatisation of sex before, and outside of marriage brought in from its imported laws and Christian morals. There also became this emphasis on the economic worth of a woman's purity that emerged with the colonial commodification of bride wealth. It was then that damage fees were likely first introduced as a form of compensation for the loss of/reduction in bride price. This placed further pressure on women needing to remain "pure" in order to maintain their 'value'.

I also established that damaged women in this study, who are also prostitutes, are some of the many groups of women who have been left behind in indigenous theories. By this I mean by the "types" of women that are not fulfilling the role of how/what they're "meant" to be. A prostitute falls short of being the 'good role-model' and fulfilling the duty of having a traditional marriage and family structure (Hudson-Weems 2004; Nnaemeka 1998).

I have argued that African feminist/womanist movements have been shaped by their resistance to western domination and feminist ideologies that they argued were not wholly relevant to them. However African feminisms/womanisms are instead echoing this idea of damage by stigmatising women who do not fit into traditional roles, which I previously argued have been impacted by the western anyway. Just as there has been a failure in western feminism to acknowledge differences in experience between those from the west and those from developing countries, African feminists/womanists are guilty of failing to acknowledge unique differences

that exist amongst women. I would like to refer back to the quotation taken from Nego-feminism that was previously referenced in my literature chapter:

> We need to walk like the chameleon—goal-oriented, cautious, accommodating, adaptable, and open to diverse views.
>
> (Nnaemeka 2004:382).

To truly achieve a collaborative and empowering movement for all African women that these theorists aim to achieve, there needs to be more efforts made to become more accommodating to "other" categories of women and to be more open to diverse views. Only when these theorists are able to do this can African people work together closely and endeavour to achieve common goals.

The final part of this chapter has examined alternative versions of womanhood as shown through my participants and touched on different notions of liberation that exist. I argued that when a marriage follows the traditional structure, feeling liberated is for most, unrealistic and impractical, especially when a woman is in poorer circumstances or poverty. For this reason, some of my participants have chosen to step away from traditional marriage structures which typically encourage women to be reliant on the "head of the household". Liberation for my participants has consequently become centred around their ability to emancipate themselves financially, as women and as mothers. My participants challenged existing gender norms, whether through their engagement in prostitution and with the damage, and/or through their exit from marriage. This has also touched on the idea of the damage in relation to agency as many of my participants have chosen to take on the damage in order to become financially independent.

Although my participants have lived with, and suffered from, the damage, they have also exhibited a sense of pride. They believed they were independent and survivors despite the NGO's insistence that such words are not appropriate in describing these women. Also, despite being prostitutes, my participants in their unique way, already had a notion of African feminism/womanism within them. They can be seen as African feminists/womanists that have taken on the damage in order to support their families and to be good mothers. They value their children, their communities and although they defy social expectations, on the most part they still aspired to achieve this ideal traditional family structure, given the right economic circumstances. My participants were therefore living and articulating a type of feminism/womanism with the aims espoused by existing feminisms/womanisms. However, because of the judgements implied in these theories, my participants and indigenous theories as they stand now, can never quite "meet". Ultimately, as noted above, these theories subscribe to and echo this idea of the damage that has been impacted by western ideals and constructions of gender, that discriminates and segregates women such as my participants.

Chapter Seven: Thesis Conclusion

My thesis has been framed around the following questions:

1. What are the main issues facing female prostitutes in Zambia and where do these come from?
2. How can these issues best be understood?

In answering these questions my thesis became about the concept of the "damage" and its consequences in the lives of Zambian prostitutes, as well as how this damage can be understood. I have argued that damage is a key factor that has had a significant impact upon my participants' lives. I have also argued that the concept of damage exemplifies a form of cultural fusion. I concluded that these theorists, whose aim it is to "empower" *all* African people, have echoed the discourses that have been used to discriminate against damaged women, including prostitutes. In effect, these theorists have reinforced certain gendered ideals that were a result of the impact of colonialism gender relations and sexual morality, exacerbating the existing issues.

At the outset to this research, my aims were centred around empowering Zambian women, and I expected to draw extensively upon African feminism/womanism in framing my research. So when this theme of damage emerged, I turned to African feminism to find out more about how it works, from where it originates and essentially how I could help these women. However, I soon discovered that my participants typically appeared to be excluded from indigenous theories, at that they represented outliers to the 'African woman' presented within this literature. Western frameworks are similarly limited in their capacity to shed light on this issue, since they are unable to take account of the specific cultural context. Clearly neither western or indigenous African feminist frameworks offer us a complete understanding of the damage or a full type of political program to assist or guide us in dealing with this issue.

My thesis therefore calls for indigenous theories to be revisited, however, this time with more awareness of the structural issues, such as poverty, at play in the lives of these women restricting their ability to conform to gendered expectations. Indigenous theorists need to acknowledge that, for women located in economic deprivation, fulfilling these "idealistic" notions of authentic, traditional womanhood are simply unreachable. Moreover, African feminism/womanism is yet to adequately deal with many of the problems that women like my participants are facing, and that there is a pressing need for community projects, such as HIV projects which are scarce in Zambia.

Main Contributions

My thesis makes an original contribution to the literature by providing a better understanding of the concept of damage and how the stigma surrounding damage operates in the lives of Zambian prostitutes. It offers insight into alternative versions of womanhood and liberation, colonialism and consequential resistance politics. It contributes to the following fields of literature: gender studies, general stigma research, HIV stigma, prostitution stigma, African studies generally and, more especially, research that explores colonial impact on African countries. My thesis also has the potential to inform public policy, including policing, health care, welfare, and sex education and to contribute to existing debates surrounding prostitution. The work produced has relevance not only to Zambia, but more widely to other African and developing countries which have been subjected to the colonial gaze. It creates further potential to raise awareness of the factors that play into the HIV epidemic, rising prostitution levels and gender relations in Zambia, as well as into understanding the risks negotiated by prostitutes (e.g. HIV, poverty) and how they actively navigate their way through a series of threats.

Damage and Damage Stigma

"Damage" has been presented as a concept that is applied to women when they have sexual intercourse outside of marriage. Typically, this damage has been described as mainly becoming visible when a woman becomes pregnant out of wedlock. Damage has been identified as being somewhat related to stigma, in the sense that women become stigmatised when they are associated with damage. However, the damage advances the conceptualisation of stigma and differs from stigma in that it is only applicable to women, only concerned with sexual relations and a woman's purity, and that for some, it is 'removable' through payment (i.e. those from families with sufficient economic resources). Moreover, it has been established that damage is a result of the impact of the colonialism on gender relations and sexual morality and exacerbates a degree of homogenized global culture.

As such, my research on damage offers a unique contribution to wider academic research on stigma research. Although there is existing research on prejudice and discrimination in relation to 'race, ethnicity, gender, poverty, or sexual orientation', there are no studies available specifically regarding Zambia and comparable Sub-Saharan African countries surrounding damage and consequential stigma (Pescosolido and Martin 2015:2).

There are many potential reasons as to why the damage has not been studied prior to this research. First, the term "damage" itself (as it is defined in this context) appears to be unique to Zambia and may therefore be unknown to countries outside of Zambia. Second, there is a lack

of sociological research generally on women and gender relations in Zambia. This is likely to be because, as noted, gender relations amongst African people are not a prioritised concern for indigenous academics (Byrne 1994:3; Hudson-Weems 2004). Moreover, there is limited access to African literature written by indigenous scholars available within western academia. This was evident when undertaking this study, as accessing indigenous literature was often problematic, especially whilst located in the UK. Due to such issues, there is limited knowledge of the problem areas or topics specific to Zambia, such the damage.

Additionally, since my thesis has focused specifically on women that are or have been working in prostitution, there is room for further research on "damaged" women outside of prostitution e.g. women generally who have had sex outside of marriage and are therefore also associated to the damage and women who get divorced and become consequently associated with the damage. There is also the potential for research on the children of 'damaged' women because, as mentioned in my results chapter, children are often also subjected to stigmatisation and discrimination, and may be more prone to being affected because of their early association with damage. This could be a particularly valuable contribution since it has been argued that research on the 'children of prostitutes' generally (let alone in the African context) is extremely limited (Beard et. al (2010).

My research looks at social reactions towards damaged women through their first-hand experiences, how these women violate the norms of society and the social exclusion they are subject to as a direct consequence. This contributes to previous research by social psychologists who have argued that stigma is a construction of behavioural, affect and cognitive processes that create cultural meanings through social responses. By studying the damage, this study enables us to see how women can be somewhat controlled by a stigmatising attribute, i.e. in this case, the "damage", in their day-to-day processes. It relates to the 'language of relationships', which is presented in stigma theory being reciprocal in nature. That is, the idea that the way that stigmatised individuals communicate with others, and then how these individuals are treated in return is then often radically affected by their damaging attribute (Goffman 1963:5).

By exploring damage in conjunction with prostitution, my research also touches on existing debate surrounding the autonomy of women and the choice intersect that has been widely studied in variant western feminism(s) (see Kesler 2002). However, I suggest that some of my participants appear to have 'chosen' to take on this "damage", having weighed up the costs and benefits. This "choice" was made as a survival strategy within the specific circumstances in which my participants were located. This links to existing western research on survival sex that

similar explores how individuals turn to prostitution because of their low income and lack of alternative survival options (see Tyler, Whitbeck, Hoyt, Cauce and Whitbeck 2004 and Kesler 2002). Future research could delve further into this idea of 'choice' in relation to both prostitution and the damage and/or how such women exercise agency to survive when faced in extreme socio-economic deprivation.

Despite my study offering a unique contribution, the lack of information available on damage has been particularly problematic at times. This was especially evident when attempting to identify where the notion of damage originated from. I overcame this by concentrating on what information was available, as opposed to what was not. For example, as noted, I could evidence the English legal codes (1964) that were imported into Zambia, which punished prostitutes under the category of being 'idle and disorderly'. It could be argued that this was likely a significant factor in stigmatising prostitutes, which, as noted, intersects with the damage. I point towards the morality associated with Christianity, where sex outside of marriage has typically be equated with sin, and the fact that Christianity was introduced to many African countries through colonialism. So, despite the origins of damage being particularly complex to establish, I was still able to argue throughout this thesis as to how this discourse is likely to have emerged.

It was in realising the complexity of identifying the origins of the damage that I first realised the strengths of my multi-method methodology. Using a multi-method approach is particularly helpful when trying to explore a topic missing from existing research (see Meetoo and Temple (2003). By using this approach, I was able to explore my participants' narratives in more detail, and the additional data that was gained from the ethnography enabled me to find further support for their views, or to acknowledge any contradictions. The use of two part interviewing in the life history approach of my study was also a particularly strong element of this study. As discussed in Chapter Four, this technique enabled me to tailor follow up questions in the second interview to fill in any gaps, clear up any ambiguities and further explore and connect with emerging themes, such as experiences of motherhood.

The methodology used in this study has enabled me to explore how women cope 'with society rather than how society copes with the stream of individuals' (Mandelbaum 1973:177). Existing work on prostitution in the west, such as by sociologist O'Connell Davidson (1998), has similarly made a series of complex and applicable arguments in her study entitled, 'Prostitution, Power and Freedom'. In her work, she explores the moralities behind prostitution as well as the power relations and economics. O'Connell Davidson, however, like many academics ultimately fails to explore the first-hand perspectives of prostitutes. According to Wong et al. (2011), prostitution stigma research is particularly understudied when from the viewpoint of prostitutes

themselves. By using a life history methodology, I have been able to show how my participants, as prostitutes themselves, negotiate their damage and associated stigmatisation from their own perspective. By doing this I have been able to contribute to existing prostitution stigma research, using an underutilized methodological approach.

However, damage has also been established as having been experienced differently at times across my participants' narratives, and these differences sometimes created contradictions in the analysis. For example, when discussing whether the damage could be removed through payment of damage fees, there were conflicting views. Whilst some participants believed that a woman could become free of damage by paying the fee, others were dubious. These participants believed that religious redemption could go some way towards making amends, but that once damage had been gained, it remained with the woman forever. Despite certain contradictions, such as this, one factor that remained consistent throughout the narratives was the idea of damage in this sense being concerned with financial gain or loss. Therefore, the emergence of contradictions such as this are not necessarily a weakness in my research, rather they merely highlight the complexity of the discourse surrounding damage and the need for further research. As such, future research could look in more depth at the commonalities and differences between the women that may shape how damage is experienced, e.g. by concentrating on demographic factors such as age, tribe, location etc.

HIV Stigma

My study also contributes to existing studies on HIV in relation to prostitution in sub-Saharan African countries which, according to Lancaster et al. (2016:12) are 'severely understudied and underserved'. Lancaster et al. (ibid) explain there is 'limited understanding of and attention to their HIV testing, care, and treatment engagement'. This was particularly evident in Chapter Six, where I discuss my participants' narratives of discriminatory experiences with health care provisions caused by prostitution and damage stigma. This chapter highlighted the way in which prostitution and damage stigma have the potential to impact the HIV epidemic on a wider scale, in the sense that women were restricted in their right to be tested and to be treated. Moreover, their fear of further discriminatory treatment, based on prior experiences, made participants reluctant to be tested. UNAIDS have long fought for stigma to be acknowledged as a hindrance to tackling HIV/AIDS and my research not only acknowledges this but provides qualitative data that demonstrates how stigma can contribute to the rise of HIV. It does this by giving insight into the structural and institutional discrimination that occur in healthcare provisions across micro, meso and macro levels that limit women's access and engagement with healthcare providers. My research therefore establishes that there is a need to acknowledge the implication

of stigmatising and discriminatory behaviours that can negatively impact intervention
programmes.

Alternative Versions of Womanhood

My thesis has looked closely at this idea of 'the African woman' as described in variant African
feminism/womanisms. I concluded that indigenous feminisms/womanisms that aim to celebrate
a distinct version of the 'African woman', in many ways were guilty of excluding various
categories of women, including women like my participants who identify as prostitutes and as
damaged. My research has established that different versions of womanhood outside of the
traditional norm can, and do, exist. For example, my participants have articulated a unique
version of African womanhood that incorporates some of the same values presented in the
existing theories. Through their narratives, these women emerged as being strong and proud of
their resilience, and as doing their best to provide for and nurture their children even in dire
circumstances. Despite this, my participants have not followed the same life path that has been
laid out to them by Zambian and African feminist/womanist perspectives. Consequently, my
participants became outliers to the 'traditional' 'African woman'. My participants instead
unconsciously used their gender roles in ways to work as 'sites for resistance' to gendered
constructions and as 'sources of empowerment' producing these competing versions of
womanhood (Chilisa and Ntseane 2010).

There are various reasons as to why alternative versions of African womanhood have come to
exist. First, as noted previously, the depiction of "traditional" womanhood envisioned by
African feminists/womanists was only achievable to women of a higher socioeconomic class or
for women who were able to marry men of higher class. Gendered notions of the family being
provided for solely by the 'head of the house' were not economically feasible for those of lower
socio-economic status. My participants were located in circumstances where they have had to
fight for survival in poor conditions they did not originally choose. My participants
consequently had to reformulate this idea of womanhood in a way that made sense for them and
their lives, based on their socioeconomic circumstances.

Second, as Zambia is recognised as a postcolonial country, it is inevitable that there has been
significant colonial influence over indigenous people. When British colonial state powers
invaded pre-colonial Zambia, not only did they alter the epistemological knowledge that the
people had of the world, but they 'created new power relationships and new ways of relating to
oneself' (Whitelaw 2014:14). Western domination had effects that were political, economic and
social which have remained in independent Zambia, and these may have influenced gender

relations. Moreover, British colonial rule contributed to Zambia developing into a heterogeneous society more generally. As Simuchimba explains:

> 'Apart from the indigenous African majority found in all of the country's nine provinces, there are now smaller groups of Zambians of European, Indian, Lebanese and other (Asian) origins, found mostly in Lusaka, the Copperbelt, Central and the South the four provinces where urban centres developed first. (2001:108)

What this means is that Zambia, like most countries, is continuously subject to new and changing cultures in line with its evolving multicultural society. New cultures that have been brought into the country have become entangled with indigenous traditions, customs, values etc. For example, as previously discussed, colonialism brought Christian morals into Zambia and taught Christian religious beliefs to the indigenous population. This has arguably led to a multitude of changes in perceptions of women and sexuality. Therefore, it is not surprising that alternative versions of womanhood have come to exist. That is not to say that alternative versions of womanhood did not exist previously, since is likely that there have always been outliers to the norm throughout history. However, as mentioned, because studies surrounding gender and gender relations are understudied in Zambia and more so historically, there is limited existing literature and information available for me to pursue this argument.

Further research might also use this idea of alternative versions of womanhood to look at different versions of 'manhood' that are also likely to also exist outside the categorically defined 'head of house' and 'protector' norm defined in previous chapters. Likewise, there is a need for research to be done into alternative versions of African identities generally from a postcolonial perspective. For example, as noted, homosexual and transgender people are too outliers to the African 'norm' and excluded from indigenous theory. Homosexuality has been said by indigenous theorists to be 'foreign' to African culture and having been brought it by the west. Whatever the cause of its existence, homosexuality and transgender people have been proven to exist in African countries, amongst African people, and continue to remain criminalised (see Kinken 2014). In order to truly be inclusive of all African people as indigenous theories argue they are, there is a need for further research in the gender studies department that focuses on various interdisciplinary areas, such as gender identity, women's studies, queer studies etc by indigenous academics.

Liberation

Another key theme that has been discussed in my thesis has been liberation. What I have established is that this idea of liberation that is present in African feminist/womanist theories is dissimilar in many ways to how it is defined in the west. Whilst liberation in indigenous academia is about freedom, it is not about freedom from gender. As discussed in my Results

Chapters, African feminists/womanists state that they do not need to be freed from gender as femininity and motherhood are to be respected and honoured. African feminist/womanists instead argue the need to focus on liberation from the west over gender equality. It is about freeing themselves from western domination, e.g. from the postcolonial system, the government etc. Zambia, for example, is a postcolonial country that has a social structure and a governmental system that has been imposed on it by the west and liberation in this context could be defined as being freed from all that can be defined as western imposition.

So, although the project of liberation for African people can be said to derive from indigenous theories, my thesis asks where my participants, as African prostitutes, fit in this liberation project and questions whether indigenous liberation frameworks can be used to liberate them. My thesis has since answered this as ultimately depending on how we define liberation. As established in the Results Chapter, my participants could already be defined as being relatively liberated in some respects, such as economic independence. For my participants liberation seemed to be more focused on being able to survive independently in economic conditions they have not themselves chosen and about reformulating African womanhood in order to cope with their circumstances and conditions. However, despite being liberated by some measures, when positioning liberation in this context, the damage always appears a restricting factor that gets in the way of "true" liberation. It is also likely that these women are likely to have not chosen this life, if other options were made available to them.

Colonialism & Resistant Politics

A large area of discussion in my thesis has been about the influence of the colonialism in African feminist/womanist theories and their resistance to the west:

> Post-colonialism literature is a consequence of colonialism. A colonised individual is usually forced to follow the culture of their colony regardless if they are against it or not. Post-colonial writers usually write about how their rich native cultures were destroyed under the power of imperialism [...] If they work together and put their differences aside, they are surely bound to overcome the pain of losing their culture. This will enable them to focus on ways that will help preserve the elements of their culture that still exist (Kenalemang 2013:6-7).

I first explored this in Chapter Two when looking at the history of Zambia and arguing that prostitution came about, or at least increased, with colonial invasion. This was then explored again in Chapter Six when arguing that damage is a colonial import that stemmed from western Christian colonial morals and English legal codes. The theme of colonial influence was then incorporated into discussions on womanhood that are present in the indigenous African feminist/womanist literature. This is of note because the morals present in African feminism/womanisms are very similar to those imported during colonialism.

There was also a resemblance highlighted between the discourse of the damage and the discourse of African feminism/womanism, even though they were constructed for very different purposes. The damage, like indigenous theories, showed connections to the west and their ideals. What I concluded from this discussion was that even though indigenous theories argue for resistance from western feminism(s), and despite the damage appearing to be a discourse unique to Zambia, when located in a postcolonial context, colonial influence remains. So even though I originally set out to move away from focusing on western impact in Zambia, the colonial west has indisputably brought much political, economic and social change into Zambia and so this has therefore been relevant to my thesis.

It must be noted however that my thesis does not aim to imply that African feminist/womanist theorists have simply looked at western discourses and tried to repeat them. What it is instead concluding is that, if using a Foucauldian (1978) perspective for example, African feminism/womanism can only draw upon knowledge of 'African women' that has been made available to them. Zambia, for example, became an official British colony in 1924, with its colonisation stemming from as early the 1890s. Indigenous Zambian academics of today are therefore likely to create theories based on knowledge that is available to them or that has been experienced. This knowledge and experience, however, has ultimately come from a colonial past or postcolonial era. Today's academics have not lived in pre-colonial times and have restricted access to literature written prior to the colonial period due resources being limited, especially in Zambia. Since there is little primary research and literature available, a 'true' authentic Zambian womanhood or culture, without all colonial influence is difficult to establish as is likely influence beyond recognition (Foucault 1978). This may similarly be the case for other colonised African countries such as Nigeria, where these same African feminist/womanist theories originate from, which, like Zambia, have been once colonised (see Kenalemang 2013). So, despite indigenous theorists saying that they are completely resisting dominant western discourses, in many ways it is likely that they intersect and overlap with western culture as a result of cultural hybridisation.

Positionality Implications

There are several implications that I faced while writing this thesis. I discussed these in great depth in my Methodology Chapter. The main implication that was established was that I experienced complex positionality, and this became evident when building rapport with my participants. My positionality, however, may also have a negative impact as to how my thesis will be received by indigenous academics. As noted previously, although I am a Zambian woman and have a fair amount of experience of, and affiliation to, Zambia and Zambian culture,

I have ultimately been raised in the west. I have since concluded my research with the suggestion that there has been western influence on indigenous theory. As indigenous writers pride themselves on being unique and having distance from western discourse it may appear as though I, as a western researcher, have taken indigenous theory that celebrates 'authentic' African womanhood, and discredited it by arguing its association to colonial imported norms. I have however been proactive and consistent in my emphasis that indigenous frameworks will always remain more relevant and more applicable to my participants in comparison to western theories, despite in some ways appearing exclusionary. My attempts to remain culturally appropriate emphasises my recognition of the importance of acknowledging cultural difference when researching people who differ in culture, ethnicity, religion, geographical location etc to your own. I also acknowledge that the indigenous theories used in this research are overall a positive and much needed movement for countries, like Zambia, whose voices generally are underrepresented in the academic sphere.

Closing Thoughts

On a personal note, conducting this research has enabled me to reflect on my own upbringing, my own childhood and how "damage" has influenced my life. Growing up, the damage has been a term that I often ignored when heard in conversation. It was only whilst conducting this research, however, that I really acknowledged what this "damage" has come to mean for women and what it could potentially mean for me. When reflecting on my own childhood, I realise that I have been guided by the teachings of my relatives, especially my mother, who were raised and educated in Zambia. From an early age, like my participants, I have been taught the importance of marriage and having children post-marriage. I had always assumed these teachings derived from my parents' religious morals, and perhaps to an extent they do. However, it was through writing this research that my mother reached out to me and explained how her fear of the "damage" impacted her life, and the life choices she made, including her "quick marriage". It is through much self-reflection while writing this thesis that I came to realise my own fear of falling pregnant outside of marriage ultimately stemmed from this fear of the "damage", which has been passed down to me from my mother.

From an academic perspective my thesis informs a much needed, fresh perspective for understanding women's decision-making in entering into, and engaging in, prostitution in Zambia and the damage reflects their anticipation of the ultimate price of this work. I have used the narratives of prostitutes to develop an understanding as to why prostitution can be an emancipating decision when in acutely constrained circumstances for Zambian women, including often offering the only opportunity for financial independence from unsatisfactory relationships with husbands. I hope I have achieved this and avoided speaking for my

participants by drawing upon the life history methodology, an epistemological dimension that argues that participants are experts in their own lives. Moreover, my research has not only generated relevant and epistemologically sound data, but has given primacy to my participants' voices. This has the potential to be an empowering move for this group. By understanding the life experiences of my participants, I hope that my study has gone beyond individualised and ahistorical perspectives, to generate a women-centred social and societal understanding of the lives of female prostitutes. As well as this I also hope this study has offered an understanding of unexplored and academically ignored 'damaged' women in Zambia.

Evidently there is a need for more work to be done on African feminism/womanisms, to engage with activists to create a feminism/womanism that is more inclusive for women that enter prostitution. In western countries there are feminists that are sex work positive, albeit in a different context. There needs to be also be a way to somehow create a sex work positive idea in Zambia without copying the west and whilst maintaining an authentic African feminism/womanism, that can be more inclusive of prostitutes. I am not suggesting that existing African feminisms/womanisms should look at promoting agency surrounding prostitution because as already noted, this would be taking a more western stance, as prostitution is not part of their culture and is not necessarily what my participants are asking for either. For example, Lukonde explained:

> I can just encourage my fellow prostitutes to stop what they are doing; you know there
> is a lot of diseases these days […] Prostitution is bad, we are doing *it's just because of*
> *poverty*.

My thesis is instead highlighting the need to revisit these theories, not to change their opinion on prostitution, but to work on a movement that incorporates women like my participants who in many ways still embody the representation of the African woman. It is about acknowledging different women and the economic circumstances they have been given and being able to support them without necessarily being *pro* sex work.

It is also clear from my participants narratives that it would be wrong to suggest that there is a need to move away from having a strong focus on motherhood and traditional gender roles. I say this because, for the majority of these women, gendered roles were respected and valued. However, as noted, such ideals were only achievable according to the prescribed standards when located in the right economic circumstances. So, whilst it is true that colonialism has impacted and consequently changed gendered roles, arguably by forcing reproduction/nurture that was central to slavery onto African culture, these roles that have come to exist now were valued by my participants, similarly to the picture painted by indigenous theorists, African people. I therefore conclude by taking a postcolonial lens and arguing that there needs to be a

way of having an African feminist/womanist theory that can appreciate all of these attributes that have been discussed by these theorists and my participants. However, such a theory should not be prescriptive about how people live their lives.

Ultimately these movements are still in their infancy with little work done on them in comparison to western theories so there is space for development and evolvement to look at wider issues. Moving forward this needs to be the subject of further research and political actions. Moreover, indigenous theories refer to African women generally and do little to address issues that are unique to individual African countries, like the damage. Consequently, the indigenous feminist/womanist activism that is available to Zambia is not necessarily helping with this idea of damage. The African feminist/womanist perspectives that are meant to liberate indigenous women from the west, have been argued as instead reinforcing certain stigmas that has been imported into Zambia during colonialism. I conclude my thesis with a call for further engagement to be had with African feminists/womanists to talk through more specific issues, such as damage, that are significantly impacting African women but are currently unaddressed.

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Appendix A

Participant Biographies

All names are pseudonyms. All my participants were living in Lusaka, Zambia at the time of the interview, were mothers, and self-identified as Christians.

Chomba

At the time of this study Chomba was 26 years old and she had four children. Her life became difficult after her mother died and she was forced to live with her father and stepmother. She soon left her father's household because she was not wanted by her stepmother.

Chomba had a boyfriend, who was married to another woman. His wife would continuously give her verbal abuse because she was aware that Chomba was sleeping with her husband. She soon became pregnant by that same boyfriend, but he failed to take responsibility for his child. Chomba was forced into prostitution in order to feed and care for her child. Chomba became pregnant by a client with her second child. Her biggest worries were described as the welfare of her children and who were to care for them when she dies.

> I want to stop prositition appreciate. It is risking. I even have 4 children which I am even failing to take care of. I pray that one day god will answer my prayer. I need the guidance of God so that I take care of my children. Please help me!! I cry for all who can

Chomba was continuously subjected to various stigmatisation from law enforcement and the general public. This was evident through her shared experiences with clients who were both

abusive and violent. An example of this was when Chomba described being stabbed in the hand by a client while on duty. Chomba also highlighted the theme of police brutality that included being regularly locked in cells and raped by the policemen on duty.

Docas

Docas was 31 years old with one child aged 14. Growing up she had dreamed of becoming a nurse. She became pregnant during Grade 7 at school at the age of 16 and was forced to leave school. The father of her child denied 'ownership' of the child. Her mother passed away in 2007 and as a result her financial struggles worsened. Docas eventually ended up working in prostitution due to lack of income. Docas described traumatic experiences that included clients taking her and leaving her at night in graveyards without paying her. Docas worked in prostitution for three years and then stopped when she contracted HIV. She is now "reformed".

Kabwe

Kabwe was 26 years old with two children. Her father died when she was a child and left her family with nothing. As a result she only completed her education up until Grade 8. Kabwe started working in prostitution due to poverty. She then became pregnant by a client who then married her and later had another child with him. Kabwe described their marriage as 'not nice' and explained that he mistreated her. Because her husband was not providing money or food to support her and her children, Kabwe left the marriage and returned to prostitution.

Kabwe described experiences of police brutality and violence with clients that nearly resulted in her death. Kabwe's biggest fear was contracting HIV and said she would not sleep with clients without condoms. At the time of the second interview, Kabwe was still working in prostitution.

Mwamba

Mwamba was 29 years old with three children. She never attended school due to insufficient funds. Mwamba's mother died when she was only five years old. She entered prostitution when her father died and she was left homeless. She was introduced to the Queen mother who taught her "how" to become a prostitute. The Queen mother brings her men for her to sleep with and takes part of the profit in return. Mwamba then became pregnant with her first child at the age of 17 by a client and went on to have two more children. The Queen mother helped her deliver her babies at home. Mwamba said she had three boyfriends, one to pay her rent, one to buy her 'mealie meal' and one to buy her 'lotion.

Kaonde

Kaonde is 34 years old with five children. She gave birth to two of those children at home with the help of friends. Growing up her life was difficult. Her father left her mother for another woman and her mother could not afford to look after her alone. She was sent to live with her uncle who later died. Her uncle's wife treated her very badly so she described her solution as 'searching for a husband' so that he could help her. Eventually 'God blessed' her with 'a man' and she got married.

She started working in prostitution at the age of 18 when her husband left her to marry another woman as he left her with no money or gave help for their children. She had a Queen's Mother who would find her men in exchange for some of the money made. Kaonde became "reformed" when she got sick and found out she was HIV negative and saw it as another chance at life.

Chola

Chola is 38 years old with two children. There were 12 in her family. Chola did not complete her school education past Grade 7 due to her father leaving her mother and (as a consequence of this), her mother struggling financially. She started working as a prostitute out of poverty, to help feed her mother and siblings.

She became pregnant by a client whilst working in prostitution and developed a relationship with this client. The same client married her, and she stayed with him for seven years. Chola described the marriage as 'more like girlfriend and boyfriend' because he had not paid bride price. Chola also explained that throughout the marriage they would argue as he did not trust her because when he met her when she was working in prostitution. Her husband also used to be physically and mentally abusive towards her. He later left her for another woman so Chola returned to prostitution to survive.

Chola became 'reformed' when she joined the NGO and they taught her how to do tailoring and make peanut butter. She now tries to make money through both of these occupations.

Maggie

Maggie is aged 37 with one child. Her father died when she was still a child and she remained living with her mother.

She attended school until Grade 9 and then stopped due to becoming pregnant. Because of this 'shame', she was chased from her family home. The father of her child 'refused the baby' and as a result she entered prostitution so that she could look after her child. She was introduced to

prostitution by a friend who took her to a local bar and explained how to 'survive' and was then 'trained' by the Queen Mother who taught her how to have sex.

Maggie still works in prostitution and described how she stopped attending church due to the shame associated with her line of work and church members not wanting her to attend.

Jane

Jane is 38 years old with five children. She did not finish school and only completed until Grade 9 due to a lack of income in her family.

She was married for 15 years and her provided the household income. She started prostitution after he died due to a loss of finances and the need to feed her five children.

Jane referred to herself as a 'Queen Mother' but also had her own Queen Mother who she refers to as 'a champion'.

Jane became HIV positive through prostitution. She is now 'reformed' as she has got a fulltime job with a small charity that helps sufferers of HIV.

Lukonde

Lukonde is 45 years old with two children. She is the chief Queen Mother of the women who attended the NGO where this research was based.

Lukonde's parents died when she was 19 years old and so she went to live with her aunt. Her aunt abused her so at the age of 21 she ran away and entered prostitution. Lukonde described being beaten on many occasions by the wives of her clients and 'mobs' of people in the community. She further described negative experiences with the police.

As the Queen Mother she looks after other prostitutes by giving them guidance, advice and 'knowledge' of sex. She refers to them as being more like a 'family'.

Sharon

Sharon is 48 years old with seven children. Sharon did not finish school due to her father retiring and a lack of funds in the family.

Sharon started working in prostitution at the age of 39 when her husband died and his family took everything. As a result, Sharon was left without an income and homeless. Sharon described

her entry into prostitution as her last resort and as having 'no choice' due to having children to feed.

Sharon only attended one interview as she was not seen again at the NGO or by her friends that attended the centre.

Bianca

Bianca was 22 years old. She had no children however she looks after her nephew. Bianca says she is now his 'mother' because he has no one else. Bianca joined prostitution at the age of fifteen due to financial issues. She was not able to complete school because her family could no longer afford for her to continue past Grade 7.

Bianca described feeling very depressed working in prostitution due to the verbal abuse she would receive and due to the affects it was having on her nephew i.e. stigma by association. She also described taking 'sex pills' with beer to help her get through the night when working. Bianca stopped working in prostitution after the first interview because she said she had since 'found God'. She now works with her local church to visit villages and spread the word of God. Bianca stated she had also been tested as HIV negative and this was further motivation to stop before she contracted the disease.

Mweshi

Mweshi is 18 years old. She became pregnant by her boyfriend at the age of 16 and was forced to drop out of school. Her parents also chased her from the house because of their disappointment in her pregnancy and failure to complete her education.

Mweshi went to live with her boyfriend however there was no money. As a result, Mweshi engaged in prostitution in secret however her boyfriend was suspicious and used to beat up the men he found her with in the bars. Mweshi's boyfriend is very violent towards her and Mweshi has had several miscarriages because of this. Her boyfriend however blames her for the miscarriages and says she has secretly had an abortion. Both his and her family are aware of the abuse in her relationship but encourage her to stay in the relationship because he is the father of her son. Prior to the first interview Mweshi had been beaten by her boyfriend.

Mweshi now lives with her grandmother however is still in a relationship with this same man, i.e. the father of her child. Mweshi has stopped working in prostitution because the family of her boyfriend is now helping to support her and as a result, she has been able to go back to school.

Katy

Katy is 24 years old with one child. She stopped school in Grade 10 when she became pregnant. Her father left her mother and has not been seen since. Katy started prostitution when her mother died at the age of eighteen years. The father of her child did not want to be involved with her child so she had no income and was homeless.

Katy described her biggest fear as contracting HIV and therefore stopped working as a prostitution after three years. Katy described various experiences of violence with clients and being left after sex without being paid. Her long term goal now is provide for her child and start an orphanage because she was left as an orphan.

Katungu

Katungu is 27 years old with one child. Katungu only attended one interview due to becoming very sick. Katungu began prostitution when her mother died. Her father was never in her life and she had no knowledge of his whereabouts. Katungu got pregnant during prostitution by a client who 'denies' her child. She described her motivation for staying in prostitution as to feed her child. Katungu further described how precious children were and her fear of having her baby stolen and killed for 'rituals', as this was a common occurrence.

Katungu explained that she was not happy with the way she was living and that she had even stopped going to church because of the shame she felt and stigmatisation she experienced from other church goers. At the time of this interview Katungu was still working in prostitution.

Aspina

Aspina was 51 years old with six children. She did not complete school due to her family being poor. Her brother died so her family was left with only three girls. She started working in prostitution at the age of 18 after her father died. Her friends introduced her to prostitution. She then married but continued occasionally working in prostitution secretly because her husband was not providing enough money or food and their children were starving.

Whilst she was pregnant with her children she did not engage in prostitution as she said it was believed that having sex whilst pregnant could kill the baby. She delivered three of her children by herself, alone at home with just a 'razor blade', 'cotton' and 'cloth. Eventually her marriage ended and she returned full time to prostitution. Aspina is still working as a prostitute and further stated she is 'HIV negative'.

Chikondi

Chikondi was 27 years of age. She was the oldest of four children. Chikondi left school at the age of 17 because her parents could no longer afford it. She also noted that she had little interest in school anyway.

She started working as a prostitute when her parents passed away and left her nothing. She then became pregnant 'from a damage'. Chikondi continued working in prostitution for 9 years, describing her motivation to continue doing so as to feed her children and buy them clothes.

In 2015 Chikondi became 'reformed' meaning that she no longer worked in prostitution. She said has since 'come to know God'. Her reason for becoming 'reformed' was that she became very sick and thought she had contracted HIV. When visiting the doctor she was 'granted a second life by God' as was told she was negative. This encouraged Chikondi to 'reform' as she believed it was 'God giving her another chance'' Chikondi had often worried about getting HIV prior to getting sick however it did not stop her from having sex without a condom as:

'You can't do anything, so you just do it [...] it's a do or die.'

Chikondi currently sells sour milk for a living however noted that it was difficult. She also said that she often got insulted for doing so but it was 'better than sitting and doing nothing'. All her friends and her cousin (who is also a prostitute) that became 'reformed' have gone back to prostitution because of the financial struggle.

The police did not do anything to help prostitutes; they would just give Chikondi and her friend's abuse. Police at times took Chikondi to their offices and would rape her and the other prostitutes and then say 'if you tell anyone we will take you to jail… because they have the power and they can'.

I found my self is early married to a man who took me to Lusaka. That was how I found my self here in Lusaka

I managed to stay with him for almost 5 years, treating me like a slave. My aim was to about going back to school.

Appendix B

<div align="center">

**PARTICIPANT INFORMATION
SHEET**

</div>

<div align="center">

**STUDY TITLE: WHAT ARE THE LIFE NARRATIVES OF
FEMALE PROSTITUTES IN ZAMBIA?**

</div>

You are being invited to take part in a research study on prostitutes living in Zambia. Before you decide whether or not to participate in the research, it is important for you to understand why the research is being carried out and what it will involve.

Please take the time to read and consider the following information carefully.

<div align="center">

**WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF
THE STUDY?**

</div>

The purpose of this study is to give an understanding into the nature of being a prostitute in Zambia. The research will seek to understand prostitution in the contexts of colonialism, prostitution regulation and ultimately the experiences of the lives of female prostitutes.

The study aims to create a participant centred study by focusing on in-depth life history interviews with prostitutes to give an insight into individual experiences of prostitution. Due to the nature of the study predominately focusing on life history interviews, the study will take place at various times over the course of a year.

<div align="center">

**WHY HAVE I BEEN INVITED TO
PARTICIPATE?**

</div>

You have been selected to take part in the study due to self-identifying as both a prostitute and as female.

The study will ask 40-60 other participants to also take part in the study.

DO I HAVE TO
TAKE PART?

Taking part in the research is entirely voluntary. It is entirely up to you if you decide to take part or to not take part. If you decide to take part you will be given this information sheet to read, keep and consider and then a consent form to sign. If you take part in the study you are free to withdraw at any time and any information already revealed within the study will be destroyed and not used up until the write up stage of the study.

WHAT WILL HAPPEN TO ME IF I
TAKE PART?

The methods used in this study will consist of lengthy, in-depth qualitative interviews.

The time involved with be approximately 4 hours per day spread out across the year. This time is flexible and the number of days will be dependent on your availability.

The questions will be based around prostitution experiences, prostitution regulation, life growing up as a female in Lusaka and any stigma or mistreatment experienced. You will be required to answer these questions and go into detail where necessary.

You have the right to not answer questions that you do not feel comfortable or that you are unhappy answering.

You will be required to tell your 'life story'. You will also be encouraged to keep a personal day to day diary that will be used in the study. The diary will be provided and is a voluntary task, you are free to not take part in this part of the study.

The location of the interviews will be in a safe and secluded environment with just the researcher and a translator if necessary. The address will be provided upon agreement to take part in the study.

All travel expenses covered and food will be provided.

WHAT ARE THE POSSIBLE DISADVANTAGES AND RISKS OF
TAKING PART?

The disadvantages of taking part in this study is the time involved. It will require long days over the course of a year for the interviews.

The research will not use real names of the participants in the write up of the research and will change details where necessary to make it as confidential as possible. However, due to the limited number of NGO's in Lusaka and the extent of detail the life history method will require, the study can not always ensure complete anonymity of the participant and (in extreme cases) information may be traced back to participants.

WHAT ARE THE POSSIBLE BENEFITS OF TAKING PART?

The research will enable insight into prostitution and gender inequality that may exist in Zambia. It aims to raise the voice of prostitutes in Zambia and aims to provide further awareness into the understanding of stigmatisation prostitutes may experience on a daily basis.

If you are not currently receiving support through the NGO, I will aim to provide you with information, signposting access to such medical and psychological support resources that may be available in Lusaka.

WILL MY INFORMATION IN THIS STUDY BE KEPT CONFIDENTIAL?

Subject to legal limitations, the information collected will be kept strictly confidential. In order to maintain anonymity to the best of my capability, the true identity of the prostitute will not be revealed and all names will be changed.

The data from the interviews will be collected and stored using digital audio recording. The interviews will then be transcribed into Microsoft word and the transcripts will be stored securely, password protected and backed up multiple times to further consider the anonymity of data.

The anonymity of interviews, file formats and procedures will be further developed throughout the data collection and research process.

Hard copies of field-notes, any interview notes taken will be kept securely locked away in a locked cabinet or safe in which only I, as the researcher, will have access. After the notes have been documented onto a laptop and then backed up, the hard copies will be destroyed through a formal procedure that will ensure they cannot be restored and misused at a later date. Files

that contain names will be encrypted and password protected and only accessible by the researcher.

The project is funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) at Sussex University in which requires (but is not compulsory) that data is to be repurposed for deposit through the UK Data service. If consent is secured to do so, the fully digitised and anonymised data will become accessible through the UK Data Service.

Due to using a life history methodology, data can never be completely confidential and can often be traced back to the participant despite anonymising the data. The paramount concern in this research is for the welfare of the participants, therefore it is fundamental that you are made fully aware of this before consent is agreed to archive data.

WHAT SHOULD I DO IF I WANT TO TAKE PART?

If you would like to take part in this study, you should contact myself or inform the NGO that you are willing to participate in interviews. I will then go through the procedure in depth and answer any questions you may have.

Arrangements of availability and travel expenses will then be made.

WHAT WILL HAPPEN TO THE RESULTS OF THE RESEARCH STUDY?

The results will be used in a thesis that will be published. You are entitled to obtain a copy of the transcripts used in the research. If you would like a copy of the published research, this is also something that can be arranged through contacting myself or the NGO.

WHO IS ORGANISING AND FUNDING THE RESEARCH?

I am conducting the research as a student at the University of Sussex, with the Gender Studies department.

The research is being funded by the Economic and Social Research Council.

WHO HAS APPROVED
THIS STUDY?

The research has been approved by the Social Sciences ethical review process.

CONTACT FOR FURTHER
INFORMATION

Daisy Hill Email:
dh274@sussex.ac.uk Contact
Number: +447837379225

If you have any concerns about the way in which the study has been conducted, please contact my supervisor Dr Alison Phipps at the University of Sussex on A.E.Phipps@sussex.ac.uk or Dr Hannah Mason-Bish at H.Mason- Bish@sussex.ac.uk

The University of Sussex has insurance in place to cover its legal liabilities in respect of this study.

THANK YOU FOR TAKING THE TIME TO READ THIS
INFORMATION SHEET.

Appendix C

Ethical Approval

US
University of Sussex

Certificate of Approval	
Reference Number	ER/DH274/2
Title Of Project	The Life Narratives of Female Sex Workers In Zambia
Principal Investigator (PI):	Daisy Hill
Student	Daisy Hill
Collaborators	
Duration Of Approval	n/a
Expected Start Date	31-Mar-2016
Date Of Approval	23-Dec-2015
Approval Expiry Date	01-Nov-2016
Approved By	Jayne Paulin
Name of Authorised Signatory	Janet Boddy
Date	23-Dec-2015

*NB. If the actual project start date is delayed beyond 12 months of the expected start date, this Certificate of Approval will lapse and the project will need to be reviewed again to take account of changed circumstances such as legislation, sponsor requirements and University procedures.

Please note and follow the requirements for approved submissions:

Amendments to protocol

  * Any changes or amendments to approved protocols must be submitted to the C-REC for authorisation prior to implementation.

Feedback regarding the status and conduct of approved projects

  * Any incidents with ethical implications that occur during the implementation of the project must be reported immediately to the Chair of the C-REC.

Feedback regarding any adverse and unexpected events

  * Any adverse (undesirable and unintended) and unexpected events that occur
  during the implementation of the project must be reported to the Chair of the Social Sciences C-REC. In the event of a serious adverse event, research must be stopped immediately and the Chair alerted within 24 hours of the occurrence.

Appendix D

<div align="center">

Participant Questionnaire

</div>

1. Name:

_____

2. What is Your Age?

Age Group						
12-17	*18 – 24*	*25 - 34*	*35 – 44*	*45 – 54*	*55 – 64*	*65+*
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

3. Please state gender:

_____

4. How would you describe your ethnic community, tribe or cultural group?

Bemba	
Tonga	
Lozi	
Chewza	
Namwanga	
Tumbuka	
Nyanja	
Ngoni	
Kaonde	
Lala	
Nsenga	
Other (please specify)	

5. Approximately how long have you been living in Lusaka?

Years	
1 – 4	
5 – 10	
11 – 20	
21 – 30	
30 +	
From Birth	

6. What is your marital status?

Single, never married	
Married	
Widowed	
Divorced	
Separated	
Living with a partner	

7. Who did you live with as a child?

8 a) Have you ever attended school?

☐ Yes

☐ No

8 b) If yes, what is the highest grade or level of school you have completed?

9 a) Do you have children?

☐ Yes

☐ No

9 b) If yes, how many?

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10 a) Are you still working in prostitution?

☐ Yes

☐ No

10 b) If no, please state your reason(s) for leaving prostitution

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10 c) If yes, please state your reason(s) for remaining in prostitution

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11. Approximately what age did you start prostitution (Please tick appropriate box)?

Age Group (years old)						
10 – 15	*16 – 21*	*22 - 28*	*29 – 35*	*36 – 42*	*43 – 49*	*50+*
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

12. Estimation of years in Prostitution:

_____

13. Reason(s) for entering prostitution:

_____

15. Do/did you have a boss/leader/Queen's mother (please specify)?

_____

16. Have you ever been tested for HIV?

Yes	
No	
Don't know	
Prefer not to say	

17a) What is your HIV Status?

HIV - positive	
HIV - negative	
Indeterminate	
Prefer not to say	

17b) Was this the result you were expecting? Why/why not?

Appendix E

Life History guiding questions part 1 - snippet

Age:

Location:

Family/Upbringing

1. Can you tell me about your family life growing up?

2. How would you describe yourself when you were younger?

3. Who are/have been the most important people in your life?

4. Can you tell me about how friends/family/public react to you being a prostitute?

Education

1. What about your school life, what was it like?

Marriage/Partners

1. Can you tell me about past and existing relationships?

Prostitution

1. Can you tell me about your journey into prostitution?

2. Can you tell me about early experiences of prostitution?

3. Has it changed over the years? How?

4. Have you changed over the years? How?

5. Can you tell me about how being in prostitution has impacted your life?

6. Can you tell me about times in your life where you have felt unsafe (not necessarily about prostitution)?

Life History guiding questions Part 2 - snippet

Questions asked only if/where relevant to participants previous answers in first interview.

Name:

Motherhood

1. Can you tell me about your relationship with your mother growing up/now?

2. Can you tell me more about your life around the time you became pregnant?

3. Can you tell me about your life before you had children?

4. Can you tell me about your life after having children?

5. Can you tell me more about your relationship with your children?

6. Can you tell me about your role as a mother and your role as a prostitute?

7. Can you tell me more about what you view the role should be of the children's father?

Damage

1. Can you tell me more about your views on damage?

2. Can you tell me more about your experience with damage?

3. Can you tell me more about how people are treated in regard to damage?

Appendix F

Focus Group 2 Transcription - Extract

Meeting 17/11/16

Focus Group 2

Transcribed by Daisy Hill

Key	
Participant 1	*P1*
Participant 2	*P2*
Participant 3	*P3*
Participant 4	*P4*
Participant 5	*P5*
Participant 6	*P6*
Participant 7	*P7*

P1: **being a mother is to find food for your children**

P3: take care of your children

P1: you have to take care of your children now if you don't have money how can you take care

P2: look after my children, going to school

P3: even going to school they are failing to go to school because of money

P6: you know these children when they are young, they just start crying they have got no option, the only thing that you can do is just go

P3: at last you got to prostitution

Daisy: were any of you mothers before or did you become pregnant through prostitution?

P2: me after marriage

P1: **me also I was once a married person but my husband passed away so I remained with three children, now I failed to stay at home I started moving up and down to look for food so my children can have.**

Daisy: did you have children after prostitution?

P5: I didn't have children, it's like I was being pregnant before I got married then after the husband went away. His responsibility. That's when I started moving up and down to look after the kids.

Appendix G

Extract

Interview Transcript – █████

Date: 26/01/17

Age: █

C: as a role of the mother she has to control their children so they have to learn in a discipline manor, as for a man, a boy I have to teach him in terms of have to, have to be humble, for the time to be humble we have to change don't have when you marry you can even tell him as an example to the father, say that when you marry the first wife that you are going to marry that's the first wife, you can't just do what your father did to me, then, you tell him that's not, just tell him that small things. Yes.

D: last time you mentioned that he didn't pay bride price and that it was more like boyfriend and girlfriend because he didn't pay, why is bride price so important to you, can you tell me more about what it means to you?

C: Its in our tradition, in tradition the bride price is too important because when that time, you start facing things, like a lot of circumstances in your home, when you start facing them you have to take the same man to the court even if it's you who has made a disappointment to the man the man is the one who can even take me to the court because he has paid bride price. So that time my mother saying he hasn't even paid bride price, there is no problem, let him go as long as he has given us children so the man can't even come and get those children without paying bride price, yes, unless they pay, they also pay damage, when you damage a woman, if the owner of that child wants the baby, he wants to, he has to pay the damage, that's when he can have the child, he can't even have the child without paying damage.

D: okay and so the laws here go by that as well?

C: yes, you can even take them to the court, when you have pregnant a woman without paying damage you can even go to the court even if you go, even if a man can go to a court and put sermon for you they have to ask him, "did you pay bride price? "Ok no", "then that is not your child" unless the child starts troubling like the way children trouble you can allow them to go and see their father, but you don't have to allow them for that father to take them away from you. Yes.

Appendix H

Thematic Coding - Extract

Profile	Data Item	Initial Codes	Themes
Chola	D: how about now, what are you up to now in your life, how are you managing financially also?	**Entry into Prostitution**	Money
	C: as for now I am doing something at house, I am selling something like tomatoes and stuff to raise up the money of the living so that I can manage to buy things or other stuff.	**Reasons to remain in prostitution**	Divorce
	D: okay, can you tell me more about your relationship with your mother growing up?	**Experiences of Prostitution**	Pregnancy
			Damage
	C: that time the father died that's when I was following in that same life I was doing before and life was not easier as the same as that time the parents were alive, it was not the same, since the father were living together at that time, the father dumped my mother that time for another woman, a step mother that's when he got **married** too so from that life it was just difficult until I met a man who **damaged** me, by that time I was sixteen years until I got **married** to the same man, I had two children from that time, I stayed with the man for six years until than man dumped me again, until I started a life doing a prostitution life that's the life I decided to do because even if I get **married** to a man I would just be doing the same things because there is	**Family Life** **Education**	Violence Motherhood Marriage

no man who cared for me at that time because the man dumped me. Yes.

C: that's what him I was refusing that I can't do that, I am still young, so I was busy refusing until the man **divorced** me and got **married** to the other woman.

D: what about the rest of the marriage, was it always unhappy? Can you tell me about the happier times if there were?

C: I was happily **married**; we used to entertain each other. That time there was a day that this Sunday we will go to my parents, this Sunday we will go to my **husband's parents**, there were also happy times we used to face in our marriage then the man suddenly changed that's when we got **divorced**.

D: and how did you find out about the other woman then, can you tell me more about what happened?

C: I just heard about the story of my **husband** when there is some other people they love you, others they hate you, when they see the man is doing something wrong others they can come and tell you, "I've seen your **husband** he has got a girlfriend", me I was busy refusing that "no my **husband** can't do that" by that time I saw the way we were living together because the way he was treating me, he was **treating**

me very badly, then I decided, what can I do now?

Then I found my **husband**, the time the people told me the time that my **husband** goes to that place, 19:00 hours then I went there, my **baby** was two months, then I went there, my **husband** started beating me, also the girlfriend started beating me also the neighbours started beating me because I know about everything.

C: so from that time I decided that as for now I won't manage to support my children, the **father of these children** he is not managing to help my children, so I would rather do the prostitution so that I am **raising up the money** so that I can help my children, that's when I ran away from my mother to go and do prostitution. Yes.

I: can you tell me more about the time in your life when you became pregnant?

C: the first pregnant was 2005, that's when I became pregnant. Since that time I was pregnant, 2005, then I was just knowing that I was pregnant when I was three months old, that when I knew I was pregnant because the baby sometimes, other babies they start beating when in the womb they start beating three months that's when they can even start. There are some elder people they told me that, "you are not looking fine, what's the problem?"

That's when they started checking me. After checking me they just said that you are pregnant, "who **damaged** you"

We were just arrested, and we slept at the **police** so that time, in the morning and the **police** said that they don't allow in terms of the prostitution. When you have caught someone like doing prostitution thing, you don't have to take them to the **police** you have to take that person to the court. So, the police refused and that time they released them in the morning. Yes.

D: how about your experience with the other prostitutes, can you tell me about those?

C: the experience I had, it's good and also bad. One can even have a **pregnant** in terms of prostitution and two; can even have **diseases**.

D: how about the other girls, did you ever fight with them?

C: it's more like, us we were four, so when we change the group we go, maybe I go drink at the other bar, then we exchange and go to Emmersdale to go and drink beer there then they find us, these are new, when they come here they come and snatch away our **boyfriends** so they started **beating** us, they didn't want us around there, they follow us, when we go to the toilet they start following us around and start **fighting us in the toilets**.

They didn't want us because they know that when this one comes, they are new, all the man will just be looking at the new girls that have come. They beat, if they have just seen that you are the latest the start **beating** you because that's how they chase. They just want new ones. Since those they start having, it's more like a jealous when they see those ones these ones are new; they say that "ah these ones are new, they will snatch away our boyfriends, since us they have been using us all the time, these are new they will snatch them away", so they start **fighting** until they chase us away from the bar.

D: okay how about how women are treated in Zambia, in society, what are your thoughts around that?

C: In terms of encouraging in society we are even seeing painful things because we see the young growing generation, the young ones for the neighbours, they start doing the same things that I was doing, I even call them that you are not supposed to do that, the life I was leading was **not good, not good life**, even you I don't want you to be doing the same thing, even encourage, others they listen, others they don't listen, **they think you are mad** when you are talking something important. Others they are saying you are saying this thing because you are jealous of me. It's true, when encouraging others it seems as if

	you have got jealous on them but you have seen the situation that you have passed through, as for me that's the encourage I can, I always encourage others, I don't even allow my sister to do that, that's the same, because you see the friend follow on their day you just left your friend no let them pass there, I have to tell them that no, where you are going it's not good, it's very bad, if you go there you may hurt, if you go there something bad may happen to you. That's the thing today, society.		

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Sub themes coding

- Entry into prostitution: **damage**, **education**, **marriage**, **poverty**, **motherhood**
- Reasons to stay in prostitution: **damage**, **education**, **marriage**, **poverty**, **motherhood**
- Lack of education: **pregnancy**, **damage**, **poverty**,
- Prostitution Experiences**: violence**, **damage**, **poverty**, **pregnancy**, **clinic**
- Healthcare: **damage**, **clinic**, **marriage**, **poverty**,
- Experiences in prostitution: **violence**, **poverty**, **clinic**

Appendix I

Themes from Transcripts - Extract

Key Themes

Motherhood

Damage

Traditional family structure

Stigma of Prostitution

Religion

Damage

Chola

> Its in our tradition, in tradition the bride price is too important because when that time, you start facing things, like a lot of circumstances in your home, when you start facing them you have to take the same man to the court even if it's you who has made a disappointment to the man the man is the one who can even take me to the court because he has paid bride price. So that time my mother saying he hasn't even paid bride price, there is no problem, let him go as long as he has given us children so the man can't even come and get those children without paying bride price, yes, unless they pay, they also pay damage, when you damage a woman, if the owner of that child wants the baby, he wants to, he has to pay the damage, that's when he can have the child, he can't even have the child without paying damage.
>
> yes, you can even take them to the court, when you have pregnanted a woman without paying damage you can even go to the court even if you go, even if a man can go to a court and put sermon for you they have to ask him, "did you pay bride price? "Ok no", "then that is not your child" unless the child starts troubling like the way children trouble you can allow them to go and see their father but you don't have to allow them for that father to take them away from you.

Anna

> " I was damaged so no support for my daughter".

Chikondi

> He "damaged me"
>
> It's called damage because here in Zambia when you are damaged it means that, that man gives you pregnant without paying any money to your parents. Then it's not called damage when a man pays. There are something which the men pay when you are

pregnant. They pay maybe they say, "you have damaged our child, we give you, we will charge you maybe…" when you are educated they charge maybe 5000, 10,000. Yes maybe you are not educated they charge you that "because of destroying our child's education or child's life we will charge you maybe 5,000". When that man pays that means it's not a damage. Yes. But it's always called damage. Okay it's called damage when you are not in marriage. Yes that's the point yes it's called damage when you are not in marriage

Bridget

How can I come back to my husband because he has already gone to another woman and where he went he damaged that lady so she was pregnant also so I said let him continue with that one me I will go out. That's when I went out.

Motherhood

Eva

Actually my life changed because I was breast-feeding my baby so things they were difficult for me because me I couldn't even manage to buy food for my daughter so even if we used to sell I was getting my baby, putting my baby on my back and busy selling Fritters' because I wanted my child to grow and that's the way I have been surviving.

When you become a mother things they become to, they become to change in your life, the way you are behaving while you are young and the way you are behaving while you have a baby it differs because when I continue behaving while I am young I have got a child the people they are just thinking I am not proper thinking in my mind they will just be thinking no she's still, she's still the child but I have to behave like a human who has a baby the way it's supposed to be like my mum the way my mum makes me grow in a decent life like even if I have made a mistake I am not supposed to do that.

The role of the mother she has to look after the children and make sure she keeps the children clean and the house clean so you can't just, I don't have to move away from my child who's smelling milk, others they don't like holding the baby who is smelling milk they just want to hold the baby when its smelling nice. Even if you don't want you can even hold the baby because smelling nice is also clean, every time you have to bath your baby you have to be clean more than the way yourself looks also me myself I have to be clean so that's the role of the mother the way she has to be. So I hope for my child in the future, I want my child to grow in a decent way not like the way I grown, not the way I have spoiled myself. I can't say the way I have grown myself because my mum

doesn't wanted me to grow the way I was so I would, I would rather my daughter grow in a good way and has to be, has to be a good example as I told you earlier for my sisters they have to leave a good example for me because me I was the shamed sister because I was not doing what was right.

Mwamba

Being without a child is not good. Those people with no children there is a certain word they call them, at chumba, chumba, "she has no child that one she is a chumba" hey what, what, you remain like that and in our tradition when you die there is a certain tree they put in the coffin at you are going alone, you have no child here, just go alone you have no child to look after, go. So, when I look at that I said no, it's better that I have children, even if I have suffering with those children let me suffer, I am proud to be a mother.

Traditional Family Structure

Eva

When you are pregnant with your own house with your husband in the same house there is no problem, they can't, they can't even laugh at you. When you are pregnant while you are doing prostitute they start laughing you deep and you feel bad that you are on your own, then you can even, others when you hear them talking rubbish things you can even kill yourself.

Jane

When my husband was alive – my life was good. I was a queen in my house.

Chikondi

In the high ground when it comes to being a president. They can't put a president here in Zambia to be a woman. Never. They say that men they are the ones who have a lot of brain. That, I think that's the spirit that has gone many houses here in Zambia. It starts from the presidents. So when you go in companies you find that those who are having big posts they are men, not women. You find that women they are only secretaries, assistants, but the bosses you find men. They are the bosses. Even in houses here in Zambia, husband and wife, they say that he is the boss in the house. You are a wife. More especially if you are not doing something you are just waiting for your husband to go and give you food. He's a boss. Here in Zambia marriages they are very difficult cause you can't ask for anything if you are sitting in at home. You have to wait for your husband whenever, maybe for three months to buy you your clothes.

Religious references

Bianca

Women have to obey to men because no God when he created, he started first created Adam who was a man then he took and made a woman so respecting woman we don't see that it's useful, no it's not useful. Others they do respect women but others they don't they see women as like they are nothing to them.

Chola

Pray to God that you find a father for us so that you can take good care of us" that's the way my children like encouraging their mum.

Jane

Anything I could say about my children is if God wishes I want my children to be educated than me and I want a business myself to help my children so that they can be educated.

Maggie

I used to go to Roman Catholic. Sometimes, not every time. We know that God is there but what we are doing is bad but when you go there you think what you are doing is bad they don't like it.

Chanda

"I am a new person… with the help of God I have changed.

Stigma

Lukonde

I can just encourage my fellow prostitutes to stop what they are doing, you know there is a lot of diseases these days, if there is someone to help us we are crying for the help so that they can help us. Prostitution is bad, we are doing it's just because of poverty.

Eva

They start beating you, beating you beating you, they undress you. Others they just say no just give them the clothes because it's not good to be just moving around without wearing any clothes, then you dress up then you start running away from them.

Aspina

I dressed up fast fast then they came to catch me, they started beating, they beat me nearly to death that's my worst part of this life of mine and when I think of it I don't want, I just want to stop.

It was very shameful to me. They say, you stupid bitch, you prostitute.

Prostitution is not good, there are problems inside because that life it is just a chain of being beaten, insulted, embarrassed like that. That is a bitch, that is a whore.

Even young children say "ah that woman is not married she is a bitch she is a whore".

Appendix J

Damage Cycle Map