

Context-specific pathways into adult female street-based sex work in Arcadia and Sunnyside, Pretoria.

GM. Myburgh

Context-specific pathways into adult female street-based sex work in Arcadia and
Sunnyside, Pretoria

By

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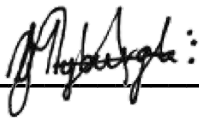
Supervisor: Miss. H. Klopper and

Co-supervisor: Prof F. Steyn

January 2019

DECLARATION

I, Gertruida Margaretha Myburgh, hereby declare that the dissertation - concerning “*Context-specific pathways of street-based sex workers in Arcadia and Sunnyside, Pretoria*” submitted in fulfilment for the degree MA (Criminology) is my own independent work¹ and has not previously been submitted for a degree at another university. Additionally, all sources utilised within the quantitative research study have been indicated and acknowledged in the reference list of the study. Furthermore, I cede copyright of the study to the University of Pretoria.



Gertruida Margaretha Myburgh

24 January 2019

Date

¹ See Appendix A

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ABSTRACT

Researchers' interest in the sex work phenomenon is not new and despite numerous studies alluding to the prevalence and nature thereof, the South African context of commercial sex work (CSW) entry remains poorly understood. Therefore, the aim of the study was to identify context-specific pathways into adult female street-based sex work in Arcadia and Sunnyside, Pretoria (Gauteng). In pursuit of the aim of the study, the researcher endeavoured to compile a profile of sex workers, highlight possible risk factors which may shape an individual's trajectory into CSW and describe the nature of adult female street-based sex work in Arcadia and Sunnyside, Pretoria (Gauteng).

Due to the paucity of local studies regarding the research problem, objectives formulated for the study dictated the utilisation of a cross-sectional survey research design. Adult female street-based sex workers were approached in their area of work (Sunnyside and Arcadia), by means of non-probability sampling methods, where 60 face-to-face interviews were conducted utilising a structured questionnaire. Non-parametric procedures were used to determine significant relationships that could point to risk factors that play a meaningful role in shaping women's pathways into CSW.

The literature review elucidated various risk factors associated with CSW, which was subsequently supported by the current study's findings. More than half of sex workers came from low socio-economic backgrounds (63.3%) and had poor educational levels (61.7%). Individuals who ran away from home were more likely to have experienced abuse prior to their involvement in sex work ($r = - 0.3$), as well as alluded to some substance use ($r = - 0.3$) and familial substance abuse ($r = - 0.4$). Sex workers who experienced abuse prior to their CSW involvement were less likely to have had previous employment ($r = - 0.3$). Furthermore, sex workers' main motivation for their CSW involvement was related to financial need (93.3%) and unemployment (78.3%). Additionally, sex workers who were arrested were more likely to report experiences of police abuse.

In light of the intersectionality of risk factors and the aim of the present study, the survey results alluded to four possible pathways for women into street-based CSW, which roughly comprise of economic circumstances, runaway behaviour, abuse and substance abuse. Therefore, the researcher recommends, amongst others, that the risk factors, which intersect in an across the different pathways, be considered by role-players in their service delivery to street-based sex workers.

Key words: sex work, sex worker, street-based sex work, street-based sex workers, pathways, risk factor, commercial sex work (CSW), runaway behaviour, economic circumstances, abuse, substance use/abuse

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABSTRACT

Chapter 1: Background and purpose	1
1.1. Introduction	1
1.2. Conceptualisation of the key concepts	2
1.3. The origin and rationale of the study	4
1.4. The aim and objectives of the study	7
1.5. The value of the study	7
1.6. Overview of the research design and methods	8
1.7. Structure and layout of the report	9
1.8. Summary	10
Chapter 2: Literature review	11
2.1. Introduction	11
2.2. Historical context of CSW	12
2.3. The dynamics of the commercial sex industry	22
2.3.1. The general nature and extent of the worldwide commercial sex industry	22
2.3.2. The client within CSW	27
2.3.3. The intermediary within CSW	31
2.3.4. The sex worker within CSW	33
2.4. Risk factors that render women vulnerable to sex work	34
2.5. Pathways research in the field of women offending	47
2.6. The future of the commercial sex trade	54
2.7. Summary	55
Chapter 3: Theoretical framework	56
3.1. Introduction and overview	56
3.2. Developmental model of Robert Sampson and John Laub	56
3.3. Social bonding theory of Travis Hirschi	59
3.4. Social learning theory of Ronald Akers	61
3.5. General strain theory of Robert Agnew	64
3.6. Integrated theoretical model	66
3.7. Summary	70
Chapter 4: Methodology	71
4.1. Introduction	71

4.2.	Research paradigm and approach	71
4.3.	Research purpose.....	72
4.4.	Type of research	72
4.5.	Research design	73
4.6.	Research methods.....	74
4.6.1.	Study population and sampling.....	74
4.6.2.	Data collection.....	76
4.6.3.	Data analysis and presentation	79
4.6.4.	Measurement quality	81
4.6.5.	Pilot study.....	82
4.7.	Ethical considerations	83
4.7.1.	Voluntary participation in the study	84
4.7.2.	Avoidance of harm	84
4.7.3.	Informed consent.....	85
4.7.4.	Confidentiality.....	87
4.7.5.	Security measures.....	87
4.7.6.	Incentives	88
4.8.	Geographic demarcation of the research site and field observations	89
4.9.	Field observations.....	91
4.10.	Limitations and challenges	92
4.11.	Summary.....	93
Chapter 5: Empirical Results.....		94
5.1.	Introduction	94
5.2.	A profile of adult female street-based sex workers	94
5.2.1.	Socio-demographic and biographical information of respondents	94
5.2.2.	Citizenship and migratory information	98
5.2.3.	Prior employment of respondents.....	99
5.3.	Risk factors and reasons for respondents' involvement in female street-based commercial sex work	102
5.3.1.	Voluntarily leaving home (over the age of 18 years)	102
5.3.2.	Runaway behaviour (under the age of 18 years).....	103
5.3.3.	Childhood experiences of respondents	107
5.3.4.	Abuse experienced prior to respondents' involvement in commercial sex work	109
	• Physical abuse	109
	• Emotional abuse.....	110
	• Sexual abuse	111

• Financial abuse	112
5.3.5. Witness to abuse when growing up	112
5.3.6. Respondents' experience of intimate partner violence.....	113
• Physical abuse.....	114
• Emotional abuse	114
• Sexual abuse	115
• Financial abuse.....	115
5.3.7. Substance abuse amongst family members	115
5.3.8. Respondents' mental health status and diagnosis with mental illness	116
5.4. The nature and geographic distribution of adult female street-based sex work	116
5.4.1. Reasons for involvement in street-based commercial sex work	118
5.4.2. Services provided by the respondents and rates charged for services	120
5.4.3. Intermediary information.....	123
5.4.4. Clientele information	123
5.4.5. Abuse experienced during the course of commercial sex work	124
5.4.6. Substance abuse amongst street-based sex workers	127
5.4.7. Frequency of arrests and types of crimes committed by respondents.....	132
• Prostitution/soliciting	134
• Public intoxication	135
• Theft	136
• Assault.....	136
• Possession of drugs.....	136
• Drug dealing/trafficking	136
• Shoplifting	137
• Kidnapping.....	137
• Public indecency	137
• Border jumping	137
5.4.8. Activities engaged in outside of commercial sex work	138
5.4.9. Willingness to exit the sex work industry	138
5.4.10. Aspects deemed important for a sex work exit programme	138
5.5. Results of the bivariate analyses.....	139
5.6. Summary	145
Chapter 6: Discussion and recommendations	146
6.1. Introduction	146
6.2. The profile of adult female street-based sex workers in Arcadia and Sunnyside (Pretoria).....	147

6.2.1. Socio-demographic characteristics and background information of sex workers.....	147
6.2.2. Sex workers' prior employment information	149
6.2.3. Citizenship, migratory information and discrimination	149
6.3. Risk factors associated with adult female street-based sex workers in Arcadia and Sunnyside (Pretoria)	151
6.3.1. Childhood experiences and abuse experienced by sex workers prior to CSW entry.....	151
6.3.2. Familial substance abuse and sex workers' substance abuse prior to CSW involvement.....	153
6.3.3. Runaway behaviour (under the age of 18 years).....	154
6.3.4. Sex workers who voluntarily left home (over the age of 18 years).....	157
6.4. The nature of adult female street-based sex work in Arcadia and Sunnyside (Pretoria).....	158
6.4.1. Motivations for sex workers' involvement in adult female street-based sex work.....	158
6.4.2. Services provided by sex workers, rates charged and weekly earnings.....	159
6.4.3. Intermediary information.....	160
6.4.4. Client information	160
6.4.5. Abuse experienced during the course of commercial sex work.....	161
6.4.6. Substance use/abuse amongst sex workers.....	162
6.4.7. Frequency of arrests amongst street-based sex workers.....	163
6.4.8. Activities engaged in outside of the sex industry.....	164
6.4.9. Willingness to exit the commercial sex work industry	165
6.5. Pathways framework for adult female street-based sex work	166
6.6. Recommendations	171
6.7. Future research	172
6.8. Conclusion	173
List of References	174
Annexure A: Pamphlet	215
Annexure B: Letter of informed consent	216
Annexure C: Guards on call Security Company	220
Annexure D: Questionnaire	192
Annexure E: Proposed pathways framework.....	223
Annexure F: Declaration of own work.....	191
Annexure G: Full ethical clearance letter.....	222

LIST OF FIGURERS

Figure 1: The dynamics of the commercial sex market	23
Figure 2: Power and control wheel for women involved in street-based CSW	42
Figure 3: Visual representation of Daly’s street women pathway	50
Figure 4: Visual representation of Daly’s pathways	53
Figure 5: Sampson and Laub’s developmental model	58
Figure 6: Travis Hirschi’s social bonding theory	61
Figure 7: Akers social learning theory	63
Figure 8: Robert Agnew’s General Strain Theory	65
Figure 9: Integrated theoretical model applied to CSW	67
Figure 10: Respondents economic status when growing up	95
Figure 11: Respondents’ perception regarding their household/family’s economic status before their involvement in commercial sex work	95
Figure 12: Main caregivers to the respondents	96
Figure 13: Highest educational level/qualification of respondents	96
Figure 14: Respondents’ current relationship status	97
Figure 15: Primary caregiver to respondents’ children	98
Figure 16: Type of prior employment	100
Figure 17: Respondents’ reasons why they would consider other employment.....	101
Figure 18: Respondents’ reasons for why they would not consider other employment.....	101
Figure 19: Reason for leaving home (older than 18 years of age)	103
Figure 20: Frequency of respondents’ running away from home	104
Figure 21: Reasons for running away from home while under the age of 18 years.....	105
Figure 22: Reasons respondents never ran away from home	105
Figure 23: Reasons why respondents were not punished for running away from home	106
Figure 24: How respondents who ran away from home were punished.....	106
Figure 25: Who respondents were mainly bullied by	107
Figure 26: Respondents’ childhood experiences regarding their family life when growing up and interactions with parents/guardians	108
Figure 27: Type of abuse experienced by respondents (prior to commercial sex work).....	109
Figure 28: Individuals responsible for respondents’ physical abuse	110
Figure 29: Individuals responsible for the respondents’ emotional abuse	111
Figure 30: Individuals responsible for the respondents’ sexual abuse	
Figure 31: Frequency of abuse witnessed by the respondents	
Figure 32: Type of physical abuse experienced during intimate partner violence	114
Figure 33: Type of emotional abuse experienced during intimate partner violence.....	114

Figure 34: Type of sexual abuse experienced during intimate partner violence.....	115
Figure 35: Type of substances mainly abused by family members.....	116
Figure 36: Reason for not feeling safe in their work environment	117
Figure 37: Reason for feeling safe in their work environment	118
Figure 38: Reasons for involvement in commercial sex work	118
Figure 39: Number of people being supported with sex work income.....	119
Figure 40: Persons whom respondents financially support with sex work income	119
Figure 41: Reasons respondents specifically chose street-based sex work	120
Figure 42: Sexual services provided by respondents	120
Figure 43: Reasons for not accepting other forms of payment	122
Figure 44: Reasons for accepting other forms of payment	122
Figure 45: Reasons why respondents refused clients	124
Figure 46: Type of abuse perpetrated by clients.....	125
Figure 47: Type of abuse perpetrated by colleagues.....	125
Figure 48: Respondents' views pertaining to their ability to conduct their work without fear of the police	126
Figure 49: Type of police abuse experienced by the respondents.....	127
Figure 50: Substances which respondents have used.....	128
Figure 51: Substances which respondents currently use	128
Figure 52: Frequency of current substance use	130
Figure 53: Results of the DAST-10 pertaining to drug abuse	131
Figure 54: Whom respondents obtain their substances from.....	132
Figure 55: Whom the respondents mainly sold substances for.....	132
Figure 56: Crimes committed by respondents and percentage of respondents arrested	133
Figure 57: Respondents under the influence of substances during the commission of the crime.....	134
Figure 58: Main reasons for the commission of prostitution/soliciting	135
Figure 59: Outcome of the arrests for prostitution/soliciting	135
Figure 60: Main reasons for the commission of public intoxication	136
Figure 61: Main reasons for the commission of shoplifting.....	137
Figure 62: Support respondents have should they choose to exit sex work.....	138
Figure 63: Aspects respondents listed as main requirements of sex work exit programmes	139
Figure 64: Support structures and factors sex workers listed as important for sex work programmes.....	
Figure 65: High risk age for street-based sex workers.....	167

Figure 66: Pathways framework for adult female street-based sex work in Arcadia and Sunnyside, Pretoria..... 170

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Worldwide sex worker revenues 23

Table 2: Characteristics associated with different types of sex work 26

Table 3: A comparison of two studies’ statistical evidence pertaining to the reasons for purchasing sex..... 29

Table 4: Estimated South African provincial migration patterns (2016-2021)..... 44

Table 5: Summary of risk factors and their possible intersectionality..... 46

Table 6: Inclusion and exclusion criteria for the study population 75

Table 7: Areas in which respondents’ children reside..... 97

Table 8: Provinces and countries from which respondents migrated..... 98

Table 9: Period of prior employment 99

Table 10: Estimated earning for prior employment per month..... 100

Table 11: Age at which respondents voluntarily left home (older than 18 years of age) 102

Table 12: Age at which respondents ran away from home (under the age of 18 years)..... 103

Table 13: Age distribution of respondents’ first consensual sexual experience 107

Table 14: Number of years working as street-based sex worker117

Table 15: Rates charged for the different services provided by respondents 121

Table 16: Respondents’ weekly earnings for street-based sex work 123

Table 17: Age variations of respondents when they first started using the substance..... 129

Table 18: Bivariate results of respondents’ background information 140

Table 19: Bivariate analysis of respondents’ childhood experiences with parents/guardians 140

Table 20: Bivariate analysis of respondents’ reasons for voluntarily leaving home..... 141

Table 21: Bivariate analysis of respondents who ran away from home and abuse experienced prior to their sex work involvement..... 141

Table 22: Bivariate analysis of respondents’ substance abuse..... 142

Table 23: Bivariate analysis of respondents’ familial substance abuse information 143

Table 24: Bivariate analysis of respondents who were arrested 143

Table 25: Bivariate analysis of factors which respondents deem as important for sex work programmes..... 143

Table 26: Bivariate results of respondents who experienced abuse prior to commercial sex work..... 144

Table 27: Bivariate results of arrests amongst sex workers 145

LIST OF MAPS

Map 1: Location of the greater City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality in the Gauteng province 89

Map 2: Arcadia and Sunnyside in relation to other areas within the greater Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality..... 90

Map 3: Restaurants, bars, nightclubs and sport stadium located in the research site 90

Chapter 1: Background and purpose

1.1. Introduction

Sex work is widely regarded as one of the oldest occupations in the world for women (The World Aids Campaign [WAC], 2008:24; South African Law Reform Commission [SALRC], 2002:42-43). Despite numerous international studies regarding the phenomenon, the local commercial sex industry remains largely misunderstood. International and local studies discussed within the literature review of the current study ranges from levels of entry into the commercial sex trade, to risk factors that may inform an individual's decision to engage in sex work (Balfour & Allen, 2014:4-7; Richter, Chersich, Temmerman & Luchters, 2013:246-251; Shivley, Kiliorys, Wheeler & Hunt, 2012:7). Research suggests that the economic gain associated with the commercial sex trade appears to be an important risk factor which propels women into the commercial sex industry. However, the motivation is not always financial, as research also alludes to the roles of substance misuse and personal victimisation as risk factors for women's involvement in female street-based sex work (Sonke Gender Justice, 2014:7-8). A number of risk factors such as family dysfunction, financial strain, violence and power imbalances, victimhood, educational deficits and substance abuse may have a diverse effect on different individuals' trajectories into the commercial sex industry in terms of their age and other demographic characteristics (e.g. ethnicity). Furthermore, research evidence accentuates the fact that no single risk factor can be isolated to explain women's involvement in the sex industry (Brennan, Breitenbach & Dieterich, 2010:41-45; Dodsworth, 2011:4-7). Therefore, greater insight has to be developed into the interaction between the various risk factors in order to facilitate an effective context-specific framework which can elucidate the different pathways of women who are involved in the street-based commercial sex industry. Similar to other industries/professions, individuals who take part in commercial sex work (CSW) have different histories, experiences and lifestyles (Richter et al., 2013:246-25; Sonke Gender Justice, 2014:7-8). Women engaged in CSW in the United States of America (USA) will have different experiences, lifestyles and histories, compared to women engaged in the South African sex industry (Gould, 2008:23-136; SALRC, 2009:30-50; Ure, 2009: 326-328). CSW in the South African context generally reflects the diverse demographics found in South Africa (Sonke Gender Justice, 2014:7). Local studies have not sufficiently addressed the phenomenon with the majority of the large scale studies focussing on metropolitan areas such as Cape Town, Durban and Johannesburg (Gould, 2008:23-136; Sonke Gender Justice, 2014:4; South African National Aids Council [SANAC], 2013:3). Therefore, the present study investigated the context-specific pathways that lead women into a life of adult female street-based sex work in Arcadia and Sunnyside, Pretoria. Given the prominence they receive in the research report the key concepts will be elucidated next.

1.2. Conceptualisation of the key concepts

The following concepts require operationalisation within the context of the study: sex work; sex worker; street-based sex worker; intermediary; risk factor; pathways; and Pretoria.

Sex work: It should be noted that due to the historically derogatory and moralistic connotations to the word 'prostitution', it has been largely substituted with the concept 'sex work' within academic texts (Barkhuizen, 2013:256). Therefore, the study will only refer to sex work and not prostitution. Sex work refers to the exchange of sexual acts for money or goods (SALRC, 2009:66) and can be defined as "...the act or practice of providing sexual services to another person in return for some form of payment or benefit" (Barkhuizen, 2013:255). Sex work can also be understood as the exchange of sexual services for money or goods either frequently or occasionally by female, male and transgendered adults (UNAIDS, 2005). In the present study, sex work refers to the practice of an adult female individual over the age of 18 years providing sexual services to a client in return for a form of remittance, including money, goods and other favours, as part of the commercial sex trade. In order to ease reading, the concept sex work will be exchanged with the concept commercial sex work throughout the course of the research study.

Sex worker: Historically and colloquially, various words have been used to refer to sex workers, amongst other 'whores', 'hookers', 'whoremongers' or 'prostitutes' (Jefferson, 2011:1). In line with the argument that the word 'prostitute' is demeaning and creates social stigma, the concept sex worker will be used in the present research report (Barkhuizen, 2013:256; Marks, 1994:196). The concept sex worker refers to an individual who works in the sex industry (Barkhuizen, 2013:255; Weitzer, 2000:1). As such the concept sex worker has redefined the commercial sex trade as it refers to the actions of individuals which generate an income for them in the form of employment (Bindman, 1997). Mkansi (2012:14) reiterates that sex workers can be male, female or transgendered individuals who engage in a wide variety of sexual activities in exchange for money or goods. In the current study a sex worker refers to an adult female individual over 18 years of age who provides sexual services to a

client in exchange for a form of remittance, including money, goods and other favours, as part of the commercial sex trade. The term sex worker will be substituted with the term commercial sex worker.

Street-based sex worker: Street-based sex work can be understood as the client locating the commercial sex worker on the street wherein the illicit sexual transaction can then take place (Gaziarifoglu, 2011:1-2). Street-based sex workers are also called outdoor sex workers, especially in South African research (Mkansi, 2012:32). Street-based sex workers solicit their clientele outdoors in streets, parks or other public places, where after the sexual services are provided in side-streets, vehicles or pay-by-the-hour establishments (Harcourt & Donovan, 2005). In the present study, a street-based sex worker is an adult female individual over 18 years of age, who provides sexual services on the streets of Arcadia and Sunnyside, Pretoria, in exchange for some form of payment, including money, goods and other favours. Therefore, for the purposes of the current study the term adult female street-based sex worker and adult female sex worker will be utilised.

Intermediary: An intermediary, colloquially referred to as a pimp or madam, is the individual who acts as a go-between in the sexual transaction that takes place between the sex worker and the client (Lobert, [sa]:1-6). In the present study the concept intermediary will be used because it is gender-neutral. The intermediary receives remuneration for the role they play in the sexual transaction between the sex worker and the client (Spidel, Greaves, Cooper, Herve, Hare & Yuille, 2006:1078-1079). In the study, an intermediary can be understood as an individual who solicits clients on behalf of a sex worker in order to attain either all, or a portion of, the remuneration received by the sex worker for the sexual services she provides.

Risk factor: A risk factor can comprise any attribute, characteristic or exposure to something that can increase the likelihood that an individual can experience a negative effect, injury or disease (World Health Organization, 2009:33). In the current study, a risk factor can be understood as any attribute, characteristic, motivational factor or precursory aspect/condition that can render an individual vulnerable to become involved in or remain involved in adult female

street-based sex work or factors which leave a sex worker vulnerable to victimisation whilst plying her trade.

Pathways:

Pathways can be understood as processes, actions, reasons and/or vulnerabilities in which an outcome is actualised (Simpson, Yahner & Dugan, 2008:84; Salisbury, 2007:31). In the study, pathways refer to the different processes, actions, risk factors, reasons and/or vulnerabilities in adult female sex workers' personal backgrounds, which can steer their trajectories into street-based CSW in Arcadia and Sunnyside, Pretoria.

Pretoria:

Pretoria refers to the central part of the City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality². Sunnyside and Arcadia are well known suburbs located within the central part of Pretoria (area size: 687.54 km²). According to the 2011 census data (most recent data available) Pretoria's population is estimated at 741651 (1078.70 per km²). In 2005 the South African Geographical Names Council (SAGNC) approved a proposal to formally change the name of Pretoria to Tshwane (Du Preez, 2015:13). Even though the aforementioned name change was approved by SAGNC, it has yet to be approved by the Minister of Arts and Culture. Nevertheless, available information suggests that the name change is still under consideration. Thus, for the purpose of the research report, the researcher will utilise the areas of Sunnyside and Arcadia (Pretoria), in order to refer to the research site of the study, as the city's name has not yet been officially changed to Tshwane (Du Preez, 2015:11-13). It should be noted that Tshwane is often used interchangeably with Pretoria by some authors. However, in the present study Tshwane will only be used when referring to the greater metropolitan area.

1.3. The origin and rationale of the study

Numerous media articles confirm the presence, prevalence and contentious nature of sex work in South Africa. Locally, the vast dimensions of sex work are underscored by a media article entitled: *Study estimates 153 000 sex workers active in South Africa* (2015/01/13). In

² The City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality is situated in the province of Gauteng. The province is the financial and industrial hub of the Republic of South Africa.

addition, the human rights of sex workers and the prevention of human immunodeficiency virus/acquired immune deficiency syndrome (HIV/AIDS) within the sex industry has caught the attention of the media and government, as highlighted by the press statement released by then Deputy President of South Africa, Cyril Ramaphosa on 2016/03/11 entitled: *Address by Deputy President Cyril Ramaphosa at the launch of the South African National Sex Worker HIV Plan*. Also, it should be noted that during the African National Congress' (ANC) 54th elective conference, Human settlement portfolio committee chair Ncawwe Mafu indicated that the ANC plans on decriminalising sex work, which will see South Africa potentially mirroring a similar legal framework as in New Zealand (Nyoka, 2017:1; Rahlaga, 2017:1). Various other media articles pertaining to sex workers and the commercial sex trade highlight the need and importance of the current study (not limited to): *Are 60% of SA's sex workers HIV positive* (2015/01/28), *Constitutional rights apply to sex workers too* (2015/01/22), *ANC should stand up for prostitutes* (2014/01/18) and *The plight of sex workers 20 years after democracy* (2014/05/01).

Similar to the afore-listed media articles, CSW research in South Africa has predominantly focussed on decriminalisation debates and the projected curbing of HIV/AIDS, as a result of decriminalisation, which are of collective benefit for the African continent and its subsequent battles with the virus (Evans & Walker, 2017:2-63; Jacob, 2012;1-44; SANAC, 2016:1-51). The majority of the large scale studies locally have focussed on the metropolitan areas of Cape Town, Durban and Johannesburg. For example, Gould's quantitative study (2008) titled *Selling sex in Cape Town*, has provided valuable data and insights into the sex work phenomenon in general for the field of Criminology in South Africa. A qualitative study conducted by Mkansi (2012) in Sunnyside, Pretoria titled *The policing of sex workers in Sunnyside*, shed light on legislation and the methods utilised to police sex work. Similarly, a qualitative study conducted by Herbst (2002) focussed on male sex workers in Pretoria and the management of HIV/AIDS amongst the male sex worker population. However, limited research has been conducted on the context-specific pathways of adult female sex workers into CSW, in South Africa. Moreover, the present study was conducted in a geographic area (Arcadia and Sunnyside, Pretoria) where no research on specifically, adult female street-based sex workers' pathways into CSW has been directed yet.

An extensive literature review highlighted various risk factors, which render individuals vulnerable to enter the commercial sex trade (Balfour & Allen, 2014:4-7; Brennan et al., 2010:36; Brennan, Breitenbach, Dietrich, Salisbury & Voorhis, 2012:1483; Cobbina & Oselin: 2011:312-313; Clarke, Clarke, Roe-Sipowitz & Fey, 2012:270-289; Dodsworth, 2011:4; Fitzpatrick, Bramley & Johnsen, 2012:1-21; Gould, 2008:23-136; Hwang & Bedford, 2004:139-

142; Manoek, 2012:4-8; Mattisson & Ekebrand, 2010:17; Rhoda, 2010:72; Richter et al, 2013:246-251; SALRC, 2002:36; SALRC, 2009:30-50; SANAC, 2013:3; Shivley et al, 2012:7; Simpson et al., 2008:88; Sonke Gender Justice, 2014:4; Ure, 2009: 326-328). Furthermore, research suggests that the commercial sex trade functions on the basis of supply and demand. In other words, the greater the need for a service, the greater the economic motivation will be to deliver the specific service (SALRC, 2009:30-32; Shivley et al., 2012:5). Owing to the economic gain associated with the industry and the high levels of poverty in South Africa, sex work may serve as a viable alternative for women with limited skill sets (SALRC, 2009:56). Many South African women unfortunately face a paradoxical situation with regard to the dire economic circumstances they face and possible solutions to their situation denied by circumstances. However, studies indicate that financial gain is not the only risk factor linked to an individual's participation in sex work, as a wide variety of risk factors (e.g. family dysfunction, financial strain, violence and power imbalances, victimhood, educational deficits and substance abuse) may shape an individual's trajectory into the commercial sex industry (Richter et al., 2013:246-251; Sonke Gender Justice, 2014:7-8).

Additionally, research evidence clearly illustrates research interest in both sex workers and the dynamics of the commercial sex industry, which include the client and the intermediary's role within the illicit sexual transaction that takes place. However, there is a lack of research regarding the local context-specific pathways which may shape sex workers' trajectories into adult female street-based sex work. Moreover, the majority of the studies highlighted within the literature review are qualitative in nature (e.g., Artz, Hoffman-Wanderer & Moul, 2012:1-236; Belknap & Holsinger, 2006; Daly, 1992; Owen, 1998). Thus, there is a paucity of quantitative research evidence pertaining to the risk factors which may shape sex workers' trajectories into adult female street-based CSW. Research evidence elucidated important factors which need to be explored further, in order to formulate a clear understanding of CSW in Arcadia and Sunnyside (Pretoria), which in turn can facilitate a pathways framework. Owing to the lack of focus placed on sex workers' pathways into CSW and the risk factors prominent within each respective pathway (e.g. economic circumstances), it remains largely misunderstood. A context-specific pathway framework would prove beneficial due to the lack of a similar local study and apparent gaps in research with regard to sex work in Pretoria (Arcadia and Sunnyside) specifically. Therefore, the research question the study aimed to answer was as follows: What are the context-specific pathways women follow into adult female street-based CSW in Arcadia and Sunnyside, Pretoria?

1.4. The aim and objectives of the study

The aim of the study was to identify context-specific pathways into adult female street-based sex work in Arcadia and Sunnyside, Pretoria. In pursuit of the aim, the objectives of the study were to:

- Compile a profile of the characteristics of adult female street-based sex workers in Arcadia and Sunnyside, Pretoria.
- Identify possible risk factors (e.g. economic background, family experiences, general life experiences, forms of abuse and/or substance abuse) which may shape an individual's trajectory into adult female street-based CSW in Arcadia and Sunnyside, Pretoria.
- Describe the nature of adult female street-based sex work in Arcadia and Sunnyside, Pretoria.
- Construct a pathways framework specifically focussed on adult female street-based CSW in Arcadia and Sunnyside, Pretoria.

1.5. The value of the study

The value of the study lies in the potential of the research findings, to further understanding of the sex work phenomenon in South Africa, as well as to create a baseline for future research endeavours. Owing to the hidden nature of CSW, the findings shed light on areas within sex work that remain largely misunderstood. Additionally, the findings provide insight into areas where interventions may pose the greatest benefit, as the study creates a starting point from which future exit/diversion programmes for adult female street-based sex workers could be designed and implemented. The pathways of adult female street-based sex workers into CSW have not been explored fully. For that reason, the findings of the present study will be disseminated widely on available platforms and in doing so, may add value to the field of pathways research, which in recent years has garnered much attention in Criminology.

The current study's entrenchment in the quantitative paradigm provides statistical support to the field of pathways research. Pathways research in Criminology has fundamentally influenced theoretical development in terms of gender-based mainstream explanations for both offending and victimisation (Wattanaporn & Holfreter, 2014:192-200). In a review of the *Acta Criminologica*³, published by Steyn and Klopper (2015:13), the authors posit that a mere 20.3% of published articles meaningfully incorporated theory. They further state that there has not been a significant change with regard to theory incorporation and development in the past

³ A Southern African journal which focusses on the field of Criminology and publishes research on crime and victimisation (Steyn & Klopper, 2015:1).

20 years. Hence, the theoretical value of the current study serves to be mentioned, as applicable theories are elucidated and an integrated context-specific framework based on statistical evidence was developed. The value of pathways studies lies in the fact that the approach is able to identify that certain factors may have a different impact on women than it would have on men, which is of significant value for theoretical development in Criminology owing to the fact that the vast majority of theories in Criminology were developed for men by men (Simpson et al., 2008:84). Therefore, the current study may strengthen the development of a pathways framework within criminological theory specifically focussed on adult female street-based sex workers.

1.6. Overview of the research design and methods

The lack of local context-specific pathway studies highlighted the need to generate statistical evidence relating to the context-specific pathways that lead women into a life of adult commercial street-based sex work. Therefore, the research question and the philosophical foundation in which the study is entrenched are based within the positivistic paradigm. The objectives formulated dictated the adoption of a quantitative approach, which allows the researcher to compare and test relationships between variables (e.g. family dysfunction and sex workers who ran away from home) (Bless, Higson-Smith & Kagee, 2006:44; Ivankova, Creswell & Clarke, 2007:263). It should be noted that the research focussed on adult female street-based sex work, in other words respondents over the age of 18 years; therefore, the researcher did not explore the criminal implications concerning under aged sex workers (Woodin, 2014:4). The study was aimed at advancing knowledge, relevant to the pathways female adult street-based sex workers follow into CSW, without having any direct applied purpose (Kothari, 2004:3). Enhanced by the explorative and descriptive purpose of the study, the basic nature of the research serves as a baseline for future research endeavours. A cross-sectional survey design was utilised in order to explore and describe the pathways of adult female street-based sex workers into CSW in Arcadia and Sunnyside, Pretoria. Furthermore, a combination of purposive and snowball sampling was required to recruit the 60 respondents (Battaglia, 2008:253-256; Walonick, 2010:21).

The researcher used a questionnaire as research instrument to obtain the primary data during face-to-face interviews. The questionnaire structure consisted of both open and closed ended questions. Open-ended questions in the questionnaire were limited owing to the discomfort of sex workers when researchers take field notes, as sex workers may be hesitant to the idea of writing out answers (Shaver, 2005:303). The questionnaire contained socio-demographic and biographical questions and proceeded to questions more relevant to the pathways which lead to adult street-based sex work. The data was organised and analysed through coding and

computerisation, as well as calculated by the Statistical Package for the Social Science (SPSS). After the coding process the data was manually entered into a computer (IBM, 2016). Parametric tests were not applicable owing to the low sample size, thus the study utilised non-parametric tests (Shapiro-Wilk test and Mann-Whitney *U* test). The reliability and validity of the questionnaire and ultimately the study was verified by making use of a pilot study (Degu & Yigzaw, 2006:90).

Owing to the sensitive and hidden nature of sex work, the ethical aspects of the research were of paramount concern. Participation of all respondents were voluntary; informed consent was given to use the data obtained from the respondents; and all data was kept confidential. The risks that were identified when the study was conceptualised, were mitigated by means of a number of strategies that were set in place. In line with the ethical considerations, the utilisation of incentives, to encourage research participation and not as a form of power over respondents, should be noted. Respondents received a R60 retail/grocery store voucher (one easily accessible to sex workers) as a trade for their participation in the study (Grant & Sugarman, 2004:718-721). Furthermore, owing to the nature and geographical location of the research site, certain safety precautions had to be taken. The researcher was accompanied by *Guards on Call Security*, a private security company which specialises in the management of CSW, drug related crimes and other criminal activities associated with the area they work in. The researcher ventured to use the pre-existing relationship of trust between *Guards on Call Security* and the female street-based sex workers in order to gain access to respondents for the pilot and main study.

1.7. Structure and layout of the report

Chapter 1: Introduction. Chapter one, following a cover page and preliminaries, introduced the reader to the study and the purpose thereof. The key concepts were operationalised, the origin and rationale of the study were described and the aim and objectives were stated. Further, the chapter reflected on the value of the research and concluded with a synopsis of the research methods used in the study.

Chapter 2: Literature review. Chapter two will comprise of a literature review, in which research evidence is examined in order to understand the phenomenon. The literature review contains the main risk factors (family dysfunction, financial strain, violence and power imbalances, victimhood, educational deficits and substance abuse) regarding women's involvement in sex work, main arguments associated with the phenomenon, as well as an elucidation of pathways research in general.

Chapter 3: Theoretical framework. Chapter three elucidates the theoretical framework. The selected theories and their applicability with regard to women's involvement in sex work are explained and provide the necessary theoretical background to the study.

Chapter 4: Methodology. In chapter four the researcher explains the research methods and procedures used in the study in terms of the research paradigm, the approach taken, the purpose of the research, the type of research and the research design. In addition, the sampling, the data gathering techniques, methods and instrument used, as well as the data analysis techniques and formulas utilised, will be elucidated. The measurement quality, ethical considerations and challenges encountered during the execution of the study will also be stated in the chapter.

Chapter 5: Empirical results. Chapter five contains the empirical results, wherein the data gathered and analysed will be presented through statistical graphs. The purpose of chapter five is to draw the reader's attention to key findings within the data set.

Chapter 6: Recommendations. A discussion and interpretation of the results, in line with the theoretical framework, will follow in chapter six. The chapter serves to compare evidence and arguments from existing studies with the results of the current study. Furthermore, any inconsistencies will be discussed accordingly and recommendations will be made with regards to policy and practise. Additionally, a proposed pathways framework focussed on adult female street-based sex work will be described in the chapter.

1.8. Summary

Although adult female street-based CSW is not a new phenomenon and extensive research evidence has been generated on the topic, there is a lack of research and understanding pertaining to the context-specific pathways which women follow into adult female street-based sex work. Various risk factors, such as family dysfunction, financial strain, violence and power imbalances, victimhood, educational deficits and substance abuse which may shape an individual's trajectory into CSW, have been elucidated in a number of separate research studies. However, the extent to, and manner in which risk factors apply to adult female street-based CSW specifically need to be described and explored with greater diligence. A context-specific pathways framework for adult female street-based CSW has not yet been documented. The aim of the study was to identify context-specific pathways into adult female street-based sex work in Arcadia and Sunnyside, Pretoria with specific focus placed on risk factors which may shape the trajectory of women into CSW.

Chapter 2: Literature review

2.1 Introduction

Chapter 2 provides a literature review along the lines of the aim and objectives of the research study. The purpose of a literature review is to inspect, outline and assess various sources such as scholarly articles, books, research reports, conference proceedings and legislative frameworks, which are pertinent to a particular research focus area, in order to gain an in-depth understanding of past and current research in relation to the research problem (Greenfield, 2002:1-370). The earliest reference to sex work can be found dating back to 2000BC (Fanni, 2014:404). What is evident is that within the course of history women have engaged in the commercial sex trade by choice, but in a sense also by force in patriarchal societies, as highlighted in the historical overview of CSW which follows in the next section.

The literature review elucidates the fact that although each country may have unique features to their respective sex trades, there exists generic debates regarding CSW which remain largely similar across countries. Two juxtaposed debates regarding entry into sex work dominate academic research studies. First, it is argued that entry into sex work is purely driven by economic gains, signifying that the sex worker chooses to participate in the sex trade and that there are essentially no victims (Pitcher, 2014:8). Second, it is argued that there is a relationship between sex work and personal victimisation, signifying a paradoxical situation wherein the individual's choice to enter CSW becomes a forced one. The latter argument furthermore suggests that there is a correlation between young women who run away from home, sex work and a dysfunctional familial background (Pitcher, 2014:8). However, the literature review reveals that limiting understanding of the pathways along which sex work is entered to, either making a choice or being forced, would be an oversimplification of a convoluted phenomenon. In addition to the aforementioned two main debates, other evidence suggests that women enter sex work in order to alleviate circumstances of poverty and out of economic necessity (Rhoda, 2010:72-75), to escape violence and abuse (Against Violence and Abuse [AVA], 2010:1-5; Hwang & Bedford, 2003:201-210) or because they have a desire to be independent and live a better life (Scorgie, Vasey, Harper, Richter, Nare, Maseko & Cherich. 2013:3). However, CSW can expose women to certain risks, which may serve to further entrap them in a cycle of poverty and exacerbated social difficulties (SALRC, 2015:61).

In the literature review the key role-players within the commercial sex industry namely the client, the intermediary and the sex worker will be contextualised. Women engaged in CSW in different countries will have varying experiences, lifestyles and histories, when compared to each other (Balfour & Allen, 2014:4-7; Sonke Gender Justice, 2014:4). Therefore, the sex work phenomenon in the South African context will be elucidated and compared with international

research evidence where pertinent and possible in the present chapter. In addition, a number of separate research studies that identified risk factors that are associated with women's trajectories into CSW, such as family dysfunction, financial strain, violence and power imbalances, victimhood, educational deficits and substance abuse, will be examined. In order to enhance understanding of pathways research in Criminology and to illustrate what the researcher aimed to achieve in the present study, namely to construct a pathways framework specifically focussed on adult female street-based CSW in Arcadia and Sunnyside, Pretoria, Kathleen Daly's pioneering research titled *Women's pathways to felony court: Feminist theories of law-breaking and problems of representation* (1992), will be inspected. However, first an overview of the historical context of sex work is needed in order to fully understand the modern sex work phenomenon.

2.2 Historical context of CSW

Sex work is widely regarded as one of the oldest occupations women engage in (WAC, 2008:24). Fanni (2014:404) contends that where human culture is present there will be evidence of sex work. The history pertaining to sex work is vast and each country has a unique timeline in terms of how the sex work phenomenon originated and how it was sustained over time. Therefore, the researcher will in this section only focus on the shifts that occurred over time in societies' tolerance levels towards sex work by highlighting that it was at first in a sense revered, then tolerated as a necessary evil and then later regarded as a social ill that required criminalisation in many societies.

The earliest reference to sex work can be found in an ancient Babylonian text which dates back to 2000BC, wherein mention is made to 'temple sex work' or 'sacred sex work' (Fanni, 2014:404). The aforementioned terms in ancient Babylon can be understood in terms of a religious practice related to fertility, where women were required to go to temples to offer sexual services to any man willing to pay for the services. Babylonian women were required to at least once in their life 'prostitute' themselves in the temple of the goddess Mylitta⁴ (Monaghan, 2010:71-72). Once the women were inside the temple they were prohibited from leaving until their debt was paid in the form of a sacrifice to the goddess. When 'temple sex work' or 'sacred sex work' is measured against the conventional forms of sex work, sex work would not have the same connotation. In other words, contrary to most modern societies' present view that sex work is a social ill, Babylonians appreciated sex workers for satisfying social and spiritual needs (SALRC, 2002:42-43). Similarly, in ancient Mesopotamia (Babylon

⁴ The Babylonian moon goddess of love, beauty, fertility and childbirth.

was a city in Mesopotamia) the inhabitants of the area worshipped the goddess Ishtar⁵, who was described as a deity whom was born new everyday as a maiden and became a sex worker later in the evenings. The women in the service of the goddess Ishtar were described as helping men who offered money to the temple with the 'sacred' powers of their bodies. The temples were said to be knowledge centres relating to birth, birth control and sex (Fanni, 2014:404; Monaghan, 2010:71-73,83).

In *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, a poem considered by many as the first great work of literature, the author Gilgamesh makes several references to the Mesopotamian goddess Ishtar. Sex workers were depicted as the purveyors of sex and a force of civilisation, as the individuals who solicited the sex workers were generally labelled as educated 'savages in love' and the sex workers were tasked with the general maintenance of their bodies (Sandars, 1972:61-125). Ironically, modern day sex work in general is stigmatised as sexually primitive. What is evident from the way in which sex work was viewed in the BC era is that it was mainly seen as being practiced in service of the respective goddesses of love. However, even within Babylonian law distinctions were made between the different types of sex workers each with their own set of regulatory specifications, namely temple, roadside and inn-based sex workers (Fanni, 2014:404; Sandars, 1972:61-125). Legal regulatory specifications concerning the sex trade can also be found within other historical contexts, which significantly broaden understanding of how sex work was viewed in the respective time periods.

During 500-800BC in ancient Greece all sex workers were required to pay taxes to the state. The collection of taxes was the responsibility of subcontracted individuals, who may in the modern day understanding of CSW, be compared to the role played by intermediaries. However, in modern day society intermediaries collect the remuneration for themselves and not for the state (SALRC, 2002:43-44). Within ancient Greece sex workers were distinguished from 'respectable' women through the colours of their attire. 'Respectable' women were usually dressed in natural wool or linen colours and materials, whereas sex workers commonly wore clothes that were dyed into saffron or other colours (SALRC, 2002:43-46). Furthermore, ancient Greece classified sex workers into four types. The *Hetairae* were acknowledged as the aristocrats of Greek CSW and were well educated women who were allowed to leave the confines of their homes to see plays, attend banquets and discuss philosophy and politics with men. The *Auletrides* represented the middle class of sex workers and were foreigners skilled in the arts of music, song and dance. The lowest class of sex workers in ancient Greece, were the *Dicteriades* who were found within the brothels. They were only educated in sexual

⁵ The Mesopotamian goddess of fertility, love, war, sex and power.

technique and the prices charged for their services were low. The *Concubines* were traditionally slaves used for any range of services, including sex (Benjamin & Masters, 1964:35-40).

In ancient Rome, sex work operated in much the same way as 500-800BC Greece, where all sex workers were required to be registered as tax payers. Similar to Greece, Roman sex workers were also prescribed a specific dress code so that they could be distinguished from other women (Fanni, 2014:404; SALRC, 2002:43-46). A pertinent example of how the Roman state benefitted from the sex industry occurs in 40 AD when the emperor Caligula introduced a taxation law, wherein sex workers were required to pay from the sum of their total earnings an amount equal to one act of sexual intercourse (the frequency of payment was not specified). Even in the face of embarrassment felt by a long succession of Christian emperors, the sex worker taxation law proved to be so profitable that it was only abolished in 498AD. In ancient Greece and Rome both free women and slaves engaged in sex work. The sex workers, who did not have the protection of brothels (*Lupaniaria*), solicited their clients outside of the brothels most commonly under archways (SALRC, 2002:44-47). However, not all societies were as tolerant of the sex industry as ancient Greece and Rome.

The European position in the middle Ages (5th-15th centuries) reflected the attitude that although sex work was morally unacceptable, it was a necessary evil in society and therefore it was endured (SALRC, 2002:44-47). However, the Lutherans and Calvinists (Reformed Protestants during 1500s-1600s) had a much harsher view by condemning sex work as entirely immoral and insisting that it should be completely suppressed by way of criminal sanctions (Fanni, 2014:404; Grell & Scribner, 2002:1-282). Additionally, the spread of Catholicism in Europe, led to the viewing of any form of sexual activity outside the bounds of marriage, as being sinful. However, regardless of religious views, the sex industry persisted within urban areas and was largely accepted as a 'lesser evil' as it was argued that it prevented other forms of deviant sexual behaviour (Fanni, 2014:404; Grell & Scribner, 2002:1-282). Furthermore, the United Kingdom (UK) did not overtly declare sex work illegal, but rather enacted legislation to restrict activities related to the sex trade. For example, Britain's Contagious Diseases Act of 1864 envisaged curbing the spread of venereal disease amongst the sex worker population and their clientele (Fanni, 2014:404). Specifically, women found to be infected could be arrested and detained in what was called a 'locked hospital' for up to three months (Baker, 2012:89-119). A main point of contention was the fact that there was no provision stipulating the examination of the sex workers' clientele, which became the driving argument for the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Act in Britain. The Act in essence sparked the debate regarding equality between men and women (Baker, 2012:89-119; Fanni,

2014:404). Feminists, most notably Josephine Butler, who was a prominent English feminist and social reformer in the Victorian Era, was opposed to the Act on the basis of it only focussing on the sex worker and not on the client equally (Baker, 2012:89-119; Beukes, 2014:1-116).

In 16th century USA, the Judeo-Christian religion dictated that sexual intercourse should take place in the sanctity of marriage. Consequently, sex work was viewed as morally wrong; however, it was still not outlawed. The tolerance of sex work may have been reinforced by the fact that the government greatly benefited from the taxes garnered from the industry (SALRC, 2002:44-47). However, during the 17th and 18th centuries, intolerance against the sex industry grew with the 'whorehouse riots' during which brothels in New York City were burnt down (Smolak, 2013:5). Interventions aimed at curbing sex work were mainly introduced during the Progressive Era (1890s-1920s)⁶, as focus was placed on the weakening of moral resilience and the manner it contributed to women's engagement in sex work. The result was that harsher views pertaining to the immorality of sex work took root in the USA (Leonard, 2011:430-462; Piott, 2011:1-4).

The Progressive Era was defined by a period of rapid urbanisation, industrialisation, commercialisation and immigration; factors which were seen as pivotal to the continuation of the commercial sex industry. Reformers of the Progressive Era contended that individuals may be predisposed to sex work due to the weakening of moral resilience. They argued that the predisposing factors were lack of employment, poverty and the deterioration of familial bonds, as well as community ties (Leonard, 2011:430-462; Piott, 2011:1-4). Even in the face of factors such as urbanisation, industrialisation, commercialisation and immigration debates were overshadowed by moral concerns regarding sex work. As such, the aforementioned gave way to the main moral concern of that time concerning sex work, namely the notion of 'white slavery'. According to Smolak (2013:1-3) the term 'white slavery' used within the 19th and early 20th century did not refer to a specific race, but rather referred to the general practice of organised and coerced sex work. Although the aforementioned author contends that 'white slavery' referred to women of any race, he does however, state that white women were the main concern in terms of individuals preyed on for the sex trade. Furthermore, the author reiterates that the term was used to describe both coerced and voluntary sex work (Smolak, 2013:9-11).

⁶ The Progressive Era can be understood as an era of widespread social activism and political reform across the United States of America (USA).

With regards to the perceived issues relating to 'white slavery', the SALRC (2002:49) takes a more literal translation of the term by arguing that white women were not the victims of 'white slavery' as statistics showed that immigrants were the main victims. Many during the Progressive Era believed that a direct causal relationship existed between immigration and sex work, however, the assertion was never proved (Smolak, 2013:9-11). Either way, the term 'white slavery' became a dominant framework in understanding the phenomenon of CSW within the Progressive Era. Regardless of views pertaining to the race and ethnicity associated with 'white slavery', what should be noted is that the main driving force behind the 'white slavery' campaign was that it was set up in order to evoke sympathy from the middle class Reformers. It is argued that the only way in which the middle class Reformers would sympathise with sex workers was if they were portrayed as victims who could not be held accountable for their own situation (SALRC, 2002:49-50). The moral panic caused by the 'white slavery' notion gave way to the Mann Act (also Known as the White-Slave Traffic Act of 1910) in the USA. The Act was set up in order to address sex work, immorality and human trafficking (Smolak, 2013:5).

Three central Progressive Era groups were the main role-players behind the anti-sex work movement, namely Christians, feminists and physicians. Christians were concerned not only with CSW, but also alcohol consumption and gambling, which were issues they wanted to 'cure' through what they described as uplifting the nation to a higher standard of Christian values through the use of moral education. The Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) – also a driving force behind prohibition – provided the impetus for the outlawing of the sex trade in large parts of the USA. Most feminists at the time argued that CSW was symbolic of gender inequality, which enforced the sexual exploitation of women by syndicates, politicians and police. During the 1950s nearly all the states in the USA passed laws regarding prohibiting profiting from brothels and any other way to derive earnings from the sex industry. Physicians' main argument centred on effective disease control and therefore they were more concerned with the regulation of the sex industry rather than the suppression thereof (Smolak, 2013:5-6). During World War II (1939-1945) an influx of sex workers occurred near military bases in the USA, which reportedly also increased sexually transmitted diseases in the surrounding areas. Due to the increase in sexually transmitted diseases, the USA Congress in 1941 passed the May Act, which prohibited the practice of sex work within areas designated by the secretaries of the military and navy. In 2002 the Federal Government of the USA adopted a strong position against sex work as they believed that it fuelled human trafficking (SALRC, 2009:113-114).

Due to the current study's focus on sex work in Arcadia and Sunnyside, Pretoria, the historical context of CSW in South Africa requires close scrutiny. In 1652, the Dutch East India Company (DEIC) occupied the Cape Colony, which was established as a refreshment station for sea vessels between the Netherlands and Batavia. The employees of the DEIC later began to retire in the Cape Colony on plots of land, which they subsequently leased from the DEIC. The retired employees (generally called settlers) began importing slaves from Madagascar, Mozambique and Asia to work on the plots, which increased the inhabitant count of the Cape Colony. Evidence exists that the slaves who were imported to the Cape Colony also engaged in sex work, especially in the slave lodges of the DEIC. As the employees started to settle in the Cape Colony, there was also an influx of still employed seamen through the ports of the Colony, which provided fruitful conditions for the commercial sex trade to flourish in. Sex workers generally served as entertainment for employees of the DEIC between voyages. In fact, historical reports state that sex workers would line the sea ports to welcome DEIC sailors to the Cape Colony (Thusi, 2015:208-209). The sex trade within the Cape Colony was seen as a necessary evil as it kept the morale of the seamen high after and in-between long voyages, which was beneficial for the DEIC. In 1795 Britain annexed the Cape Colony for the first time, which ushered in a new era for the manner in which the sex industry was viewed and regulated.

After the British took control of the Cape Colony, they abolished the slave trade in 1834. Yet sex work persisted at the time. During British rule sex work became a punishable offence, however, individuals were rarely prosecuted. Even under British rule the officials in the Cape Colony viewed sex work as a necessary evil as they held the opinion that sex workers offered a manageable solution to occupy the attention of unruly sailors. Therefore, CSW in the sea port towns of the Cape Colony was seen as inevitable and thus, tolerated. British colonial rule in the Cape Colony was mainly influenced by the Victorian Era (1837-1901), a time period often described as sexually repressive. Cape Town, during British colonial rule, experienced intervals of outrage against sexual transgressions and perceived sexual immorality. Victorian societies tolerated sex work on the basis that it protected married women from their husband's unsavoury or deviant sexual desires. Therefore, sex workers were accepted as a bearable solution for men whose desires were not met by their wives. Accordingly, sex work became a tool with which the morality of respectable women could be protected. The WCTU (mentioned earlier) was active in the Cape Colony as well. They were particularly concerned with 'social purity' and the enforcement of 'morality'. Issues of 'social purity' extended to concerns pertaining to racial purity and segregation. The concerns were expressed through campaigns aimed at rescuing destitute white children, monitoring inter-racial sexual contact and fighting sex work, as well as liquor consumption (Thusi, 2015:210-214).

During the aforementioned period in South Africa, similar to the European context, very little was known about venereal diseases. Consequently, the Contagious Diseases Act promulgated in Britain, was also used to regulate the sex industries of some of the British colonies (Beukes, 2014:1-116; Fanni, 2015:404). The Contagious Diseases Act (first version of the Act passed in the Cape Colony in 1868) required sex workers to be registered and obliged them to submit to compulsory medical examinations (Baker, 2012:89-119; Beukes, 2014:1-116; City Press, 2014:1; City of Johannesburg, 2008:1; Fanni, 2014:404). Sex workers were identified as being infested with diseases, specifically syphilis and gonorrhoea. As a result, the sex industry was identified as the site of contagion. However, in the Natal Colony⁷ (including Durban and Pietermaritzburg), the sex industry was not regulated by the Act. Sex work in Natal was mostly seen as a public nuisance and action was only taken against sex workers when they annoyed the public. The Contagious Diseases Act received criticism from feminist groups abroad (Britain and the USA), which appeared to also have been the sentiment with regard to the Act's implementation in the Cape Colony (Baker, 2012:89-119; City of Johannesburg, 2008:1; City Press, 2014:1; Fanni, 2014:404). Towards the end of 1870 there was significant opposition, in the form of riots, against the Act within the Cape Colony. Even though the Act was repealed in England in 1896, the efforts to do so in the Cape Colony were largely ineffective and the Act was only successfully revoked in 1919 (Thusi, 2015:216-222). Important historical occurrences in the evolution of the sex industry in South Africa were the Transvaal's gold rush and the Anglo Boer war.

The Transvaal, also known as the South African Republic or *Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek* (ZAR), was an independent country from 1852 until 1902. Following the discovery of gold in 1886 in the Witwatersrand area many mining companies and mine workers flocked into the area with the hopes of capitalising on the gold rush. Appropriate to the time period, mine workers were male with the vast majority migrating to the area. Mine workers arrived from Britain, Europe, Australia, the USA and other African countries and only a small percentage were married or accompanied by their wives. Consequently, the few single women in Johannesburg were in high demand. Thus, the large quantity of men and the small number of available women created a demand for transactional sex. Subsequently, by 1886 two major areas of concerns cropped up for the government of the South African Republic⁸, namely sex outside the confines of marriage and alcohol abuse (City Press, 2014:1).

⁷ Colonised by the British on 4 May 1843.

⁸ The President of the South African Republic during the Johannesburg gold rush was President Paul Kruger.

It should be noted that many of the black men who migrated to Johannesburg during the gold rush were not only employed as mine workers, but also as domestic workers. Today domestic work is largely performed by women, however, during the aforementioned time period it was commonly an employment opportunity for black men. Black women were not employed as domestic workers as they were reportedly seen as unreliable. Due to the perception that black women were unreliable and could not be appointed as domestic workers, they had limited employment opportunities (Thusi, 2015:223-227). Consequently, the gold rush, the large male population and the lack of employment opportunities for women in general, created the ideal environment for the sex industry to flourish. Therefore, women who migrated to the area frequently engaged in sex work, as well as sold alcohol to the mine workers in order to garner an income. Nearing the 1890s, sex work and organised crime in Johannesburg was commonplace; approximately 10% of the population of Johannesburg were said to have been sex workers. During the 1890s, sex workers who were brought to Johannesburg were mainly from the UK, France, Lithuania and the Cape Colony. Despite the concerns the government had with sex outside the confines of marriage, the sex industry was still perceived as a necessary evil and allowed to continue provided that sex workers operated in a discreet fashion (City of Johannesburg, 2008:1; City Press, 2014:1).

During the Anglo Boer war (1899-1902) the sex worker population was further bolstered with an influx of European sex workers. It was during the Anglo Boer war that organised crime syndicates gained traction in South Africa and they swiftly gained control of the sex industry. Historical sources suggest that officials created fertile ground for the sex industry to flourish. Due to inconsistent policing and capricious legislative regulations pertaining to sex work, the era ushered in the rise of brothels featuring mainly European women (Thusi, 2015:223-227). Similar to other time periods and countries, sex work was accepted as a necessary evil. When the Anglo Boer war ended in 1902 the Transvaal was subsequently colonised by the British. In line with Victorian values at the time 'social purity' gained prominence. After the Transvaal's colonisation concerns emerged regarding the 'black peril', which was a concept widely used to denote the threat black men's sexuality represented to white men's manliness. Concerns about the 'black peril' gave rise to the passing of the Immorality Act in 1902. Reinforcing fears pertaining to the 'black peril' was the fact that domestic work was dominated by black men as mentioned earlier. The proximity between the then black male domestic workers and white women in households concerned the government, as they opined that the household was the space in which sexual acts could happen with greater ease (City Press, 2014:1). The Act subsequently criminalised sexual relationships and transgressions between black men and white sex workers (Cornwell, 1995:55-59; Thusi, 2015:226-229). The administrator of the Transvaal, Lord Alfred Milner, however, passed a new Immorality Act in 1903, which banned

all sexual activity between black men and European women (City Press, 2014:1; Rhoda, 2010:28-46).

The Immorality Act later became known as the Sexual Offences Act 23 of 1957 (Rhoda, 2010:38-46). The provisions in the Sexual Offences Act 23 of 1957 concerning interracial sex specifically persevered in South African legislation until it was finally amended and removed in 1985. It should be noted that before 1988, sex work per se was not a criminal offence in South Africa. However, various acts related to sex work such as soliciting, brothel keeping and procuring were criminalised under the Sexual Offences Act 23 of 1957. The inclusion of certain sections into the aforementioned Act in 1988 (e.g. Section 10, Section 19 and Section 20) made the exchange of sex for a reward illegal (SALRC, 2002:36). The Sexual Offences Act 23 of 1957 was amended in 2007 and is currently known as the Sexual Offences and Related Matters Amendment Act 32 of 2007 (Rhoda, 2010:38-46). The Sexual Offences and Related Matters Amendment Act 32 of 2007 replaced certain common law provisions regarding sexual offences described in the Sexual Offences Act 23 of 1957, as well as added new types of sexual crimes to the Act. Currently the Sexual Offences and Related Matters Amendment Act of 2007 states that an individual who intentionally and unlawfully engages the services, in terms of a sexual act, of another individual who is 18 years or older in exchange for a reward, favour or compensation, is guilty of an offence.

In recent times, the sex industry in South Africa has received much media attention. The following media articles (not limited to) bear testimony to the contentious nature of sex work debates locally: *Parents outraged as teens leave school for prostitution* (2013/07/30), *Women's Movement calls for an end to prostitution* (2013/08/09), *ANC should stand up for prostitutes* (2014/01/18), *The plight of sex workers 20 years after democracy* (2014/05/01), *Study estimates 153 000 sex workers active in South Africa* (2015/01/13), *Constitutional rights apply to sex workers too* (2015/01/22) and *Are 60% of SA's sex workers HIV positive* (2015/01/28). The main debates in South Africa regarding CSW are focussed on whether it should be legalised (industry is legal, but regulated), partially legalised (some aspects in CSW is legalised and others remain criminalised), regulated (regulate sections of sex work within a legal framework) or remain criminalised (all acts associated with CSW is illegal) (Mattison & Ekebrand, 2010:18). At this point, it serves to be mentioned that debates concerning the decriminalisation of sex work have been on-going since South Africa's democratisation in 1994. As previously mentioned, the ANC at its 54th elective conference has resolved to decriminalise sex work, despite the organisation previously rejecting a proposal for decriminalisation during July 2017 (Nyoka, 2017:1; Rahlaga, 2017:1). However, legalisation

and criminalisation debates fall outside the scope of the current study and will consequently not be pursued in detail.

The SALRC (2009:56) holds the opinion that sex work has historically been viewed in an undesirable light due to the sex industry's perceived ties with other crimes, such as organised crime, robbery, assault and the trafficking of drugs (SALRC, 2009:56). The perceived ties between the sex industry and other criminal activities are somewhat supported by the history of the South African sex industry in the Transvaal during the gold rush and the Anglo Boer war, when the area became infamous for its sex workers, alcohol and crime (Thusi, 2015:223). However, Davis (1994:1) insists that there is no correlation between crime and sex work. Although the sex trade went through various stages of regulation in the past in various countries, not much has changed in terms of the South African regulation of the sex industry (Beukes, 2014:1-116; City Press, 2014:1; Cornwell, 1995:55-59; Fanni, 2015:404; SALRC, 2009:56; Thusi, 2015:226-229).

In modern society the sex industry is continuing as it always has, in some countries legally and others illegally. CSW has evolved from the ancient fertility cults in temples to a commercial business-based industry. Today, many governments officially regulate the industry whilst others deem it a prosecutable offense (Fanni, 2014:404). What can be gleaned from the historical overview of sex work is that it appears to be a persistent phenomenon throughout history; tolerance levels showed marginal change over time; was seen as a necessary evil throughout most of history; introduction of moralistic and religious views in Western societies especially which today often still dominate debates; as well as the way in which socio-economic, political and historic events shaped CSW in different countries over different time periods. However, structural and contextual factors which may have played a part in CSW during the above discussed time periods were not necessarily addressed in terms of their capacity as causal factors. It could be argued that the aforementioned factors which contributed to making CSW a persistent phenomenon within society, were not considered, owing to societal barriers preventing these ideas from becoming part of a discussion. Furthermore, it appears as though the same societal constraints and moral underpinning of ideas, which were present during the Progressive Era, can still be found in debates today (Smolak, 2013:11). The section concerning the history of sex work sheds light on the development of the sex industry as it is known today. The following section will review the dynamics of the sex industry by focussing on the key role-players prominent within CSW.

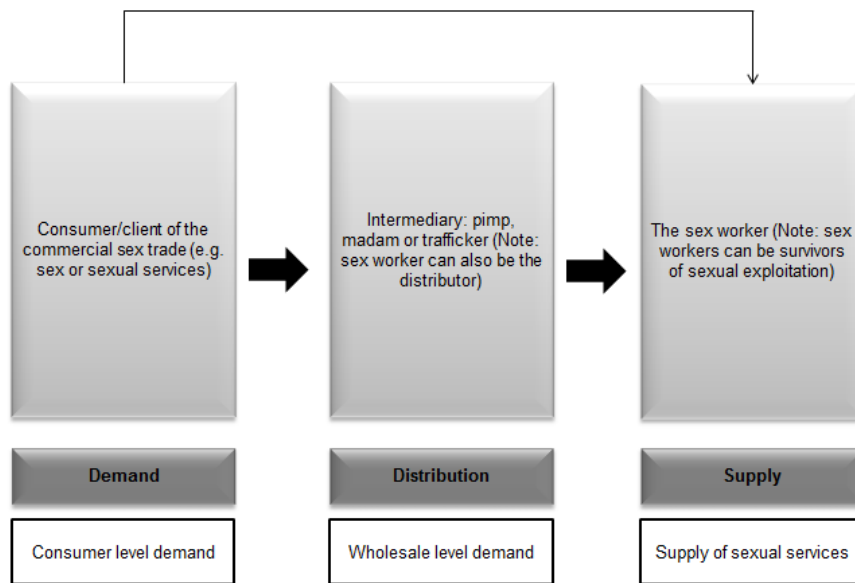
2.3 The dynamics of the commercial sex industry

The historical overview of sex work accentuated the fact that the sex trade in different countries will have unique characteristics that are shaped by the socio-historic and political context of a specific country (Harcourt & Donovan, 2005:201). Yet, some characteristics and dynamics of CSW and role-players within the sex industry are universal throughout the world (Shivley et al., 2012:5-6). In the section which follows the general nature of the worldwide commercial sex industry will be illuminated as well as the key role-players in the sex industry, namely the client, the intermediary and the sex worker.

2.3.1. The general nature of the worldwide commercial sex industry

The commercial sex industry can be understood as any legal or illegal business (depending on a specific country's legislation), which sells sexual services, sexual fantasies and sexual intercourse in order to generate a profit within a commercial market (Heinemann, MacFarlane & Brents, 2012:1). Individuals who engage within the sex industry can be male, female or transgendered (Shivley et al., 2012:5). Furthermore, the sex industry typically comprises of a wide range of both legal and illegal businesses within the larger commercial sex marketplace, for example, brothels, massage parlours, escort services, phone sex operators, call-girls, pornography and street-based sex work (Heinemann et al., 2012:1). The sex industry functions on the core business principles of supply and demand. Therefore, if there is a demand and the demand persists, the supply will continue. The greater the need for a service, the greater the economic encouragement to deliver the said services will be. Consequently, the consumer level demand signifies the period where the market for commercial sexual services originates. The supply of the sexual service and the distribution thereof are the responses to the demand. The distribution of the services may be in the hands of an intermediary or the sex worker, if the intermediary is bypassed, wherein the supplier (sex worker) takes their services to the client directly (Shivley et al., 2012:5-6). In other words, the sex industry is regulated on the same principles as any other legitimate service-based business, wherein a service is provided to a client and the client pays for the services rendered. Figure 1 serves to illustrate the core dynamics of supply and demand within the commercial sex market (Shivley et al., 2012:5).

Figure 1: The dynamics of the commercial sex market



Source: Adapted from Shivley et al. (2012:5)

According to Heinemann et al. (2012:1) legal brothels in the state of Nevada, USA (legal brothels exist in 10 of Nevada’s 17 counties) serve an estimated 400 000 clients annually. Thus, the profit garnered from the legal brothel trade in Nevada is estimated to be worth between US\$35 and US\$50 million. Furthermore, in the USA between 3000 and 4000 strip clubs operate from coast to coast, with estimated annual revenues of between US\$1 and US\$2 billion. In addition, there are between 150 and 200 call-girls operating at any given day in Las Vegas, with numbers reaching as many as 500 call-girls operating at weekends (Heinemann et al., 2012:3-7). Havocscope (2016) compiled sex industry revenue information from a wide variety of sources worldwide, which included public health programmes, law enforcement agencies, media reports and criminal justice programmes. Table 1 demonstrates the vast dimensions of CSW revenue expressed as estimated market values in US dollars worldwide.

Table 1: Worldwide sex worker revenues

Country	Estimated Value (US\$)
China	73 Billion
Spain	26.5 Billion
Japan	24 Billion
Germany	18 Billion (legal industry)
United States of America (USA)	14.6 Billion

South Korea	12 Billion
India	8.4 Billion
Thailand	6.4 Billion
Philippines	6 Billion
Turkey	4 Billion
Switzerland	3.5 Billion
Indonesia	2.25 Billion
Taiwan	1.84 Billion
Ukraine	1.5 Billion
Bulgaria	1.3 Billion
United Kingdom	1 Billion
Netherlands	800 Million (legal industry)
Italy	600 Million
Cambodia	511 Million
Israel	500 Million
Ireland	326 Million
Czech Republic	200 Million
Jamaica	58 Million
Australia	27 Million
Total CSW industry estimate	186 Billion

Source: Havocscope (2016).

The values in Table 1 should be considered conservative estimates owing to the mostly illicit and largely hidden nature of sex work as well as the lack of available data. A report compiled by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) in 2010 estimates that there are as many as 700 000 women in Europe who work as sex workers. If 5% of the male adult population in Europe solicit a sex worker every month, the demand for sexual services is then estimated at 600 million sexual transactions annually. However, the need for more research regarding the dimensions of the global sex worker population is stressed in the report (UNODC, 2010:49-50).

It is insightful that the types of sex workers in ancient Greece as elucidated in the historical overview of CSW (*Hetairae*, *Auletrides*, *Dicteriades* and *Concubines*), mirror some of the types of sex workers described in present day research evidence. A number of studies identify the following contemporary types of sex workers (Huschke, Shirlow, Schubotz, Ward, Probst &

Dhónaill, 2014:52-68; Pitcher, 2014:111; Weitzer, 2009:213-234; SALRC, 2009:43-45; WAC, 2008:14):

- Brothel-based sex workers usually provide sexual services under the supervision of an intermediary at a private establishment typically owned by the third party/intermediary. Clients are typically allowed to choose a sex worker from a line-up of sex workers. Working hours and rates are generally set by the intermediary. Sex workers may negotiate the working hours; however, minimum and maximum hours and rates will be stipulated by the third party.
- Massage parlour sex workers provide sexual services to clients under the guise of a massage service. In this case no alcohol or adult entertainment is provided within the massage parlours. Here too clients can typically choose a sex worker from a line-up.
- Escorts function either independently or through an agency. Sex workers can meet with clients at, for example, hotels, the clients' homes or the sex workers' homes. Independent contractors are usually in a position to stipulate the terms of their encounter with the client. In other words, independent sex workers in this context set their own hourly rates. However, if the sex worker functions through an escort agency, their working hours, rates and services can be determined by the agency.
- Phone sex operators provide sexual services to clients via the telephone. Sex workers advertise their services openly (e.g. in daily newspapers or on online websites). There is no physical contact between phone sex operators and clients. The exchange of 'sex' here is a fantasy created by the phone sex operator and the clients' imagination.
- Independent call-girls generally have the freedom to structure their own working conditions similar to that of escorts who operate independently. The encounter between the sex worker and client can occur in sex workers' places of residence, hotels, rented apartments or sometimes the clients' homes. Call-girls usually advertise on online websites.
- Street-based sex workers ply their trade on the street where their clients can locate them. The transaction takes place in the client's car, public rest rooms, parks, pay-by-the-hour establishments or in side-streets. Street-based sex workers' interaction with clients are described as fleeting, as they spend a shorter period of time with clients when compared to for example escorts. Rates are said to be lower than that of indoor CSW (e.g. escorts) and based rather on the service provided (e.g. oral sex) rather than time spent with the client.

In Table 2, Empel (2011:11) summarises for each type of sex work the following: the locations where sexual services are offered; the prices of the sexual services that are offered; the level

of exploitation suffered by sex workers at the hands of a third party; the measure to which sex workers are exposed to violence; the public visibility of sex workers; as well as the community impact of the specific type of sex work:

Table 2: Characteristics associated with different types of sex work

Classification	Location	Prices	Exploitation by a third party	Risk of violence	Public visibility	Community impact
Call-girls	Independent operators or operate in private premises	High	Low to none	Low	None	None
Escort services	Operate in private premises or escort agencies	High	Moderate	Low to moderate	Very low	None
Brothel-based sex workers	Operate in brothels	Moderate	Moderate	Very low	Low	None
Massage parlour sex workers	Operate in massage parlours	Moderate	Moderate	Very low	Low	Small amount of visibility
Street-based sex workers	Operate in streets, cars, alleys or parks	Low	Very high	High	High	Adverse

Source: Empel (2011:11).

Table 2 and the preceding discussion illuminate that there are differences between working hours, locations, earnings, personal risks, community impact, time spent with clients, relationships with intermediaries and overall working conditions for each type of sex work. It is also evident that street-based sex workers, who are pertinent to the focus of the present study, are more vulnerable than most other types of sex workers to exploitation by a third party and violence perpetrated against them. Additionally, the visibility of the type of sex worker

varies, for example, street-based sex workers will be more visible to both their clients and the public than escorts will be, which contributes to the adversarial relationship street-based sex workers tend to have with the community. Moreover, the rates charged by street-based sex workers for their sexual services are lower than the prices charged by other types of sex workers. The aforementioned characteristics that determine the configuration of the different types of sex work may also play a part in informing the type of sex work an individual engages in (Pitcher, 2014:111; Huschke et al., 2014:52-68; Pitcher, 2014:111; Weitzer, 2009:213-234; SALRC, 2009:43-45; WAC, 2008:14).

The place of sex work within the economy remains contested. Even though some authors argue that sex work is a form of labour, operating on the basis of supply and demand, it should also be considered that although the transaction between the client and the sex worker appears consensual, the exchange may not necessarily always occur on equal footing (Gerassi, 2015:79-100; Pitcher, 2014:25). In other words, even in the face of the supply and demand principle, an unequal power relationship exists between the sex worker and the client. Discourses pertaining to sex work have always been polarised. On the one hand CSW is seen as a societal manifestation of the oppression of women and on the other hand it is argued that CSW is a form of legitimate employment in an illegitimate market place. Radical feminists such as Laurie Shrage and Kathleen Barry argue in favour of the former (Gerassi, 2015:79-100; Pitcher, 2014:8-9). Their argument centres on the notion that female sex workers are victims of gendered oppression in patriarchal societies. On the opposite side of the argument are the pro-sex work theorists such as Ellen Willis and Betty Dodson who argue that sex work can have emancipatory potential when it is viewed as an alternative or viable form of employment for women. Furthermore, critics of the radical feminist view posit that their views negate women's right to choose (Gerassi, 2015:79-100; Pitcher, 2014:8-9). In order to further enhance understanding of the dynamics within CSW, the client, the intermediary and the sex worker will be examined in the next section.

2.3.2. The client within CSW

It should be noted that the majority of research evidence pertaining to the clients of sex workers report that clients are predominantly men (Kennedy, Gorzalka & Yuille, 2004:7-8; Farley, Bindel & Golding, 2009:8-11; Farley, Schuckman, Golding, Houser, Jarrett, Qualliotine & Decker, 2011:27; Shively et al., 2012:6-7). Due to a dearth of local research evidence focussed on the client within CSW, findings from international studies are presented for the purpose of the present discussion. The study conducted by Shivley et al. (2012:1-84) took place in various geographical locations in the USA (Atlanta, Cook County, Indianapolis, Kansas City, Norfolk, Phoenix, Portland, San Diego, Tucson, Worcester and San Francisco).

The study was focussed on programmes developed to reduce the demand for commercial sex work; therefore, data for the study was collected from 'reverse stings' where female police officials were used to arrest clients, by seizing the vehicles of arrested clients and from education programmes known as 'john schools'⁹. Shivley et al. (2012:6) postulate that the persistence of sex work in society arises from a single common source, namely the client's decision to purchase sexual services from a sex worker. Thus, the client makes a conscious decision to engage with the commercial sex trade. Shivley et al. (2012:7) categorise the clients of sex workers into the following types:

- Intimacy seekers who seek an emotional connection through an intimate relationship, which in this instance do not develop in a traditional way.
- Sex seekers who are in pursuit of sexual satisfaction without intimacy, emotional investment or compromise.
- Variety seekers who want to fulfil multiple sexual desires or satisfy their sexual curiosity.
- Thrill-seekers who are drawn in by the illicit nature of sex work.
- Pathological sex seekers who are driven by compulsion or addiction to sex.

The motivations of clients for buying sexual services are diverse. In the study piloted by Kennedy et al. (2004:7-8) they assessed 597 male sex worker clients who joined the Prostitution Offender Program of British Columbia (POPBC). In the aforementioned study, sex worker clients reported the following as their main motivations for buying sexual services: 27% curiosity; 19.4% loneliness; 16.1% sexual frustration; 5.4% sexual gratification; 5.4% stress; 2.9% special event (e.g. bachelor party); 2.1% substance use; 2.1% enticed by sex worker (desire); and 1.7% casted that they were attracted by the illegality of the sex trade. In their study, Shivley et al. (2012:8) identify the following motivations for why men purchase sexual services:

- To experience sexual acts with women who have a variety of physical traits.
- To satisfy either the desire for sex or the desire for intimacy as a result of loneliness.
- To gratify the need for emotional support.
- Attraction to the illicit nature of sex work due to the excitement it brings.
- Challenges with meeting women in more conventionally ways as a result of shyness or awkwardness.

⁹ 'John Schools' are a form of divergent programmes for sex workers clients, the programmes are typically found in North America.

- An opportunity to mimic extreme behaviour such as fantasies of rape.
- No time or desire to invest in the responsibility associated with conventional relationships.
- An opportunity to participate in a variety of sexual acts, which other women may not necessarily be willing to engage in.
- To satisfy desires of control or domination over a sexual partner.

In a study conducted by Farley et al. (2009:8-11) in London comprising of 103 male respondents aged between 18 and 70 years, 44% indicated that they first purchased sexual services from a sex worker when they were below the age of 21 years. More than three quarters (78%) of the sample stated that they had purchased sexual services by the time they were 25 years of age. The researchers asked men to provide the reasons for purchasing sexual services from a sex worker. The main reasons they gave were their biological needs and their basic rights as consumers (Farley et al., 2009:20). The categories of sex worker clients and motivations identified in the Shivley et al. study (2012:7-8) are partially reflected in the Farley et al. study (2009:8) as well in research conducted by Farley et al. (2011:27) and are summarised in Table 3.

Table 3: A comparison of two studies' statistical evidence pertaining to the reasons for purchasing sex

Farley, Bindel and Golding (2009) with a sample size of 103 respondents		Farley, Schuckman, Golding, Houser, Jarrett, Qualliotine and Decker (2011) with a sample size of 100 respondents	
Reason	Percentage	Reason	Percentage
To satisfy immediate sexual urges for entertainment and/or pleasure	32%	To satisfy immediate sexual urges for entertainment and/or pleasure	26%
The need for variety or selection of a certain 'type' of woman	21%	The need for variety or selection of a certain 'type' of woman owing to a lack of sexual or emotional support in his current relationship	19%
The convenience, lack of commitment and emotion associated with the sex trade	15%	The convenience and lack of commitment as well as emotion associated with the sex trade	12%

The thrill associated with the illicit nature of the sex trade	8%	The thrill associated with the illicit nature of the sex trade	8%
A compulsion, addiction or result of intoxication	3%	A compulsion, addiction or result of intoxication	3%
As a result of peer pressure or male bonding	2%	As a result of peer pressure or male bonding	1%

Sources: Farley et al. (2011:1-57); Farley et al. (2009:1-28).

Over and above reporting on the motivations of clients to purchase sexual services from sex workers, the aforementioned studies also present other findings that are relevant to enhancing insight regarding sex workers' clients. In both the Kennedy et al. study (2004:3-4) and Shivley et al. study (2012:7) the majority of the respondents were well educated, employed in a variety of occupations and married. More specifically, in contrast to the popular notion that sex trade clients are single men, 57% of the respondents in the Kennedy et al. study (2004:3) indicated that they were in serious relationships and only 31.1% reported that they were single males. In the Farley et al. (2009:25) study more than half of the respondents were in a relationship when they purchased the services of a sex worker.

With regard to the educational levels of the respondents, in the Kennedy et al. study (2004:3-4) 6% of the respondents accomplished advanced graduate degrees; 16.6% completed undergraduate university degrees; 37.1% held diplomas; 23.3% graduated from secondary school; and only 16.9% did not graduate from secondary school. Farley et al. (2011:13) report that 36% of respondents had some college experience; 32% completed a college degree; 15% held high school diplomas; 12% completed a graduate or professional degree; and only 4% held less than a high school diploma.

Kennedy et al. (2004:3-4) report that the respondents in their study who were employed on a full-time basis were engaged in a number of occupations, including medical doctors, teachers, entrepreneurs, bakers, postal clerks, day traders, plumbers, truck drivers, cooks, parking attendants and tree fellers. In addition to paying sex workers with money, clients reported paying for sexual services with drugs, shelter, food and clothes (Farley et al., 2011:18). Income levels varied between US\$10 000 and US\$80 000 per annum, however, it should be noted that there were respondents that earned less than US\$10 000 per year (Kennedy et al., 2004:8). Similarly, Farley et al. (2009:9) report that more than one third (35%) of the respondents earned EU£20 000 or less per annum and 17% of respondents stated that they earned more than EU£50 000 per year. Correspondingly, Farley et al. (2011:14) report a wide

range of occupations amongst sex buyers (clients) in the following sectors of employment: service-related; construction/maintenance; community and social services; management; finances; arts; education; government and legal; computer and mathematical sciences; and healthcare.

In the Farley et al. study (2011:15-16) respondents indicated that they located sex workers in a variety of places/settings such as bars, strip clubs, private parties, hotels, escort agencies, malls, online, casinos, brothels, the street, massage parlours, crack houses, saunas and karaoke bars. The sexual services clients regularly request comprise of oral sex (50.2%), oral sex and intercourse (22.9%), intercourse (20.1%), manual stimulation (4.3%) and other non-specified acts (2.5%) (Farley et al., 2011:15-16). A large number of clients indicated that they usually solicit sexual services from sex workers after they (the client) leave their place of employment (38.9%); however, 46.9% of clients further specified that they prefer to solicit sexual services from sex workers in the evenings between 21:00 and midnight (Kennedy et al., 2004:9-10).

The preceding discussion highlights that the clients of sex workers have different reasons and motivations for purchasing sexual services. Research evidence pertaining to the clients of sex workers enhances understanding of the reasons why the sex industry thrives in modern society. Without a demand for sexual services, which originates with the client, there would be substantially less sex workers active in society as there would not be a push for supply (Pitcher, 2014:25; Shivley et al., 2012:5-6). In order to develop a holistic view of CSW, the role of intermediaries will be elucidated in the next section.

2.3.3. The intermediary within CSW

As stated in Chapter 1, the concept intermediary is used in the research report instead of the more colloquial concepts pimp or madam because it is gender-neutral. The researcher wishes to emphasise that a lack of local research focussed on the role of intermediaries within CSW, necessitates a survey of international research evidence for the purpose of the present discussion. An intermediary is an individual who acts as an intercessor in the sexual transaction that takes place between the sex worker and the client (Lobert, [sa]:1-6) in order to attain either all, or a portion of, the remuneration received by the sex worker for the sexual services she provides. It should be noted that minimal research evidence pertaining to the role of intermediaries within CSW exists. The minimal evidence that does exist primarily stems from qualitative studies, which focussed on female sex workers in general and not on the role of intermediaries specifically (Spidel et al., 2006:194).

The intermediary within the sexual transaction is also described as the individual who controls the actions and lives of one or more sex workers (Williamson & Cluse-Tolar, 2002:1074). Spidel et al. (2006:194) as well as Williamson and Cluse-Tolar (2002:1075-1078) agree that intermediaries are well equipped at assessing the needs and wants of sex workers, which they use to their advantage. Both the aforementioned authors also suggest that intermediaries refer to the economy of the illicit sex trade as 'the game' (Spidel et al., 2006:194; Williamson & Cluse-Tolar, 2002:1078). Playing 'the game' requires intermediaries to have a certain level of charisma and the ability to be persuasive toward women (Spidel et al., 2006:193-199). Female sex workers who participated in the Spidel et al. study (2006:193-195) outlined the following rules for being an intermediary to succeed in the commercial sex trade:

- The intermediary must always receive remuneration.
- "*The game is sold and not told*", which means that intermediaries must have the ability to sell 'the game' to sex workers in order to motivate them to make money for them.
- The sex worker must be dedicated to the intermediary and appreciate the intermediary's success as a reflection of her own success.

Sex workers often characterise their involvement with their intermediaries as a relationship by expressing feelings of infatuation, admiration, love and loyalty towards them. It is not uncommon for sex workers to describe intermediaries as purveyors of hope who create opportunities for women to become financially independent and successful. Additionally, sex workers may see their involvement with an intermediary as an opportunity to belong to a group of people (Spidel et al., 2006:193-194). However, intermediaries would rarely directly commit to sex workers that emotional and financial security is guaranteed. A number of factors, such as emotional dependency/commitment, financial benefits, perceptions of stability and/or the need to belong to someone or a group, appear to induce sex workers' involvement with an intermediary (Williamson & Cluse-Tolar, 2002: 1075-1078). Spidel et al. (2006:194) elucidate that intermediaries often feign a friendship with sex workers in order to gain their trust by showing caring and loving towards them during the first stages of their interaction. However, Williamson and Cluse-Tolar (2002:1075) assert that once the relationship of trust is established, intermediaries control sex workers through threats, intimidation and violence. In fact, violence tends to gradually become part of the relationship between sex workers and intermediaries. It is not uncommon for intermediaries to employ violence as a form of punishment, for amongst others disrespectful behaviour, breaking the intermediaries' 'rules', not making enough money, to ensure continuous compliance and to keep the sex worker in line (Williamson & Cluse-Tolar, 2002: 1085-1088).

Other researchers suggest that the prevalence of intermediaries in CSW may be on the decline as sex workers with drug addictions may undermine the control of intermediaries. In other words, sex workers who are addicted to drugs tend to engage in CSW without intermediaries (Brewer, Potterat, Muth, Roberts, Dudek & Woodhouse, 2007:2-22). However, despite the increase in independent sex workers, Spidel et al. (2006:195) insist that intermediaries are still highly active within street-based sex work. Owing to the fact that the current study's focus is placed on adult female street-based sex work, research evidence pertaining to the sex worker within the South African context specifically requires elucidation next.

2.3.4. The sex worker within CSW

Sex workers in South Africa generally reflect the diverse demographics found locally and are one of the most vulnerable and marginalised groups in modern day society. As a result of the fact that sex work is illegal under South African legislation, sex workers enjoy limited legal protection. Consequently, sex workers are rendered vulnerable to assault by clients and/or intermediaries, harassment by police as well as marginalisation and stigmatisation by society (Sonke Gender Justice, 2014:4). The SALRC (2009:48) highlight the following key findings pertaining to outdoor/street-based sex work in South Africa:

- Street-based sex workers are in a vulnerable socio-economic position in terms of their financial position and poor educational level.
- Sex work for survival is more common for street-based sex workers.
- Street-based sex workers face greater intolerance from community members as a result of their visibility to the public.

In a study compiled by SANAC (2013:3) it was established that the prevalence of sex workers range from 0.7% to 4.3% of the total female population in South African capital cities. The SALRC (2009:48-50) identifies two subgroups among South African outdoor/street-based sex workers, namely the 'fast living' sex workers, who are found in areas near inner-cities and 'subsistence' sex workers, who ply their trades in more remote and isolated areas such as industrial zones and townships. The 'fast living' subgroup is relevant to the current study and is characterised by relatively high incomes, high levels of drug abuse, extensive numbers of clientele and they are more likely to be white. Although international research highlights the fact that female street-based sex workers may either be controlled by an intermediary or they may function independently on the streets (Williamson & Cluse-Tolar, 2002:1074), Sonke

Gender Justice (2014:7) asserts that sex workers in Africa are generally independent and do not work for intermediaries.

The following reasons have been advanced as reasons why individuals sell sexual services in the South African context (Sonke Gender Justice, 2014:7-8; Richter, Chersich, Temmerman & Luchters, 2013:246-251):

- The industry provides the person with independence and autonomy.
- No formal educational qualification is required.
- Working hours and location are flexible.
- The remuneration provides for a good living as payments are made in cash (tax free).
- Some sex workers are able to earn six times more than a domestic worker in South Africa earns per month.
- The sex work industry enables the sex worker to provide for an extended family.

In the next section local and international research evidence pertaining to the risk factors that render women vulnerable to sex work entry, as well as risk factors which may shape individuals' trajectories into CSW will be inspected.

2.4 Risk factors that render women vulnerable to sex work

A study conducted by Balfour and Allen (2014:4-7) highlight that there is a wide variety of factors (some of which interact with each other) that can render women vulnerable to become involved in CSW. It should be noted that the factors differ depending on the type of sex work the individual engages in. Women can be recruited into sex work as a consequence of disorganised families as a result of death or desertion, substance addiction (personal or parental), dire socio-economic situations and/or abusive relationships (Rhoda, 2010:74). Clarke et al. (2012:270-289) state that three aspects require attention in scientific research in order to provide a more detailed picture of the risk factors associated with CSW. Firstly, the significance of individuals' participation in extracurricular activities; secondly, the past and current socio-economic status of individuals; and thirdly, individuals' degree of exposure to violence. Research has placed an overwhelming focus on social and economic factors as drivers of the illicit sex market in South Africa (SALRC, 2009:54). The current study also considered these factors as they are relevant to the South African context. However, the study also explored interpersonal, structural and emotional factors. It should be noted that the risk factors discussed below may have a diverse effect on different individuals depending on their age and other demographic variables.

2.4.1 Socio-demographic characteristics and background information

Socio-demographics can be understood as the characteristics of a population, such as; age, gender, ethnicity, relationship status, family background, prior employment information and earnings derived, educational levels, as well as migratory information (Gilovich, Keltner & Nisbett, 2006:467–468). Early age entry into CSW as a socio-demographic risk factor seems to be intertwined with a number of other risk factors (e.g. economic circumstances/educational level/familial substance abuse). The preceding discussion will serve as to highlight socio-demographic risk factors as well as some of the aforementioned risk factors with which they are intertwined. A study conducted by Clarke et al. (2012:270-289) entitled “*Age at entry into prostitution: relationships to drug use, race, suicide, education level, childhood abuse and family experiences*” provides useful insights into the aspects stated in the title of their study. Clarke et al. (2012:270-289) study comprised of 389 women who were arrested for sex work in Phoenix, Arizona between 2004 and 2006. The researchers found that individuals who enter sex work as minors tended to report having family members with substance abuse problems (62.2%). Furthermore, ethnicity is flagged as an important risk factor for entry into the commercial sex trade as individuals who started participating in sex work as minors, were more likely to be African Americans. However, individuals from other ethnic groups were more likely to enter CSW during adulthood. Women who started engaging in sex work during adulthood were more likely to have completed high school or have some form of tertiary education, whereas individuals who did not complete middle or high school were likely to enter CSW during adolescence (Clarke et al., 2012:270-289).

A study conducted in India with a sample size of 5498 respondents, found that 51% of sex workers were below the age of 30 years (Saggurti, Verma, Halli, Swain, Singh, Modugu, Ramarao, Mahapatra & Jain, 2011:5). In a study conducted in Cape Town by Gould (2008:23-136) on a sample of 245 street-based sex workers, it was found that the minimum age of street-based sex workers is 20 years and the maximum 47 years. Manoek (2012:8) conducted a study on behalf of the Open Society Foundations with 308 sex workers in five research sites in South Africa namely, Cape Town (223 respondents), Johannesburg (77 participants), Limpopo (5 participants), Durban (2 participants) and Pretoria (1 participant). The majority of the sex workers interviewed were aged between 18 and 40 years. Two thirds of the participants indicated that they were engaged in outdoor prostitution, specifically street-based sex work (Manoek, 2012:4-8).

The study conducted by Hwang and Bedford (2003:201-210) contained two data sets, the first consisted of case records of 1448 girls who were arrested for sex work and the second data set consisted of interviews with 49 young girls engaged in CSW in Taiwan. The

aforementioned authors highlighted the following three main risk factors in the girls' backgrounds: family dysfunction, abuse (specifically sexual abuse) and deviant behaviour (specifically substance use). In a qualitative study conducted by Servin, Brouwer, Gordon, Rocha-Jimenez, Staines, Vera-Monroy, Strathdee and Silverman (2015:1-17) 20 female sex workers were interviewed in two Mexican-USA border cities. The aforementioned authors found that women who entered into sex work as minors had similar emerging themes among their family backgrounds. The emerging themes are related to family dysfunction (specifically domestic violence between parents, parental substance use and child neglect), physical and sexual abuse, as well as teenage pregnancy (Servin et al., 2015:1-17). However, Dodsworth (2011:3) stresses that none of the aforementioned factors can be seen as a direct cause of young women starting to engage in sex work at an early age; instead factors such as family dysfunction, exposure to violence, sexual victimisation and substance use increase the vulnerability of women to enter sex work at an early age. Similarly, Ramudzuli (2016:6) in a qualitative study of five female sex workers in Cape Town, found that certain life experiences predispose an individual to become involved in CSW, namely sexual abuse, violence, parental neglect, poor socio-economic circumstances, teenage marriages and adolescent pregnancy. In the qualitative study conducted by Swendeman, Fehrenbacher, Alie, George, Mindry, Collins, Ghose and Dey (2015:1011–1023) with 37 sex workers in India, the participants in their study highlighted that both economic (e.g. poverty) and relationship factors (e.g. divorce), during a certain life cycle, had a bearing on their entry into CSW.

In the Servin et al. study (2015:6), 16 out of 20 research participants indicated that there was some sort of threat to their security during their early childhood or adolescence. The SALRC (2009:33) in their discussion paper highlight that abuse (sexual, emotional and physical) were present amongst sex workers' childhood backgrounds and informed their decision to leave home at an early age. The majority of the respondents in the Clarke et al. study (2012:278-289) who indicated that they experienced childhood abuse, reported emotional abuse (35.2%) followed closely by sexual abuse (31.6%).

The Hwang and Bedford study (2004:139-142) shed light on the factors which keep adolescent girls entrapped in CSW. Lack of support at home (90%), physical abuse (73%) and sexual abuse (55%) were commonly reported in their families of origin. The researchers identify two main categories of sex workers in their sample, namely those who believed that they had a choice to remain in sex work or exit the industry (category 1); and those who believed they had no choice in the matter and were forced to remain in sex work (category 2). The two categories are discussed below (Hwang & Bedford, 2004:139-142):

- **Category 1: Girls who perceive they had a choice to enter or leave sex work**

In the category where girls perceived that they had a choice, they mainly engage in providing sexual services as call-girls, in special clubs (with or without clothes) or on the streets. Four primary incentives informed their decision to remain within CSW namely, financial/lifestyle factors, emotional factors, substance-related considerations and identity-related motivations. The majority of the respondents (67%) stated that the financial benefits of sex work was an important motivation for their decision to remain in the sex industry. The emotional and social support received from others engaged in CSW, was reported by 73% of respondents as having a large impact on their decision to remain in sex work. More than half of respondents (64%) stressed substance abuse as a reason for remaining in sex work. However, they stated that their substance abuse was not costly in the sense that friends and clients provided them with the substances (e.g. drugs and/or alcohol) they needed. Girls who were involved in CSW for more than two years reported that they remained in sex work because they identified strongly with the identity of being a sex worker.

- **Category 2: Girls who believe they had no choice and were forced into sex work**

The girls who perceived that they had no choice and believed that they were forced into CSW, engaged in sex work under slave-like conditions in confined spaces such as brothels or hotels. Some of the girls indicated (n=15; 30.6%) that because they had been sold by family members, they had no place to return to. Extraction of a set of motives proved difficult for this category of girls, however, what seemed significant was that 61% of the participants who were released from youth detention centres returned to sex work after their release. In general, the reasons associated with girls remaining involved in sex work were similar to the reasons provided by the girls who believed they had a choice to remain in sex work (category 1). However, the girls in category 2 placed strong emphasis on the identity-related motivational factor stating that they identified strongly with sex work.

Hwang and Bedford (2004:136) maintain that regardless of race and age, sex workers have histories of abuse, neglect, incest, rape, disrupted school careers, running away from home and early sexual experiences. It is evident that there exists an intersectionality of a wide range of factors which may shape women's trajectories into CSW such as familial, individual and environmental factors including support structures and the impact of socio-economic circumstances (Dodsworth, 2011:4).

2.4.2 Financial (economic) factors

Various studies highlight the economic advantages of participating in CSW (Dodsworth, 2011:4; SALRC, 2009:30-32). The SALRC (2009:30-32) places strong emphasis on women's

financial circumstances by accentuating that women's trajectories into sex work in South Africa are often economically motivated. The authors reiterate that the economic status of women in sex work requires close scrutiny in research as dire economic circumstances ultimately aids in the creation of an environment where sex work may serve as a viable economic alternative for women. The overall unemployment rate in South Africa is high with a 37.2% unemployment rate reported in 2018. Statistics South Africa (2018:1-16) released a quarterly labour force survey wherein it is specified that men were more economically active than women in the second quarter of 2018. In other words, the South African labour market appears to be more favourable towards men than women in terms of being in positions of paid employment. Additionally, Statistics South Africa (2018:1-16) elucidates that women are more likely to be involved in unpaid work when compared to men. Notably, black African women and the youth appeared to be amongst the most vulnerable in term of viable economic opportunities. The aforementioned serve to highlight why economic factors may play such a pivotal role in terms of CSW entry for women (Mhlanga, 2018:1; Statistics South Africa, 2018:1-16).

However, economic motivation as a risk factor to enter sex work should not only be understood in terms of poverty and unemployment, as some women see sex work as the key to financial independence and prosperity (Scorgie et al., 2013:3). In Richter et al. (2013:246) 1799 sex workers (female, male and transgendered) were interviewed in Hillbrow, Sandton, Rustenburg and Cape Town. The researchers found that although incomes varied across the sex workers studied, female sex workers' income was approximately R1500 per month. In the SALRC's discussion paper (2009:50) the 'fast living' sex workers (street-based sex workers found in areas near inner-cities) report earning an average of R4000 per month with 42% of them indicating that they see more than 20 clients per week. More than 80% of the 'subsistence' sex worker group (street-based sex workers found in more remote and isolated areas such as industrial zones and townships) indicated that they see less than ten clients per week and earn less than R200 per week. Street-based sex workers indicate their preference for operating outdoors because business on the street is better and their turnover higher. They elaborate that they can spend less time with clients when they are solicited on the street. In other words, if the sex worker is operating in a bar or hotel she has to spend a large amount of time talking to the client and then only does the transaction probably take place, whereas on the street the certainty of a sexual transaction is evident from the first encounter (SALRC, 2009:48). Street-based sex workers report that they do not have fixed prices; instead they charge what they think clients will be willing to pay. However, in contrast to sex workers' perception that income generated from street-based sex work is higher, the SALRC (2009:49) found that sex workers on the street earn significantly less than indoor sex workers. Even though earning is reported to be significantly lower on the streets, sex workers opine that they

are earning a larger income on the streets compared to being employed as domestic workers or cashiers (SALRC, 2009:48-49).

The SALRC study (2009:42-43) also reports on indoor sex work, which can occur within brothels, escort agencies, massage parlours, private residences, clubs, hotels and bars. Two subgroups among indoor sex workers are identified, namely: (i) sex workers who function independently and attain all the remuneration for themselves (e.g. they are allowed by landlords to use premises on an hourly basis at a fixed rate) and; (ii) sex workers who work for a third party and receive a portion of their income (e.g. an escort agency). The study highlights that 70-80% of the respondents had other types of employment before their involvement in CSW such as waitresses, domestic servants, factory workers, retail assistants, administrative clerks and security personnel. The respondents report that they could earn three to five times more in the commercial sex trade, than they could with their prior work opportunities. Earnings vary between R3771 and R6000 a month, which is substantially more than they had earned in the past. It should be noted that race appears to be an important variable in terms of rates the sex workers charge their clients. White sex workers (75%) report charging over R90 for intercourse (vaginal sex), while black sex workers (83%) charged substantially less than R90 (amount was not specified). Furthermore, white sex workers recount that they earn more than R1500 per week, while 80% of black sex workers report earning less than R500 per week (SALRC, 2009:51). Rhoda (2010:73) reiterates that the high levels of poverty in South Africa may be a contributory factor towards CSW in the country.

In the study conducted by Hwang and Bedford (2004:140) the participants state that they had become addicted to the cash flow and the lifestyle their income from sex work maintained. The participants state that they spend most of their income from sex work on hotels, clothes, transportation, video games or friends. The results from various studies confirm that the income generated from sex work keep women engaged in the sex trade over extended periods of time, as they can earn more through sex work than they would employed in most other semi-skilled/unskilled occupations (Thusi, 2015:223-227; Sonke Gender Justice, 2014:7-8; Richter et al., 2013:246-251; SALRC, 2009:48-49).

2.4.3 Homelessness and addiction

Homelessness and substance addiction have been emphasised as two significant risk factors, specifically in the context of street-based sex work. Women who run away from home, owing to a number of reasons, essentially render themselves homeless for a certain amount of time, which can make them vulnerable to become involved in CSW in order to provide for themselves (e.g. shelter and food) (Simpson, Yahner & Dugan, 2008:85). A study conducted

in Durban highlight that 75% (sample size not provided) of sex workers who work in the inner-city, reside in residential hotels (SALRC, 2009:48-50). In contrast, sex workers in Cape Town appear to have access to a greater range of housing options (SALRC, 2009:48-50). Fitzpatrick et al. (2012:1-21) conducted a systemic review of research studies pertaining to sex work. They found that a large number of studies confirm that women who engage in sex work are homeless and addicted to substances.

The notion that substance addiction as a significant risk factor in sex work is supported by Gaziarifoglu's findings (2011:1). According to the SALRC (2009:66) the lines between sex work and substance use or substance dependence in South Africa are blurred and there is insufficient information regarding the direction of causation. It serves to be mentioned that two Youth Risk Behaviour Surveys conducted in South Africa in 2002 and 2008 indicate that drug abuse amongst male adolescents in South Africa is more pronounced than female adolescents and that there is a decline amongst female substance users in general, excluding the use of cannabis (Reddy, James, Sewpaul, Koopman, Funani, Sifunda, Masuka, Kambaran & Omardien 2010:55-68). Cannabis is the third most used and abused substance amongst youth in South Africa, after alcohol and tobacco.

In the Hwang and Bedford study (2004:140) in Taiwan, the substances most commonly abused by the sex worker population are amphetamines and hallucinogens. Sex workers in the study contend that their drug use is not necessarily costly because their friends and clients provide them with the substances they need. However, it should be noted that their addiction, regardless of how substances are obtained, caused them to feel powerless and unable to leave the sex trade.

In the study conducted by Richter et al. (2013:249), 20% of female sex workers reported daily binge drinking habits. Sex workers were asked questions relating to the types of sexual services engaged in with their last clients for the evening. The majority of the female sex workers (88%) had vaginal intercourse whilst 5.3% had anal sex with their last clients. In excess of 40% of female sex workers were inebriated during their sexual encounter with their last client, drawing focus to substance use amongst sex workers whilst they ply their trade. High levels of alcohol use and alcohol dependency were reported amongst the researchers' total sample which included female, male and transgendered sex workers (Richter et al., 2013:249). Clarke et al. (2012:282-283) report that in their study sex work served as a means for many sex workers to fund their substance addictions. However, the authors concede that despite numerous studies focussing on substance use/abuse amongst sex workers, research has not yet yielded consistent results. In addition, the researchers posit that adolescents with

family members who abused substances may have had easier access to substances. In the SALRC study (2009:67) sex workers reported that they felt their use of substances (alone or with clients) increased the likelihood of client-based violence.

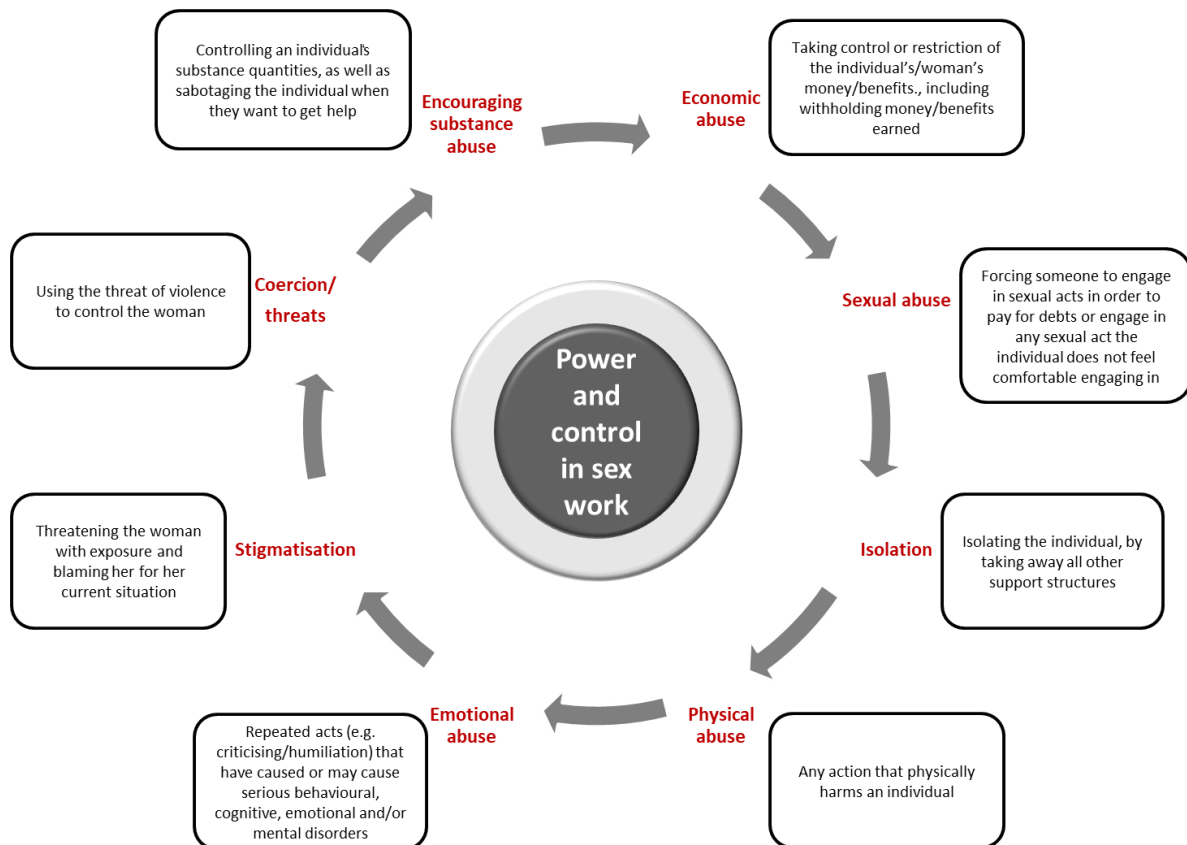
2.4.4 Violence and power imbalances and family dysfunction

Violence and power imbalances play a significant role in women's involvement in the sex industry. At the core of the violence and power duplicity is the lack of sex workers' bodily autonomy, which in many instances are embedded in cultural norms relating to gender (SALRC, 2009:74). Furthermore, Rhoda (2010:72-74) asserts that sex work in South Africa should also be considered against the backdrop of high levels of reported gender-based violence by drawing attention to the patriarchal structure and traditional gender role of women in South African society. Mattisson and Ekebrand (2010:16-17) offer an example of the skewed gender relationships within South Africa by referring to the case of a woman at a taxi rank in Johannesburg who was attacked by male taxi drivers because she was wearing a mini-skirt. The taxi drivers reportedly viewed her attire as being inappropriate and proceeded to punish her by molesting, sexually abusing and humiliating her, demonstrating their male patriarchal dominance and the imbalanced power situation between men and women in society.

Moreover, some women leave their homes owing to the high levels of violence and power imbalances (e.g. sexual or physical abuse) in their households. Women who run away from their childhood homes often enter into street-based sex work in order to support themselves. However, in the sex work industry women do not escape the cycle of violence as clients may also abuse or threaten them. Sex workers who participated in a focus group for the SALRC study (2009:52) stated that violence from their clients were one of their paramount occupational hazards. In other instances, women's partners coax them to become involved in sex work. In such instances the partner becomes both the abuser and intermediary whilst also benefitting from the profits garnered by sex work. Consequently, the partner (abuser/intermediary) would prevent the woman from exiting the sex industry thus reinforcing the power imbalance in the sex worker's life (AVA, 2010:1-5). In the Saggurti et al. study (2011:5-6) one third of the respondents were currently married, 52% were previously married and 15% reported that they were single. Two thirds of women who participated in Balfour and Allen's study (2014:1-23) stated that they had experienced physical, sexual and emotional abuse within their family contexts. In the Servin et al. study (2015:6) participants commonly mentioned that they did not want to be at home because of continuous violence.

Regretfully, law enforcement officials also perpetuate the cycle of violence against sex workers. Research conducted in Cape Town reveal that sex workers are threatened with violence, raped and pressurised for sex by police officials in exchange for release from custody (Gould, 2008:23-136). Street-based sex workers experience various forms of violence from police in South Africa including, harassment, physical abuse (assault), unlawful profiling, coercion, corruption (exploitation) and threats of violence (Manoek, 2012:4-17). Furthermore, domestic violence and parental drug use is positively linked to physical, emotional or educational neglect amongst sex worker populations (Servin et al., 2015:6). Figure 2 depicts the cycle of violence present in sex work by focussing on the power and control imbalances (AVA, 2010:1-5).

Figure 2: Power and control wheel for women involved in street-based CSW



Source: AVA (2010:1-5)

2.4.5 Educational deficits

Research evidence suggests that educational deficits contribute towards women's vulnerability to enter sex work (Balfour & Allen, 2014:1-23; Clarke et al., 2012:283; Rhoda, 2010:75; Saggurti et al., 2011:5; SALRC, 2009:30-32). It should be noted that educational factors can be linked to financial motivation, especially for women who have no other employment opportunities as a result of the lack of education (SALRC, 2009:30-32). Moreover,

women in the rural areas of South Africa have limited access to education and skills development training, which limits their employment opportunities and contribute to high poverty levels serving as motivation to become involved in CSW. Sex work is a viable alternative for poorly educated women owing to the fact that sex workers do not need specific educational levels to be employed within the sex trade (Rhoda, 2010:75).

In the Saggurti et al. study (2011:5) one third of the sex workers were illiterate and only 7% had more than 8 years of formal schooling. Additionally, Balfour and Allen (2014:1-23) found that women who completed their education are more likely to be drawn to indoor CSW, such as escort services. Clarke et al. (2012:283-284) note that although most women in their study had completed high school or even tertiary education, the majority of women who entered sex work during their adolescent years did not complete their high school education. The researchers stress that the sex workers who dropped out of school typically had minimal parental support and lacked institutional connectedness/involvement, which can be considered as a fertile foundation for an individual's trajectory into CSW.

2.4.6 Migration

Migration can be understood as the movement of people from one geographic location to another, either within the borders of a country or across the borders of countries, with the intention of settling either permanently or temporarily in the new location, for a variety of reasons (Sinha, 2005:403). Historical patterns indicate that countries that are immersed in economic decline often experience a rapid increase of CSW as well as high frequencies of nationals leaving the country in search of alternative economic opportunities. For example, nearing the end of the Cold War in the early 1990s, a large number of labourers moved from Eastern Europe to Western Europe, many of whom were or became sex workers (UNODC, 2010:3). Other examples of the aforementioned scenario can be found in countries like Madagascar, Zimbabwe and Mozambique amongst others (SALRC, 2015:58-59). Migrant women often have few viable employment opportunities due to their status within a new country and their involvement in CSW as a survival strategy can provide them with much needed financial relief (SALRC, 2009:30-32). Whilst South Africa also faces substantial unemployment challenges, nationals from other African countries still view South Africa as a country with numerous economic opportunities. The number of undocumented African immigrants in South Africa is estimated at between three and six million individuals (SALRC, 2015:56-58).

The majority of the women who participated in workshops for sex workers organised by the SALRC in Johannesburg and Rustenburg originated from Zimbabwe and Mozambique

(SALRC, 2015:56-58). They were unable to enter the formal economy, owing to the fact that a large number of them did not have residency or work permits. According to the Director General of the International Organisation for Migration (IOM), an estimated 258 million individuals currently live outside of their country of origin, with approximately 800 million individuals worldwide being directly supported by financial remittances. In 2017, Africa had an estimated 33 million migrants (Fund for Agricultural Development [IFAD], 2017:5-56). Financial remittance was identified as an important factor associated with the high levels of observable migration. In 2017, migrants sent approximately US\$466 billion to family members in developing countries (Swing, 2018:1). The countries who received the largest number of financial remittances in 2017 was Nigeria, Egypt, Morocco, Algeria and Ghana (IFAD, 2017:5-56).

According to Statistics South Africa (2018:14-16) the Gauteng and Western Cape provinces received the highest frequency of migrants. However, the Gauteng and Eastern Cape provinces had the highest outflow frequency of individuals migrating from South Africa to other countries. In Table 4 the estimated South African provincial migration predictions between 2016 and 2021 is illustrated.

Table 4: Estimated South African provincial migration patterns (2016-2021)

Province in 2016	Province in 2021									Out-migrants	In-migrants	Net migration
	EC	FS	GP	KZN	LIM	MP	NC	NW	WC			
EC	0	18 261	149 867	100 228	13 840	16 522	7 930	37 014	172 603	516 264	192 412	-323 851
FS	8 108	0	84 158	8 177	6 817	10 565	9 217	23 676	12 690	163 408	147 666	-15 742
GP	50 121	43 685	0	75 771	85 884	82 704	12 638	99 311	98 341	548 458	1 506 898	1 048 440
KZN	23 396	12 185	239 905	0	8 346	33 228	2 825	11 159	35 105	366 150	307 547	-58 602
LIM	4 589	5 950	304 317	7 650	0	45 628	2 387	30 197	11 550	412 269	279 755	-132 513
MP	4 889	5 549	133 937	13 434	24 949	0	2 469	16 472	10 417	212 116	286 154	74 038
NC	4 487	9 061	18 432	5 814	2 709	4 444	0	13 031	18 533	76 512	83 000	6 489
NW	5 448	12 373	118 045	6 421	20 945	12 507	24 786	0	9 572	210 096	317 830	107 733
WC	53 052	8 338	64 675	14 168	5 826	7 566	13 286	8 703	0	175 613	486 617	311 004
Outside SA	38 322	32 263	483 561	75 886	110 440	72 988	7 461	78 267	117 805			

Source: Statistics South Africa (2018:14-16)

In a report compiled by SANAC (2013:6) the high correlation between migration and sex work is highlighted with an observation by the authors that sex workers comprise a highly mobile population. Sex workers operating in their country or province of birth may opt to immigrate/migrate to another country or province in order to find better economic opportunities or improved employment conditions within the sex industry. Rhoda (2010:75) concurs that migration is an important risk factor when studying women's entry into sex work. The following are flagged as important considerations in terms of sex workers' mobility (SANAC, 2013:6; Rhoda, 2010:75):

- Access to a wider and different type of client base.
- Improved employment conditions.
- Better economic opportunities.
- Seasonal trade opportunities in different countries/provinces.
- Provision of services to a mobile client base (e.g. truck drivers, farm workers or miners).
- Tracking the pay-days of different client bases.
- Avoiding stigma and violence.

Additionally, migrants move to a new country, where support from family and social networks is lacking. Discrimination can exacerbate feelings of isolation which may further obstruct migrants/or other stigmatised groups' efforts to find employment. Groups who are subject to discrimination are vulnerable and may engage in sex work in order to meet their survival needs (Balfour & Allen, 2014:4-7; Dodsworth, 2011:4).

2.4.7 Discrimination

Discrimination fosters social exclusion, which can drive marginalisation and increase vulnerability. Additionally, discrimination can take on many forms namely racism, prejudice or stigmatisation (Fitzpatrick et al., 2012:7). Manoek (2012:4-8) insists that the continued criminalisation of sex work exacerbates the harassment of and stigmatisation against sex workers. Similarly, the SALRC (2009:19) postulates that the criminalisation of sex work and the concurrent social stigma attached to sex work, contribute to a climate of increased discrimination and violence against sex workers. Street-based sex workers in particular are often targeted by police officials as a response to community complaints. Consequently, sex workers are often harassed by arrests, which rarely result in prosecutions; instead they are released shortly after being arrested (Manoek, 2012:8). Gould (2008:23-30) reports that sex workers in her study had been arrested between 3-10 times per month. Moreover, the discrimination and stigma associated with sex work make it difficult for sex workers to access services offered by law enforcement officials, social workers and healthcare providers (Manoek, 2012:4-8; SALRC, 2009:20).

2.4.8 Summation of risk factors associated with entry into sex work

What can be gleaned from the preceding discussion is that there are varying sentiments whether certain factors can be seen as a direct cause of sex work or merely as factors which can render women vulnerable for entry into sex work. What is evident is that the various risk factors intersect and influence one another throughout an individual's life course. In other words, a single risk factor is seldom present in isolation in a specific sex worker's trajectory

into CSW. As young vulnerable adolescents become adults the interaction between personal and environmental factors in their lives (rooted in childhood experiences), may inform the trajectories of their lives into sex work and their perceptions of their choices regarding engagement with the commercial sex trade (Dodsworth, 2011:4-7). The SALRC (2009:30-32) also highlights that there is no single causal factor for entry into CSW, because of the different contexts in which CSW can occur, for example, strip clubs, massage parlours, escort services, brothels, call-girls and street-based sex work. The authors stress that in South Africa women from all walks of life, differing social and cultural backgrounds and for a variety of reasons are working as sex workers.

The preceding discussion underscored the intersectionality of a wide range of risk factors which can lead women into a life of sex work. Table 5 provides a summary of the risk factors and their possible intersectionality.

Table 5: Summary of risk factors and their possible intersectionality

Risk factors	Description and key terms	Intersecting factors
Demographic characteristics	Includes age and ethnicity as well as socio-economic, educational, social and cultural background factors, which are important indicators to ascertain when an individual may be most vulnerable.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Financial/economic circumstances • Homelessness and addiction • Violence and power imbalances and family dysfunction • Education • Migration • Discrimination
Financial/economic circumstances	Includes employment, employment opportunities, financial factors and support from a third party or lack thereof.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Demographic characteristics • Homelessness and addiction • Violence and power imbalances and family dysfunction • Education • Migration
Homelessness and addiction	Homelessness as a result of either a lack of finances or individuals running away from home. Addition to	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Demographic characteristics

	substances may be present long before an individual engages in CSW or start when the individual is fully engaged in CSW.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Violence and power imbalances and family dysfunction • Education
Violence and power imbalances and family dysfunction	Includes abusive relationships (physical, emotional or sexual), characterised by power imbalances, which can be perpetrated by parents, spouses, clients or police officials.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Demographic characteristics • Homelessness and addiction • Migration
Educational deficits	Educational deficits and lack of qualifications could impact vulnerability.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Demographic characteristics • Financial/economic circumstances
Migration	May involve an individual moving to another country or province, for a variety of reasons.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Demographic characteristics • Discrimination • Financial/economic circumstances
Discrimination	Discrimination (racism, prejudice or stigmatisation) fosters social exclusion, which can drive marginalisation and increase vulnerability.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Demographic characteristics • Migration • Financial/economic circumstances

The three main risk factors identified by Hwang and Bedford (2010:201-210), namely family dysfunction, abuse (specifically sexual abuse) and deviant behaviour (in particular substance abuse) as well as the research findings of Clarke et al. (2012), highlight the need to examine Brennan et al. (2010 and 2012) and Daly's pathways research in the field of women offending.

2.5 Pathways research in the field of women offending

Although numerous studies regarding sex work exist, the researcher is interested in the context-specific pathways women follow into adult street-based sex work. Kathleen Daly's pioneering research regarding women's pathways to incarceration is acknowledged as having produced some of the most influential findings regarding pathways research in Criminology. She assessed a sample of 34 women offenders between 1981 and 1986. The current study borrowed from Daly's main idea regarding pathways research as a departure point. However, it is important to note Daly's focus was on pathways that lead women offenders in general to incarceration, whilst the current study aimed to explore and describe context-specific

pathways which lead women into a life of adult female street-based CSW. Daly's pathways research findings and other studies that have replicated her methodology, serves as an example of what the current study aimed to accomplish and will be discussed in the section which follows.

Daly (1992) identified five pathways namely, harmed and harming women, drug-connected women, street women, battered women and lastly the economic circumstances and greed category. The five pathways emerged from a relatively small qualitative sample of diverted women offenders and only a few studies have tested her assertions, amongst others Brennan et al. (2010), Simpson et al. (2008) and Reisig, Holtfreter and Morash (2006). A number of qualitative studies, for example, Belknap and Holsinger (2006), Owen (1998) and Daly (1992) mostly rooted in feminist Criminology have played a role in producing biographies and case narratives of women offenders. The studies of Brennan et al. (2010) as well as Belknap and Holsinger (2006) replicated some of the features of the distinct pathways first identified by Daly (1992) in order to understand women offenders and their experiences in youth and adult justice systems (Simpson et al., 2008:85). However, scant research evidence exists regarding the reliability of the identified pathways, due to a lack of statistical characterisation of each pathway.

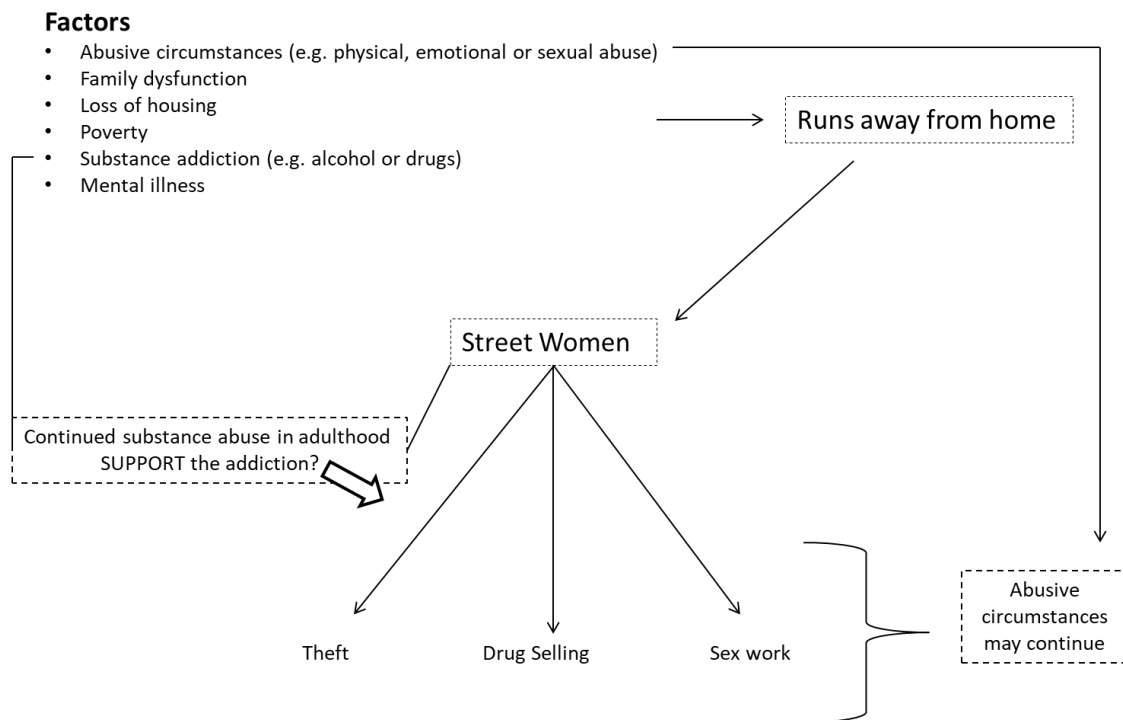
Brennan et al. (2010:36-47) aimed to provide statistical evidence in their study consisting of 718 incarcerated women in California, titled "*Unravelling women's pathways to serious crime: New findings and links to prior feminist pathways*". Their findings provided the surface statistical evidence to validate Daly's pathways thus confirming that the pathways are stable and replicable. However, their study explores the pathways in combination with aspects of Terrie Moffit's theoretical taxonomy¹⁰ as well. Brennan et al. (2010:41-45) proposed normal women, marginalised 'socialised' women, chronic and violent women offenders and lifelong victimisation as pathways. One can conclude that Daly's influence in some of the Brennan et al. findings (2010:41-45) is apparent. In efforts to replicate Daly's methodology, it has been found that the pathways do not emerge as unitary processes which are simple to explain. Instead the pathways appear to be creased into one another and to some extent contain additional causal processes. Nevertheless, the aforementioned highlights the importance of clarifying the degree to which pathway studies can be used to generalise across different samples (Brennan et al., 2010:47).

¹⁰ Terrie Moffit is a psychogenic researcher, who opines that certain deficiencies can be associated with lawful behaviour and crime in context to the life cycle the individual may be in when the behaviour is be observed.

With regard to the focus of the current study, closer scrutiny of the street women pathway proposed by Daly (1992:11-52) will prove beneficial. It should be noted that the discussion of the pathway serves as an example of what the current study aimed to accomplish in terms of understanding entry into female street-based sex work. The street women pathway is characterised by physical and psychological damage in women's early lives and/or in their current adult relationships. As a consequence, the women ran away from home (at an early age) in order to escape their abusive circumstances. However, it should be noted that factors such as poverty, loss of housing, mental illness and substance addiction can also compel women to leave their homes. Research conducted by Chesney-Lind and Groot (2010:153-157) suggest that the trauma caused by physical and sexual abuse in adolescence may be characterised by certain behaviours which include, but are not limited to, depression, delinquent behaviour, inappropriate sexual behaviour and/or running away. In addition to the aforementioned, the authors posit that women who have been in conflict with the criminal justice system are more likely to have engaged in runaway behaviour as adolescents. In terms of age and runaway behaviour, a number of studies highlight that female runaways are typically between 15 and 16 years of age (Benoit-Bryan, 2011:5-40; Brakenhoff, Jang, Slesnick, & Snyder, 2015:1015-1034; Jeanis, 2017:1-129; Sanchez, Waller, & Greene, 2006:778-781; Thrane, Hoyt, Whitbeck & Yoder, 2006:1117-1128). However, female adolescents who experienced sexual abuse or changes related to familial structures are more likely to run away at an even younger age. What is noteworthy is that adolescents who run away from home almost invariably return home despite their circumstances.

The pathway further suggests that the women become addicted to drugs while living on the street. Street women are differentiated from women in the other pathways as individuals who, in order to support their drug addiction, engage in sex work, theft or sell drugs (Brennan et al., 2012:1483). Poverty also plays a role in what street women do to earn an income. In other words, street women who ran away from home as a result of dire economic circumstances may become involved in sex work in order to earn money. Within the street women pathway Simpson et al. (2008:95) highlight that friendships can also play a critical role, as pro-social friends can gradually be replaced by deviant friendship networks, negatively impacting on the individuals' decisions. The following is a visual representation of Daly's street women pathway (Figure 3).

Figure 3: Visual representation of Daly’s street women pathway



Source: Daly (1992:11-52); Brennan et al. (2012:1483); Simpson et al. (2008:95).

Figure 3 illustrates how pathways can be depicted visually and what the current study aimed to achieve in terms of constructing context-specific pathways into adult female street-based sex work in Arcadia and Sunnyside, Pretoria. Even though Daly’s street women pathway for obvious reasons serve as an ideal example of what the present study aimed to accomplish, Daly’s other four pathways, namely harmed and harming women, drug-connected women, battered women, as well as the economic circumstances and greed category requires elucidation as well (Daly, 1992:11-52).

Women in the harmed and harming pathway had suffered neglect and/or abuse (physical, emotional and/or sexual) as children, proceeding to be labelled as ‘difficult’ or violent youths. The women have experienced chaotic home lives and started abusing drugs and/or alcohol as teenagers, as well as experiencing problems controlling their anger. The women show symptoms of emotional and psychological damage as adults, which is strengthened by their perceived inability to cope with difficult situations. Harmed and harming women respond to their childhood neglect and abuse by means of engaging in adult violence. Simpson et al. (2008:97) add that women in the pathway are more likely to have completed their high school education.

Women of the drug-connected pathway used or sold drugs in some instances through a boyfriend, husband or brother. At the very least the women allowed drug dealing to occur in their homes. The drug-connected women do not live on the street nor do the group display the same level of addiction or arrest record as the individuals of the street women pathway. However, Daly fails to identify violent behaviour within the drug-connected pathway. The study conducted by Simpson et al. (2008:97) suggests that violence related incidents were related to defensive partner violence in drug associated situations.

The battered women pathway represents women who are arrested in connection with injuring or killing their abusive partners. The suggestion is that women arrested for the aforementioned would not have been in conflict with the law if they had not been in a relationship with an abusive and violent partner. Authors who replicated Daly's study argue that there are inconsistencies within the classification of the battered women pathway. The inconsistencies are related to findings which indicate that none of the women in the pathway have been arrested for CSW (Simpson et al., 2008:97).

A small number of women, who committed offences as a result of their desire for money and financial security, were categorised into the last pathway. Women who fall into the economic circumstances and greed category tended not to have troubled childhoods, drug-related problems nor did they live on the street. They frequently originate from working class or middle class backgrounds and their level of education exceeds that of the other four pathways.

Within the Brennan et al. (2010:36-47) replication of Daly's study, the authors aimed to provide statistical evidence to validate the pathways proposed by Daly as well as to determine whether the pathways are stable and replicable. The following major pathways in combination with fractions of Terrie Moffit's theoretical taxonomy were identified:

- **Normal women**

In the normal women pathway, the women are relatively well educated with no histories of childhood abuse, mental illness or antisocial personality traits. However, chronic drug use is evident amongst 70% of the respondents in the pathway.

- **Marginalised 'socialised' women**

The marginalised 'socialised' women pathway encapsulates women of poverty, educational deficits, few life goals, social isolation and social learning in antisocial drug cultures. Within the pathway some respondents were childless and often homeless, whilst others were single mothers residing in unstable housing in crime ridden areas who had to cope with extreme

parenting stress. Women in the pathway are characterised by a high degree of drug-related issues and/or offences with offences having a strong economic motive.

- **Serious, chronic and violent women offenders**

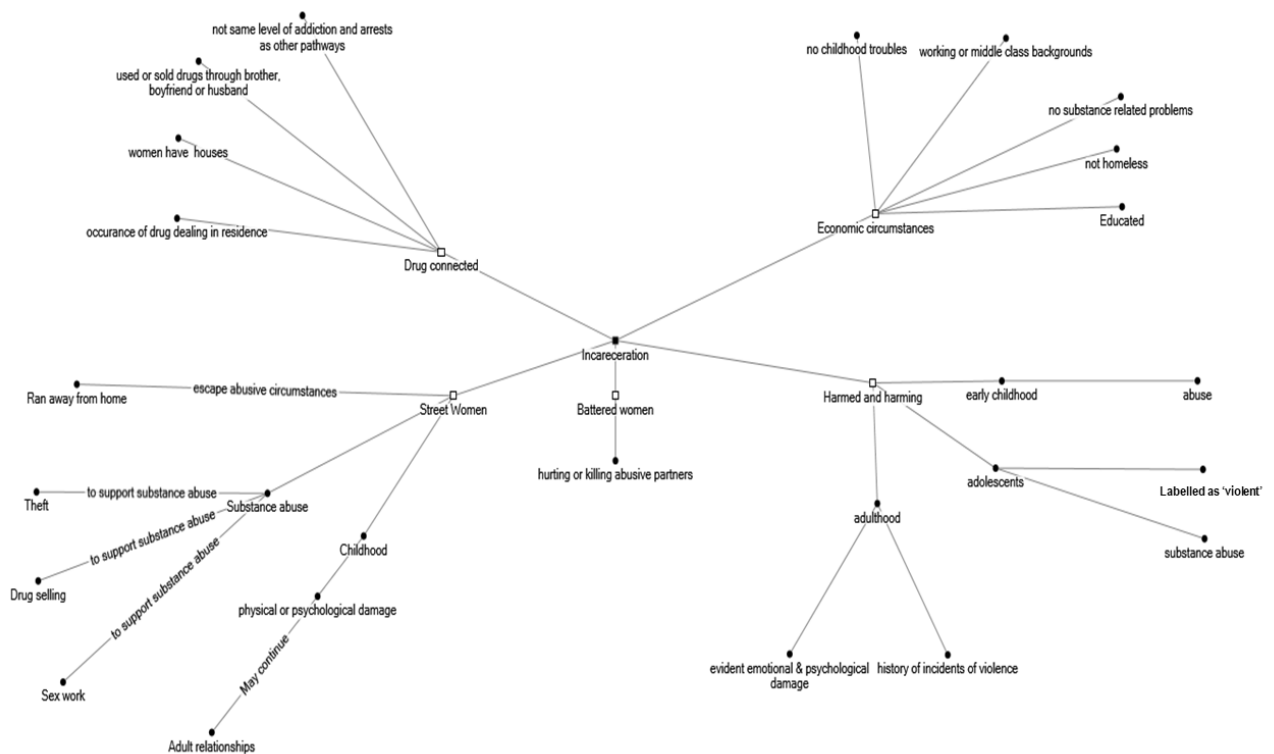
Women in the serious, chronic and violent women pathway are characterised by early onset of persistent delinquency, low educational properties, violent adult crime, impulsive behaviour and histories of both mental illness and childhood abuse (sexual and physical). Over 79% of the sample were single mothers who also experienced extreme parenting stress. Additionally, women in the pathway experienced abuse in their adult lives and were most often homeless.

- **Lifelong victimisation**

The women in the lifelong victimisation pathway are typified by extreme childhood abuse, which extends into current abusive adult relationships, drug abuse and habitual crime. Spouses of the women in the pathway typically had criminal records and they often led the women into trouble. However, some women were single mothers and in other instances they were single or divorced. The majority of the respondents (75%) were under the influence of alcohol or drugs when they committed the offence they were incarcerated for. The respondents indicated no mental health problems.

It should be noted that within each of the above-mentioned major pathways, the researchers identified two subtypes of respondents whom were separated based on their age and status as mothers or not. All the other aforementioned characteristics remain constant within the pathways. One can conclude that Daly's influence in some of the Brennan et al. findings is apparent. However, the two subtypes of respondents identified within each pathway by Brennan et al. proved difficult to incorporate into the pathways developed by Daly. Figure 4 depicts Daly's original five pathways visually.

Figure 4: Visual representation of Daly's pathways



Source: Daly (1992:11-52)

The visual representation illustrates the areas that lack information. One could argue that the paucity of information could be supplemented with information that emerged from other studies, such as Brennan et al. (2012:36-47). However, the pathways identified in the two studies cannot simply be combined with one another because Brennan and his co-researchers incorporated and combined too many facets which would overlap if combined with Daly's pathways (Brennan et al., 2012:36-47). Similarly, simply combining the qualitative findings of Daly with the quantitative data of Brennan et al. for the purpose of the present study would prove presumptuous and erroneous, due to the different characteristics, sample sizes, sampling areas and ages of participants in the studies.

Pathways research has fundamentally influenced theoretical development in Criminology in terms of mainstreaming gender-based explanations for both offending and victimisation. Daly's research is pertinent to the current study as she recognised that certain factors affect women differently than they affect men, thus paving the way for the pathways framework specifically focussed on women (Wattanaporn & Holfreter, 2014:192-200). Although Daly's pathways research focussed on women offenders specifically, the main idea of pathways in terms of understanding the effect of factors such as life events, histories and socio-economic status which lead to a specific outcome, was applied to the present study. In Daly's study the

aforementioned factors were examined in the context of women offending and incarceration. The present study considered the aforementioned factors in terms of adult female street-based sex work within a specific geographic context.

2.6 The future of the commercial sex trade

The commercial sex industry is projected to become one of the top five industries globally by 2031 (Empel, 2011:2). The fact that sex work operates on the principles of supply and demand can be seen as one of the fortifying factors in the continuation of the sex industry. In other words, if the demand for sex continues to be high, the supply of sexual services will persist. Thus, the consumer level demand signifies the place where the market for commercial sex/sexual services originates (Shivley et al., 2012:5-6). Heinemann et al. (2012:1) argue that if current trends pertaining to sex work continue, the sex industry will become an even larger part of the greater economy in the future. Currently, the sex industry in the USA is said to be larger than the combined proceeds of the country's national football, basketball and baseball leagues (Empel, 2011:3). Therefore, if the sex industry continues to grow, the industry is estimated to mushroom to US\$46.9 billion in 2030. If the global legal sex industry grows by a rate of approximately 5.39% yearly, the industry would be able to contribute an estimated US\$340 billion to the world's economy in 2030 (Empel, 2011:3). However, it should also be noted that deteriorating economic conditions can cause an increase in the sex worker population (UNODC, 2010:32). Empel (2011:2) notes that in the present century companies, investors and consumers are more willing to explore the sex industry. Large investments being made into so-called 'robot sex' in countries like China, where there is a large demand for sexual services, serves as an example of greater willingness to explore the sex industry.

In a media article penned by Parsons, Mccurum and Watkinson titled *Sex robots could be 'biggest trend of 2016' as more lonely humans seek mechanical companions (2016/01/07)*, the authors state that 'sex robots' are not only designed for sex, but also to provide consumers with the 'girlfriend experience'. The argument is advanced that attitudes towards 'sex robots' will evolve at the same pace as technology does. As technology continues to evolve and more people become familiar with 'sex robots', attitudes towards the notion may also change and the global feeling towards it may be more tolerant, especially if more consumers view the experience in a positive manner. The authors anticipate that 'sex robots' will soon become a part of the wider sex industry, where it would not be uncommon to find 'sex robots' in strip clubs or even brothels. Further, it is predicted that human/robot sex will surpass human/human sex by 2050. Similarly, Empel (2011:8) opines that the evolution of the sex industry in terms of 'sex robots', 'remote sex' and virtual sex will create new definitions, meanings and opportunities within the commercial sex trade.

With regard to the human factor involved in CSW, Empel (2011:7) suggests that the same negative effects experienced in the sex industry presently will still be pertinent in 2030. In other words, sex workers may still experience the same type of discrimination and violation of rights they experience today. Thus, the author posits that the sex industry may not have the necessary support and resources to be able to reform. The contribution the sex industry would be able to make to the economy cannot be ignored by policy makers, politicians or society (Empel, 2011:3-8). The author predicts a global push towards the legalisation of CSW by 2030. However, it should be noted that in 2018 the legalisation of sex work is already heavily debated with various countries considering the legalisation of the commercial sex trade (Empel, 2011:5). An example of current debates can be seen in the following articles; *Sex work must be legalised for the best interests of South Africa* (2016/06/01), *Legalising sex work hailed* (2017/12/23) and *Sex work: MPs hear arguments on stance to keep criminalisation* (2018/03/06). The articles suggest that if sex work remains illegal in South Africa the same issues and factors that contribute to an individual's decision to remain in sex work will continue, as sex workers will remain a marginalised group which tend not to seek out help. In other words, continued criminalisation of CSW will reduce efforts for current and future exit programmes aimed at sex workers.

2.7 Summary

In summary, sex work in either legal or illegal form (depending on the specific country's legislation) occurs worldwide. What can be gleaned from the literature review is that a wide variety of factors (some of which interact with each other) can shape an individual's trajectory into CSW (Balfour & Allen, 2014:4-7; Fitzpatrick et al., 2012:1-21; Dodsworth, 2011:4; SALRC, 2009:30-32). An argument that enjoys extensive attention within research pertaining to CSW is the link between abuse and sex work. However, the causal path linking child abuse with CSW remains unclear. Some scholars assert that childhood victimisation may directly be linked to subsequent entry into sex work, whilst others argue that entry into the commercial sex trade is indirectly mediated by the runaway behaviour associated with childhood victimisation (Clarke et al., 2012:270-289). The research evidence discussed in the literature review revealed that there is a lack of research focussing on the context-specific pathways of street-based sex workers into CSW. The literature review did not unveil a single, dominant factor which may be relevant to all adult female street-based sex workers. Consequently, a thorough investigation of all the possible risk factors was indicated as pertinent and timeous in order to accurately understand how they impact on individuals' trajectories into adult female street-based CSW.

Chapter 3: Theoretical framework

3.1 Introduction and overview

The purpose of Criminology theories is to explore the crime phenomenon, the causes of crime and the contexts of crime. Criminology theories aim to not only explore the crime phenomenon but also explain it, in order to provide foundations for future research endeavours (Brown, Esbensen & Geis, 2010:1). The developmental model, social bonding theory, social learning theory and general strain theory will be considered in terms of their applicability to adult female street-based sex work. The researcher acknowledges that the aforementioned theories, similar to the vast majority of Criminology theories, were initially formulated in order to make sense of the criminal behaviour of men. The specific theories were selected to explore and describe adult female street-based CSW, because an integrated theoretical model of the theories may offer valuable insights into the trajectories of women into adult female street-based sex work.

The integrated model of theories envisages combining existing theories in order to sufficiently explain a specific crime phenomenon (Brown et al., 2010:358). The integrated theoretical model for the current study is a combination of four theories in order to offer an explanation for the context-specific pathways women follow into adult female street-based sex work. Integration of the theories is necessary because separately they do not adequately explain the pathways of adult female sex workers into street-based sex work. The theories that have been integrated to achieve the aim of the present study are Sampson and Laub's developmental model, Hirschi's social bonding theory, Akers' social learning theory and Agnew's general strain theory. However, it should be noted that the origin and assumptions regarding the above-mentioned theories will be deliberated on separately from the application of the theories in terms of its context-specific value to the study explicated in the integrated model of the current section.

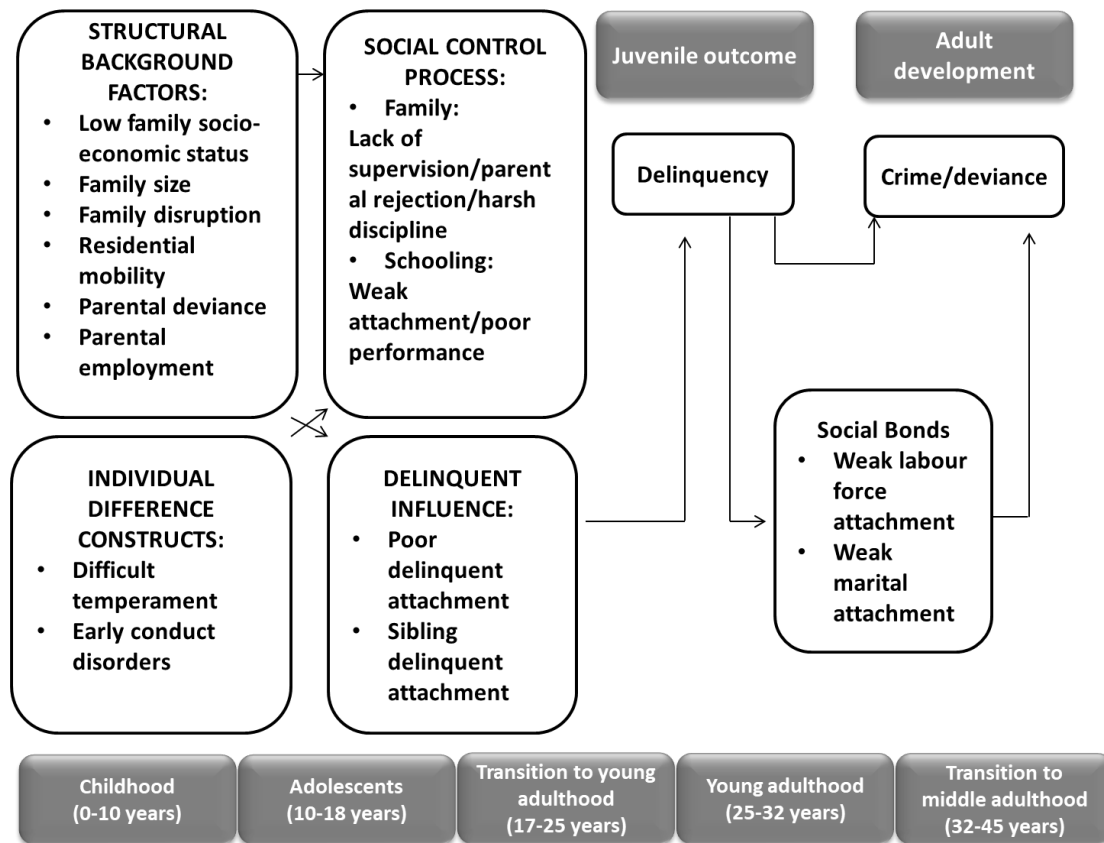
3.2 Developmental model of Robert Sampson and John Laub

Robert Sampson and John Laub commenced their work on the developmental model in the early 1980s. At present the developmental model is a well-known and widely researched theoretical model in Criminology. The developmental model is based on a reanalysis of a vast original data set collected by Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck during the 1940s. The focus of the model is directed at individual stability and change over time. The significance of certain life events and life changes, which may alter an individual's decision to either commit crime or refrain from a criminal act, is stressed (e.g. getting married or finding employment). An important assumption of the model is that certain life events or transitions may be more

important or relevant during a specific developmental stage in an individual's life (Brown et al., 2010:379; Sampson & Laub, 2003:301-334).

Fundamental to Sampson and Laub's developmental model is the notion that criminal behaviour should be studied from childhood to adulthood whilst examining individual differences as well as social bonds in order to explain the onset of criminal behaviour. Structural factors (e.g. socio-economic status, family disruption, migration or employment) and individual differences (e.g. temperament or personal characteristics), especially before the age of 18, can have an impact on whether an individual becomes involved in crime, as well as an individual's social ties during adulthood. More specifically, the developmental model advances the argument that early antisocial tendencies are often linked to criminal offending during adulthood. One of the major limitations of the developmental model that is often cited is that it has failed to produce an accurate prediction instrument to ascertain which individuals may become involved in crime during their lifetime. However, even in the face of the aforementioned critique, research suggests that the developmental model is useful in elucidating the importance of social events in correlation with the rate of offending (Brown et al., 2010:379-382; Devers, 2011: 4-5; Sampson & Laub, 2006:12-45; Sampson & Laub, 2003:301-334). Figure 5 illustrates the developmental model of Sampson and Laub.

Figure 5: Sampson and Laub’s developmental model



Source: Devers (2011:4); Brown et al. (2010:379-382); Sampson & Laub (2006:12-45); Sampson & Laub (2003:301-334).

The following two main hypotheses are derived from Sampson and Laub’s developmental model (Brown et al., 2010:380):

- Antisocial behaviour in childhood is linked to a wide variety of worrisome adult behaviours (e.g. general deviance, economic dependency and/or educational failures), including adult criminality. Furthermore, long-term relationships are said to occur independently from traditional (perceived as normal) variables (e.g. social class, race and/or ethnicity).
- An individual’s bonds to adult institutions/constructs (e.g. family, education, friends and/or work) can have an influence on criminal behaviour over the course of an individual’s life, despite an individual’s antisocial background.

According to the developmental model, when adults have quality marital bonds or stable employment, they may be more likely to resist the influence of certain life experiences that may normally have propelled them into criminal behaviour if they had weak marital bonds or

no form of employment (Devers, 2011:4). In essence the developmental model allows for an extensive examination of the interplay between childhood experiences and adult behaviour. However, some adolescents with a background of weak bonds to family and other social institutions may have pro-social experiences in, for example, a conventional peer network or activity. The pro-social experience, even amid weak bonds to family and other social institutions, sets the individual onto a non-criminal path, a process referred to as reverse trajectory. Additionally, it should be noted that pro-social influences can be initiated at any point during the life-course. In other words, even if an individual experienced challenges during adolescence, they can successfully make the transition into pro-social roles (e.g. employment). It is evident that Sampson and Laub's developmental model is deeply rooted in the social control theoretical perspective in Criminology, wherein the key proposition is that criminal behaviour is the result of an individual's weak or broken bonds to society (Brown et al., 2010:379-382; Sampson & Laub, 2006:12-45; Sampson & Laub, 2003:301-334). An additional point of criticism directed at the developmental model relates to low levels of explanatory power. However, criminologists have argued that the developmental model in combination with other theories can potentially advance insight regarding pathways into crime and processes relevant to criminal behaviour (Brown et al., 2010:382). For the aforementioned reason, the researcher decided to include the developmental model as part of the theoretical framework for the present study.

3.3 Social bonding theory of Travis Hirschi

Similar to Sampson and Laub's developmental model, the social bonding theory is deeply entrenched in the social control perspective in Criminology. In fact, the theory is often also labelled the social control theory. The social bonding theory, which was developed by Travis Hirschi in 1969, is regarded as one of the most influential delinquency theories in Criminology and has been subjected to substantial empirical testing (Lanier & Henry, 2010: 194; Ozbay & Ozcan, 2006:711-714). As opposed to the bulk of Criminology theories, the social bonding theory seeks not to explain why youth commit crime, but rather why they do not commit crime (Bartollas, 1997: 178-180). Despite the fact that the social bonding theory is considered one of the most prominent Criminology theories and Hirschi suggested that social control is gender neutral (Chapple, McQuillan & Berdahl, 2005:358), Hirschi was the first to concede that women disappeared in his data. Therefore, he strongly encouraged researchers to inspect the applicability of the social bonding theory to women specifically (Brown et al., 2010:108).

According to the social bonding theory, youth misbehaviour is linked to the bond's individuals have with their societies. The point of departure is that human beings are inherently sinful and violent and tend to offend if there is no reason for them not to offend (Siegel, 2012:246; Brown

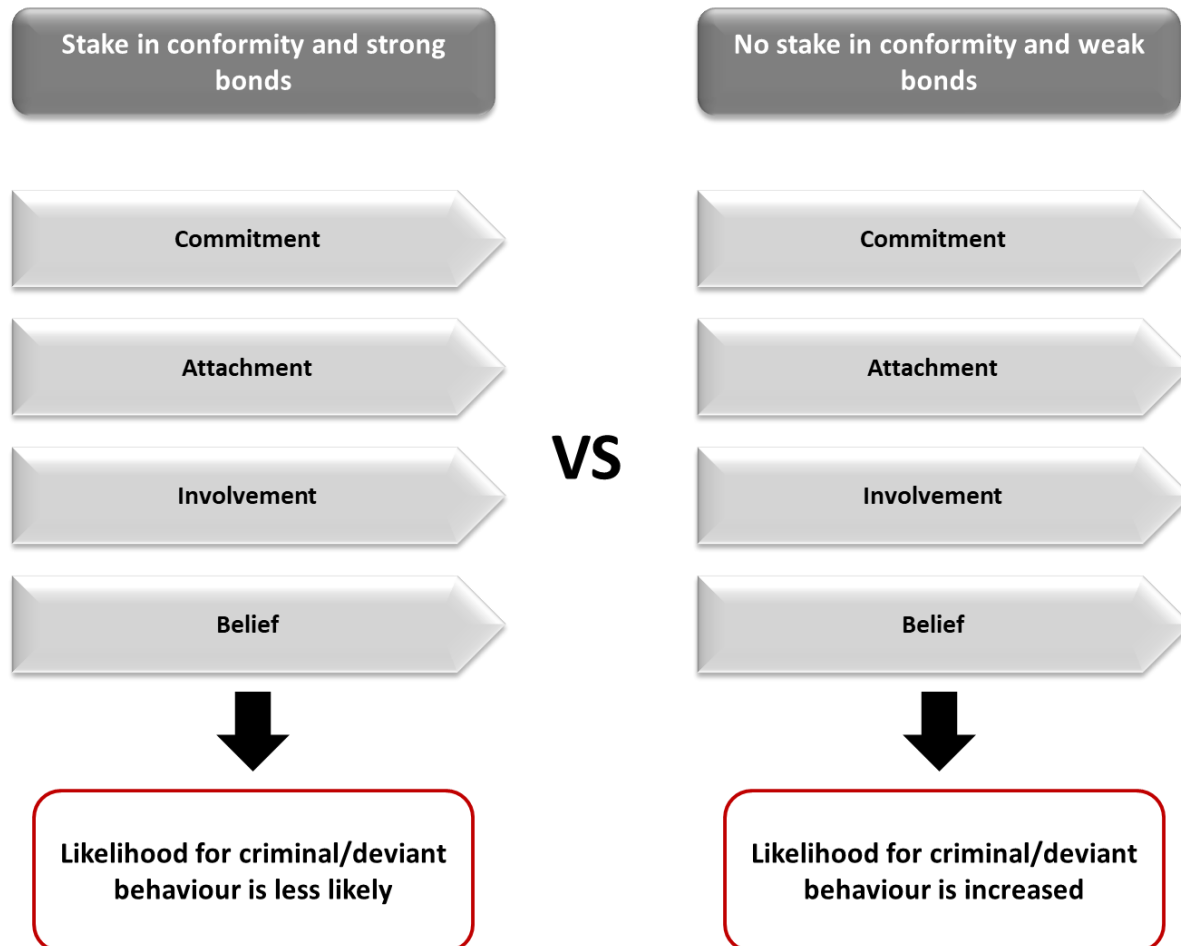
et al., 2010:300-301). The assumption is that individuals who are closely bonded to their respective social groups such as family, friends or peers are less inclined to commit deviant or criminal acts. Although social bonds do not necessarily reduce an individual's motivation to offend, social bonds can reduce the probability that an individual will succumb to the deviant or criminal acts. The social bond is characterised as consisting of four elements namely attachment, commitment, involvement and belief (Brown et al., 2010:300-301; Pratt, Gau & Franklin, 2011:58-59; Siegel, 2012:246; Williams & McShane, 2010:156):

- Attachment can be understood as internalised norms and a sense of conscience. Parents help to develop an individual's conscience and attachment during the stages of early childhood. Attachment refers to an individual's sensitivity to the feelings of others.
- Commitment comprises the commitment to conventional values. The suggestion is that an individual's commitment to invest time and energy in conventional activities (conformity) would encourage them to develop a stake in conformity and in turn they will refrain from deviant behaviour. Commitment to conformity can be encouraged by individuals' fear of losing what they have or may potentially acquire in the future.
- Involvement relates to the notion that when individuals are immersed in conventional activities, they are left with little time to engage in crime.
- Belief signifies the degree of respect that is shown towards the laws and norms of communities. The idea is that if individuals have respect for societal laws and norms, they would have a sense of moral obligation to obey the laws and norms. People are socialised with a certain set of beliefs, however, there is variation in the strength of individuals' belief systems.

In summary, Travis Hirschi's social bonding theory is focussed on the question, 'Why do people not commit crime?', and is based on the assumption that criminal motivation is natural. The underlying assumption is that all people would break the law if they did not fear the consequences of getting caught (Lanier & Henry, 2010:194). Therefore, the key factor in crime causation is the presence or absence of control. Control or containment might be external and rooted in relationships such as social bonds or be internal, for example self-control. Criticisms directed at the social bonding theory include that it is deficient in determining causal order, that there is lack of clarity on the relationships between the elements of social bonding, that it neglects to address the origin of social bonds and that the varying strength of individuals, or in other words resilience, is not acknowledged (Siegel, 2012:246; Brown et al., 2010:300-301; Williams & McShane, 2010:156). Social bonding theory holds that crime and deviancy occur when an individual's ties to society's laws and norms are weak or non-existent. However, it is

plausible that deviant or criminal behaviour can cause the deterioration of social bonds. The suggestion is that the value of bonds to society is important in relation to the commission and involvement in certain types of conduct. Figure 6 illustrates Hirschi's social bonding theory.

Figure 6: Travis Hirschi's social bonding theory



Source: Siegel (2012:246); Brown et al. (2010:300-301); Ozbay & Ozcan (2006:711-714); Bartollas (1997: 178-180).

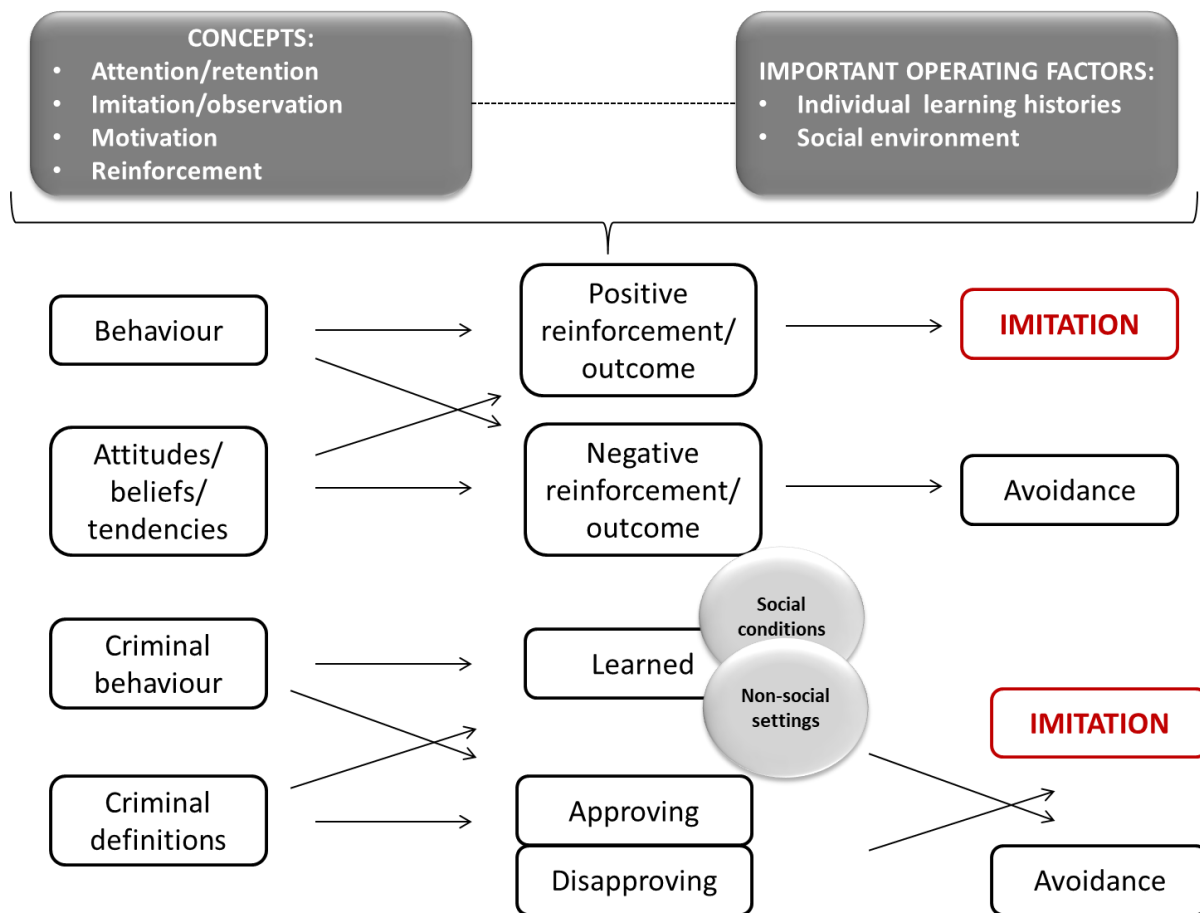
3.4 Social learning theory of Ronald Akers

In 1973 Ronald Akers published the first of three editions of his seminal work titled *Deviant behavior: A social learning approach*, wherein he states the basic tenets of his version of what has become one of the most popular theoretical perspectives in Criminology, namely social learning theory (Brown et al., 2010:282; Lanier & Henry, 2010:173; Williams & McShane, 2010:169). Social learning theory is acknowledged as one of the most prominent theories used to explain criminal behaviour resulting in the empirical validity of the theory having been consistently tested by extant literature (Cochran, Maskaly, Jones & Sellers, 2015:1-22). Akers' social learning theory offered an expansion of what Edwin Sutherland implied in the sixth proposition of his differential association theory by clarifying the extent to which learning is the

result of exposure to not only criminal behaviour and definitions, but also conforming behaviour and definitions (Lanier & Henry, 2010:171). Akers identified four key elements which shape behaviour namely, differential associations, definitions, differential reinforcement and imitation (Brown et al., 2010:282; Goodlin, 2008:35-38; Akers & Sellers. 2004:85).

The pre-eminent difference between Sutherland's differential association theory and Akers' social learning theory is situated in the element of imitation and how it shapes behaviour. Imitation can be understood as a process where individuals observe what others do and in the face of positive outcomes are likely to replicate the observed behaviours (Lanier & Henry, 2010:171). According to Akers (2012:62-78) criminal behaviour is not only learned in social conditions, but also in non-social settings. Certain attitudes are learned from positive and negative reinforcement that result from certain behaviours. Social learning theory operates within each individual's learning histories and in situations where opportunities might arise to commit a crime. The postulation is that deviant behaviour is more likely when the effects of differential associations, definitions, differential reinforcement and imitation strengthen deviant behaviour (Akers, 2012:62-78; Goodlin, 2008:35-38; Akers & Sellers. 2004:85). However, one of the main points of critique against social learning theory is the fact that research studies rarely operationalise all four of the social learning constructs (Cochran et al., 2015:1-22). Figure 7 illustrates the social learning theory of Akers.

Figure 7: Akers social learning theory



Source: Cochran et al. (2015:1-22); Bartol & Bartol (2014: 5-6); Akers (2012:62-78); Brown et al. (2010:282); Goodlin (2008:35-38); Akers & Sellers (2004:85).

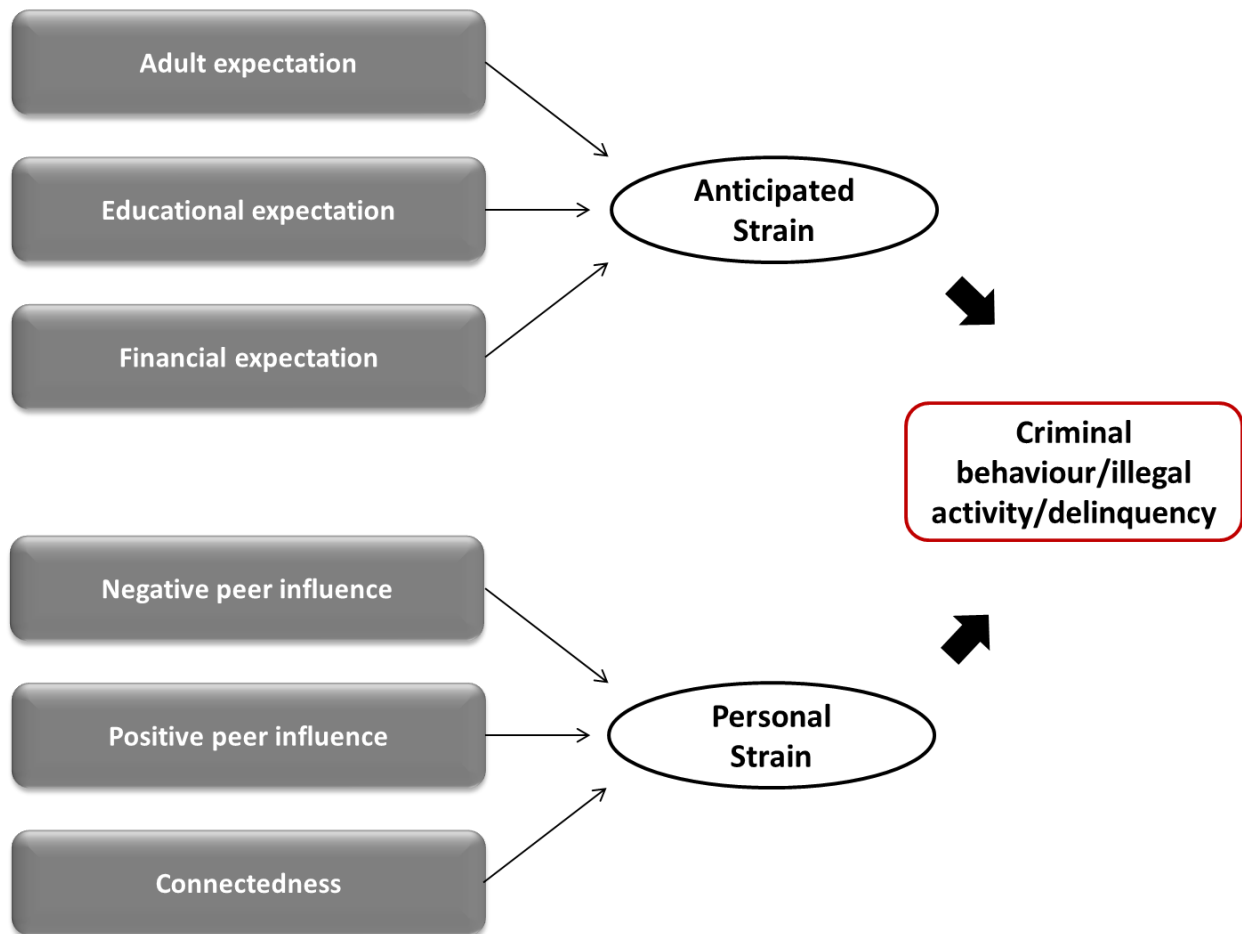
In Akers' conceptualisation of the social learning theory, it is postulated that humans learn all their behaviours, beliefs and tendencies from their social environment (Akers, 2012:62-78; Bartol & Bartol, 2014: 5-6). Criminal behaviour as well as other social behaviour is learned through interactions with other people and through associations with criminal definitions. The definitions can be approving of criminal conduct or not. Interaction with criminal or deviant individuals is considered a major cause of crime, because the theoretical line of argumentation is that if criminal behaviour is experienced as being reinforced it will most likely be repeated. Thus, the social learning theory proposes that deviant peers influence individuals to engage in deviant acts (Akers, 2012:62-78; Goodlin, 2008:35-38). In addition to the aforementioned criticism that the four social learning constructs are rarely operationalised in research, two other points of critique are often levied against Akers' social learning theory, namely that (i) reinforcement is tautological and (ii) the link between peer association and deviant behaviour is poorly specified. However, it can be argued that reinforcement is non-tautological if positive reinforcement more often reduces than increases certain behaviour. With regard to the link

between peer association and deviant behaviour there exists a reciprocity, which suggests that deviant behaviour can either precede association with deviant peers, while alternatively the association with deviant peers will precede initiation into deviance (Brown et al., 2010:284).

3.5 General strain theory of Robert Agnew

The general strain theory, which was developed by Robert Agnew in 1992, has become a major contributor to the field of Criminology, owing to the fact that the theory attempts to explain criminal behaviour across all social class levels. The formulation of the general strain theory was a response to criticisms levied against social strain theory during the 1970s, including that social strain theory focussed on lower-class deviancy exclusively, the neglect of goals other than middle-class status and financial gain, as well as the inability of social strain theory to explain why only some people who experience strain turn to criminal behaviour (Brown, Esbensen & Geis, 2007:281). Agnew suggests that there are two types of strain, which can be interrelated, namely; structural and psychological. The psychological strain refers to an individual's subjective interpretation of strain (i.e. feelings and emotions), which resultantly has a psychological impact. The structural strain refers to an individual's struggle to obtain their goals (e.g. financial gain) through legitimate means and they resultantly experience strain (Lanier & Henry, 2010:275-276). However, under certain conditions individuals' response to the strain they experience could be through deviant activities (e.g. crime). Crime as a response to strain may be more likely when it results in negative affect (e.g. financial frustration). When strains are perceived as unjust or uncontrollable deviant activity (e.g. criminal behaviour) in response may be more likely. However, strains which may lead to crime are not only linked to the obstruction of goals, but also the presentation of negative stimuli or the absence of a valued stimulus (Brown et al., 2010:249-251; Brown et al., 2007:281). Although Agnew attempts to explain general strain theory across all social class levels, one should consider that lower classes may not necessarily be motivated by middle class successes or standards and subsequently they may not experience great strain as a result of their class position. Predictions regarding the different types of strain an individual can experience tend to be tentative, as it can be difficult to determine to what extent strain is perceived as unjust by individuals (Yilmaz & Koca, 2015:168-169; Lyons, 2002:3-10; Agnew, 2001:352-353). Figure 8 below illustrates Agnew's general strain theory.

Figure 8: Robert Agnew's General Strain Theory



Source: Yilmaz & Koca (2015:168-169); Brown et al. (2010:249-251); Brown et al. (2007:281); Lyons (2002:3-10); Agnew (2001:352-353).

It should be noted that strain can be either objective or subjective. Objective strains can be understood as events that the majority of people would deem as unpleasant, whilst subjective strains represent events that are perceived as unpleasant by people who are experiencing them or have experienced them. The focus is placed on the individual's interpretation/perception of the strain experienced as a determining factor (Yilmaz & Koca, 2015:168-169; Lyons, 2002:3-10; Agnew, 2001:320-323). The general strain theory further suggests that strain and criminality may increase owing to perceived unfairness, intensity, low social controls and criminal consequences. Criminal consequences appear to be evident when criminal activity is seen as a way to relieve anticipated and personal strain (Brown et al., 2010:249-251; Brown et al., 2007:281; Lanier & Henry, 2010:276-277).

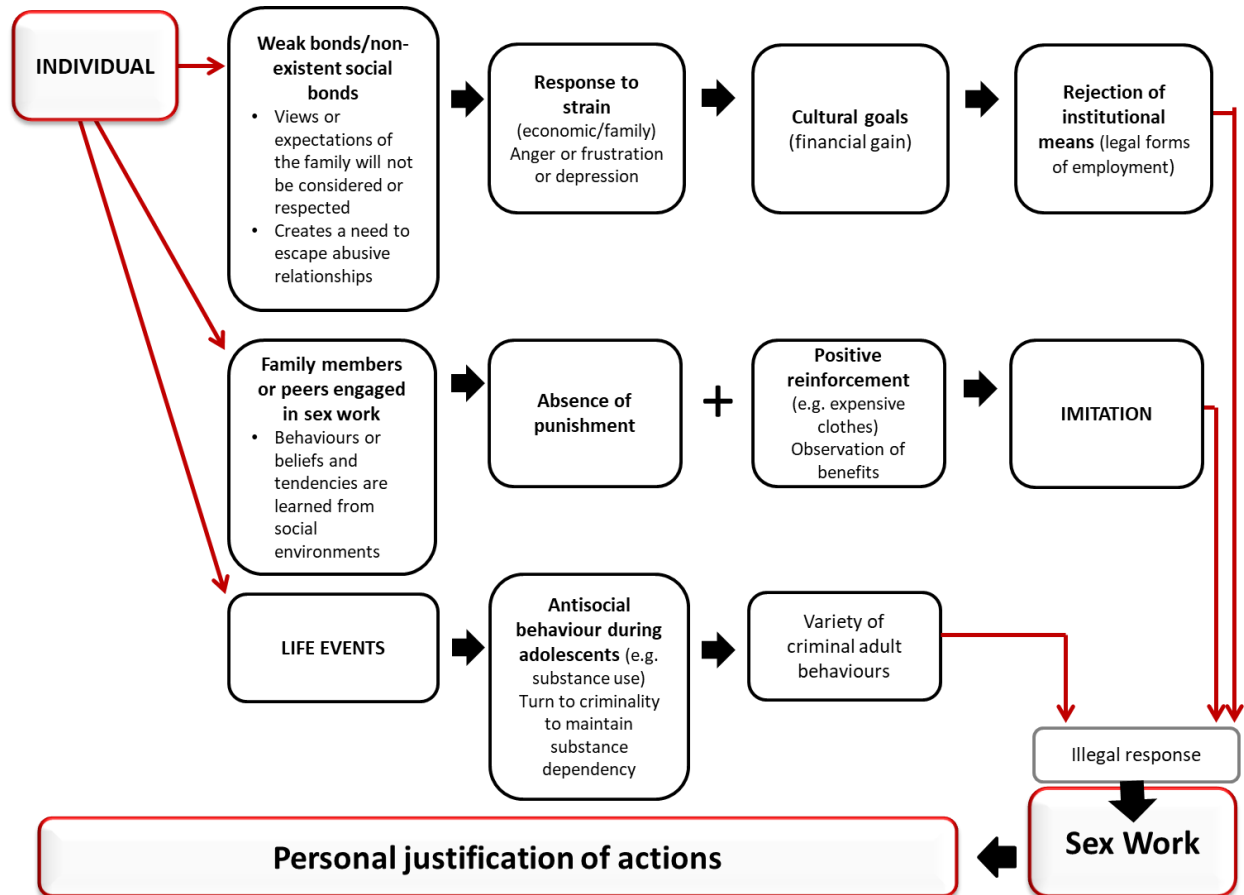
3.6 Integrated theoretical model

Sampson and Laub's developmental model will be valuable in determining life course trajectories, which will be beneficial to the current study's focus on pathways into adult female street-based sex work. In addition, the developmental model will be useful to shed light on the dynamics of criminal behaviour in relation to age (Brown et al., 2010:382). Akers' social learning theory has been successfully used to explain adult criminality, substance abuse, family dysfunction and partner violence. Moreover, the social learning theory is supported across different cultures (Cochran et al., 2015:1-22; Brown et al., 2010:284). The researcher acknowledges the failure of Hirschi's social bonding theory in the context of substance abuse to find bonding differences between people who have committed crime and those that have not (Brown et al., 2010:303). However, an individual's weak bond with the family could create a need to escape abusive relationships, causing youths to abuse substances as a form self-medication to create the illusion of escape. In order for them to maintain their substance dependency, they turn to sex work (Brennan et al., 2010:36; Clarke et al., 2012:283; Hwang & Bedford, 2010:201-210; Rhoda, 2010:74; SALRC, 2009:67; Scorgie et al., 2013:3). Agnew's general strain theory posits that child abuse, partner violence or lack of employment can cause strain which an individual may want to relieve through criminal activities (Brown et al., 2010:250). Here it should be considered that strain emanating from interpersonal relationships can produce feelings of anger and frustration which essentially render coping strategies ineffective (Lanier & Henry, 2010:275). Furthermore, general strain theory can assist in explaining adolescent progression from family dysfunction experiences to running away from an abusive situation, using substances or disengaging from family relationships (Reid & Piquero, 2013:4-6). The social bonding theory suggests that certain variables (e.g. weak bonds to family) can lower the perceived costs of crime whilst the social learning theory advances that certain variables can have an influence on the perceived desirability of crime (Agnew, 2001:348-349).

Individuals who engage in sex work are perceived to have weak or non-existent social bonds and respond to certain strains (e.g. economic and/or family) through the acceptance of cultural goals (financial gain), but reject the institutional means (legal forms of employment) to achieve cultural goals. When the said individual's family members or peers are engaged within the commercial sex trade, with no punishment or negative consequences, the individual might imitate the behaviour. Justification for the integrated theoretical model compiled for the present study is found in findings that emerged from a study conducted by Goodlin in 2008 titled *Not Your Typical "Pretty Woman": Factors associated with prostitution*. The study is based on the Ohio Life-course Study and comprised a dataset of institutionalised and non-institutionalised

respondents. Goodlin’s findings will be discussed in the next section. Figure 9 illustrates the integrated theoretical model for the present study:

Figure 9: Integrated theoretical model applied to CSW



Source: Cochran et al. (2015:1-22); Bartol & Bartol (2014: 5-6); Siegel (2012:246); Akers (2012:62-78); Brown et al. (2010:249-382); Devers (2011:4); Goodlin (2008:36-38); Sampson & Laub (2006:12-45); Ozbay & Ozcan (2006:711-714); Akers & Sellers (2004:85); Agnew (2001:352-353); Bartollas (1997: 178-180).

Sampson and Laub’s developmental theory indicates that certain transitions (life events) may change an individual’s criminal career (Sampson & Laub, 2006:12-45; Brown et al., 2010:379-382). The developmental model advances the argument that an individual can change over time, however, it is of elevated importance to recognise that life events (e.g. childhood abuse) can also influence behavioural patterns (e.g. running away from home). Additionally, Sampson and Laub’s developmental model proposes that deviant behaviour during adolescence (e.g. substance use) is linked to a variety of criminal adult behaviours, general defiance or educational failures (Brown et al., 2010:379-380). In the context of the present study, the aforementioned transitions may not necessarily be observable; therefore, in light of the absence of such transitions a criminal career might still be enforced, rather than the course of

a criminal career being changed in terms of CSW. Dodsworth (2011:3) specifically highlights that demographic factors can increase an individual's vulnerability for entry into sex work during a certain life cycle. Structural factors (e.g. socio-economic status, family disruption, migration or employment) and individual differences (e.g. temperament or characteristics), especially before the age of 18, can have an impact on whether an individual becomes involved in crime (e.g. street-based sex work), as well as an individual's social ties during adulthood (Devers, 2011:5).

Social bonding theory contends that individuals engage in delinquent acts when their bond to pro-social/non-deviant institutions such as family or peers are weak (Siegel, 2012:246; Brown et al., 2010:300-301). With regard to attachment, Goodlin (2008:2-33) found that if an individual is not attached to for, example, their family, the views/opinions of the family will not be considered important by the individual. Thus, if the individual feels indifferent about the views/opinions of family members owing to weak attachment, the individual will not be sensitive to the family members' expectations about conformity (Goodlin, 2008:32-33). Child development researchers have identified a youth pathway involving factors such as family dysfunction and maltreatment, which can lead to greater involvement in criminal behaviour in adulthood (Reid & Piquero, 2013:4-6). Research evidence discussed in the literature review divulged a link between individuals' progression from family dysfunction (e.g. abuse) to delinquent acts (e.g. running away from home) (Brennan et al., 2010:36; Hwang & Bedford, 2004:136-146; SALRC, 2009:48-50; Simpson et al., 2008:85). Additionally, Goodlin (2008:33) argues that if an individual is strongly attached to family members, the individual will not be attached to delinquent peer networks. Increased contact with deviant peers may be a consequence of running away from home, where the individuals in their vulnerable state, may be recruited into the sex industry in order to survive (Reid & Piquero, 2013:4-6). However, strain can also be noted between the relationships of individuals and caregivers, which create a dysfunctional psychological and/or behavioural response, ultimately increasing women's ultimate vulnerability towards CSW.

Humans learn all their behaviours, beliefs and tendencies from their social environment, which is illustrated comprehensively by Akers' social learning theory (Bartol & Bartol, 2014:5-6). An important concept in social learning theory is imitation, or in other words a process where individuals observe what others do and in the face of positive outcomes are likely to replicate the observed behaviours (Akers, 2012:62-78). For example, women may notice the benefits associated with sex work (e.g. financial rewards) by observing a family member or peer involved in sex work and in doing so become motivated to also venture into the sex industry. Moreover, social learning theory proposes that deviant peer networks influence individuals to

engage in deviant acts. Goodlin (2008:27) found evidence in support of the notion that people who have deviant friends have a higher probability of becoming involved in sex work than individuals who have pro-social friends. If a sex worker has friends who hold similar beliefs, ideas and personal justifications, it is probable that the sex worker will share the same beliefs, ideas and personal justifications. For example, a sex worker may hold the belief that it is morally wrong to commit a murder. However, the same sex worker may be more lenient in terms of her beliefs regarding CSW and whether it is morally acceptable. In other words, sex workers may justify their involvement in CSW by arguing that it is a victimless crime and that earning a living through sex work is not wrong. Thus, the behaviour becomes justified and the general belief is that breaking the law in terms of sex work is acceptable (the definition of a criminal act is justified and becomes favourable) (Goodlin, 2008:36-38).

Furthermore, Agnew's social learning theory proposes that when individuals struggle to obtain their goals, they may respond to the strain through crime. Thus, the individual's responses to strain entail feelings of anger, frustration and/or depression, which subsequently cause an illegal response (e.g. sex work) to the strain (Brown et al., 2010:249-251). In South Africa sex work may serve as a viable economic option for young girls and women due to the absence of available employment opportunities in the formal labour market (Sonke Gender Justice, 2014:7-8; Richter et al., 2013:246-251; Brown et al., 2010:461; SALRC, 2009:30-32).

In summary, the integrated theoretical model for the current study hypothesises that women over the age of 18, who engage in street-based sex work, will have weak or non-existent social bonds to family, friends and peers. Risk factors may have a dissimilar effect on different individuals depending on their age and other demographic characteristics. More specifically, a person's age of entry into the sex industry can be influenced by the impact of a combination of risk factors during a certain life cycle. Research evidence alludes to an intersectionality of familial, individual and environmental risk factors, for example, support structures and the impact of socio-economic circumstances (Dodsworth, 2011:4). Demographic risk factors are highlighted by Clarke et al. (2012:270-289), Hwang and Bedford (2003:139-142,201-210), Manoek (2012:8), Saggurti et al. (2011:5), Servin et al. (2015:1-17), the SALRC (2009:33) and Woodin (2014:4).

When women have weak or non-existent bonds to family, friends and peer networks, their views or expectations will not be considered or respected by the women. In cases where abuse (family/spousal), family dysfunction (e.g. physical, emotional or sexual abuse) and/or undesirable socio-economic status is present, a need to escape the abusive relationship, unpleasant experience or undesirable circumstances is created. The women may have

responded to certain strains (e.g. economic background, family experiences, general life experiences, forms of abuse and/or substance abuse) in either their childhood or when they were already adults, resulting in them running away from home or seeking employment opportunities in the commercial sex industry, through the acceptance of cultural goals (financial gain) (Balfour & Allen, 2014:4-7; Fitzpatrick et al., 2012:1-21; Dodsworth, 2011:4; AVA, 2010:1-5; SALRC, 2009:30-32; Hwang & Bedford, 2004:136-146). By venturing into CSW the women ultimately reject the institutional means of achieving cultural goals (legal forms of employment). When the said individual's family members or peers (social environment) are engaged within the commercial sex trade, with no punishment or negative consequences, the individual might imitate the behaviour. The behaviour can also be imitated when the individual experiences positive reinforcement through observing the benefits of sex work such as, fine clothes or money. In some instances, women may have exhibited deviant behaviour during adolescence, for example, substance abuse turning to CSW in order to maintain their substance dependency.

It should be noted that women may want to recreate a lost bond, owing to their weak bonds to society by becoming involved with an intermediary (e.g. for emotional/financial support creating the perception of stability and/or the perception of belonging to someone or a group). One should also consider that owing to the stigmatised nature of sex work, women may form their own communities within CSW, which can induce women to remain entrenched in sex work (Balfour & Allen, 2014:4-7; Dodsworth, 2011:4; Fitzpatrick et al., 2012:7; Manoek, 2012:4-8; SALRC, 2009:20).

3.7 Summary

The theoretical framework consists of the developmental model, social bonding theory, social learning theory and general strain theory. The aforementioned theories, which inform the present study's integrated theoretical model may be able to shed light on adult female street-based CSW in terms of certain life events/transitions (e.g. abuse/family dysfunction) or strains (e.g. economic circumstances/educational deficits) being more pronounced, producing increased strain during a specific developmental stage in an individual's life. The theoretical framework serves to place the spotlight on the risk factors, which may shape individuals' trajectories into adult street-based sex work. However, the applicability of the aforementioned theories will be discussed in detail in Chapter 6 of the current study. The following chapter (Chapter 4), will explicate and justify the methods used to execute the study.

Chapter 4: Methodology

4.1. Introduction

The research question the study aimed to answer was as follows: What are the context-specific pathways women follow into adult female street-based CSW in Arcadia and Sunnyside, Pretoria? The literature review highlighted various risk factors which have been linked in extant research to women's involvement in CSW. However, the majority of the research evidence, both locally and internationally, is qualitative in nature. Thus, there is a paucity of information regarding the statistical significance of risk factors which shape women's trajectories into adult street-based CSW. Determining the statistical significance of risk factors and developing understanding of the interaction between the risk factors, facilitated in constructing a context-specific pathways framework focussed on adult female street-based CSW in Arcadia and Sunnyside, Pretoria. Sound research is characterised as systematic, logical, empirical and replicable. In pursuit of the aim of producing sound research, the chapter which follows is aimed at documenting the methods used to conduct the present study by furnishing justifications for the methods, procedures and strategies opted for (Kothari, 2004:37).

4.2. Research paradigm and approach

Due to the paucity of local studies regarding the research problem, statistical evidence relating to the context-specific pathways adult female street-based sex workers follow into CSW was needed. The positivistic paradigm suggests that the creation of knowledge should be seen in terms of what can be measured and observed (Bhattacharjee, 2012:18). Therefore, the philosophical foundation within which the study is entrenched is the positivistic paradigm. Positivism enables social scientists to study social phenomena in a similar manner to the natural and biological sciences, by applying the methods that are associated with the natural sciences to social reality. In other words, positivism is useful to verify scientific truths in the form of numbers by utilising empirical observations. Thus, the positivistic paradigm aided in viewing adult female street-based sex work through an organised and objective lens utilising numerical data (Coetzee, 2017:80).

Based on the preceding discussion it is evident that positivism is associated with numerical and statistical evidence, which is characteristic of the quantitative approach in research (Babbie & Mouton, 2003:22). The aim and objectives formulated for the study dictated the adoption of a quantitative approach. A quantitative study involves numerical values, measurements and coding, which allows the researcher to compare and test relationships between variables (e.g. the correlation between substance abuse and sex work or family dysfunction and sex workers who ran away from home). Additionally, a quantitative study

allowed the researcher to find degrees of association between the variables (Ivankova, Creswell & Clarke, 2007:263; Bless, Higson-Smith & Kagee, 2006:44). Given the focus of the present study, a qualitative approach would have been unsuitable, owing to the fact that the aim of the study was not to interpret the social interactions of adult female street-based sex workers. Instead, the aim of the study was to develop unbiased understanding of the context-specific pathways women follow into adult street-based sex work through the generation of quantifiable data (Johnson & Christensen, 2008:34; Lichtman, 2006:7-8).

4.3. Research purpose

The purpose of the study was to explore and describe the context-specific pathways of women into adult street-based sex work. Exploration and description were chosen to familiarise the researcher with the phenomenon and accompanying facts concerning CSW (Kumar, 2005:10). The explorative purpose served to satisfy the researcher's curiosity and the descriptive purpose furnished a more comprehensive understanding regarding the pathways into CSW (Babbie, 2010:67). Additionally, exploring the phenomenon provides valuable insight into the female street-based sex worker engaged within CSW. Descriptive and exploratory studies are concerned with questions such as how, who and what (Kumar, 2005:10). The descriptive component ensures that an accurate picture of sex work in Arcadia and Sunnyside (Pretoria) is obtained in terms of the situation, the social setting and any relationships between risk factors in the context of street-based sex work (Neuman, 2011:38). The study explored and described the pathways adult female street-based sex workers follow into CSW. The elements which the pathways comprise of, such as economic background, family experiences, general life experiences, forms of abuse and substance abuse were also explored and described (Babbie, 2010:67).

4.4. Type of research

There are two types of research, namely basic and applied. The current study is characterised as basic research, also referred to as pure or fundamental research. Basic research develops theories and hypotheses, not relevant or applicable at the time, with the potential to become the foundation of applied research (Kothari, 2004:3). The basic research type is curiosity driven and often used in criminological inquiries, for example what causes the phenomenon in question. The focus of basic research is directed at exploring unknown phenomena in pursuit of uncovering knowledge (Dantzker & Hunter, 2012:10). Therefore, the present study focussed on the acquisition, expansion and advancement of fundamental knowledge relevant to the pathways adult female street-based sex workers follow into CSW, without having any applied purpose at the present stage (Kothari, 2004:3). It is important to note that without the expansion of information and filling of gaps in knowledge, application cannot be achieved.

Hence, the current study, for example, creates an ideal starting point from which future exit strategies for adult female street-based sex workers could potentially be designed (Dantzer & Hunter, 2012:10; Bhattacharjee, 2012:2).

4.5. Research design

A research design can be understood as the plan according to which the research will be conducted. Therefore, the research design provides guidance to the researcher pertaining to the execution of the study and how to optimally obtain the necessary data relevant to the research problem, which is in the present study to explore and describe the context-specific pathways of women into adult street-based sex work (Welman, Kruger & Mitchell, 2005:52). The objectives formulated for the study dictated the utilisation of a survey research design. Surveys are the most prevalent way of gathering quantitative data, yet its integrity is often questioned in terms of reliability and validity (Creswell, 2009: 2). A survey can be defined as a systematic technique to collect information from a sample of individuals in order to construct quantitative descriptors of the attributes of the larger population of which the individuals are members (Groves, Fowler, Couper, Lepkowski, Singer & Tourangeau, 2009:2). Surveys measure variables and test the effects of variables by utilising statistical methods (Bhattacharjee, 2012:39). The survey design provided the researcher with a means to observe trends, attitudes and/or opinions from which inferences about adult female street-based sex workers' pathways into CSW could be drawn (Leedy, Ormond, Neuman & Salkind, 2010:127). In other words, survey research is beneficial for measuring unobservable data such as traits (e.g. family dysfunction), attitudes (e.g. toward sex work), beliefs (e.g. about decriminalisation), behaviours (e.g. substance use) or factual information (e.g. income) (Bhattacharjee, 2012:73).

The researcher opted for a cross-sectional survey as it was most feasible, due to the focus of the study being placed on adult female street-based sex workers within Arcadia and Sunnyside, Pretoria. A cross-sectional design was suitable to describe the nature of sex work in Arcadia and Sunnyside, Pretoria. In addition, the design allows for comparisons to be drawn between different sex workers and the pathways they followed into the sex trade (Czaja & Blair, 2005:92). The study not only highlight major pathways but also draws a comparison between the different pathways female street-based sex workers can follow into the commercial sex industry, to create a more comprehensive understanding of the topic. A cross-sectional survey thus allowed the researcher to draw on conclusions from the data set in order to create an ample understanding of the topic (Leedy et al., 2010:127-128). The cross-sectional survey design selected for the present study can be seen as a 'snapshot' at a single point in time of the perceptions and views of sex workers in Arcadia and Sunnyside, Pretoria,

pertaining to the pathways they followed into adult female street-based CSW (Roberts, 2012: 115).

Each research design has its own set of advantages and disadvantages. A cross-sectional survey design was favoured because it is less demanding in its design requirements and consequently provides a researcher with greater scope to conduct the research effectively. Moreover, the design is well-known for easing the analysis process, with the added benefit of being less expensive than other types of surveys (Leedy et al., 2010:127; Kumar, 2005:93). The design is limited in that it is only practical if the population is not too large and concentrated in a certain geographical area (Roberts, 2012:115). Thus, the utilisation of a cross-sectional design was deemed sensible and appropriate as the present study was delimited to a relatively small population of adult female street-based sex workers in a specific demarcated geographical area, namely Arcadia and Sunnyside, Pretoria.

4.6. Research methods

The discussion below provides an overview of the methods utilised in the study, with specific reference to the study population and sampling strategies, the data collection technique and instrument, the data analysis process, measurement quality and the pilot study.

4.6.1 Study population and sampling

The study's focus was placed on the pathways adult female street-based sex workers follow into CSW. The study population can be defined as a group of individuals who possess specific characteristics from which a sample for the study can be drawn, in order to determine the parameters of the study (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007:112; Maree & Pietersen, 2007:172; Singh, 2007:8). Therefore, the study population consisted of adult street-based female sex workers who operate in the Arcadia and Sunnyside area of Pretoria. The study population includes individuals from various socio-economic backgrounds, races and ages. It should be noted that the research focus was directed at adult female sex workers, in other words respondents over the age of 18. Therefore, the researcher did not explore the criminal implications concerning under aged sex workers, as this was not the aim of the study (Woodin, 2014:4). The inclusion and exclusion criteria that were applied to the study population are summarised in Table 6.

Table 6: Inclusion and exclusion criteria for the study population

Inclusion criteria	Exclusion criteria
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> All the respondents who participated in the study had to be over the age of 18 years (adult). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Respondents under the age of 18 years (minors) were not included in the study.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Only females were included in the study sample. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No male or transgendered respondents were included in the study.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Only street-based sex workers were approached to participate in the study. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Other types of sex workers (e.g. brothel-based/escorts) were not included in the sample.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Only willing (consenting) adult female street-based sex workers were included in the study. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Non-consenting adult female street-based sex workers were not included in the study.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Adult female street-based sex workers of all races and ethnicities were included. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No sex worker was excluded based on race or ethnicity.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> All respondents regardless of their ability to read and/or write were included in the study. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No respondent was excluded on the basis of their ability to read and/or write
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sex workers who were able to communicate in English were included in the study. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sex workers who were unable to communicate in English were excluded from the study.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sex workers who were not obviously inebriated were included in the study. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sex workers who were obviously inebriated were excluded from the study.

From the onset the sample size was dependent on the willingness of respondents to participate in the study. However, a minimum of 60 respondents were required for the study and no more than 80 respondents would be interviewed. Due to growing safety concerns for both the researcher and potential respondents, the researcher sufficed with the minimum of predetermined number of 60 respondents. The number of respondents was deemed sufficient to identify context-specific pathways into adult female street-based CSW. The sample was identified and chosen in such a way to be relevant to the aim of the study, in order for all objectives to be attained. Non-probability sampling was utilised in the study as each sex worker did not have an equal chance of being selected. Thus, sex workers were selected

based on non-random criteria (Bhattacharjee, 2012:69). With non-probability sampling it is assumed that the study's population shares an even distribution of characteristics. Compared to probability sampling, non-probability sampling is often preferred, owing to the fact that it is less expensive and can be implemented swiftly. By utilising non-probability sampling the target respondents, adult female street-based sex workers, could be reached effectively (Battaglia, 2008:253-256). It should be kept in mind that a sampling framework (from which to draw a representative sample of sex workers) was not available; hence non-probability strategies were the only option available to the researcher.

A combination of purposive and snowball sampling was chosen due to the hidden nature of sex work and the likelihood that the study population would be reluctant to engage with the researcher. The sex workers were approached for potential participation in the study in the streets of Arcadia and Sunnyside, Pretoria and from there a combination of purposive and snowball sampling was used. The main objective of purposive sampling is to produce a sample whose characteristics are aligned with that of the group (street-based sex workers) which the researcher intends to study. Therefore, purposive sampling proved beneficial for the current study as it created a clearer picture pertaining to adult female street-based sex workers (Battaglia, 2008:253-256). With purposive sampling the sex workers were chosen arbitrarily due to the characteristics they possessed which were deemed important for the study. Purposive sampling was utilised in order to approach the first sex workers; thereafter the researcher used snowball sampling in order to obtain the rest of the respondents.

Snowball sampling was used, owing to the fact it proved difficult to locate respondents; therefore, referrals from initial respondents (obtained through purposive sampling) served to generate additional subjects (Bhattacharjee, 2012:70; Walonick, 2010:21). In other words, the researcher asked the initial respondents obtained through purposive sampling to recommend other individuals, who met the inclusion criteria, to participate in the study. The aforementioned yielded a substantial number of respondents. Snowball sampling may in some instances not lead to a representative sample. However, when the study population consists of a group of individuals who are hidden and/or hard to reach like sex workers, the sampling method is beneficial (Bhattacharjee, 2012:70).

4.6.2 Data collection

The data gathering technique for the study was face-to-face interviews, utilising a structured questionnaire. Although face-to-face interviews have certain limitations, the advantages attached to the technique were judged to outweigh the inherent disadvantages posed. One disadvantage of face-to-face interviews is that in large populations the technique may become

expensive (Kothari, 2004:98). Due to the geographic demarcation of the study (Arcadia and Sunnyside, Pretoria) and the predetermined minimum (60) and maximum (80) number of respondents, the researcher did not deem the high cost of face-to-face interviews in large populations as pertinent to the present study. A further limitation is that there may be a high level of bias (Maree & Pietersen, 2007:158-172). The researcher took great care not to influence the answers of respondents by heeding the following proposed guidelines in terms of how to conduct a successful interview during the data collection process (Kothari, 2004:136):

- The researcher should sufficiently understand the research problem. Thus, advanced planning is essential.
- The researcher must be friendly and professional, yet informal during the interview process.
- A favourable atmosphere would prove beneficial to the study. Therefore, the researcher should try to build a rapport with the respondent.
- The researcher must exercise self-restraint and self-discipline during the interviewing process.
- During the interview process the researcher must control the course of the interview.

Further limitations of face-to-face interviews are their time-consuming nature and the impediment of language barriers (Kothari, 2004:98-100; Maree & Pietersen, 2007:158). The nature of the structured questionnaire aided in predicting the time that would be spent on the face-to-face interviews, which assisted the researcher to plan accordingly. It should be noted that no single interview exceeded 45 minutes. Even though there were language barriers, the face-to-face interviews provided the researcher the opportunity to clarify questions to the respondent and where needed to adapt words and phrases to the education level of the respondent.

In addition to the above-mentioned limitations, the researcher expected to encounter reluctance from some sex workers to engage in interviews. Owing to the hidden, secretive and illicit nature of sex work, the development of a relationship of trust between the respondents and researcher was of paramount concern. The limitation was circumvented by utilising the services of a local security company, namely *Guards on Call Security*¹¹. The company, which has nine years of experience working in Arcadia and Sunnyside (Pretoria), has an established

¹¹ See section ethical considerations, security measures.

relationship with the street-based sex workers located in the area. The researcher utilised the pre-existing relationship of trust between the company's staff members and the female street-based sex workers in order to approach potential respondents for both the pilot and main study. In addition, staff members were able to advise the researcher regarding the manner in which to approach sex workers and the most suitable times for interviews in terms of not attracting unwanted attention. Additionally, the sex workers were also asked whether they could participate in the study at the present time or would prefer to meet the researcher at a later time, on an alternative date or in a different location. All the sex workers opted to participate in the study at the time they were approached. By giving the sex workers the choice to participate in the study either at the first encounter or at a later stage, a safe space wherein the researcher and sex worker could communicate was created (Kothari, 2004:98-100).

As mentioned above, the limitations posed by face-to-face interviews is far outweighed by the advantages attached to the technique. Advantages of the technique, which persuaded the researcher that face-to-face interviews would optimally serve the aim of the study include that it yields a high response rate, long questionnaires can be used and illiterate respondents can be included in the study (Kothari, 2004:98-100; Maree & Pietersen, 2007:158).

A questionnaire was chosen as the research instrument to obtain the primary data. A questionnaire serves to gather information by asking questions to the chosen study population and the obtained answers (data) are used for analysis purposes (Hornby, 2006:1190). The characteristics of an effective questionnaire are highlighted as follows (Goddard & Melville, 2001: 48):

- A questionnaire should answer all questions posed by the research study sufficiently.
- Questionnaires should not be time consuming.
- Questionnaires should not be suggestive and lead respondents' answers.
- It is advisable that sensitive questions be placed later in the questionnaire.
- A questionnaire should be aligned with the objectives formulated for the study.
- A questionnaire should be precise, unambiguous and easily understood by the respondent.

The questionnaire format comprised of both open and closed-ended questions. The majority of the questions consisted of closed-ended questions with respondents being requested to choose the most appropriate response, which in turn made it easier to analyse and quantify the responses (Maree & Pietersen, 2007:161-162). However, open-ended questions were

also utilised, where respondents were asked to elaborate on questions. Open-ended questions allowed for more detailed information to be collected, which greatly benefited the study (Kumar, 2008:99; Wisker, 2009:130-133). It should be kept in mind that the number of open-ended questions was limited owing to the discomfort sex workers might experience when a researcher writes too much during an interview. The researcher's decision to limit the number of open-ended questions was informed by the research study conducted by Shaver in 2005, wherein the researcher noted sex workers' disconcertment with field notes (Shaver, 2005:303). However, the option to elaborate on certain questions was made available if the respondent felt comfortable to do so.

Each of the questions within the questionnaire was formulated with the express purpose to address the objectives of the study. Questions were sequenced in an easy to follow manner, starting with uncomplicated questions progressing to increasingly difficult ones. Provisions were made to record uncertainty to questions (Kothari, 2004:103-104). The questionnaire started with socio-demographic and biographical questions and proceeded to questions more relevant to the pathways which lead to street-based sex work¹². It should be noted that the researcher used the Drug Abuse Screening Test (DAST-10), a scale which has been validated widely in research and available in the public domain, to source information pertaining to substance use/abuse (Skinner, 1982:363-371; Yudko, Lozhkina & Fouts, 2007:189-198). Questionnaires did not contain identifying information such as names, addresses, relatives' names, email addresses or phone numbers. The questions were scrutinised in terms of them not being worded in a negative manner, ambiguously, biased or presumptuously. In addition, care was taken not to illicit multiple answers and that questions were not too general, but also not too detailed (Bhattacharjee, 2012:76).

4.6.3 Data analysis and presentation

Data analysis can be understood in terms of the way data is captured, analysed and how meaning is given to data through statistical procedures (Neuman, 2006:16). The data collected was analysed using an unobtrusive and systematic technique, which subsequently allows the researcher to sort through large volumes of unstructured data (Verwey, 2003:168). It should be noted that coding refers to the process of converting the collected data into a numerical format (Bhattacharjee, 2012:119). The collected data was categorised to align with the objectives of the study; in other words, the data was categorised in accordance with the different sections represented within the questionnaire. Every data item must be mutually exclusive, meaning that a specific answer can only be placed in one cell in a given category

¹² See Appendix B

set (Verwey, 2003: 166). Thereafter, the primary data was analysed by coding and computerisation, as well as calculated by the Statistical Package for the Social Science (SPSS). Data can be entered into SPSS directly, via an excel spread sheet, database or text file (Bhattacharjee, 2012:120). After the coding process, the data was entered manually into a computer (IBM, 2016). The nature of the data's distribution (normal or skewed) indicates whether parametric or non-parametric tests should be used to calculate the significance of the collected data sets. Owing to the low sample size, parametric tests could not be used in the present study. Hence non-parametric tests, which make fewer assumptions and have wider applicability were used. In other words, the parameters of non-parametric tests are flexible and not set in advance, making the tests more robust (Flynn, [sa]:2-82).

The Shapiro-Wilk test indicated that 22 of the 368 variables in the dataset were normally distributed. However, a visual inspection of the 22 variables by means of histograms with normality curves suggested that the variables in fact did not present a normal distribution.¹³ Therefore, and in addition to the non-probability sampling strategy followed in the selection of respondents, non-parametric procedures had to be used to determine significant relationships that could point to factors that play a meaningful role in women's pathways to commercial sex work. Based on the literature review and the theoretical framework for the study, key variables that were identified to test for significant relationships included experiences of abuse, having been arrested, substance abuse and runaway behaviour. The Mann-Whitney *U* was used to identify meaningful associations between variables; wherever a significant relationship prevailed ($p < 0.05$), effect sizes were calculated (-0.1 indicating a weak, -0.3 suggesting a medium and -0.5 denoting a strong effect size) (Ghasemi & Zahediasl, 2012:486-489; SAS Institute Inc., 2011:275-281; Field, 2009:286-288).

It should be noted that any unexpected or negative findings with regard to the current study will be disclosed and discussed, even if it may have a negative effect on the final research report (Bhattacharjee, 2012:138). Under and over reporting, which might alter the research findings in an undesirable way, are well documented limitations in research studies. Therefore, full disclosure pertaining to negative findings is important as it may help future researchers from having similar issues in their respective studies (Bhattacharjee, 2012:139). Data interpretation refers to the process whereby results pertaining to the data analysis process can be used to make inferences and conclusions about the problem under investigation. In

¹³ It is generally advised that normality be determined both visually (with for example histograms and Q-Q plots) and by means of tests of normality (cf. Ghasemi & Zahediasl, 2012;

order to promote optimal and swift interpretation, understanding and comparison of large volumes of data, the data will be presented in statistical graphs and tables in Chapter 5.

4.6.4 Measurement quality

Measurement accuracy and precision are described as the most important qualities of sound research. Measurements can be made with varying degrees of precision, where precision refers to the exactness of the measure used in an observation or description of an attribute (Babbie & Mouton, 2007:125; 143). Validity and reliability are the fundamental principles used to evaluate a measurement tool. Babbie and Mouton (2007:146) describe validity as a measure, which can accurately reflect the concept it is intended to measure. In other words, validity is the extent to which an empirical measure reflects the real meaning of the concept under consideration. The measurement quality of the data is dependent on the reliability and validity of the data collected. The types of validity that were important in terms of the current study, were face validity (the questionnaire measured what it intended to measure) and content validity (the extent to which the key concepts were covered in the questionnaire) (Babbie & Mouton, 2007:125; Bless et al., 2006:145; Bless, Higson-Smith & Sithole, 2013:231-234; Maree & Pietersen, 2007:172). Therefore, the measuring instrument, which was a questionnaire in the present study, had to be designed to address the aim and objectives of the study. During the construction of the questionnaire, the researcher took great care to ensure that the various sections of the questionnaire covered the aim and objectives of the study, thus reinforcing the study's content validity. The appropriateness, meaningfulness and usefulness of the study was analysed, which in turn affirms the study's validity (Kothari, 2004:74). For example, the findings of the Brennen et al. study (2010:35-47), *Unravelling women's pathways to serious crime: New findings and links to prior feminist pathways* was compared with the current study's findings in order to enhance reliability and validity. Additionally, questions from standardised questionnaires (e.g. *Pathways through sex work: Childhood experiences and adult identities*) were utilised in order to bolster the study's validity (Dodsworth, 2011:1-18). The validity of the study is enhanced by the precision with which the different attributes are described. However, in quantitative research errors may occur owing to a defective measuring instrument (Kothari, 2004:73). A measuring instrument can be rendered invalid owing to, for example, the use of complex words that are beyond the comprehension of the respondent, words with ambiguous meanings, poor printing, inadequate space for replies, response choice omissions and poor sampling (Babbie & Mouton, 2007:125). The validity of the measurement instrument is dependent on addressing the aforementioned challenges.

Bell (2010:119) defines reliability as the extent to which a procedure or test produces similar results under constant conditions on all occasions. Therefore, reliability means that the same data would have been collected each time in repeated observations of the same phenomenon (Babbie & Mouton, 2007:125). The reliability of the present study was strengthened because only one researcher conducted the face-to-face interviews. Questions were explained in a consistent manner to all the respondents, which means that different interpretations of questions and meanings of words were restricted. The overall structure of the questionnaire, and the way in which the questions were asked, were planned to enhance the reliability of the questionnaire. Mindful of reliability, the researcher was cognisant of not using words that were too complex and ensured that sufficient space was available in the questionnaire where respondents were asked to verbally elaborate on questions. The reliability and validity of the questionnaire, and ultimately the study, was further augmented by making use of a pilot study (Degu & Yigzaw, 2006:90).

4.6.5 Pilot study

The use of a pilot study is necessary to ensure the success of the study and enhance the value thereof. In addition to the strategies discussed in the preceding section to ensure validity and reliability, a pilot study was conducted in order to determine the feasibility of the study (Babbie & Mouton, 2010:244). The pilot study was useful to determine the aptness of the sample frame and the suitability of the data collection technique and instrument. In other words, a pilot study is conducted to establish the overall suitability of the study's methodology (Babbie & Mouton, 2010:244; Delpont & Roestenburg, 2011:195; Singh, 2007:72; Wellman, Kruger & Mitchell, 2005:147). Therefore, the pilot study necessitates the execution of the study on a smaller scale. The value of the pilot study lies in the fact that it draws attention to the practical planning of the main research study in terms of resources, the research problem and the sample frame.

The pilot study was conducted in areas of Arcadia and Sunnyside, which could be separated from the streets within which the main study was planned. A close match between the characteristics of the geographical area chosen for the pilot study and the research site for the main research study was imperative in order for the researcher to probe the suitability of the methodology of the study in an environment which possessed exactly the same characteristics. The justification was that a different pool of respondents would be accessed for the pilot study because the likelihood of sex workers migrating from the areas they usually operate in is very small. The assumption was reinforced by the study conducted by Shafer (2005:299), which confirms that street-based sex workers are territorial and rarely drift from the locations they are known to work in. It should be noted that due to the secretive, illicit and

hidden nature of sex work as well as the limited number of respondents who were willing to participate in the study, the researcher was unable to exclude the respondents used in the pilot study from the main study. The number of respondents used in the pilot study comprised of five women involved in adult street-based sex work in Arcadia and Sunnyside. The same inclusion and exclusion criteria for the main research study was applied to the pilot study sample.

The pilot study, amongst other benefits, served to provide evidence regarding the efficiency of the data gathering instrument (i.e. the questionnaire). Generally, during the pilot study, feedback regarding the questionnaire is used to restructure the questionnaire if necessary and subsequently improve the data gathering instrument. In the pilot study the wording, format and length of the questionnaire, as well as difficulty of the questions are tested in order for changes to be made accordingly (Mitchell & Jolley, 2007:530). Furthermore, the purpose of the pilot study is to evaluate the practical aspects of the study such as the cost of the study, the estimated time frame and any other expenses. In addition, the pilot study was useful as it allowed to test the level of involvement of respondents, as well as to become familiar with the field of study (Strydom, 2011:241-246).

In terms of the current study, the pilot study revealed no issues regarding the data collection instrument and consequently the questionnaire was not altered in any way. In other words, the questionnaire proved sufficient in terms of achieving the aims and objectives of the study. Consequently, the decision to include the respondents used for the pilot study into the main study was not considered problematic, because the questionnaire was administered to all the respondents in exactly the same manner. What stood out during the pilot study was that the questions were easily understood by the respondents. However, the questionnaire was quite lengthy and a few respondents indicated that future research endeavours should consider that research of the present study's nature takes place during their working hours and should thus not be too time consuming.

4.7. Ethical considerations

Cogent research ethics are demonstrated when a researcher conforms to the standards pertaining to research as set out by a certain profession or group (Bhattacharjee, 2012:137). Researchers have an ethical responsibility with regards to the way they use information, as well as the manner in which they conduct their research. Ethics is a philosophical branch in research which in essence deals with human conduct and character. It comprises the study of morality and above all, how to distinguish right from wrong (Bothma, Cosijn, Fourie & Penzhorn, 2008:116-118). Research ethics are concerned with questions such as, 'Are my

actions fair?’ and ‘Are all the respondents in the study protected?’ It has become common practice for researchers to demonstrate their ethical awareness in research endeavours by stating the ethical issues lucidly in their research reports. Consequently, the ethical considerations that were pertinent to the current study are discussed in the following section.

4.7.1. Voluntary participation in the study

Respondents who participate in a research study must be given all the information regarding the specific study in order for them to gain reasonable insight into the purpose of the research. Information pertaining to the study must also be provided to all respondents in a neutral manner to avoid exerting undue pressure on the respondents (The National Committee for Research Ethics in the Social Sciences and the Humanities [NESH], 2006:12). In the present study, the respondents were informed that participation in the research is voluntary and that they had the right to withdraw at any stage during the study without any negative consequences. In other words, no respondents were forced to take part in the research, which enhances the validity of the study (Westmarland, 2011:144). The respondents were clearly informed about the research aim, methods, and manner in which the collected data will be used, as well as possible risks (NESH, 2006:12). In so doing the respondents were able to make informed decisions with regard to their participation in the study. In instances where sex workers wished to withdraw from the study, they were able to do so without any repercussions (Bhattacharjee, 2012:138; Haggerty, 2004:404). In terms of the current study, none of the respondents withdrew from the study. It should be borne in mind that even when participation is voluntary, respondents must believe that they will benefit in some way from the study, not necessarily monetary benefit (Babbie & Mouton, 2003:521). With regard to the current study, respondents directly benefitted from receiving an incentive (R60 shopping voucher), which will be discussed in detail in paragraph 4.7.6. Additionally, respondents may have indirectly benefitted from the pamphlet containing the contact details of organisations which are equipped to manage problems the sex worker may experience (even if not caused by the research). The aforementioned pamphlet will be discussed in the following section.

4.7.2. Avoidance of harm

The research must be designed and carried out in such a way that the interests of all groups involved are respected and risks or any form of harm are limited to a minimum level. Harm refers to any physical or psychological harm the study might bring to the respondents, their families or to the community as a whole (Westmarland, 2011:144). The respondent must be protected against the possibility of physical injury or disability. It should be noted that the risk of physical harm to respondents in social science research are negligible when compared to, for example, medical research. Subsequently, in social science research harm may be more

difficult to identify and measure as the potential harm, more often than not, is psychological and emotional (NESH, 2006:11-12). If participation in a research project poses greater risk to individuals than what they would encounter in their daily lives, the risks must either be managed by the researcher or the research must not be conducted at all. It is not always easy to determine the extent of harm or whether a study will harm all involved or only a few of the respondents, because individuals will respond differently to different situations. The researcher must contemplate the types of harm posed by a study and judge the likelihood that actual harm will occur (NESH, 2006:11-12; Haggerty, 2004:398-402).

Cognisant of the aforementioned, the researcher provided sex workers with a pamphlet containing the contact details of organisations which are equipped to manage a variety of problems sex workers may experience (even if not caused by the research). Succeeding each interview, the researcher enquired whether the sex worker would prefer to receive one of the aforementioned pamphlets¹⁴. It deserves to be mentioned that the researcher asked sex workers if they wanted the pamphlet, in order not to offend or stigmatise the respondents. The organisations listed in the pamphlets provide a variety of services to women at risk, including sex workers, as part of the normal course of their day to day business operations. Additionally, the organisations typically after consultation with the women in need of assistance (e.g. what type of help is needed), refer them to a local contact person in the organisation. The researcher communicated with the organisations before the commencement of the study as a courtesy, in order to inform them of the study and the possibility that they may be contacted by respondents in need of assistance. It should be noted that only a limited number of sex workers expressed an interest to receive the pamphlet. In fact, a surprising large number of the respondents indicated that they had dealings with the organisations before and that they did not believe that the organisations would benefit them or their unique situations. One respondent specifically stated that some organisations did not care about the challenges sex workers face on a daily basis and that they are too preoccupied with the media attention generated by the possible decriminalisation of sex work.

4.7.3. Informed consent

Free consent can be understood as permission being given freely without pressure or constraint regarding an individual's freedom of choice and action (NESH, 2006:13). Information regarding the current study had to be provided to all sex workers who were approached to participate in the study, which assisted them in making an informed decision about their participation or non-participation in the study (Wesmarland, 2011:142). All pertinent

¹⁴ See Appendix C

information regarding the study was discussed with the sex worker prior to the commencement of the interview. In addition, an information sheet detailing the information was made available if they wished to read through it. The researcher offered to answer any and all additional questions the sex workers had (Hagan, 2010:41-42). In a study conducted by Shaver (2005:303), the researcher states that the provision of information and informed consent were not problematic during face-to-face interviews with sex workers. The sex workers who participated in the study did not object to the face-to-face interviews and freely shared information. However, Shaver (2005:303) cautioned that issues regarding informed consent arose in terms of field observations. She emphasises that sex workers who consented to the face-to-face interviews, did not agree to the researcher taking field notes about their activities. In the present study, no problems or objections were raised against the taking of field notes.

All the sex workers involved in the study signed a release form demonstrating that they understood what the research entailed, how the results will be used and the risks that were involved (Babbie and Mouton, 2003:526; Haggerty, 2004:404). In cases where respondents were illiterate, details regarding the study were verbally communicated to them and ticking the appropriate box to signify consent proved beneficial in instances where respondents were unable to write. Nevertheless, all the respondents were given the choice of either signing a letter of consent or merely ticking a box acknowledging that they consented to the study in cases where they were unwilling to sign their full signatures¹⁵. Sex workers were made aware of the following possible risks which may be associated with their participation in the study (not necessarily limited to): (i) the questions in the questionnaire are of a personal nature and may cause emotional distress to the sex worker; (ii) loss of clientele owing to time spent on the interview; and (iii) the researcher's presence may draw increased attention to the sex worker. The aforementioned risks were partially neutralised by offering the respondents alternatives in terms of conducting the face-to-face interviews at a later time, on an alternative date or in a different location and by providing them with the contact details of organisations that would be able to assist them with counselling services if they suffered emotional distress as a result of participating in the study. The researcher must be aware of any and all shortcomings posed by the study, as well as inform the readers and respondents thereof (Babbie and Mouton, 2003:526). The study posed no other significant risks other than those listed above. It should be noted that the sex workers were also made aware of the fact that the informed consent release forms and data will be stored securely in a safe at the Department of Social Work and Criminology, University of Pretoria for a minimum period of 15 years.

¹⁵ See Appendix D

4.7.4. Confidentiality

Face-to-face interviews were opted for as a data collection strategy in the present study, which means that the researcher had to adhere to high standards of confidentiality (Bhattacharjee, 2012:138). The implication is that the information obtained had to be respected and not discussed with anyone else outside of the study. Confidentiality requires that all information disclosed by respondents must be protected in order to safeguard their interests and future well-being. Furthermore, it is the responsibility of the researcher to refrain from improper and unauthorised use of the data (Bhattacharjee, 2012:138; Westmarland, 2011:144). In order for the study to remain ethical, collected data should not be fabricated or changed in any way. Ethics can prompt researchers to take a “just in case” approach for the good of the study (Haggerty, 2004:412; NESH, 2006:17-18). Therefore, any technical discrepancies, limitations and unsuccessful studies must be reported in order for the study to remain ethical (Bless et al., 2006:145).

Only the researcher and allocated supervisors had access to both the data collected and the informed consent release forms. Additionally, the informed consent release forms and data will be stored in a safe at the University of Pretoria, which limits access to the information. Furthermore, no identifiers (e.g. names) were attached to a specific questionnaire or informed consent release form. The questionnaires were numbered in order for data to be seen as a whole and not attached to a specific sex worker. In other words, no identifiable information could be linked to the questionnaire. Questionnaires do not contain identifying information such as names, addresses, relatives’ names, email addresses or telephone numbers. It would not be possible to link informed consent release forms to specific questionnaires as they are stored separate from the questionnaires and analysed data. Moreover, in order to emphasise the confidentiality of the information, respondents were provided with envelopes in which they could seal the questionnaires themselves after the conclusion of the interviews. The strategy ensured that no questionnaire could be linked to specific respondents afterwards, thus strengthening the confidentiality of the information (Engel & Schutt, 2014:189).

4.7.5. Security measures

Due to the nature and location of the study certain security measures had to be taken. The researcher was accompanied during data collection by a company, named *Guards on Call Security*. The company, which has nine years of experience working in Arcadia and Sunnyside, specialises in CSW, drug related crimes and other criminal activities associated with the area they work in. Additionally, the company regularly accompanies Criminology students into the field of practice for experiential learning purposes. The company’s experience and practical knowledge facilitated the researcher’s safety during data collection.

The assistance of *Guards on Call Security* was invaluable in gaining access to the study population, as the female sex workers knew and trusted the company's employees, owing to the fact that they have contact with the sex workers on a daily basis. Additionally, the company knew how and when to best approach the street-based sex workers. Prior to the commencement of the research study, *Guards on Call Security* provided confirmation that they would assist the researcher¹⁶ and the study was ethically approved by the Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Humanities, University of Pretoria¹⁷.

4.7.6. Incentives

Incentives are generally considered to be an 'unethically unproblematic' technique to achieve public policy objectives (Grant & Sugarman, 2004:718-721). With regard to the current study the use of incentives should be seen in the context of providing motivation to furnish information rather than reward for supplying information. Therefore, the incentive attached to the present study should be understood as a benefit designed as a motive, encouragement or incitement to action. Incentives should not be understood as a form of power but rather as a form of trade (Grant & Sugarman, 2004:718-721), specifically in a study of this nature, where sex workers time is of the essence. Additionally, Willman-Navarro (2006:19) found that respondents who engage within illicit markets respond better to incentives and disincentives as their business practice operates on the same type of principles, for example economic incentives. Jewkes, Sikweyiya, Morrell and Dunkle (2010:23-31) successfully used incentives within their study titled *Why, when and how men rape*; consequently, the example set in their study informed the utilisation of incentives in the present study.

Incentives for the study comprised a R60 retail/grocery store voucher as a trade for sex workers' participation in the study. The researcher ensured that the specific retail store was one that was easily accessible to sex workers in the area. Incentives were needed as sex workers are untrusting of outsiders and incentives served to motivate them to share information. The incentive offered was not too high to be considered as strategy that was used to coerce or manipulate the respondent, there was no risk of danger to the respondent in accepting the incentive, and the researcher and respondent were not in an unbalanced power relationship. Thus, incentives for the study should be understood as a form of trade and not as a form of power. When incentives are understood in terms of the aforementioned, ethical concerns about the offering of incentives are negated (Grant & Sugarman, 2004:721-733). It

¹⁶ See Appendix E

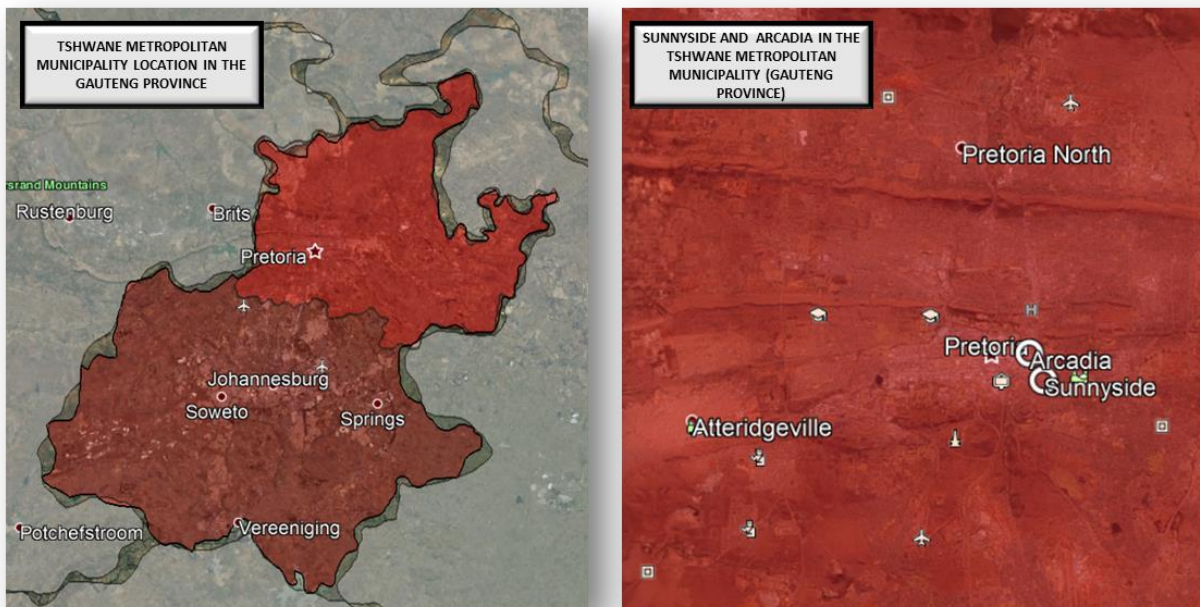
¹⁷ See Appendix F

should be noted that the respondents had a choice to participate in the study (voluntary participation) and therefore, a choice to consent to receive the incentive.

4.8. Geographic demarcation of the research site and field observations

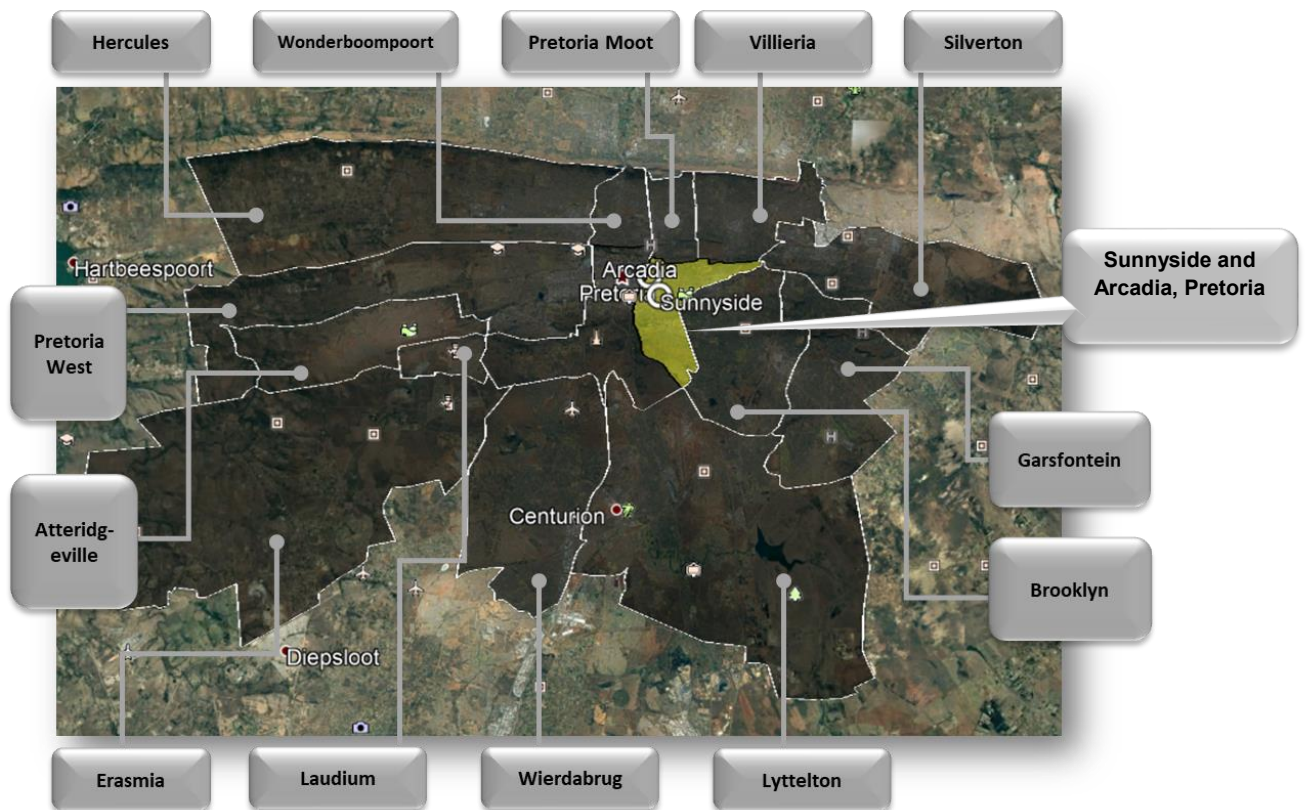
The current study focussed on adult female street-based sex work in Arcadia and Sunnyside, Pretoria in the Gauteng province and the section which follows serves to illuminate the geographic demarcation of the research site and acquaint the reader with the area. Map 1 below depicts the location of the research site within the greater City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality in the Gauteng province (Map 1).

Map 1: Location of the greater City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality in the Gauteng province



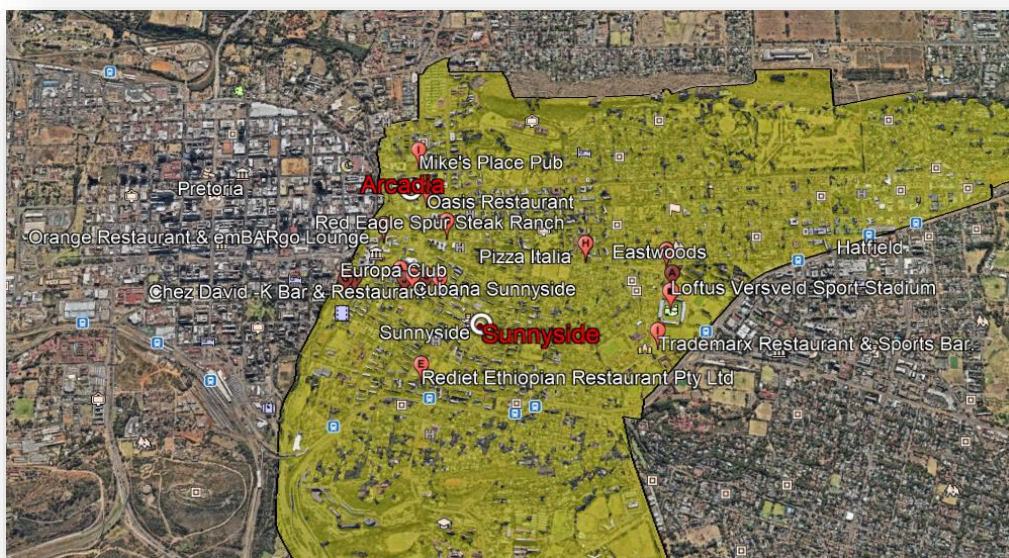
The geographic area in which the data was collected, namely Arcadia and Sunnyside fall within the boundaries of the Sunnyside police precinct. Map 2 below depicts the research site, namely Arcadia and Sunnyside, in relation to other areas within the Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality.

Map 2: Arcadia and Sunnyside in relation to other areas within the greater Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality



Map 3 portrays the restaurants, bars, nightclubs and sport stadium (Loftus Versveld) located in the research site. The relevance of the below highlighted locations (e.g. Loftus Versveld Sport Stadium) is that sex workers appeared to be more concentrated around these areas.

Map 3: Restaurants, bars, nightclubs and sport stadium located in the research site



4.9. Field observations

The section which follows provides information pertaining to the researcher's field observations and serves to provide the reader with insight into the unique characteristics of street-based sex work in Arcadia and Sunnyside (Pretoria). Respondents' busiest times of the month are around the 15th and between the 21st and 25th of each month, as well as during times when large sports events take place, notably rugby and soccer, at the Loftus Versveld Sport Stadium located in Arcadia. In addition to the aforementioned, the week days which presented with a higher frequency of sex workers on the streets were Fridays and Saturdays. During the aforementioned times, police presence in the research site increased, which subsequently made some of the respondents more hesitant to participate in the survey.

Several of the respondents appeared to have fixed locations in specific streets from which they operate. The researcher observed the same women on the same streets every evening during the data collection stage. The locations that respondents were mainly sourced from include the following streets: Hamilton Street, Vermeulen Street, Bekker Street, Pretorius Street, Madiba Street, Stanza Bobape Street and Park Street. Furthermore, Arcadia did not yield the same number of respondents as the Sunnyside area, which may be attributed to the large number of restaurants, bars and nightclubs located adjacent to the abovementioned streets where the respondents were operational. Also, it should be noted that most of the respondents went out in the evenings between 20:00 and 20:30, which coincided with the times the restaurants, bars and nightclubs became busy with increased numbers of clientele visiting the establishments. The respondents' most lucrative times were between 23:00 and 01:00. The following was further observed during data collection:

- Respondents who owned mobile phones tended to have regular clients who contacted them on the mobile phones to schedule appointments for sexual services. Despite the fact that sex workers were contacted in this manner, the transactional sex took place on the street.
- Most of the sexual services provided by the respondents took place in the clients' vehicles.
- At times when more than one client was interested in the same respondent at the same time, the client who had been willing to pay the most during the bargaining process 'won the bid', regardless of whether the amount offered was more or less than the respondent's usual rates.
- The frequency with which vehicles seemed to stop and rapidly depart again without any apparent transactional sex taking place on Saturdays specifically, led the researcher to assume that respondents were more willing to refuse clients on Saturdays. The

mentioned may be explained by the fact that Saturday evenings were busy and sex workers could turn away clients who did not want to pay their rates.

4.10. Limitations and challenges

As reiterated in the preceding discussion, although the methods utilised in the research were judged as the most suitable to achieve the aim and objectives of the study, certain limitations were identified in the methodology of the research. Since non-probability sampling was used, the results cannot be generalised. In the absence of a sampling framework from which to draw a representative sample of sex workers, the use of purposive and snowball sampling had the consequence that the researcher had little control over the sampling method, which means that sampling bias could have occurred. The use of the data collection method opted for, namely face-to-face interviews, had the implication that the absolute anonymity of respondents had to be sacrificed, thus possibly hampering the willingness of respondents to freely divulge information. The face-to-face interviews were also time consuming. Potential respondents were informed during the informed consent phase that interviews would last approximately 45 minutes. Consequently, despite being offered an opportunity to participate in the study at a later time, on an alternative date or in a different location, a substantial number of potential respondents declined to participate as they felt that the interview was interfering with their work.

In addition to the limitations of the study explicated above, the following challenges were present during the data collection stage of the study:

- Gaining the trust of respondents proved difficult despite the assistance of *Guards on Call Security* to gain access to potential respondents. The researcher had to reassure respondents that she was not affiliated to any law enforcement agencies or government organisations.
- The Christian Revival Church (CRC) was active in the area with outreach projects providing food parcels and religious support to the sex workers during the data collection stage. Consequently, the researcher was sometimes confused with church parishioners. However, the researcher immediately informed the sex workers that she had no affiliation to the CRC.
- The South African Police Services (SAPS) launched a number of anti-drug operations in the area during the data collection stage. The researcher observed that sex workers were more cautious and less trusting on the evenings following the anti-drug operations, subsequently prolonging the data collection stage of the study.

- Once the researcher explained the purpose of the study, the criminal elements (e.g. drug dealers and intermediaries) in the area were initially accommodating by allowing the researcher to interview the sex workers on the streets where they also conducted their 'business'. However, they became increasingly agitated by the presence of the researcher. Consequently, due to safety concerns for both the researcher and the sex workers, the data collection stage had to be terminated once the minimum number of interviews (60) were conducted.
- During time periods when the services of sex workers were in high demand, for example when large sport events occurred in proximity to the area or close to the end of the month when most workers receive remuneration, potential respondents were less approachable and less accommodating compared to the quieter time periods.

4.11. Summary

The aim of the preceding chapter was to explicate the research methods utilised in the current study. The study was conducted within the positivistic paradigm using a quantitative research approach. The objectives formulated for the study dictated the utilisation of a cross-sectional survey research design. Face-to-face interviews were conducted using a structured questionnaire with 60 adult female street-based sex workers in Sunnyside and Arcadia, Pretoria (Gauteng). Non-parametric procedures were utilised to determine significant relationships that could point to risk factors that play a meaningful role in women's pathways to CSW. Furthermore, the measurement quality, ethical considerations and challenges encountered during the execution of the study were elucidated. In the chapter which follows (Chapter 5), the empirical results will be stated with the aid of statistical graphs and tables to aid optimal understanding of the survey findings and subsequent interpretation thereof in the concluding chapter (Chapter 6).

Chapter 5: Empirical Results

5.1 Introduction

The present chapter focusses on the analysis and presentation of the data gathered from 60 adult female street-based sex workers in Arcadia and Sunnyside, Pretoria. The results are depicted numerically in tables and figures. The data was collected by means of a structured questionnaire during face-to-face interviews. The literature review, as well as aim and objectives guided the design of the questionnaire that was used during the cross-sectional survey of adult female street-based sex workers in Sunnyside and Arcadia, Pretoria. The results provide a detailed and context-specific picture of the profile of adult female street-based sex workers; the nature of adult female street-based sex work; and risk factors which have shaped respondents' trajectories into adult female street-based sex work. It should be noted that following the discussion of the results in the next chapter (Chapter 6), the context-specific pathways framework focussed on adult female street-based sex work in Arcadia and Sunnyside, Pretoria will be presented (i.e. the last objective formulated for the study). The justification for the presentation of the last objective subsequent to the discussion of the results is that the context-specific pathways framework will only become apparent after the results have been discussed and linked to the extant research findings and theoretical framework as well as integrated theoretical model formulated for the present study.

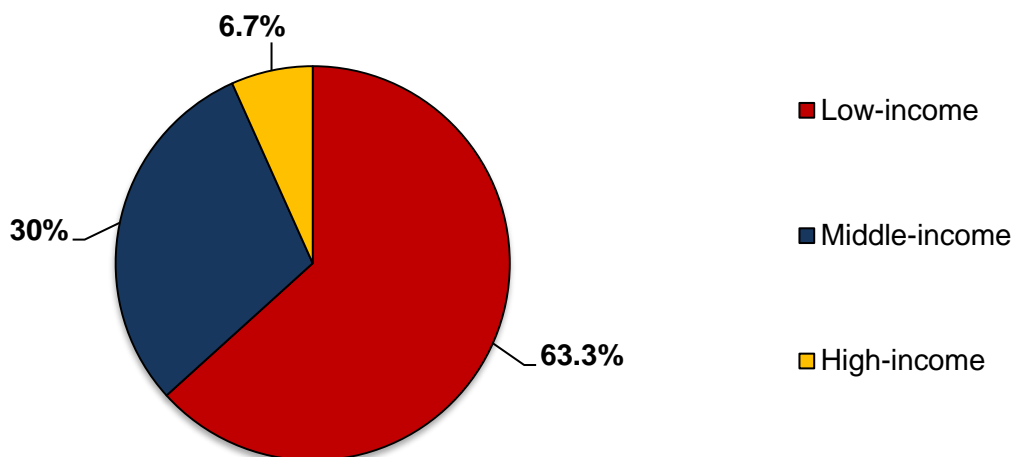
5.2 A profile of adult female street-based sex workers

The following section represents the respondents' socio-demographic and biographical information, such as age, population group, economic status, educational level, migratory information, prior employment and the reasons why sex workers would not consider another type of employment.

5.2.1. Socio-demographic and biographical information of respondents

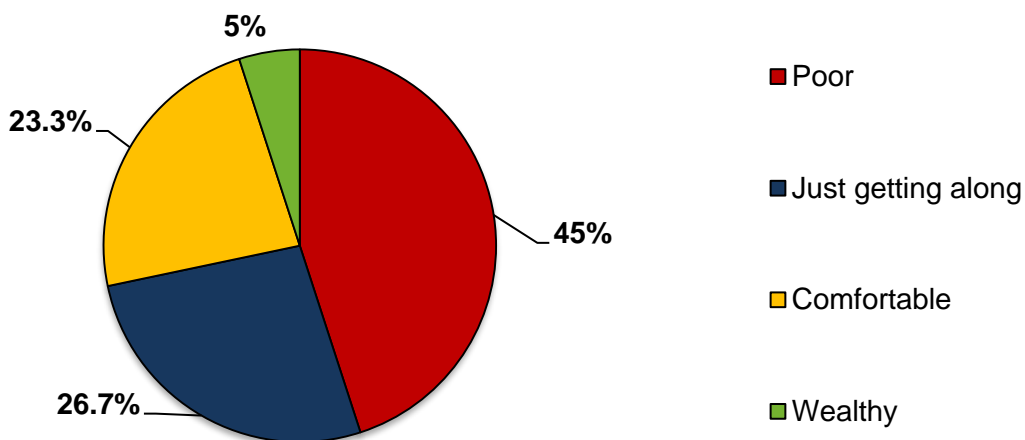
All the respondents in the study were female (n=60; 100%) and over the age of 18 years. The respondents' ages ranged between 20 and 50 years. The mean age of respondents was 33.04 years, with a standard deviation of 8.44 years. The bulk of the sex workers were between the ages of 25 and 42 years. The vast majority of respondents were Black (n=54; 90.0%), followed by White (n=3; 5.0%) and the respondent minorities were Indian (n=1; 1.7%), Coloured (n=1; 1.7%) and Caucasian-Japanese (n=1; 1.7%). With regards their economic status, the majority of respondents grew up in low-income households (n=38; 63.3%) (Figure 10).

Figure 10: Respondents economic status when growing up



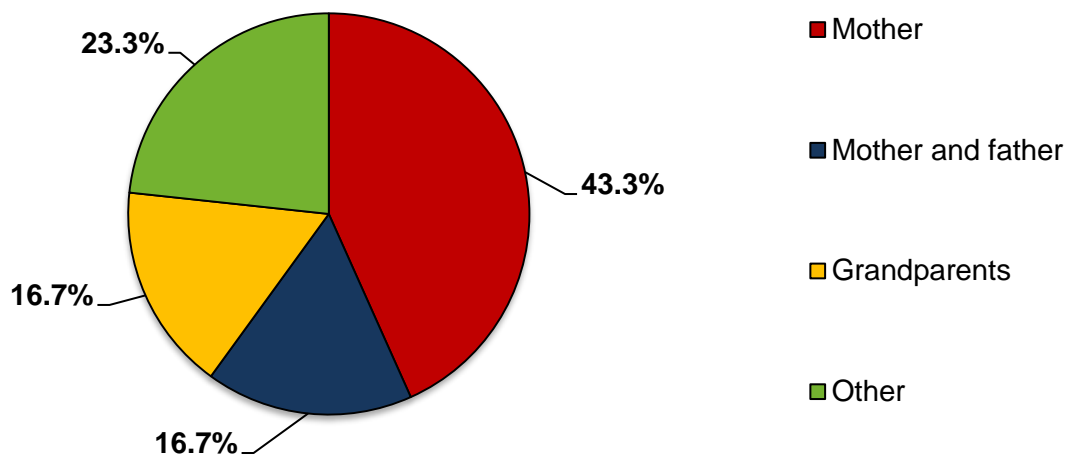
Nearly half of the respondents (n=27; 45.0%) considered themselves as poor prior to their involvement in adult female street-based sex work (Figure 11).

Figure 11: Respondents' perception regarding their household/family's economic status before their involvement in commercial sex work



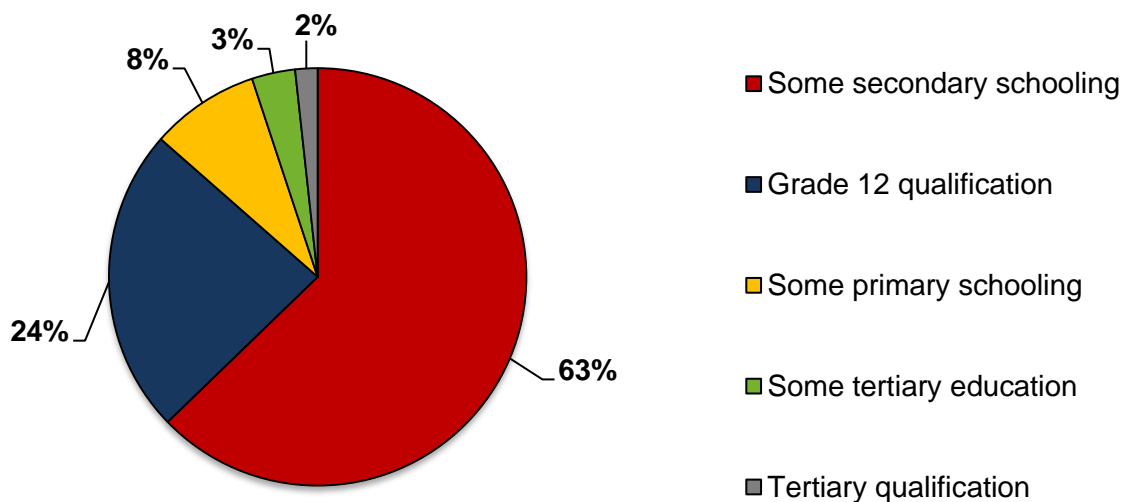
Respondents who were exclusively raised by their mothers comprised of 43.3% (n=26), followed by 16.7% (n=10) being raised by both their mother and father, as well as 16.7% (n=10) being raised by their grandparents. In addition to the aforementioned, the "Other" category consists of respondents who were raised exclusively by a father, mother and stepfather, uncle, aunt, foster parent or other guardians, or were adopted by an unspecified guardian (Figure 12).

Figure 12: Main caregivers to the respondents



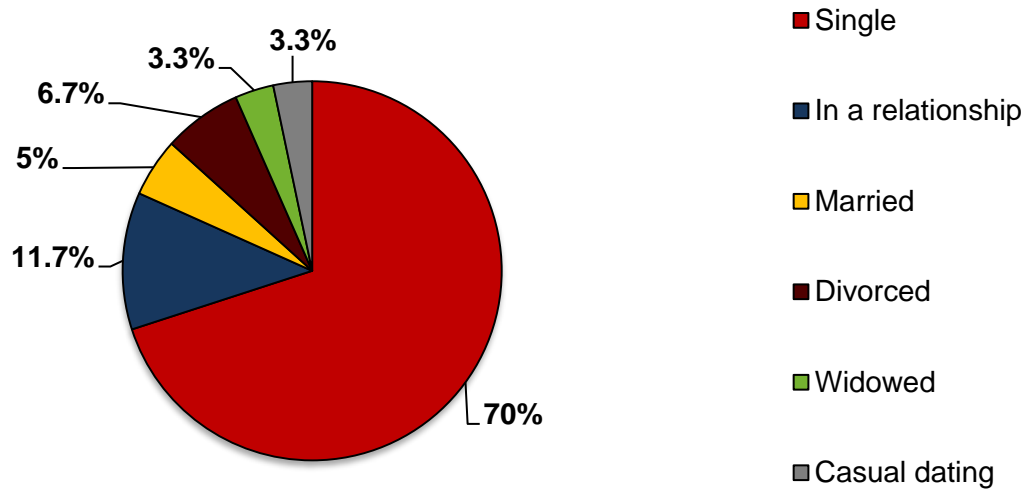
Nearly all respondents attended public school (n=59; 98.3%) and one respondent indicated that she did not attend school at all. Most of the respondents reported having some secondary schooling (n=37; 61.7%). Nearly one in five respondents (n=14; 23.3%) completed Grade 12 and two respondents (3.3%) had a tertiary qualification (Figure 13).

Figure 13: Highest educational level/qualification of respondents



The majority of respondents (n=42; 70.0%) were single and three (5.0%) respondents indicated that they were married. Seven (11.7%) respondents stated that they were currently in a relationship (Figure 14).

Figure 14: Respondents' current relationship status



The majority of respondents indicated that they have children (n=50; 83.3%), whilst ten (16.7%) respondents do not have any children. Of those who had children, four in five (n=40; 80.0%) stated that they have between one and two children and very few respondents (n=10; 16.7%) indicated that they have between three and four children.

Slightly more than half of the respondents (n=26; 52.0%) specified that their children reside in Gauteng, followed by 12.0% (n=6) in Zimbabwe and 10.0% (n=5) in KwaZulu-Natal (Table 7).

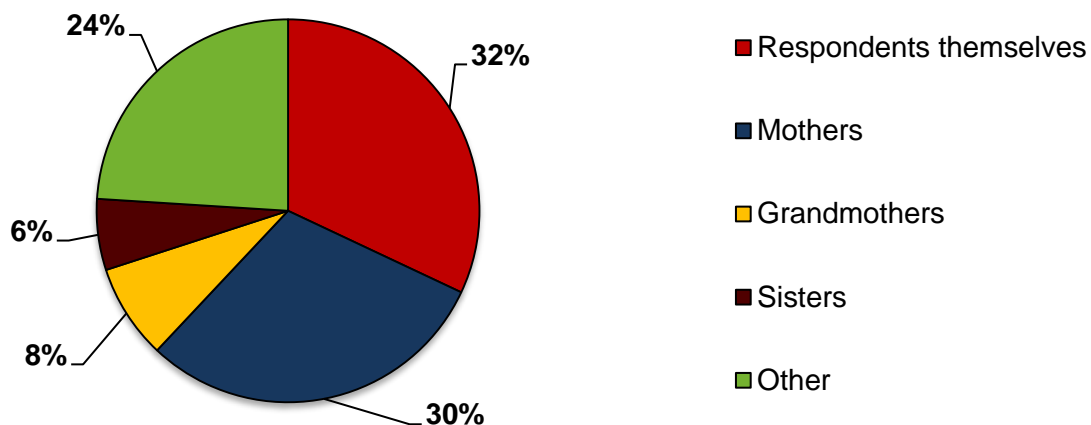
Table 7: Areas in which respondents' children reside

	n	%
Gauteng	26	52.0
KwaZulu-Natal	5	10.0
Free State	4	8.0
Limpopo	2	4.0
Mpumalanga	2	4.0
Western Cape	1	2.0
Zimbabwe	6	12.0
Zambia	1	2.0
Nigeria	1	2.0
One child in Zimbabwe and the other one in Gauteng	1	2.0

One child in Eastern Cape and the other child in Gauteng	1	2.0
Total:	50	100

Nearly a third of respondents (n=16; 32.0%) stated that they were the primary caregivers to their dependants, followed by 30.0% (n=15) who listed their mothers as the primary caregivers to their children. The “Other” caregivers consisted of the respondents’ sister and brother, their mother and father, their mother and brother, only their brother, both their mother and sister, their in-laws (one child) and themselves (one child), their guardians, their fathers (two different children) and unspecified siblings (Figure 15).

Figure 15: Primary caregiver to respondents’ children



5.2.3. Citizenship and migratory information

Three quarters of the respondents were South African nationals (n=45; 75.0%) and a quarter of the respondents indicated that they are foreign nationals (n=15; 25.0%). However, it should be noted that of the South African citizens, only 16.7% (n=10) indicated that they were originally from Pretoria (Gauteng Province). In other words, 50 respondents (83.3%) migrated from another area to Gauteng (Table 8). A third of the respondents (n=15; 30%) indicated that they migrated from another country, the majority of whom migrated from Zimbabwe (n=10; 20.0%) (Table 8).

Table 8: Provinces and countries from which respondents migrated

	n	%
Gauteng	8	16.0
KwaZulu-Natal	7	14.0

Free State	7	14.0
Western Cape	4	8.0
Mpumalanga	3	6.0
Limpopo	3	6.0
Eastern Cape	2	4.0
Northern Cape	1	2.0
Zimbabwe	10	20.0
Mozambique	1	2.0
Tanzania	1	2.0
Zambia	1	2.0
Nigeria	1	2.0
Lesotho	1	2.0
Total:	50	100

5.2.3 Prior employment of respondents

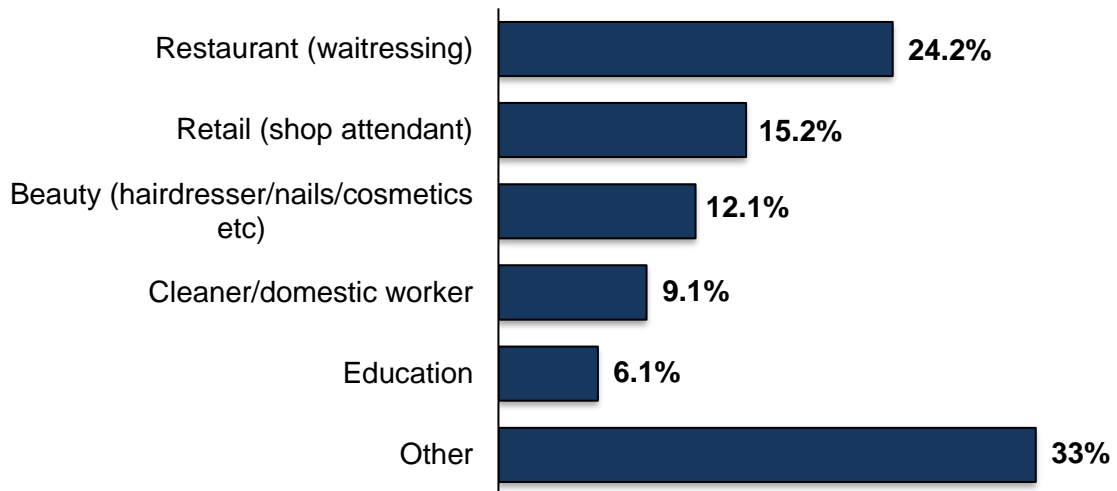
Slightly more than half of the respondents (n=33; 55.0%) elucidated that they were employed prior to their engagement in sex work, whereas two in five respondents (n=27; 45.0%) indicated that they had no previous employment. The greater proportion of respondents were employed between one and four years (n=18; 54.6%) (Table 9).

Table 9: Period of prior employment

	n	%
1 – 4 years	18	54.6
5 – 8 years	8	24.4
9 or more years	7	21.2
Total:	33	100

Prior to sex work, a quarter of the respondents (n=8; 24.2%) were employed in the restaurant industry, 15.2% (n=5) were employed in the retail industry and 12.1% (n=4) were employed in the beauty industry. The “Other” employment types (n=11; 33.0%) included hospital/medical care, public relations, government, picking up papers, tailoring, sales representative, employed by a friend (unspecified), employed at a crèche, factory worker, call centre operator and receptionist (Figure 16).

Figure 16: Type of prior employment



Ten respondents (30.3%) stated that their prior employment was part of the formal sector and 15 (45.5%) respondents indicated that their previous employment was part of the informal sector. Eight (24.2%) respondents stipulated that they did not know whether their prior employment activities were in the formal or informal sector.

The bulk of respondents (n=24; 72.7%) reported earning between R1000 and R4000 a month during their previous employment. One in five respondents (n=8; 24.2%) indicated that they earned between R4000 and R10 000 a month. One respondent (n=1; 3.0%) specified that she was employed by her friend and did not receive a salary, but added that room and board was provided as payment (Table 10).

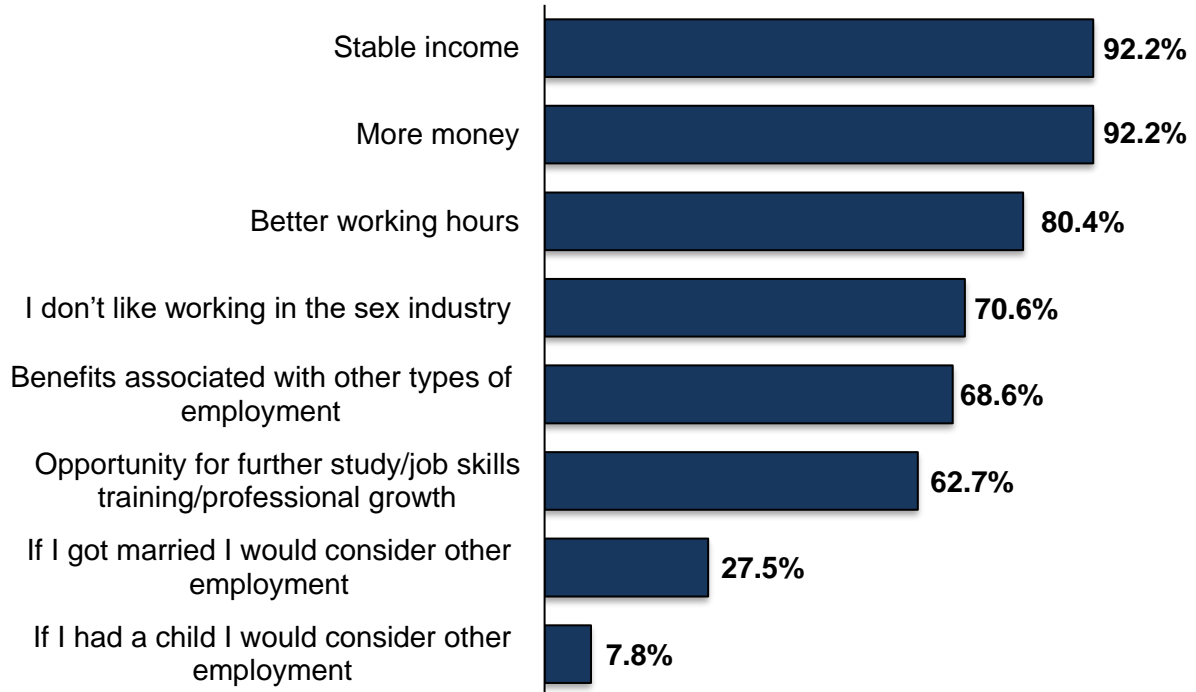
Table 10: Estimated earning for prior employment per month

	n	%
R0 (room and board provided)	1	3.1
R1000-R4000	24	72.7
R4000-R8000	6	18.1
R9000-R10000	2	6.1
Total:	33	100

The majority of respondents (n=51; 85.0%) stated that they would consider other types of employment as an alternative to sex work if they could earn more money (n=47; 92.2%) or if the employment offered a stable income (n=47; 92.2%), as well as better working hours (n=41;

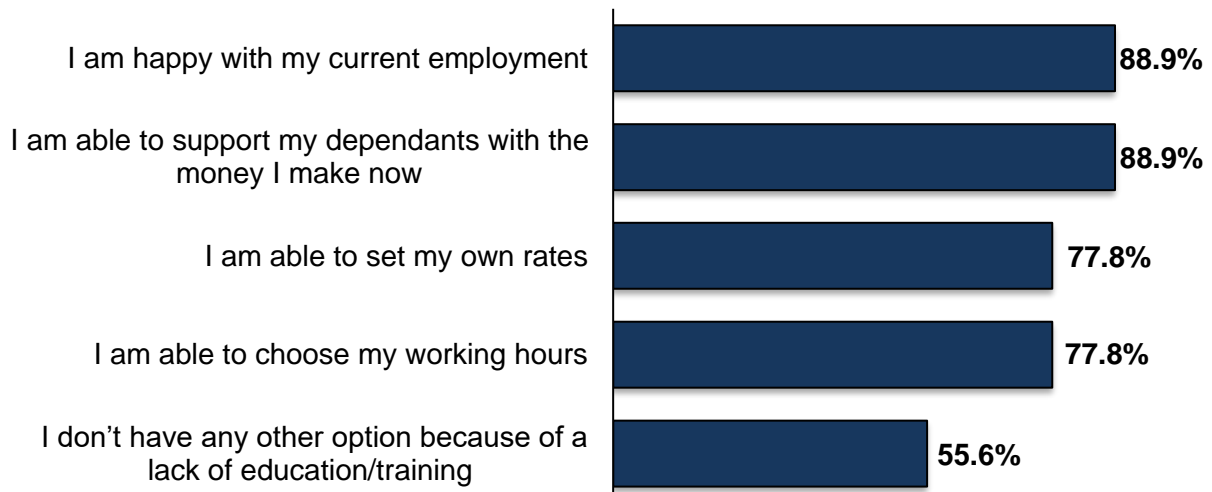
80.4%). More than two thirds of the respondents (n=36; 70.6%) pronounced that they did not like working in the sex industry (Figure 17).

Figure 17: Respondents' reasons why they would consider other employment



Nine respondents (15.0%) denoted that they would not consider other types of employment than sex work, owing to the income they generate thus being able to support their dependants (n=8; 88.9%), as well as being happy with their current employment conditions in CSW (n=8; 88.9%) (Figure 18).

Figure 18: Respondents' reasons for why they would not consider other employment



5.3 Risk factors and reasons for respondents' involvement in female street-based commercial sex work

The following section presents data collected from respondents which might have rendered them vulnerable to engage in adult female street-based sex work. The data includes reasons for having left home, run-away behaviour and respondents' childhood experiences.

5.3.1 Voluntarily leaving home (over the age of 18 years)

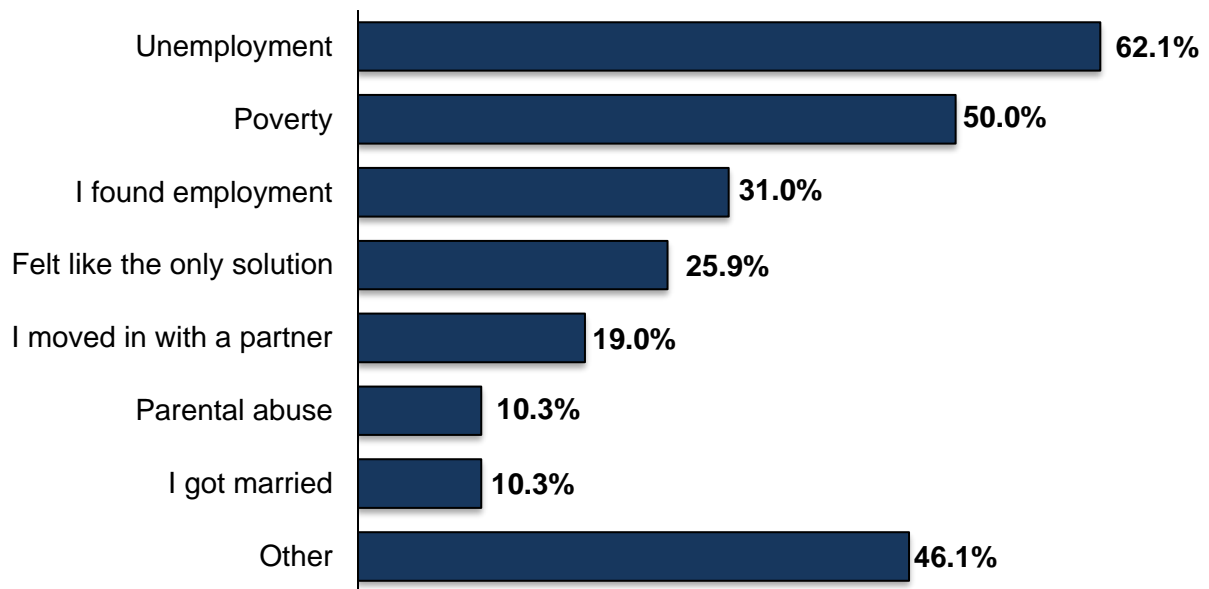
The ages of respondents who voluntarily left home ranged between 18 and 37 years. The mean age of these respondents was 25.43 years, with a standard deviation of 5.76 years. The age of the bulk of individuals who voluntarily left home ranged between 20 and 30 years (Table 11).

Table 11: Age at which respondents voluntarily left home (older than 18 years of age)

	n	%
18 – 20 years	19	35.3
21 – 23 years	12	22.3
24 – 26 years	12	22.3
27 – 29 years	8	14.9
31 years and older	3	5.7
Total	54	100

Almost two thirds of the respondents (n=36; 62.1%) listed unemployment as the main reason for leaving home over the age of 18 years, followed by half of the respondents (n=29; 50.0%) who listed poverty as one of the reasons for leaving home. The "Other" category in the figure below consists of numerous responses with small n-values and comprises of: parental substance abuse; loss of housing; own addiction/substance abuse; could function autonomously; parental neglect; own mental health challenges; family member's mental health challenges; spousal abuse; further education and training; lured under false pretences of employment; did not want to fail school and fell pregnant; wanted to get away from mother (she sold the respondent for sexual services); and failed Grade 12 (Figure 19).

Figure 19: Reason for leaving home (older than 18 years of age)



5.3.2 Runaway behaviour (under the age of 18 years)

Nearly half of respondents (n=26; 43.3%) reported that they ran away from home at some stage¹⁸. Their ages ranged between 14 and 21, and the mean age when having run away was 16.8 years (standard deviation of 2.48 years). The bulk of the respondents were between the ages of 14 and 16 years at the time of running away from home. It should be noted that two of the respondents (7.7%) indicated that they were over the age of 18 when they ran away from home. Although of legal age, they are nevertheless included in the present discussion in light of the relevance of runaway behaviour as an entry point into CSW (Table 12).

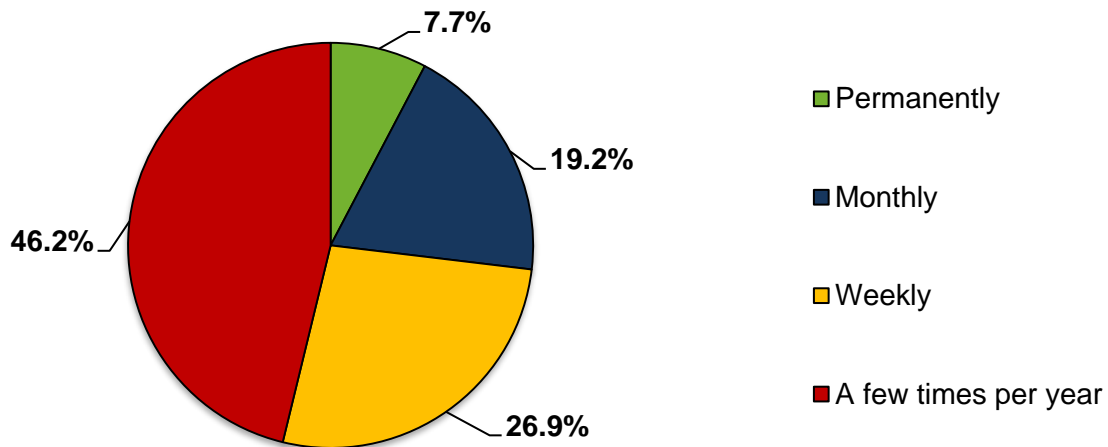
Table 12: Age at which respondents ran away from home (under the age of 18 years)

	n	%
14 years	7	26.9
15 years	7	26.9
16 years	4	15.4
17 years	5	19.2
18 years	1	3.8
21 years	2	7.7
Total	26	100

¹⁸ Of the 54 respondents who voluntarily left home, 26 ran away at some stage when they were under the age of 18. Thus, not all the respondents who left home necessarily ran away from home during adolescence.

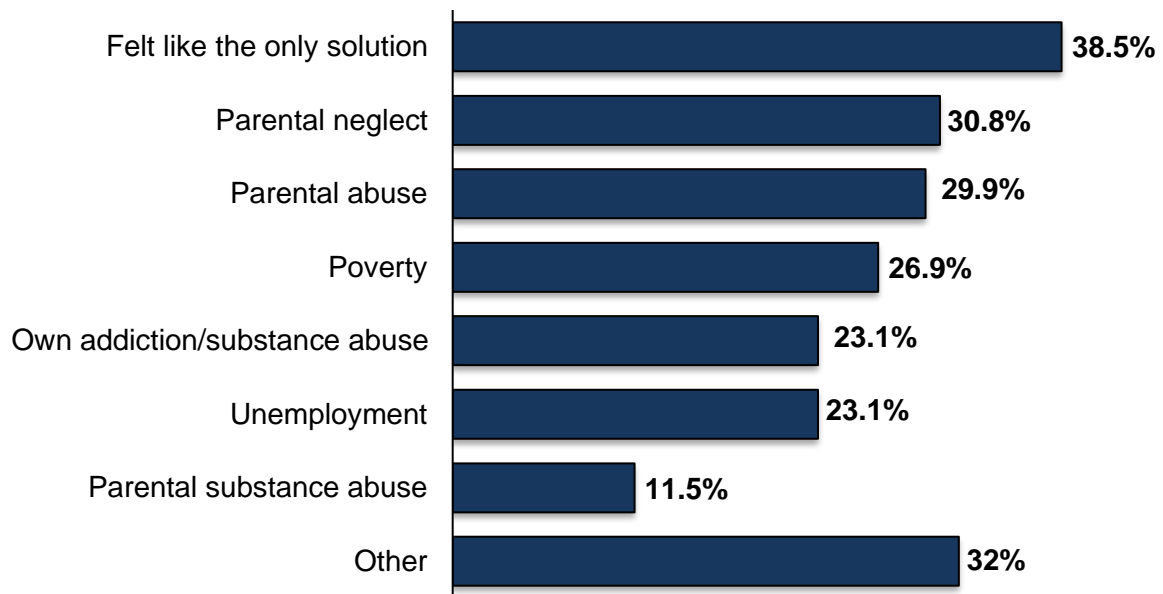
Roughly half of the respondents (n=12; 46.2%) only ran away from home a few times per year, whereas approximately a fifth of respondents (n=7; 26.9%) ran away from home on a weekly basis. Two of the respondents, age 14 and 15 (7.7%) indicated that they permanently ran away from home (Figure 20).

Figure 20: Frequency of respondents' running away from home



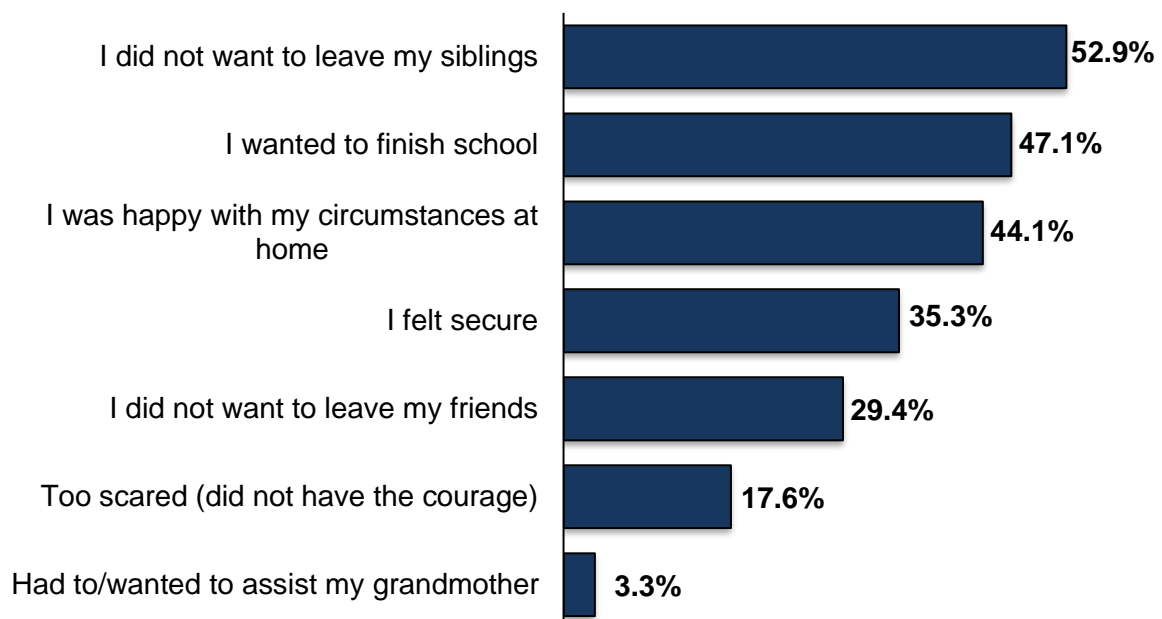
Nearly two in five respondents (n=10; 38.5%) indicated that they ran away from home because it felt like the only solution followed by respondents citing parental neglect (n=8; 30.8%), parental abuse (n=7; 26.9%) and poverty (n=7; 26.9%) (Figure 22). The “Other” category consists of a variety of responses with low n-values and include: moving in with partner; own mental health challenges; family member’s mental health challenges; wanted to party with friends; wanted to go with boyfriends; was being naughty; wanted to get away from mother who was selling me for sexual services; wanted to do my own thing; and having been promised a fun party accompanied by ‘bling bling’, or in other words expensive gifts (tricked) (Figure 21).

Figure 21: Reasons for running away from home while under the age of 18 years



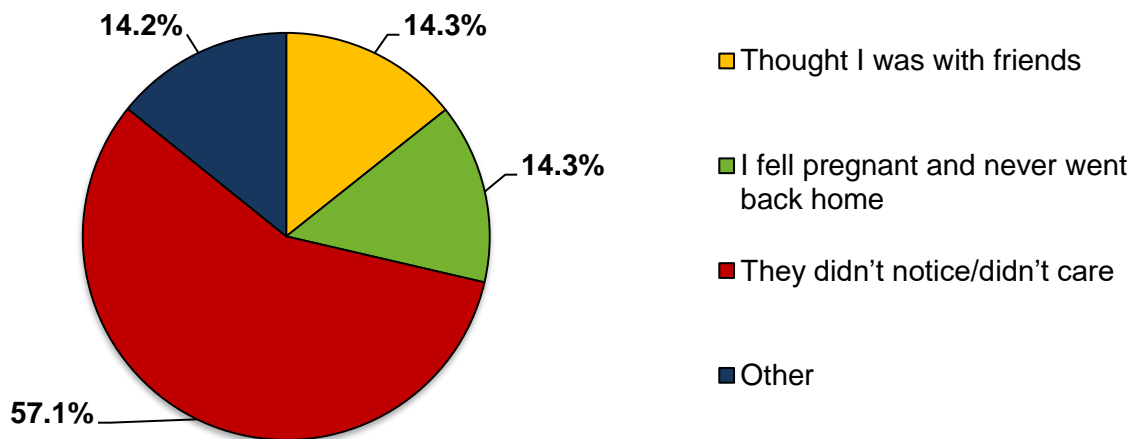
The respondents (n=34; 56.7%) who indicated that they never ran away from home were asked to attribute reasons as to why they never ran away from home. Nearly half of the respondents (n=18; 52.9%) never ran away from home because they did not want to leave their siblings, followed by 47.1% (n=16) of the respondents who stated that they wanted to finish school (Figure 22).

Figure 22: Reasons respondents never ran away from home



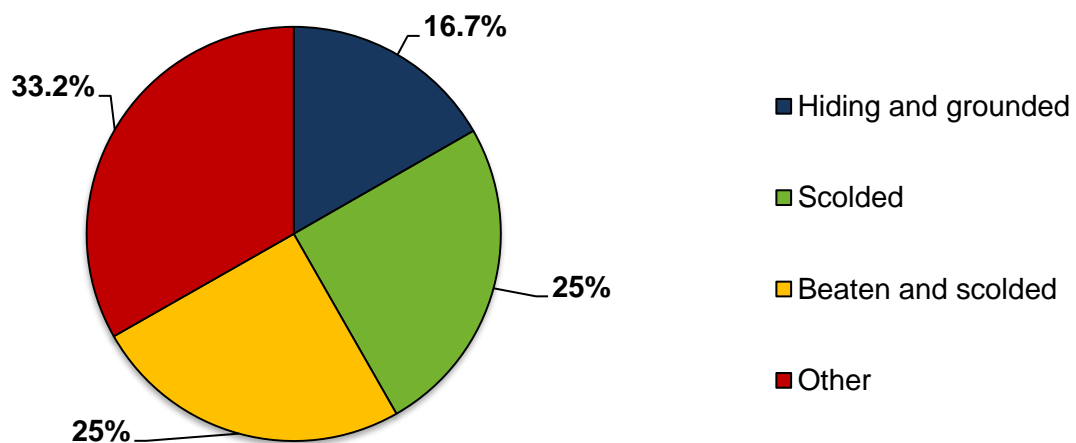
Slightly more than half of the respondents (n=14; 53.8%) indicated that their caregivers did not punish them for running away from home and mostly so because they did not notice and/or did not care (n=8; 57.1%) and caregivers having thought that the respondents were with friends (n=2; 14.3%). The “Other” category consists of responses that included: caregivers only wanted money from them; they thought that the respondents had ‘proper work’; and one respondent who denoted that she did not understand why one would get punished for running away from home (Figure 23).

Figure 23: Reasons why respondents were not punished for running away from home



The respondents who indicated that they were punished by their caregivers for running away from home signified that they were beaten and scolded (n=3; 25.0%) and received corporal punishment and were grounded (n=2; 16.7%). The “Other” category consists of having been hit and not given food; grounded and mobile phone taken away; corporal punishment; and shouted at and corporal punishment (Figure 24).

Figure 24: How respondents who ran away from home were punished



5.3.3 Childhood experiences of respondents

The respondents' ages concerning first consensual sexual experiences ranged between 13 and 26 years. The median of respondents' ages was 19 years, with a standard deviation of 4.03 years. The bulk of the individuals were between the ages of 15 and 23 years (Table 13).

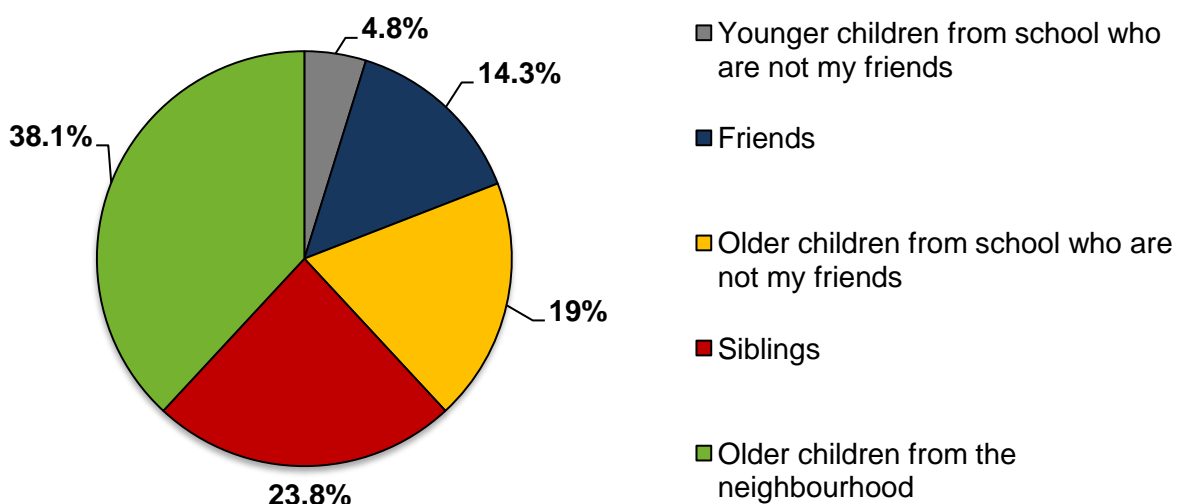
Table 13: Age distribution of respondents' first consensual sexual experience

	n	%
13 – 15 years	9	14.9
16 – 18 years	19	31.7
19 – 21 years	24	40.0
22 years and older	8	13.2
Total	60	100

Roughly a third of the respondents (n=21; 35%) stated that they were bullied as a child. One in three respondents (n=7; 33.3%) indicated that they were bullied on a weekly basis and 33.3% (n=7) conveyed that they were bullied a few times a year. Four respondents (19.0%) specified that they were bullied on a monthly basis whilst 14.3% (n=3) reported that they were bullied daily.

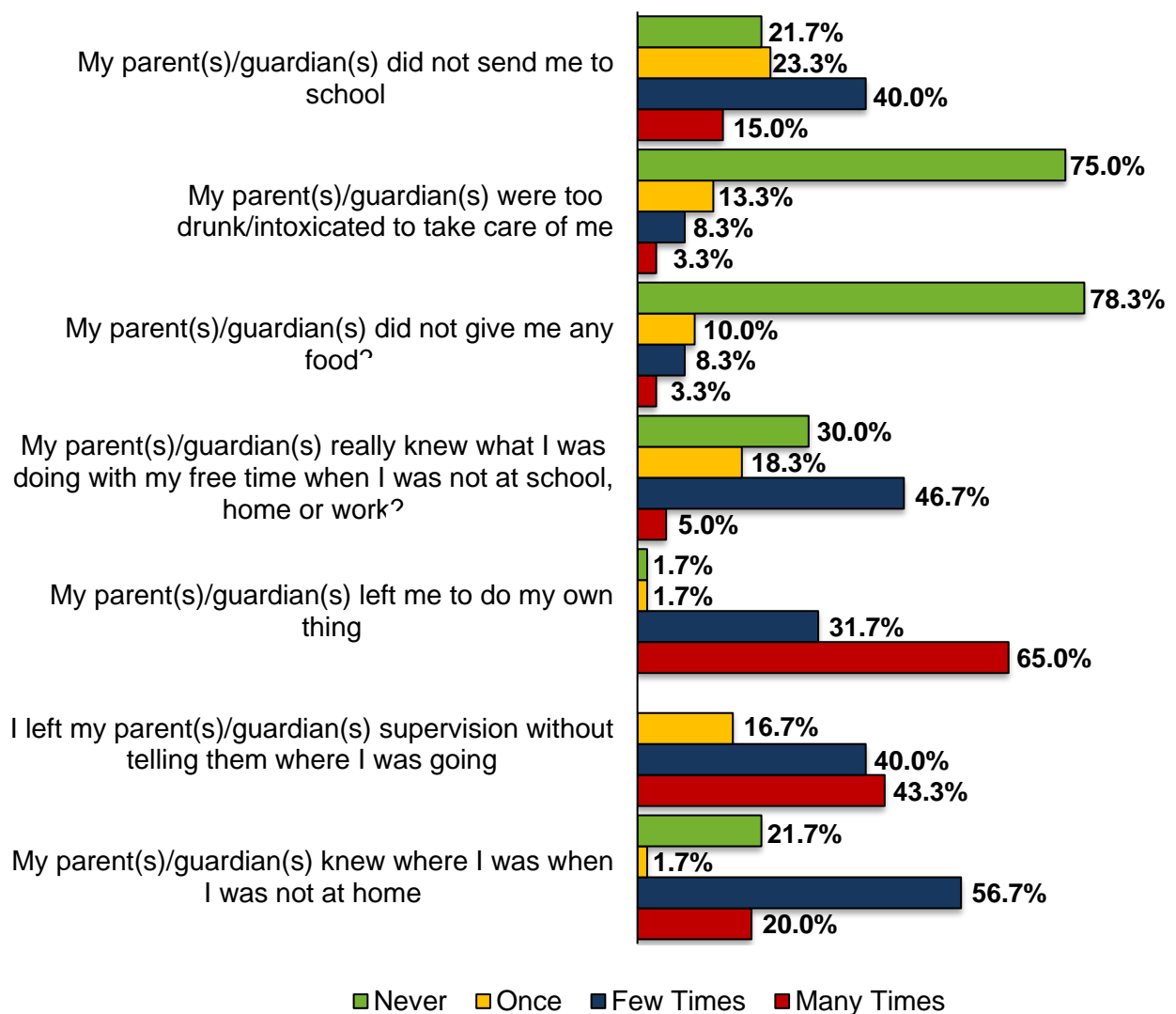
The majority of respondents (n=8; 38.1%) revealed that they were bullied by older children from the neighbourhood, followed by a quarter of respondents (n=5; 23.8%) indicating that they were mainly bullied by their siblings (Figure 25).

Figure 25: Who respondents were mainly bullied by



Respondents were asked how often their caregivers did not send them to school and two in five (n=24; 40.0%) stated a few times (Figure 26). When asked the question whether their caregivers were ever too intoxicated to care for them, the vast majority of respondents (n=45; 75.0%) indicated never. Additionally, the bulk of the respondents (n=47; 78.3%) stipulated that they were never not given food by their caregivers when they were children. Nearly half of respondents (n=28; 46.7%) indicated that their caregivers a few times did not really know what they were doing with their free time, which corresponds with information collected from respondents (n=34; 56.7%) indicating that their caregivers did not know where they were when they were not at home. Two thirds of respondents (n=39; 65.0%) specified that their caregivers left them to do their own thing. Also, nearly half of respondents (n=26; 43.3%) stated that they escaped their caregivers' supervision many times without telling them (Figure 26).

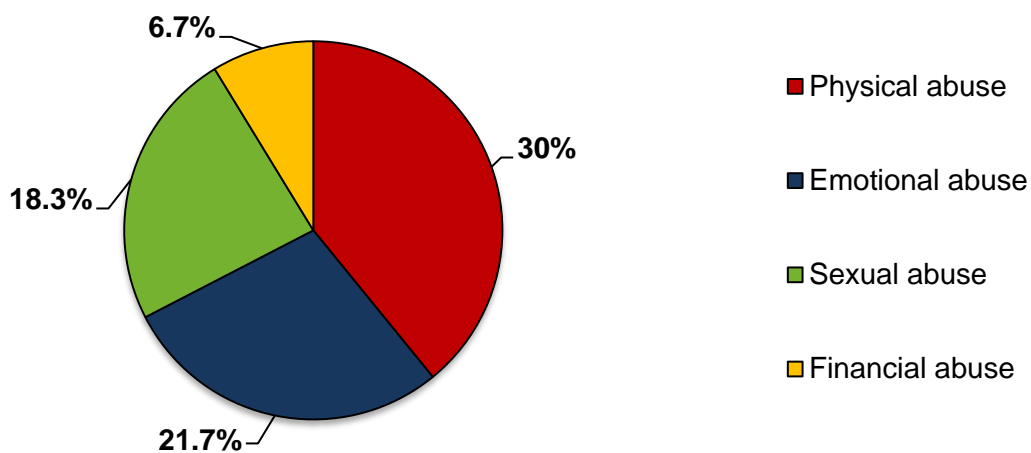
Figure 26: Respondents' childhood experiences regarding their family life when growing up and interactions with parents/guardians



5.3.4 Abuse experienced prior to respondents' involvement in commercial sex work

Nearly two thirds of the respondents (n=37; 61.7%) indicated that they did not experience abuse prior to their engagement in sex work and nearly two in five respondents (n=23; 38.3%) divulged that they experienced abuse prior to their involvement in street-based sex work. Of the respondents who reported experiencing abuse prior to their engagement in CSW, 30.0% (n=18) denoted experiencing mostly physical abuse (Figure 27).

Figure 27: Type of abuse experienced by respondents (prior to commercial sex work)



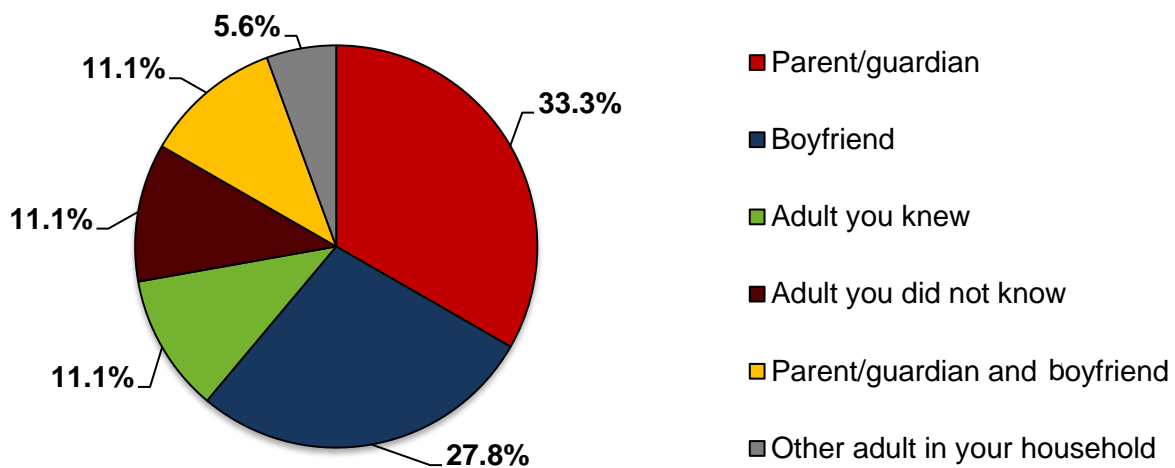
The following section sheds more light on the nature of abuse (physical, emotional, sexual and/or financial) the respondents experienced prior to their involvement in CSW.

- **Physical abuse**

A third of the respondents (n=18; 30.0%) indicated that they experienced physical abuse prior to their sex work involvement. The ages at which respondents experienced physical abuse ranged between 12 and 22 years. The median age of the respondents who experienced physical abuse were 14.5 years, with a standard deviation of 3.56 years. The bulk of the respondents' ages ranged between 14 and 16 years.

A third of the respondents (n=6; 33.3%) who reported having experienced physical abuse indicated that their parents/guardian/caregivers were responsible for the abuse, followed by 27.8% respondents (n=5) who indicated that their boyfriends were responsible for the abuse they experienced (Figure 28).

Figure 28: Individuals responsible for respondents' physical abuse



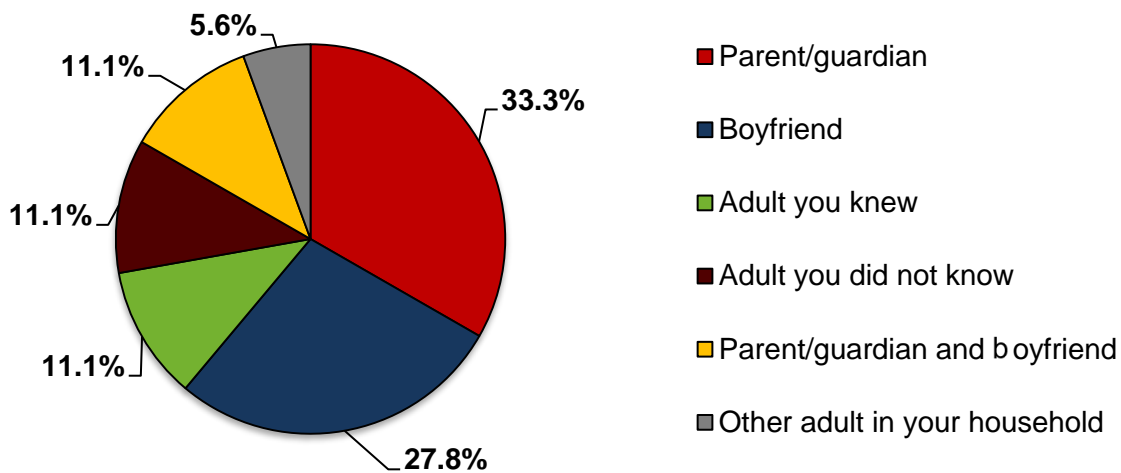
The highest frequency of physical abuse reported was daily (n=10; 55.6%), followed by weekly (n=5; 27.8), monthly (n=2; 11.1%) and a few times per year (n=1; 5.6%). In the worst incident of physical abuse respondents reported having sustained minor injuries (n=10; 55.6%), serious physical injuries (n=5; 27.8%) and no physical injuries (n=3; 16.7%).

- **Emotional abuse**

Roughly a fifth of the respondents (n=13; 21.7%) indicated that they experienced emotional abuse prior to their involvement in sex work. The ages at which respondents experienced emotional abuse ranged between 12 and 22 years. The median age of the respondents who experienced emotional abuse were 15 years, with a standard deviation of 4.02 years. The bulk of the respondents' ages ranged between 14 and 20 years.

One in three respondents (n=6; 33.3%) who reported experiencing emotional abuse indicated that their parents/guardians were responsible for the abuse, followed by 27.8% respondents (n=5) who declared that their boyfriends were responsible for the abuse they experienced (Figure 29).

Figure 29: Individuals responsible for the respondents' emotional abuse



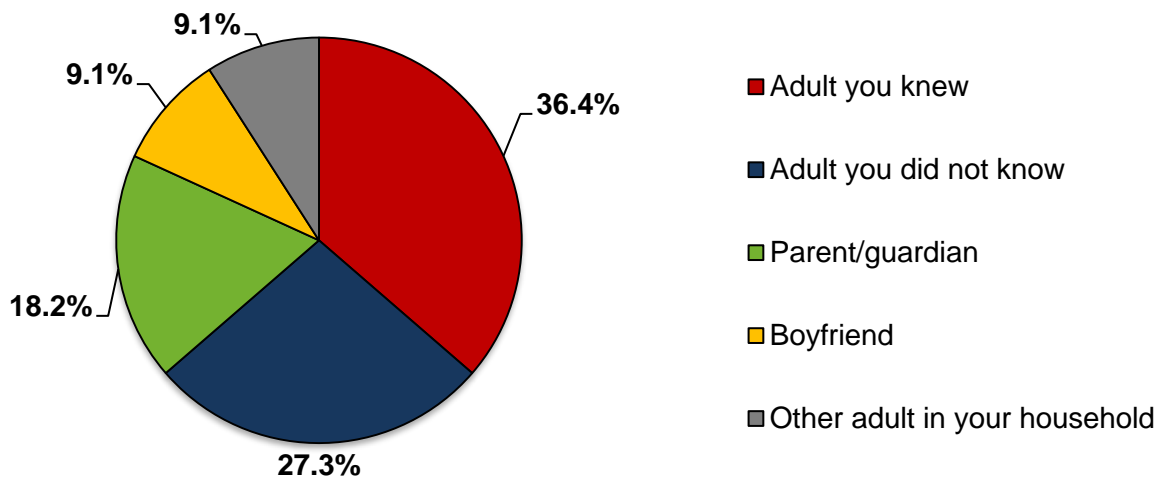
The highest frequency of emotional abuse reported was daily (n=10; 76.9%) followed by weekly (n=2; 15.4%) and monthly (n=1; 7.7%). In the worst incident of emotional abuse respondents indicated suffering feelings of being unloved and being a mistake (n=1; 33.3%), as well as anger (n=2; 66.7%).

- **Sexual abuse**

Nearly one in five of the respondents (n=11; 18.3%) indicated that they experienced sexual abuse prior to their involvement in sex work. The ages at which respondents experienced sexual abuse ranged between 10 and 22 years. The median age of the respondents who experienced sexual abuse was 13 years, with a standard deviation of 3.93 years. The bulk of the respondents' ages ranged between 12 and 14 years.

The majority of the respondents (n=4; 36.4%) who affirmed having experienced sexual abuse, indicated that an adult they knew was responsible for the abuse, followed by 27.3% respondents (n=3) who indicated that an adult they did not know was responsible for the sexual abuse they experienced (Figure 30).

Figure 30: Individuals responsible for the respondents' sexual abuse



The highest frequency of sexual abuse declared was daily ($n=8$; 72.7%), followed by weekly ($n=2$; 18.2%) and monthly ($n=1$; 9.1%). In the worst incident of sexual abuse respondents reported sustaining minor injuries ($n=6$; 60.0%), serious physical injuries ($n=2$; 20.0%) and no physical injuries ($n=2$; 20.0%).

- **Financial abuse**

Very few of the respondents ($n=4$; 6.7%) indicated that they experienced financial abuse prior to their involvement in sex work. The ages of respondents who experienced financial abuse ranged between 14 and 20 years. The median age of the respondents who experienced financial abuse were 13 years, with a standard deviation of 3 years. Respondents indicated experiencing financial abuse from a parent/guardian ($n=1$; 25.0%), boyfriend ($n=1$; 25.0%), adult they knew ($n=1$; 25.0%) and an adult they did not know ($n=1$; 25.0%). The highest frequency of abuse reported was daily ($n=1$; 25.0%), followed by weekly ($n=1$; 25.0%) and monthly ($n=2$; 50.0%).

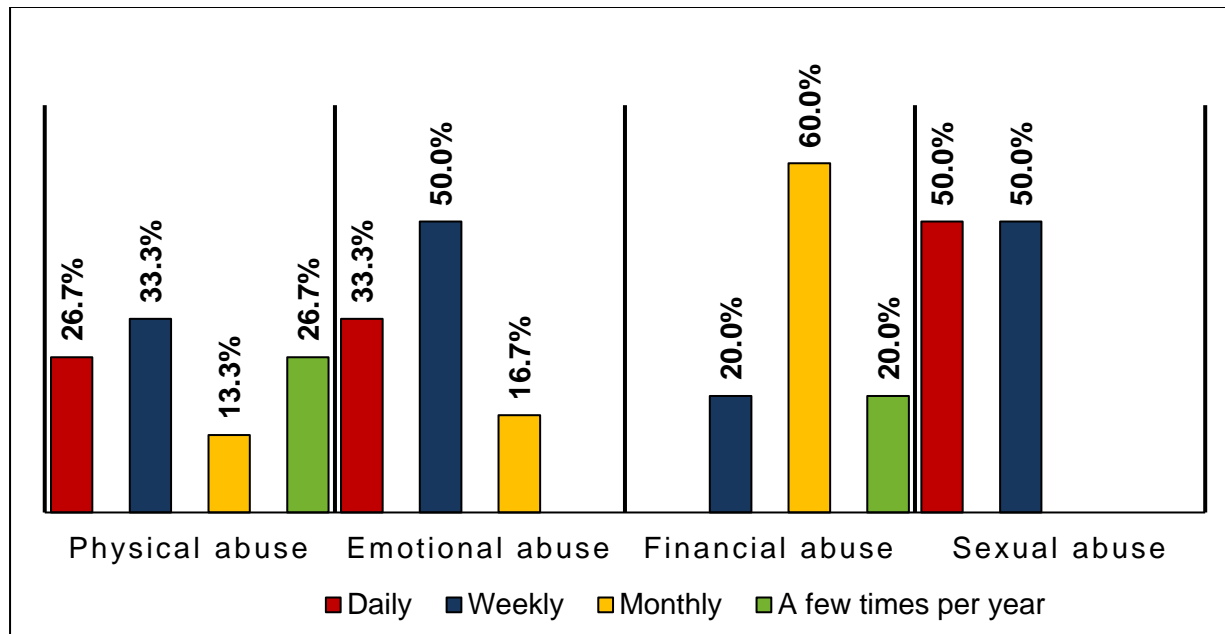
5.3.5 Witness to abuse when growing up

Slightly less than half of the respondents ($n=28$; 46.6%) indicated that they witnessed a family member (e.g. sibling/parent/guardian) experiencing abuse. The types of abuse respondents witnessed include:

- Physical abuse ($n=15$; 25.0%).
- Emotional abuse ($n=6$; 10.0%).
- Sexual abuse ($n=2$; 3.3%).
- Financial abuse ($n=5$; 8.3%).

The frequency of the physical abuse witnessed occurred mostly on a weekly basis (n=5; 33.3%). Half of the respondents who reported witnessing emotional abuse indicated that they witnessed it on a weekly basis (n=3; 50.0%). Furthermore, respondents who reported witnessing financial abuse indicated witnessing it on a monthly basis (n=3; 60.0%) and respondents who witnessed sexual abuse witnessed it equally on a daily (n=1; 50.0%) and weekly (n=1; 50.0%) basis (Figure 31).

Figure 31: Frequency of abuse witnessed by the respondents



5.3.6 Respondents' experience of intimate partner violence

A quarter of the respondents (n=15; 25.0%) indicated that they have experienced intimate partner violence. Respondents reported experiencing the following types of intimate partner violence:

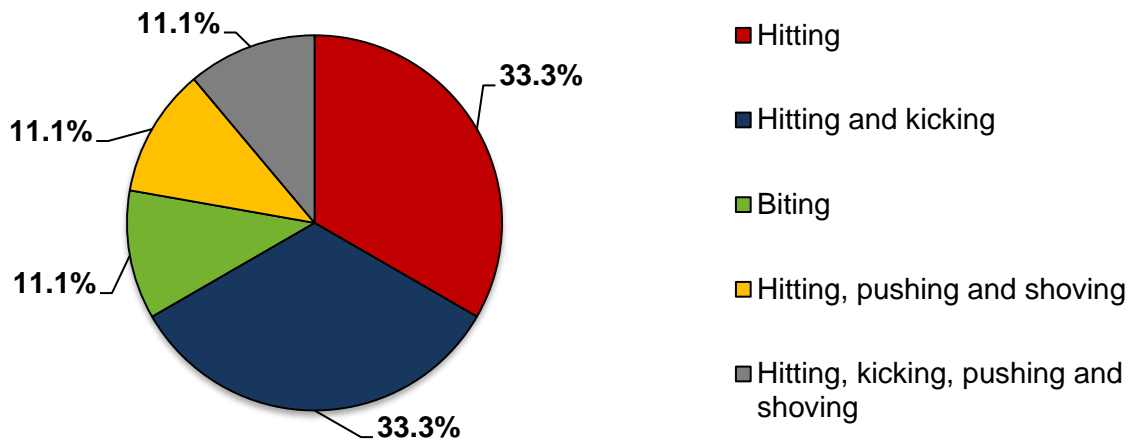
- Physical abuse (n=9; 15.0%).
- Emotional abuse (n=8; 13.3%).
- Sexual abuse (n=5; 8.3%).
- Financial abuse (n=5; 8.3%).

The following section elucidates the nature of intimate partner violence (physical, emotional, sexual and/or financial) experienced by the respondents.

• **Physical abuse**

Respondents who experienced intimate partner violence, in particular physical abuse, indicated that they mostly experienced hitting (n=3; 33.3%), as well as hitting and kicking (n=3; 33.3%) (Figure 32).

Figure 32: Type of physical abuse experienced during intimate partner violence

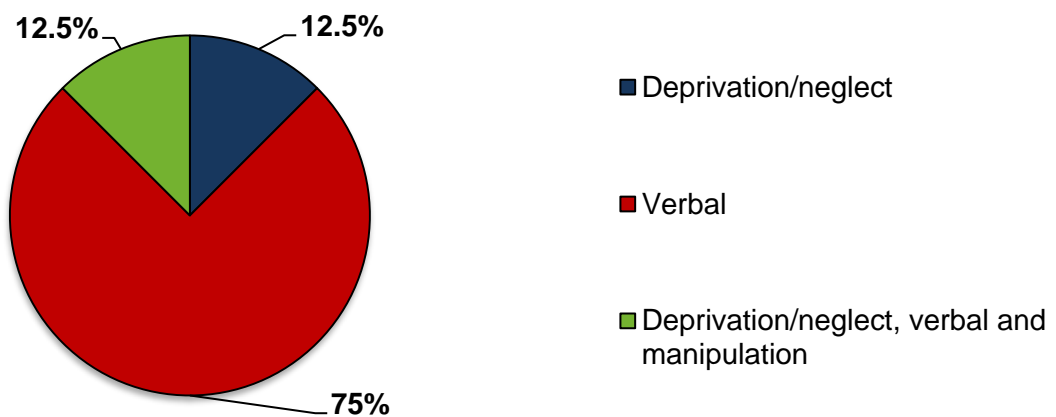


The highest frequency of abuse reported was daily (n=3; 33.3%), followed by weekly (n=3; 33.3%), monthly (n=1; 11.1%) and a few times per year (n=2; 22.2%). In the worst incident of physical abuse respondents reported having sustained minor injuries (n=6; 66.7%), serious physical injuries (n=1; 11.1%) and no physical injuries (n=2; 22.2%).

• **Emotional abuse**

Respondents who experienced intimate partner violence in the form of emotional abuse signified that they mostly experienced verbal abuse (n=6; 75.0%) (Figure 33).

Figure 33: Type of emotional abuse experienced during intimate partner violence

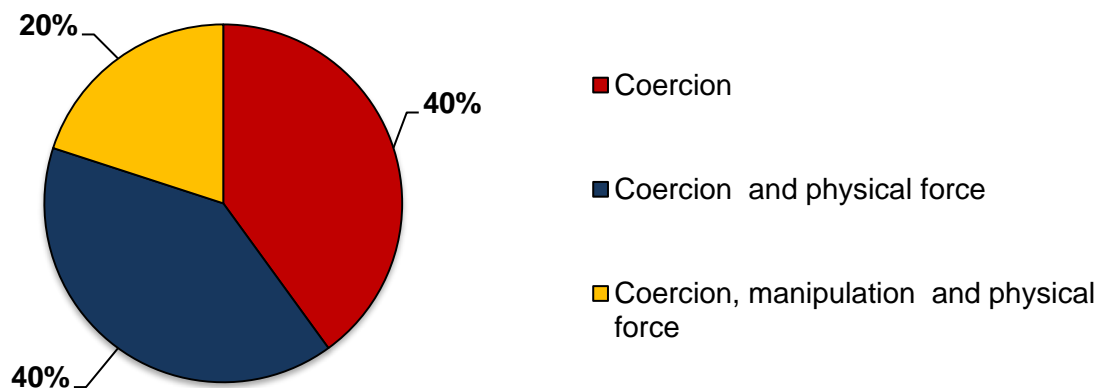


The highest frequency of abuse reported was daily (n=5; 62.5%), followed by weekly (n=1; 12.5%) and monthly (n=2; 25.0%). In the worst incident of emotional abuse respondents reported feeling sad and angry (n=2; 50.0%), as well as feeling very unhappy (n=2; 50.0%).

- **Sexual abuse**

Respondents who experienced intimate partner violence in the form of sexual abuse indicated that they mostly experienced coercion (n=2; 40.0%) (Figure 34).

Figure 34: Type of sexual abuse experienced during intimate partner violence



The highest frequency of sexual abuse during intimate partner violence was daily (n=2; 40.0%) and weekly (n=2; 40.0%), followed by a few times per year (n=1; 20.0%). In the worst incident of sexual abuse respondents reported having sustained no physical injuries (n=3; 60.0%), serious physical injuries (n=1; 20.0%) and minor injuries (n=1; 20.0%).

- **Financial abuse**

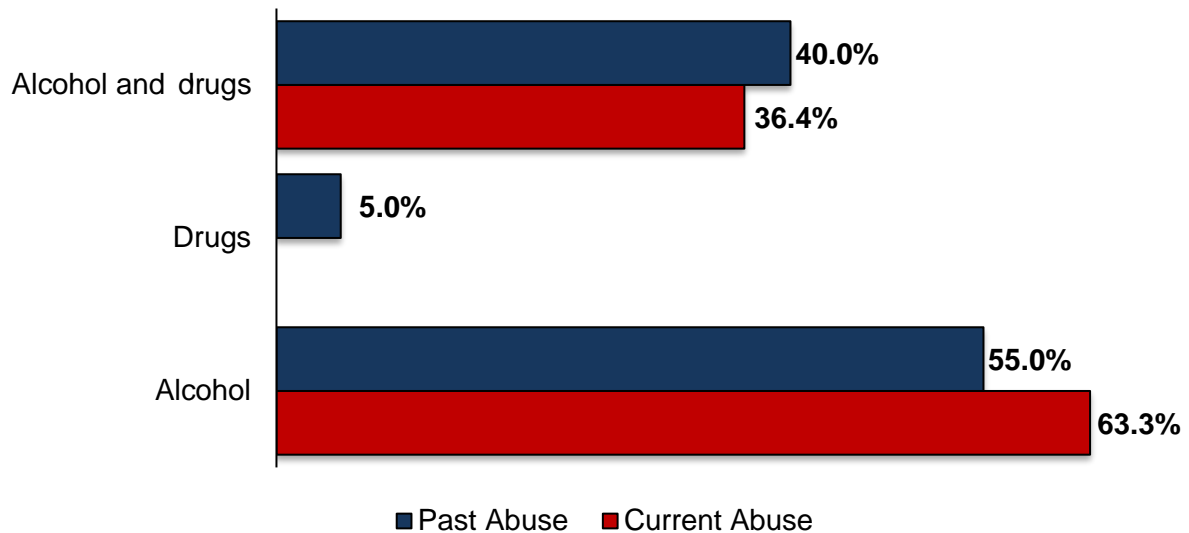
Respondents who experienced intimate partner violence, in terms of financial abuse, indicated that they mostly experienced partners withholding their money (n=1; 50.0%) and partners spending their money without their consent (n=1; 50.0%). No other types of financial abuse were reported. The highest frequency of financial abuse reported was weekly (n=1; 50.0%) and monthly (n=1; 50.0%).

5.3.7 Substance abuse amongst family members

Respondents were asked to report on their family members' current and past substance abuse. Nearly one in five (n=11; 18.3%) respondent had family members who were currently abusing substances and 33.3% (n=20) indicated that their family members had abused substances in the past. More than half of the respondents who reported on both current and

past familial substance abuse indicated that the majority of their family members currently abuse alcohol (n=7; 63.6%), followed by respondents' family members who mainly abused alcohol (n=11; 55.0%) in the past (Figure 35).

Figure 35: Type of substances mainly abused by family members



5.3.8 Respondents' mental health status and diagnosis with mental illness

The vast majority of respondents (n=57; 95%) have never consulted a psychologist; thus only three respondents (5.0%) declared that they have consulted a psychologist. Respondents who were diagnosed with a mental illness stated that they were diagnosed with depression/bipolar disorder (n=2; 66.7%) whilst one respondent (n=1; 33.3%) was diagnosed with a mental illness that she could not recall.

5.4 The nature of adult female street-based sex work

The age of respondents when they entered CSW ranged between 14 and 49 years. The mean age of respondents was 29.16 years, with a standard deviation of 9.15 years. Most respondents were between the ages of 23 and 36 years when they became involved in street-based CSW. More than half of the respondents (n=35; 58.4%) indicated that they have been engaged in the street-based sex work industry for between one and five years, followed by respondents (n=10; 16.7%) indicating that they have been street-based sex workers for between six and ten years (Table 14).

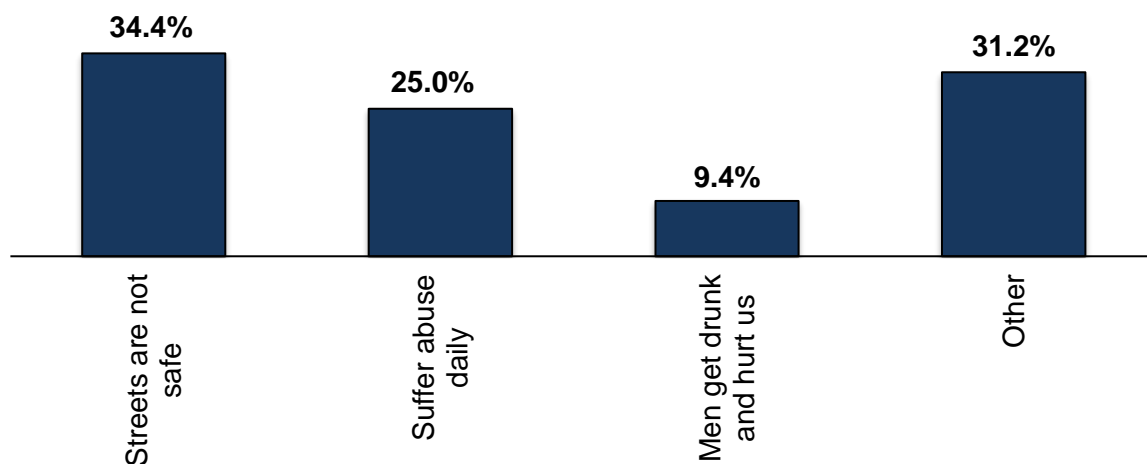
Table 14: Number of years working as street-based sex worker

	n	%
Less than 1 year	10	16.7
1-5 years	35	58.4
6-10 years	10	16.7
11-15 years	2	3.4
20-25 years	3	5.0
Total	60	100

Respondents were asked whether they felt safe in their work environment (street-based CSW). Slightly more than half of the respondents (n=32; 53.3%) indicated that they did not feel safe in contrast to 46.7% (n=28) who denoted that they did feel safe in their work environment.

The respondents who indicated that they did not feel safe in their work environment elucidated that the streets were not safe (n=11; 34.4%). The “Other” reasons cited by respondents for not feeling safe include the following: police harassment and the streets being dark; public harassment, police taking respondents’ money and clients being dangerous; being arrested by the police, being driven around which is scary; we get hit up for money by the police, you never know what is going to happen; treated badly, clients abuse us and there is nothing we can do about it; beaten, raped, called names and treated like garbage; as well as “Nigerians” are demanding and their taking over the area and police abuse happens (Figure 36).

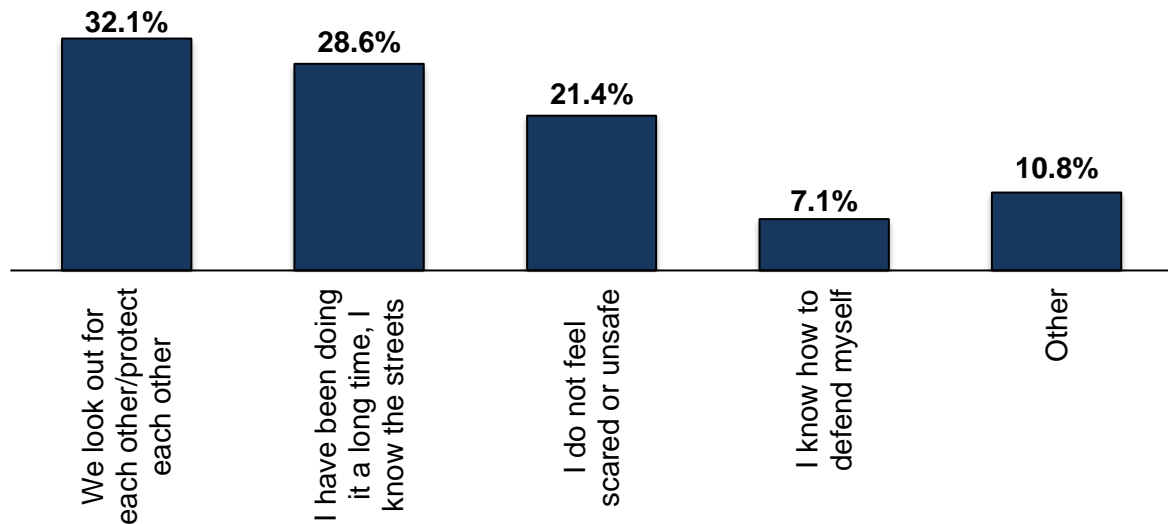
Figure 36: Reason for not feeling safe in their work environment



The respondents who indicated that they felt safe in their work environment noted that they look out for each other/protect each other (n=9; 32.1%). The “Other” reasons cited by

respondents include the following: someone protects me; clients can be dangerous, but I am as safe as I can be; and my ‘friend’ takes care of me if there is trouble (intermediary) (Figure 37).

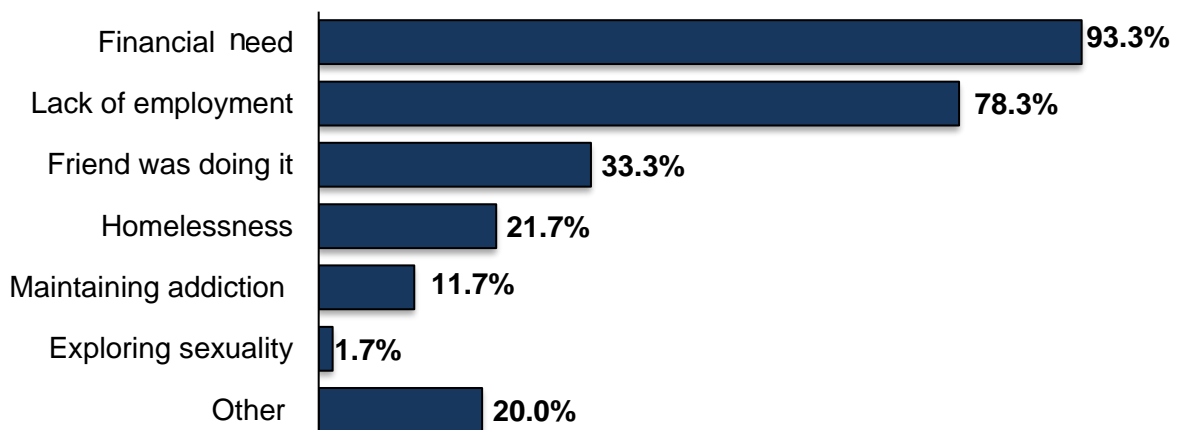
Figure 37: Reason for feeling safe in their work environment



5.4.1 Reasons for involvement in street-based commercial sex work

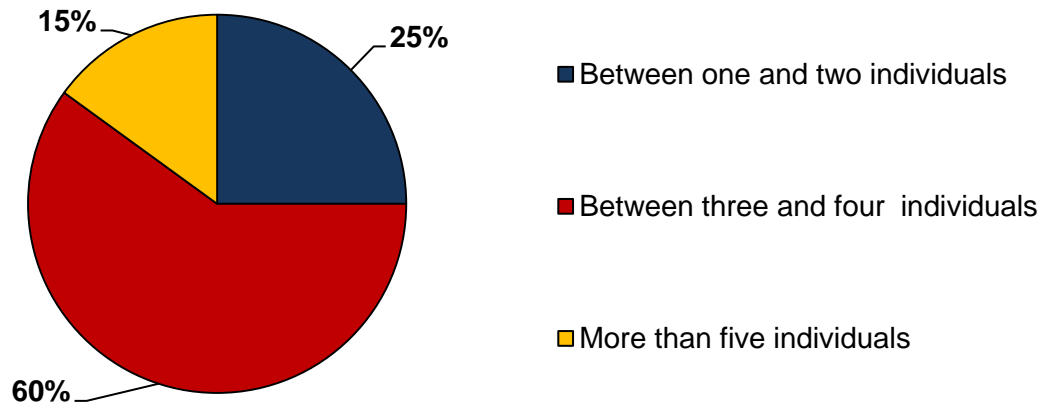
The main reasons attributed for respondents’ involvement in adult female street-based CSW included financial need (n=56; 93.3%) and a lack of employment (n=47; 78.3%). The “Other” reasons (n=12; 20.0%) noted by respondents relate to previous employment not providing sufficient remuneration whereas CSW does; engaging in CSW for an additional/secondary income; not finishing school; their situations at home was less than ideal and their circumstances led them here; and being lured into the industry under false pretences (Figure 38).

Figure 38: Reasons for involvement in commercial sex work



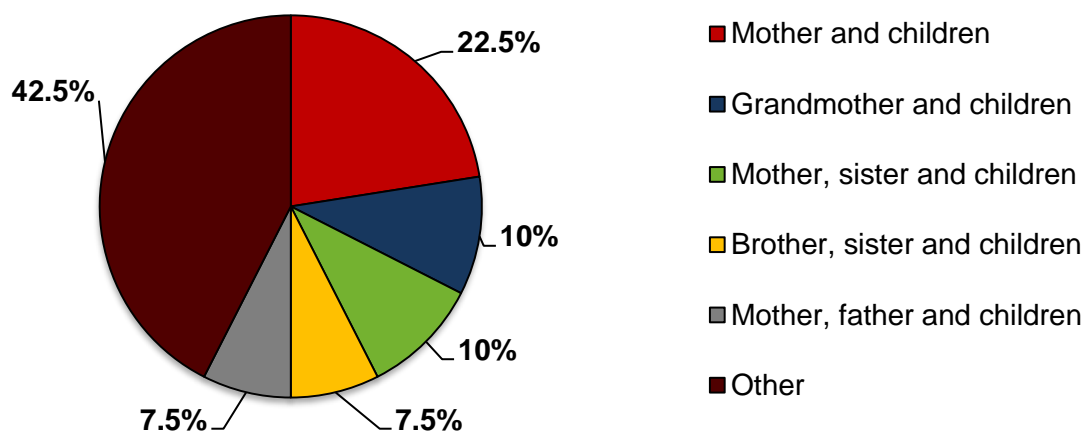
Two thirds of the respondents (n=40; 66.7%) reiterated that they support someone else with their sex work income; respondents (n=24; 60.0%) mainly supported between three and four individuals with their sex work income (Figure 39).

Figure 39: Number of people being supported with sex work income



Respondents mainly supported their mothers and children (n=9; 22.5%) with their sex work income. The “Other” individuals (n=17; 42.5%) who the respondents support with their sex work income consist of sister and sister’s children; mother, brother, sister and children; father and boyfriend; sister, brother, grandmother and children; mother, brother and children; mother, father, siblings and children; siblings; brother and children; sister and children; sister; mother; as well as father and children (Figure 40).

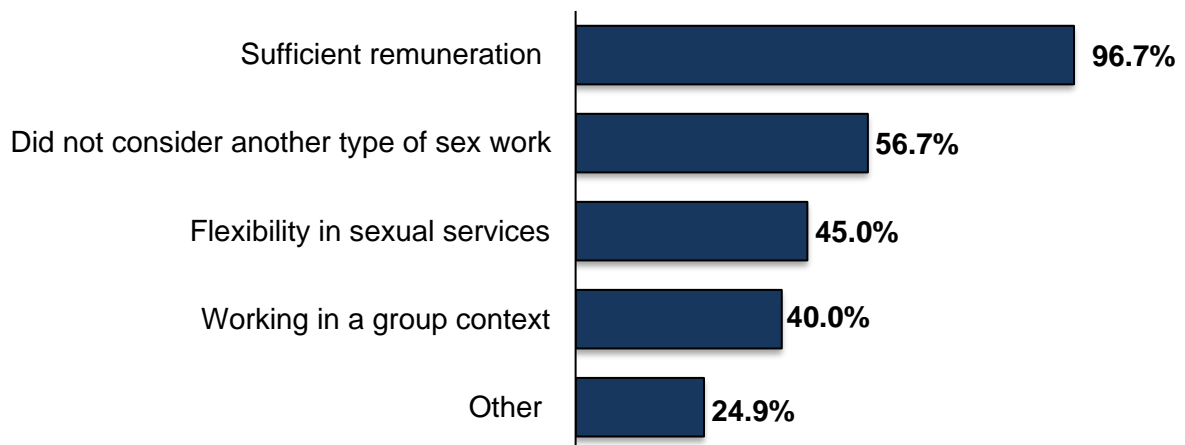
Figure 40: Persons whom respondents financially support with sex work income



The vast majority of respondents (n=58; 96.7%) indicated that they are involved in street-based sex work specifically because they receive sufficient remuneration for their services.

The “Other” reasons elucidated by respondents (n=15; 24.9%) comprise of the following: other benefits (non-monetary); protection from intermediary; considered working in the clubs, it didn’t work out; money earned from street-based sex work is quicker than the other types of CSW; considered club-based sex work but cannot work there because the respondent does not consume alcohol; did some internet sex work but street-based sex work pays more; seldom involved in other types, but prefer street-based CSW; and employment elsewhere is scarce and cannot find other employment (Figure 41).

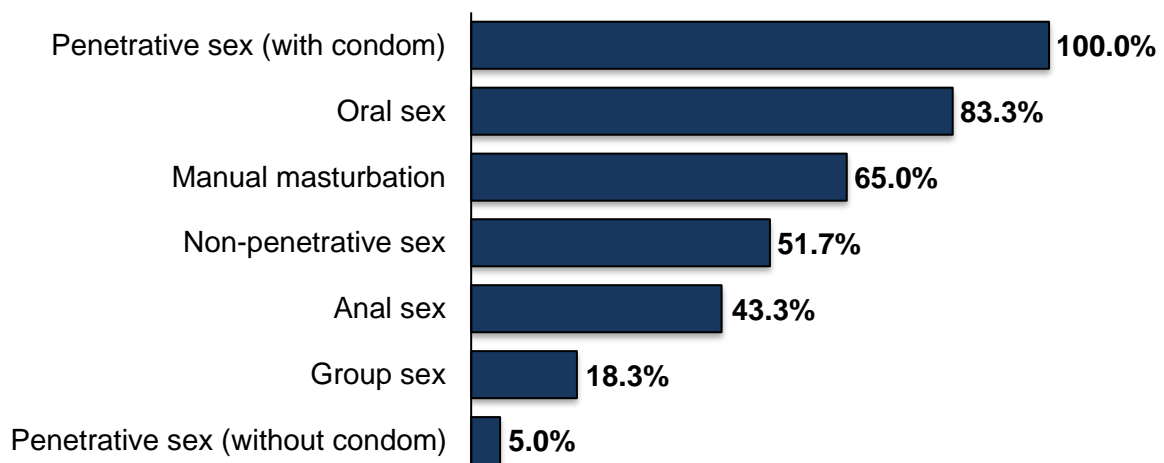
Figure 41: Reasons respondents specifically chose street-based sex work



5.4.2 Services provided by the respondents and rates charged for services

All of the respondents (n=60; 100%) who participated in the study specified that they provide penetrative sex with a condom. Very few respondents (n=3; 5.0%) admitted to engaging in penetrative sex without a condom (Figure 42).

Figure 42: Sexual services provided by respondents



Slightly more than half of the respondents (n=31; 51.6%) charged between R100-R150 for penetrative sex with a condom. Two thirds of respondents (n=2; 66.7%) charged between R350-R400 for penetrative sex without a condom. Also, more than half of the respondents (n=16; 59.2%) charge between R100-R150 for anal sex. Four in five of the respondents (n=32; 82.1%) charge between R50-R100 for manual masturbation. The majority of the respondents (n=42; 84.0%) who provided oral sex charged between R50-R100. Three quarter of the respondents (n=23; 74.2%) who offer non-penetrative sexual services charge their clients between R50-R100. Respondents who offer group sex as a service charged either between R100-R150 (n=4; 36.4%) or R150-R200 (n=4; 36.4%) (Table 15).

Table 15: Rates charged for the different services provided by respondents

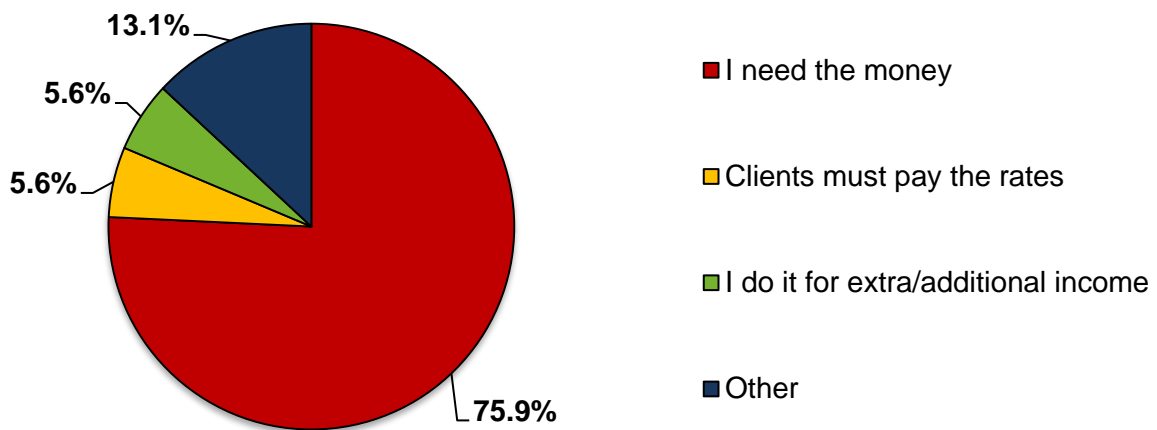
	R50-R100		R100-R150		R150-R200		R250-R300		R350-R400		R450-R500	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Penetrative sex (with condom)	13	21.7	31	51.6	9	15.0	6	10.0	1	1.7	1	1.7
Penetrative sex (without condom)	1	33.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	66.7	-	-
Anal sex	10	37.0	16	59.2	2	7.4	2	7.4	-	-	-	-
Manual masturbation	32	82.1	5	12.8	-	-	2	5.2	-	-	-	-
Oral sex	42	84.0	6	12.0	-	-	2	4.0	-	-	-	-
Non-penetrative sex	23	74.2	5	16.2	1	3.2	2	6.4	-	-	-	-
Group sex	2	18.2	4	36.4	4	36.4	1	9.1	-	-	-	-

The bulk of the respondents (n=48; 80.0%) provided sexual services on a daily basis and a fifth of respondents (n=12; 20.0%) provide sexual services on a weekly basis.

The vast majority of respondents (n=54; 90.0%) insisted that they did not accept any other form of payment other than monetary, because they needed the money for expenses such as rent, child support, groceries and family support (n=41; 75.9%). The "Other" reasons (n=7; 13.1%) respondents do not accept other forms of payment related to the following:

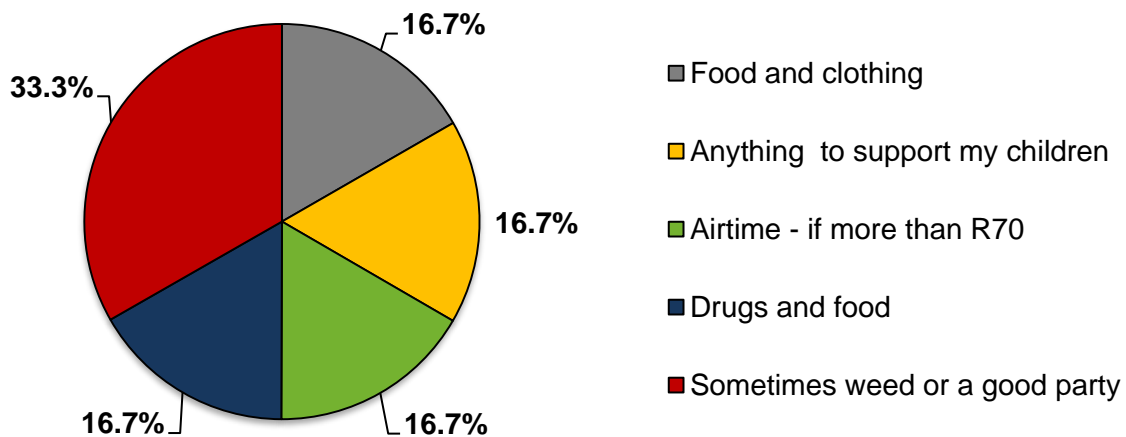
respondents reporting not being engaged in CSW for long and consequently only accepting money; respondents declaring that they can buy their own basic necessities with the money they make; respondents stating that they are engaged in sex work to make profit; respondents denoting that they needed money because their intermediaries only accept money; and a respondent who stated that her mother also engaged in CSW and that she did not know of any other manner of compensation than money (Figure 43).

Figure 43: Reasons for not accepting other forms of payment



Very few respondents (n=6; 10.0%) indicated that they accepted other forms of payment. Two respondents (n=2; 3.3%) specifically declared that they would accept cannabis or a ‘good party’ as alternative payment for services rendered. The other respondents listed that they would accept food and clothing, anything they could use to take care of their children, airtime, as well as drugs and food, as alternative forms of payment (Figure 44).

Figure 44: Reasons for accepting other forms of payment



A quarter of respondents (n=18; 29.8%) earned between R2500-R4000 a week, followed by seven respondents (11.7%) stating that they earn between R500-R1000 a week. Very few respondents (n=2; 3.3%) earned over R10 500 per week (Table 16).

Table 16: Respondents' weekly earnings for street-based sex work

	n	%
R500- R1500	13	21.7
R1500- R2500	9	15.0
R2500-R4000	18	29.8
R4500--R5500	11	18.4
R5500-R7500	7	11.8
R10 500- R20 000	2	3.4
Total	60	100

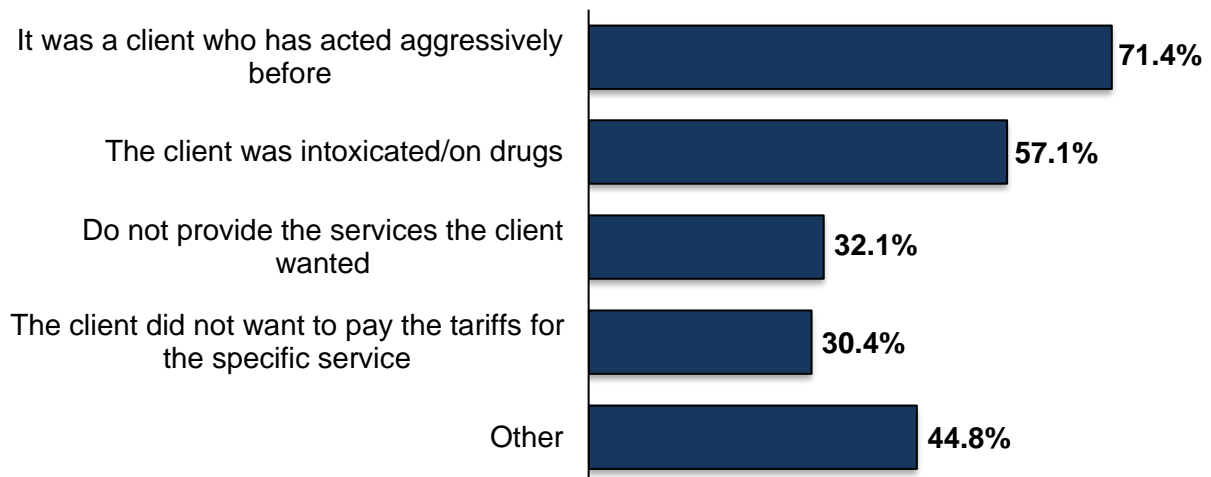
5.4.3 Intermediary information

The vast majority of respondents (n=57; 95.0%) did not have an intermediary. Three respondents (5.0%) had intermediaries to whom they give the following portion of their remuneration: approximately R1000 (n=1; 33.3%); half of what is earned every night (n=1; 33.3%); and nothing, with the respondent stating that the individual protects her because he is her 'friend' (n=1; 33.3%). Furthermore, only one respondent (33.3%) declared that she experienced abuse from her intermediary. The abuse experienced by the aforementioned respondent was physical (n=1; 33.3%), sexual (n=1; 33.3%) and financial (n=1; 33.3%).

5.4.4 Clientele information

The vast majority of respondents (n=57; 95.0%) stated that they are able to choose their clients whilst only three respondents (5.0%) indicated that they are not able to choose their clientele. Also, the vast majority of the respondents (n=56; 93.3%) have refused clients. The main reasons respondents attributed to refusing to provide clients with sexual services related to it being a client who has acted aggressively before (n=40; 71.4%) or a client who was intoxicated/on drugs (n=32; 57.1%). The "Other" reasons listed by the respondents comprise of clients' penis size being too large; bad hygiene; respondents using their instincts ("know they are dangerous"); clients wanting sex without a condom; and clients wanting to go to a dangerous location/another location for sex (Figure 45).

Figure 45: Reasons why respondents refused clients



Respondents were asked whether they think clients respect their decisions when they refuse them sexual services. Almost half of the respondents (n= 27; 45%) answered in the affirmative, eight respondents (13.3%) replied “No” and 25 respondents (41.7%) said that they “Did not know”.

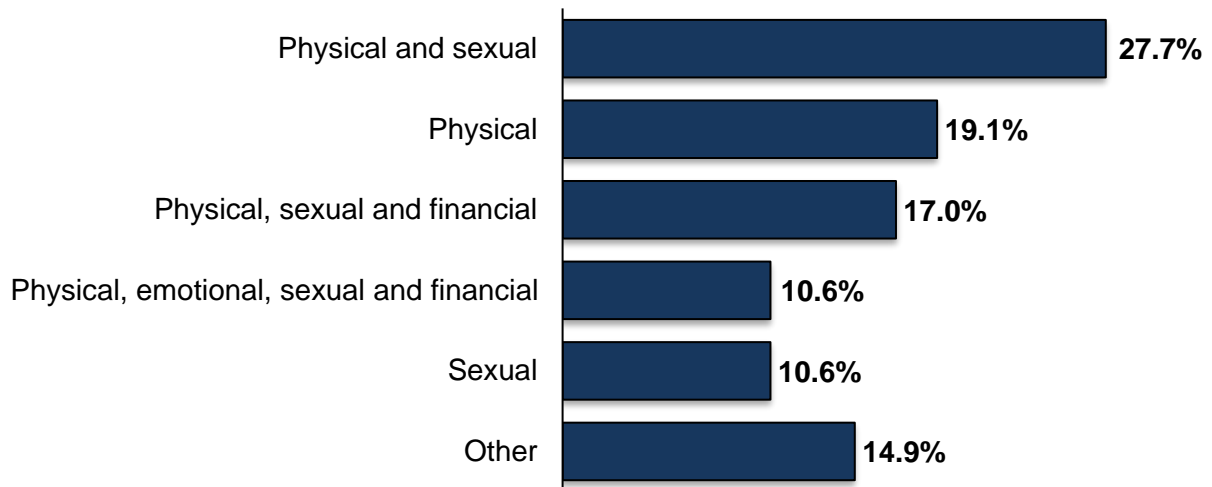
Nearly four in five respondents (n=47; 78.3%) indicated that they have been discriminated against because they are a sex worker. The main reasons listed by the respondents for not telling people they are involved in the sex industry comprised of: fear of judgement (n=39; 65.0%), fear of being labelled (n=32; 53.3%), shame (n=28; 46.7%), scared of not being accepted (n=22; 36.7%) and other (n=14; 23.3%). The “Other” reasons listed by the respondents are as follows:

- Not needing to tell anyone/none of their business.
- Respondent has not been doing it long but is supporting herself, querying why anyone would ask.
- Respondent does not want to tell anyone.

5.4.5 Abuse experienced during the course of commercial sex work

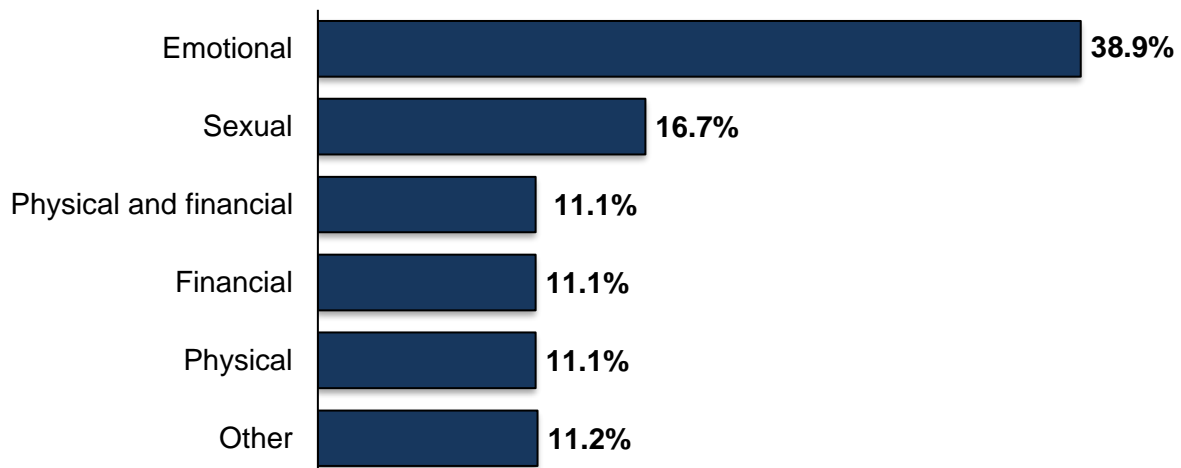
Four in five respondents (n=48; 80.0%) divulged that they have experienced client abuse. The main types of client abuse reported by the respondents include physical and sexual abuse (n=13; 27.7%). The “Other” types of abuse (n=7; 14.9%) indicated by the respondents were physical, emotional and financial; physical and financial; emotional and financial; emotional; physical, as well as emotional and sexual (Figure 46).

Figure 46: Type of abuse perpetrated by clients



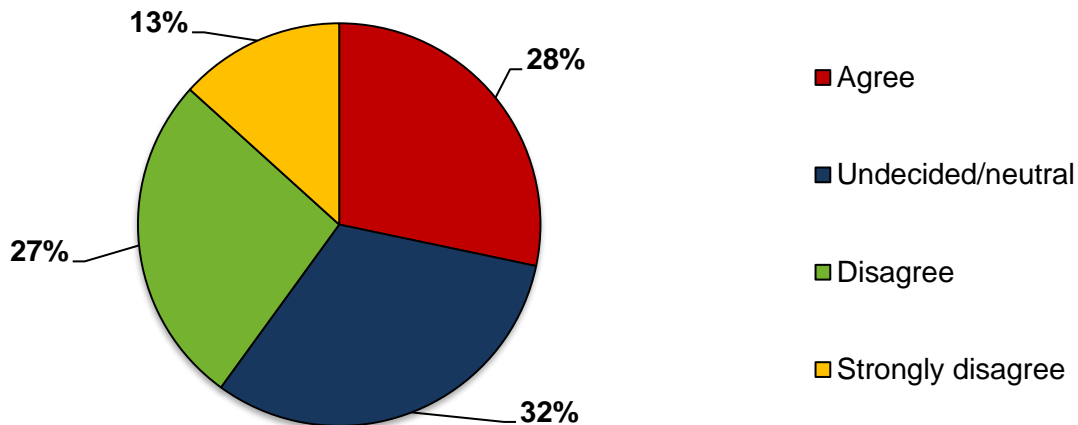
A third of respondents (n=19; 31.7%) reported that they have been abused by colleagues. The main types of abuse included emotional (n=7; 38.9%) and sexual abuse (n=3; 16.7%). The “Other” types of abuse (n=2; 11.2%) listed were physical, sexual and financial; and physical and sexual (Figure 47).

Figure 47: Type of abuse perpetrated by colleagues



More than half of the respondents (n=35; 58.3%) indicated that they have never experienced any police abuse. Respondents were asked whether they could conduct their work without fear of police abuse and 31.7% (n=19) of respondents agreed with the aforementioned statement (Figure 48).

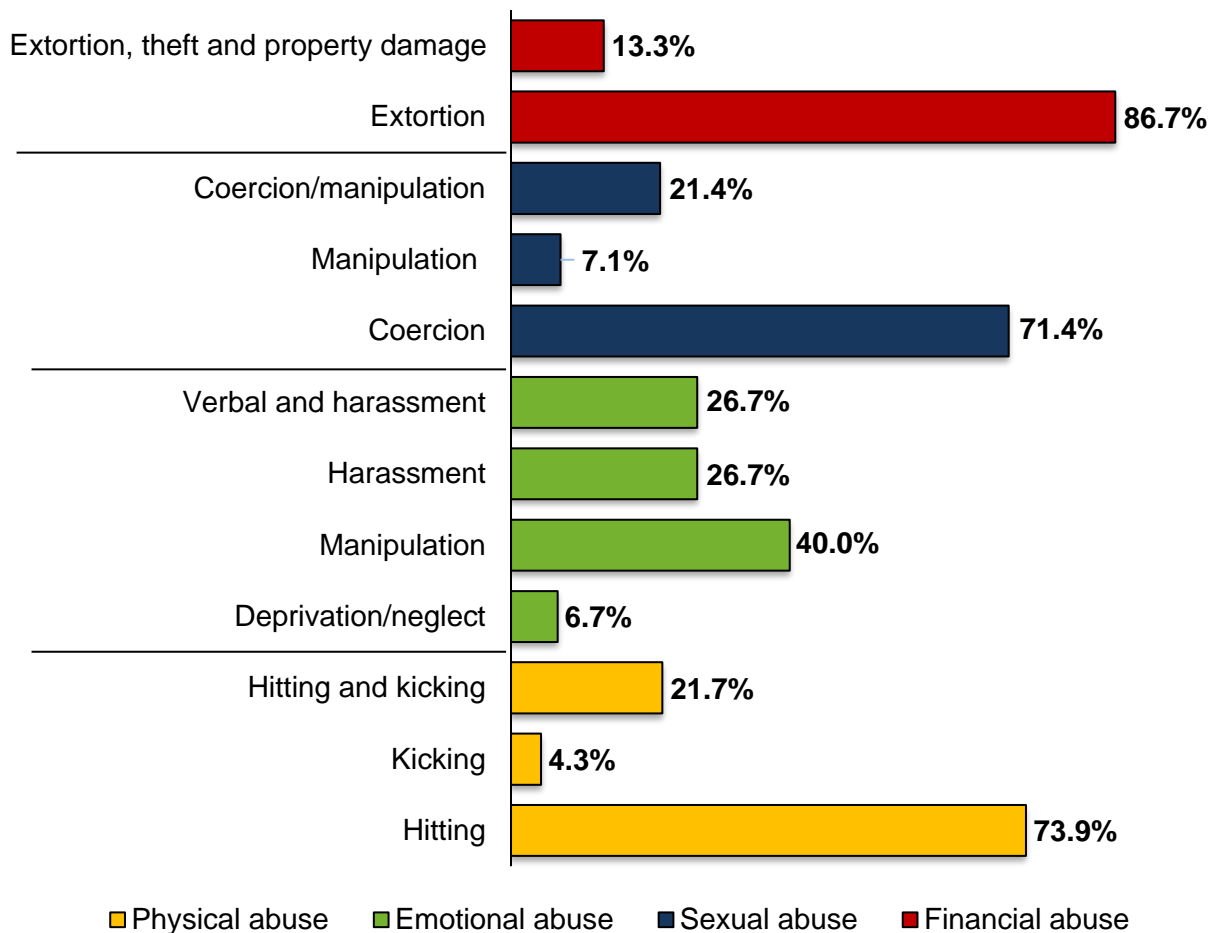
Figure 48: Respondents' views pertaining to their ability to conduct their work without fear of the police



Two in five respondents (n=25; 41.7%) indicated that they have experienced police abuse. Of the respondents who reported that they have been abused by the police specified the following types of abuse: physical abuse (n=23; 38.3%), emotional abuse (n=15; 25.0%), sexual abuse (n=13; 21.7%) and financial abuse (n=15; 25.0%).

In terms of physical abuse, the most common type reported was hitting (n=17; 73.9%). The respondents who divulged experiencing emotional abuse listed manipulation as the most common type of emotional abuse (n=6; 40.0%). Almost three quarters of the respondents (n=10; 71.4%) specified coercion as the main form of sexual abuse experienced, and extortion (n=13; 86.7%) was cited as the main form of financial abuse (Figure 49).

Figure 49: Type of police abuse experienced by the respondents



5.4.6 Substance abuse amongst street-based sex workers

The bulk of respondents (n=48; 80.0%) specified that they have used substances (current and/or past). Three quarters of respondents (n=44; 73.3%) started using substances before their involvement in street-based sex work. Very few respondents (n=9; 15.0%) started using substances after they became involved in CSW.

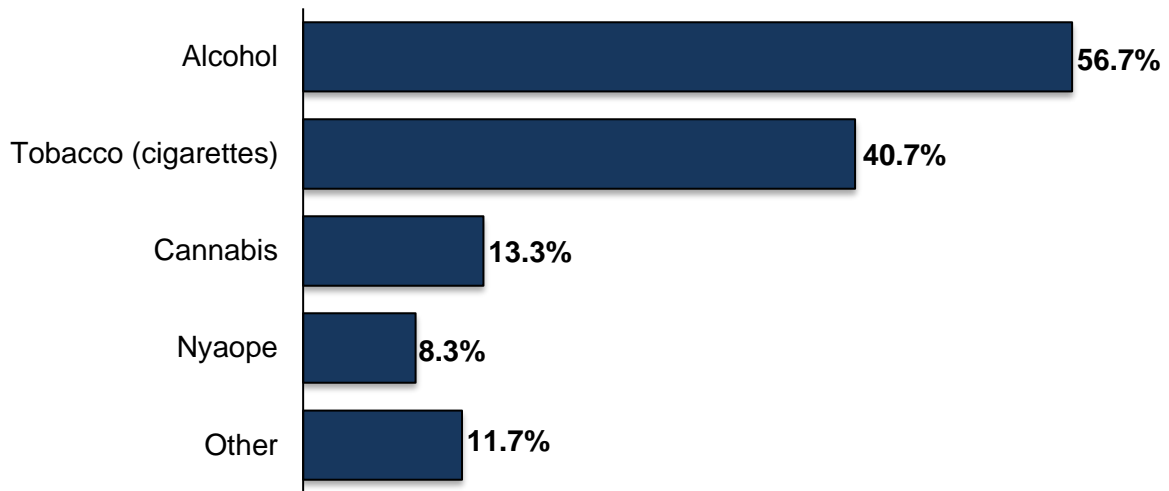
Three quarters of respondents (n=45; 75.0%) have used alcohol before, followed by 36 respondents (60.0%) who used tobacco before. The “Other” substances used by respondents include khat¹⁹, tik²⁰, ecstasy, cocaine and rocks²¹ (Figure 50).

¹⁹ Khat is a stimulant drug, with similar effects to that of cocaine and tik.

²⁰ Tik (colloquial term used in South Africa) is more commonly known as crystal meth and is part of the stimulant family.

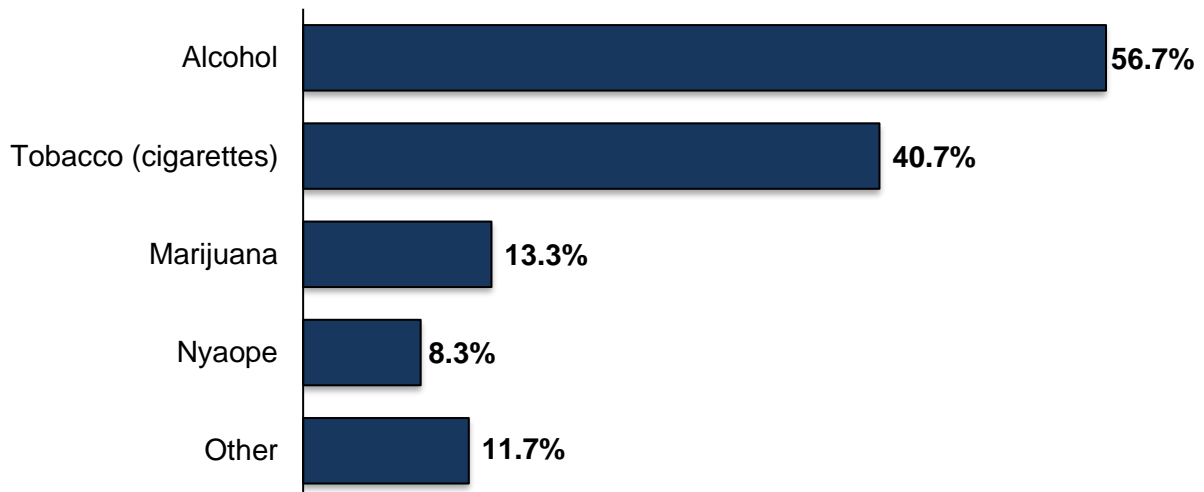
²¹ Rocks is the street name given to cocaine which has been processed from cocaine hydrochloride in order for it to be inhaled (smoked).

Figure 50: Substances which respondents have used



More than half of the respondents (n=34; 56.7%) currently use alcohol, followed by 24 (40.7%) who currently use tobacco. The “Other” substances respondents currently use consist of khat, ecstasy, tik and cocaine (Figure 51).

Figure 51: Substances which respondents currently use



Respondents who indicated that they currently use alcohol, tobacco, cannabis, tik, cocaine and nyaope²² provided details regarding the ages they were when they started using the substances (Table 17).

²² Nyaope (also known as whoonga/wunga) is a street drug, which consist of multiple other illegal substances (e.g. heroin, cannabis), legal substances (milk-powder/pool cleaner/rat poison) and medicinal substances (e.g. anti-retroviral drugs).

Table 17: Age variations of respondents when they first started using the substance

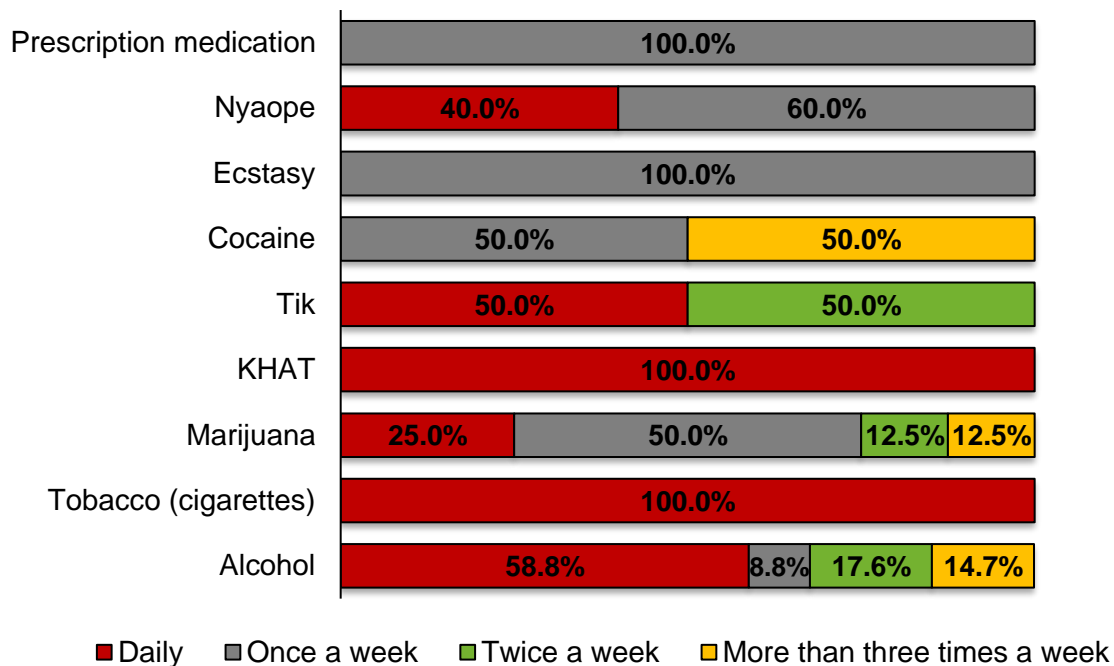
	Age range	Median Age	Standard deviation
Currently use alcohol	between 14-24 years of age	19 years	3.32 years
Currently use tobacco	between 14-28 years of age	20.5 years	3.95 years
Currently use cannabis	between 15-23 years of age	20.5 years	4.08 years
Currently use tik	17 and 27 years ²³ of age	-	7.07 years
Currently use cocaine	21 and 23 years ²⁴ of age	-	1.41 years
Currently use nyaope	between 16-32 years of age	21 years	6.98 years

The frequency of substance use amongst respondents varied greatly. More than half of the respondents (n=20; 58.8%) currently use alcohol daily and all of the respondents (n=24; 100%) who currently use tobacco reported daily use. Respondents who currently use cannabis, use the substance once a week (n=4; 50.0%). Only one respondent uses khat on a daily basis (n=1; 100%) and the one respondent who uses prescription medication indicated that she uses the substances once a week (n=1; 100%). Three respondents who use nyaope, use the substance once a week (n=3; 60.0%) and the two other respondents use nyaope on a daily basis (n=2; 40.0%) (Figure 52).

²³ Only two respondents who currently use tik indicated their age when they first started using the substance.

²⁴ Only two respondents who currently use cocaine indicated their age when they first started using the substance.

Figure 52: Frequency of current substance use

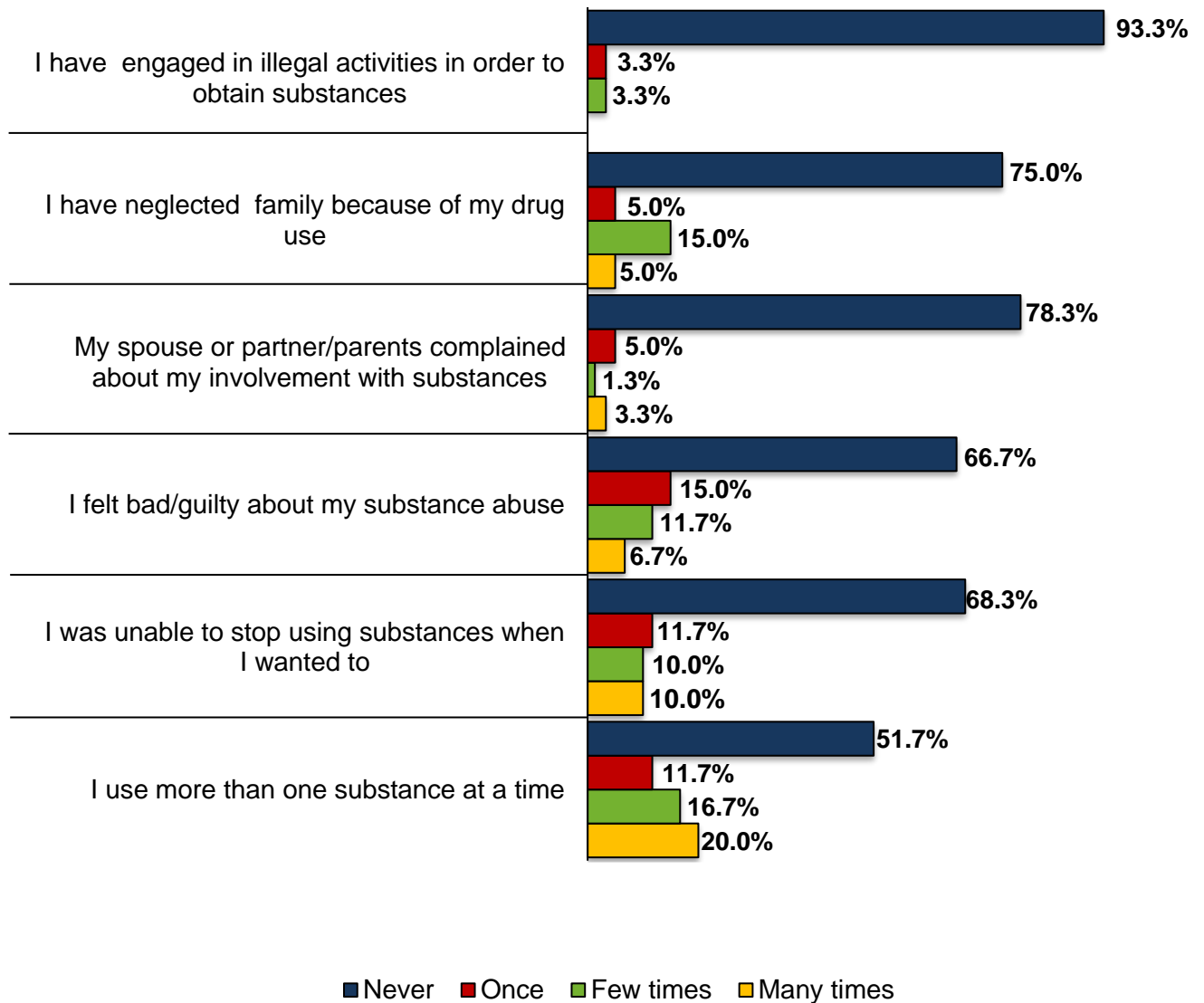


The results of the DAST-10 were as follows and are depicted in Figure 53:

- More than half of respondents (n=31; 51.7%) indicated that they do not use more than one substance at a time; however, 20.0% (n=12) of the respondents noted that they have used more than one substance at a time on many occasions.
- Slightly more than two thirds of respondents (n=41; 68.3%) stated that they were never unable to stop using substances; in contrast, seven respondents (11.7%) indicated that they once were unable to stop abusing substances.
- Two thirds of respondents (n=40; 66.7%) never feel bad or guilty about using substances. Furthermore, 47 (78.3%) respondents²⁵ indicated that their spouses/partners have never complained about their substance abuse and 45 (75.0%) respondents have never neglected their families because of their substance use.
- The vast majority of respondents (n=56; 93.3%) specified that they have never engaged in illegal activities to obtain the substances they use.

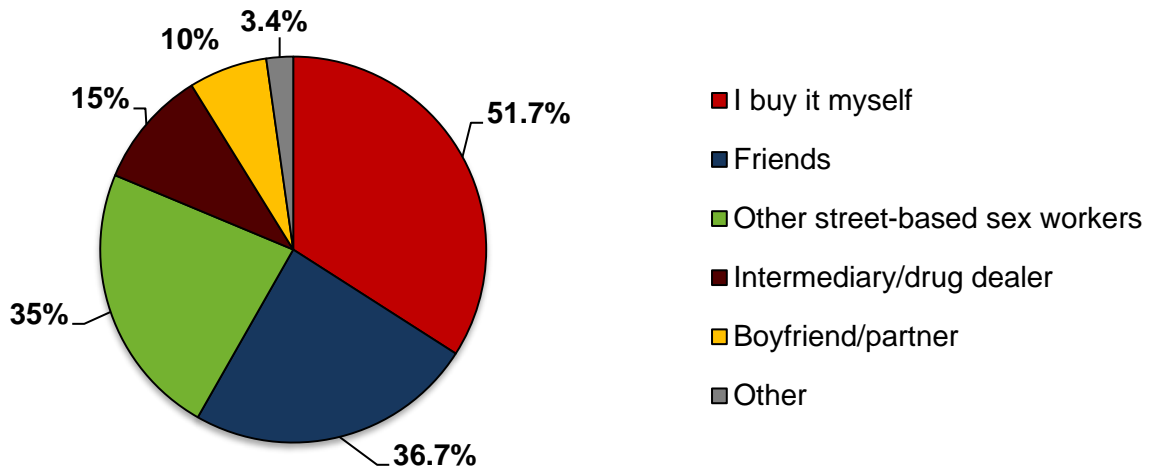
²⁵ Take note that some of the respondents who stated that their spouses/partners have never complained about their substance abuse may have referred to previous relationships and may now have indicated that they are single; therefore, the relationship status particulars will not necessarily correlate with the aforementioned substance abuse information.

Figure 53: Results of the DAST-10 pertaining to drug abuse



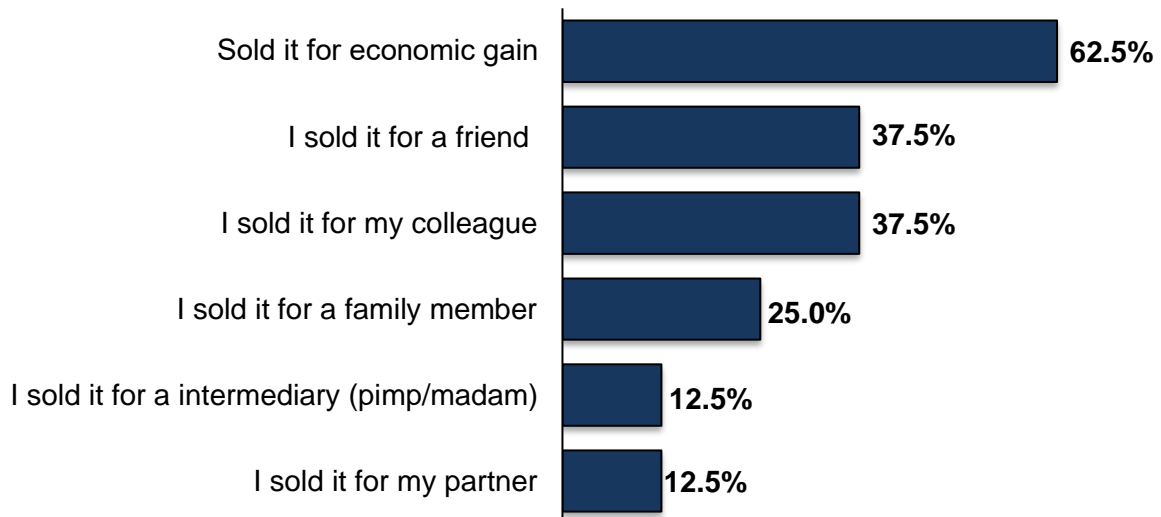
More than half of the respondents (n=31; 51.7%) stated that they buy the substances themselves, followed by respondents who indicated that they obtain their substances from friends (n=22; 36.7%) (Figure 54).

Figure 54: Whom respondents obtain their substances from



Only a few respondents (n=2; 3.3%) stated that they currently sell substances. Very few respondents (n=8; 13.3%) indicated that they have previously sold substances. The respondents who sold substances, mainly sold the substances for personal economic gain (n=5; 62.5%) (Figure 55).

Figure 55: Whom the respondents mainly sold substances for



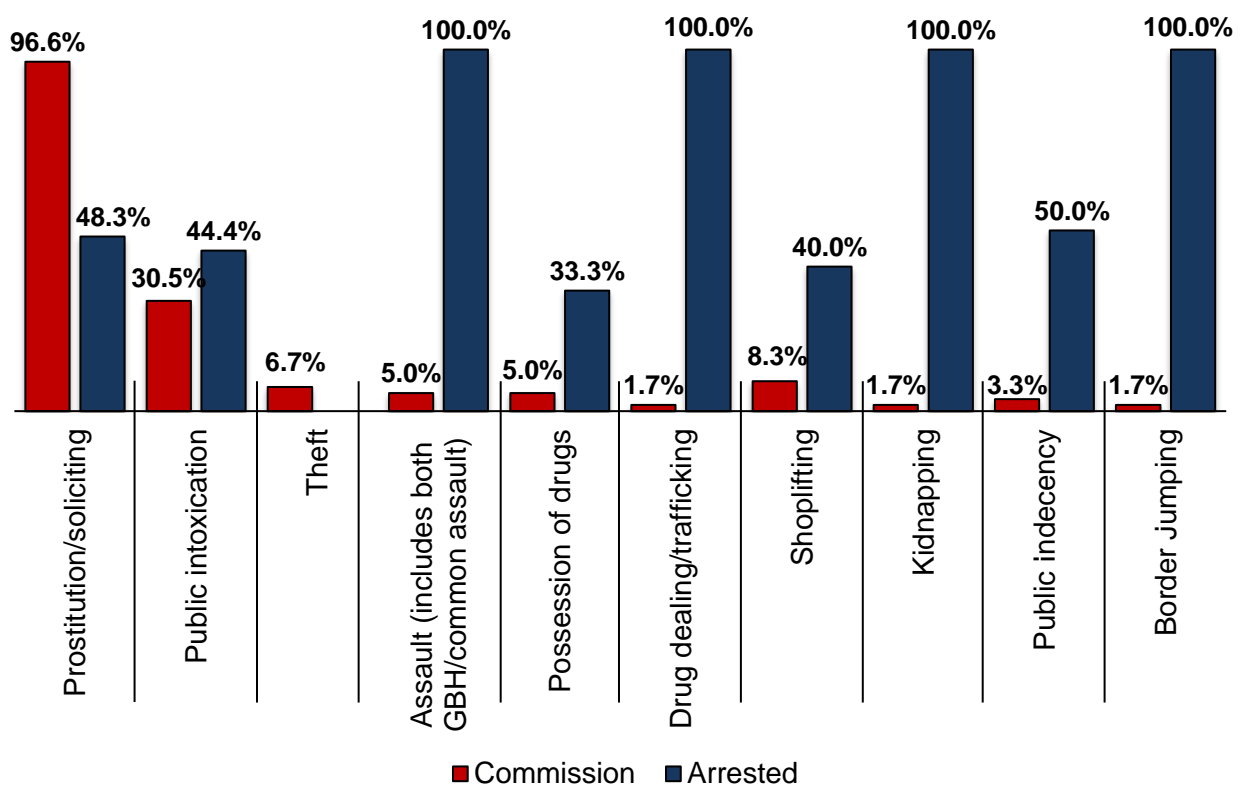
5.4.7 Frequency of arrests and types of crimes committed by respondents

Slightly more than half of respondents have been arrested in the past (n=33; 55.0%) and 27 respondents (45.0%) stated that they have never been arrested before.

The majority of respondents (n=27; 81.8%) relayed that they were only arrested when they were adults and six respondents (18.2%) stated that they were arrested as both an adult and as an adolescent.

Respondents were asked what crimes they had been previously arrested for, as well as what crimes they committed without being arrested. The vast majority of respondents (n=57; 96.6%) committed prostitution/soliciting²⁶ for which 28 (48.3%) were arrested, followed by public intoxication (n=18; 30.5%) for which eight respondents (44.4%) were arrested. Furthermore, four respondents (6.7%) disclosed that they committed theft-related crimes (Figure 56).

Figure 56: Crimes committed by respondents and percentage of respondents arrested

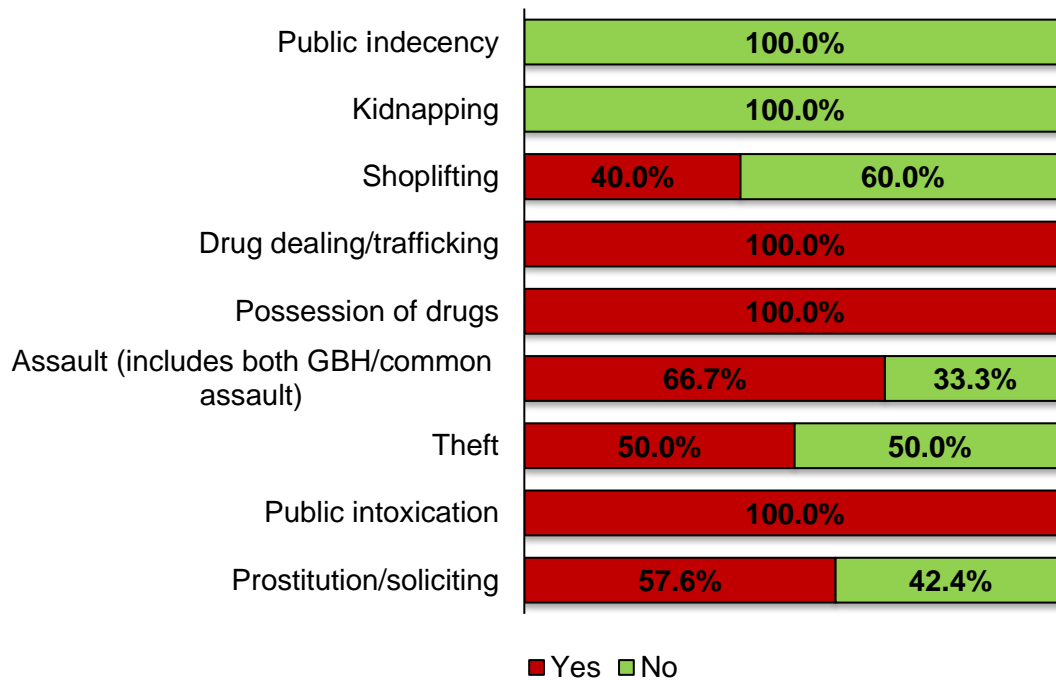


Slightly more than half of the respondents (n=34; 57.6%) were under the influence of substances when they committed prostitution/soliciting, followed by two respondents (n=2; 66.7%) being under the influence of a substance during incidents of assault (Grievous bodily

²⁶ It should be noted that the term prostitution is utilised here, owing to the fact that it is the term used in the Sexual Offences and Related Matters Amendment Act 32 of 2007.

harm [GBH] and common) and two respondents (n=2; 40.0%) who were under the influence of a substance when they shoplifted (Figure 57).

Figure 57: Respondents under the influence of substances during the commission of the crime



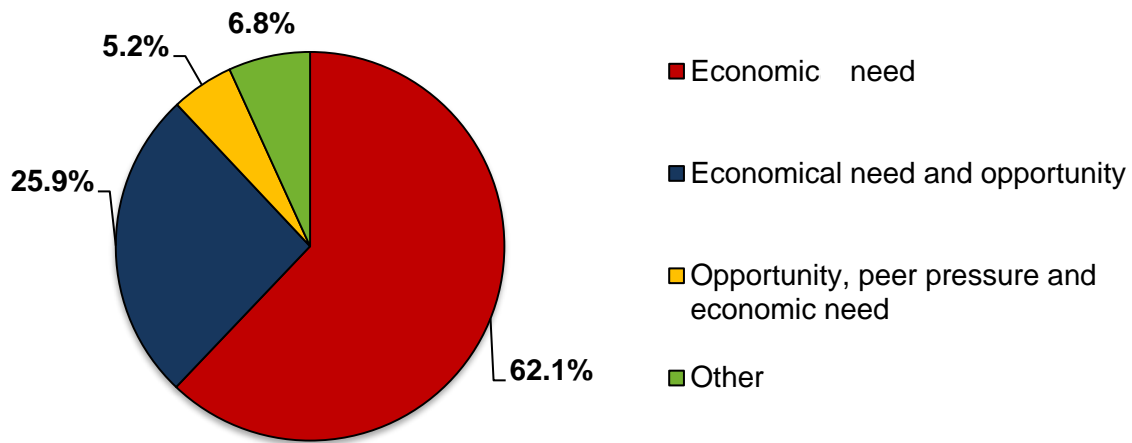
Below are the reasons the respondents attributed to the crimes they committed. In addition, details will be given regarding what occurred subsequent to their arrest.

- **Prostitution/soliciting**

Respondents who committed and/or were arrested for prostitution/soliciting cited economic need (n=36; 62.1%) as the main reason for their involvement, followed by economic need and opportunity to commit the crime²⁷ (n=15; 25.9%). The “Other” reasons highlighted by respondents include: opportunity and drug use; thrill/excitement, peer pressure and financial greed; opportunity, drug use and economic need; as well as thrill/excitement and sexual relief (Figure 58).

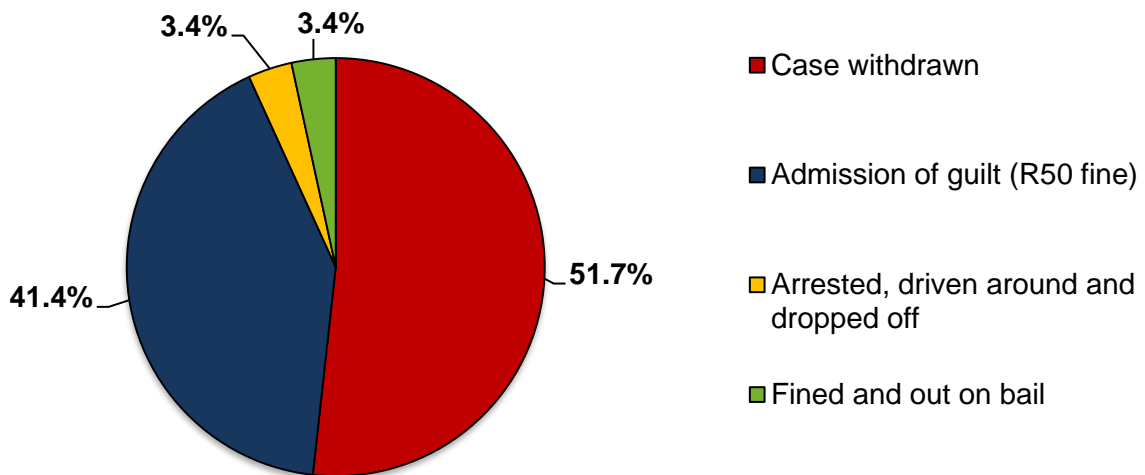
²⁷ Opportunity in the section regarding the frequency of arrests amongst sex workers refers to the opportunity the sex workers had to commit the crime.

Figure 58: Main reasons for the commission of prostitution/soliciting



More than half of the arrests' outcome were that the case was withdrawn (n=15; 51.7%) (Figure 59).

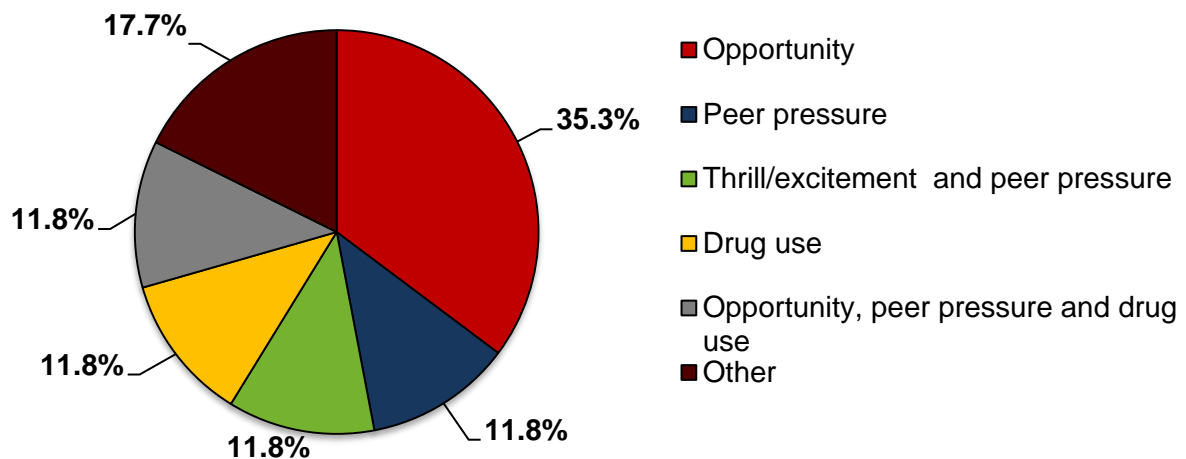
Figure 59: Outcome of the arrests for prostitution/soliciting



- **Public intoxication**

Respondents who were intoxicated in public and/or were arrested for public intoxication listed opportunity (n=6; 35.3%) as their main reason for the commission thereof. The "Other" reasons listed by respondents consist of: peer pressure; thrill/excitement and peer pressure; drug use; opportunity, peer pressure and drug use; unintentional; opportunity and drug use; as well as opportunity and peer pressure (Figure 60).

Figure 60: Main reasons for the commission of public intoxication



Respondents arrested for public intoxication specified that in 55.6% (n=10) of the instances the case was thrown out of court and in 44.4% (n=8) of instances the respondents were sentenced.

- **Theft**

Respondents who committed theft cited economic need and opportunity (n=3; 75.0%), as well as opportunity, drug use and economic need (n=1; 25.0%) as the main reasons for the commission of the crime.

- **Assault**

Respondents who committed assault stated that they were provoked (n=2; 66.7%) or it transpired in self-defence (n=1; 33.3%). The three respondents who committed the aforementioned crime indicated that the following happened after their arrest: sentenced (n=1; 33.3%), case was withdrawn (n=1; 33.3%), and fined and out on bail (n=1; 33.3%).

- **Possession of drugs**

Respondents who indicated that they were guilty of possession of drugs listed opportunity (n=1; 33.3%) and drug use (n=2; 66.7%) as the reasons for the aforementioned crime. The case being withdrawn (n=1; 50.0%), as well as drugs being confiscated and pushed around (n=1; 50.0%) were listed by the two respondents as the outcome after they were arrested.

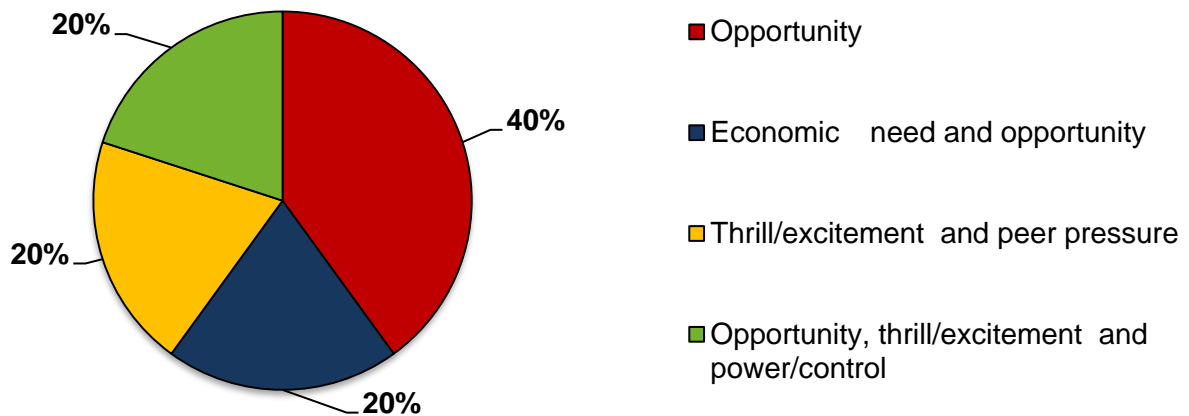
- **Drug dealing/trafficking**

The one respondent who was involved in drug dealing/trafficking indicated that she had the opportunity (n=1; 100%) to commit the crime.

- **Shoplifting**

The reasons attributed by the respondents to their involvement in shoplifting was opportunity (n=2; 40.0%) (Figure 61).

Figure 61: Main reasons for the commission of shoplifting



Two of the respondents who were arrested for shoplifting indicated that the case was thrown out of court (n=2; 100%).

- **Kidnapping**

One respondent indicated that she was involved in an incident of kidnapping and listed her reasons for the aforementioned as revenge/payback, unintentional, provoked and anger (n=1; 100%). After the respondent was arrested she indicated that she was sentenced (n=1;100%) for the crime.

- **Public indecency**

Two respondents indicated that they were involved in an incident concerning public indecency and listed their main reason for the commission of the crime as it being unintentional (n=2; 3.3%). One respondent indicated that she was fined (n=1;100%) after being arrested for public indecency.

- **Border jumping**

One respondent indicated that she was involved in an incident of border jumping. She listed her main reason for the transgression as opportunity (n=1;100%). The respondent was subsequently deported (n=1;100%) after her arrest.

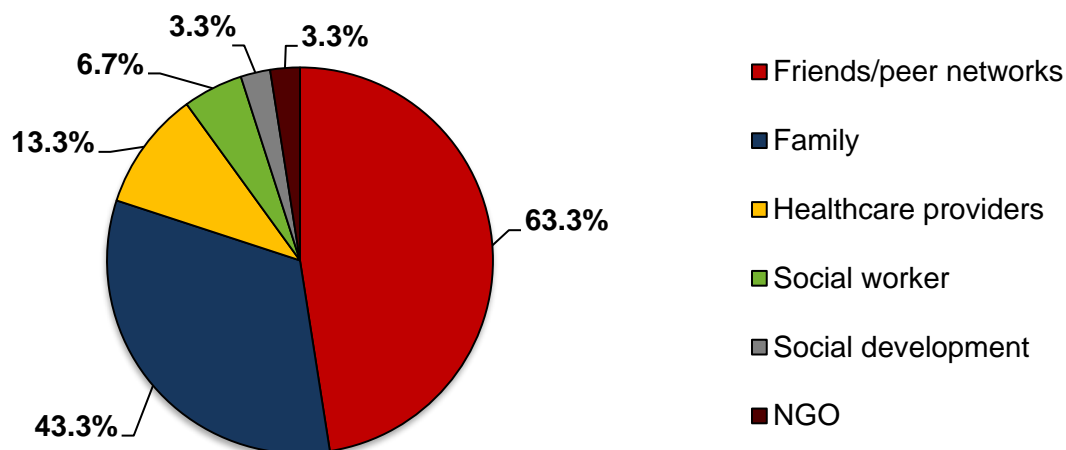
5.4.8 Activities engaged in outside of commercial sex work

The bulk of the respondents (n=49; 81.7%) stated that they mainly socialise outside of the sex industry, followed by parenting/caregiving (n=45; 75.0%). A fifth of the respondents (n=12; 20.0%) indicated that they engage in other employment activities outside of the sex industry. The “Other” activities engaged in outside of the sex industry consist of visiting home and their children; going on vacation with their children; sleeping/rest; as well as “nothing really”. It should be noted that none of the respondents as part of their extracurricular activities indicated that they were studying towards a formal education.

5.4.9 Willingness to exit the sex work industry

The bulk of respondents (n=52; 86.7%) indicated that they would leave street-based sex work if they had the opportunity to do so. Respondents stipulated that they have support from friends/peer networks (n=38; 63.3%) and family (n=26; 43.3%) should they decide to leave the sex work industry (Figure 62).

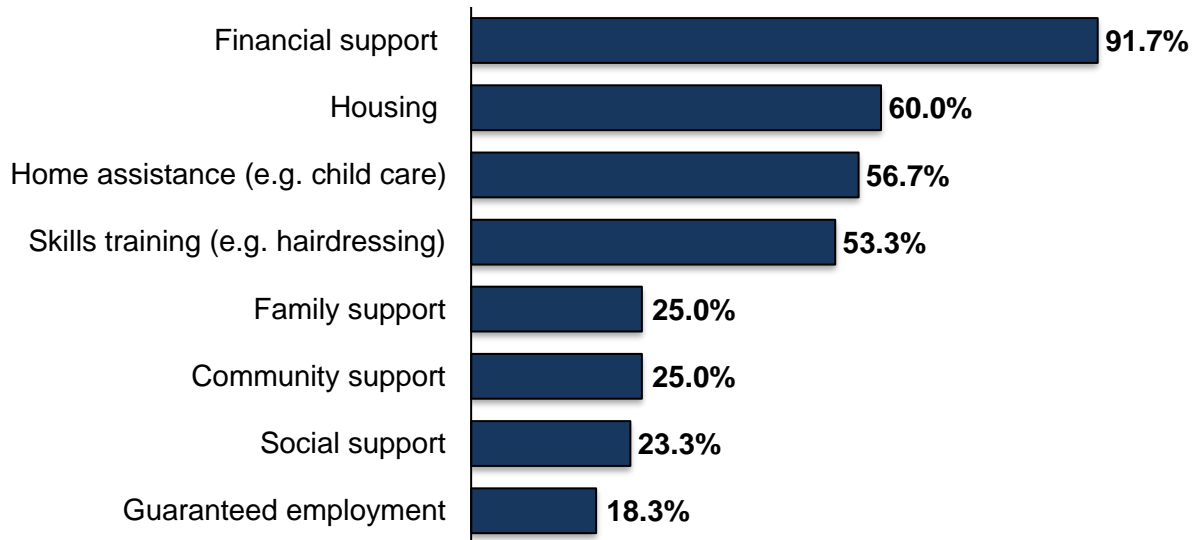
Figure 62: Support respondents have should they choose to exit sex work



5.4.10 Aspects deemed important for a sex work exit programme

The aspects listed by respondents as the main requirements for successful sex work exit programmes were financial support (n=55; 91.7%), housing (n=36; 60.0%), assistance at home (e.g. child care) (n=34; 56.7%) and skills training (e.g. hairdressing) (n=32; 53.3%). The other factors indicated by the respondents comprised of guaranteed employment, social support, community support and family support (Figure 63).

Figure 63: Aspects respondents listed as main requirements of sex work exit programmes



5.5 Results of the bivariate analyses

The purpose of bivariate analysis is to highlight the empirical relationship between two variables (e.g. runaway behaviour and abuse experienced prior to CSW involvement). Using bivariate analysis, the researcher can statistically determine whether an association exists between variables as well as the strength of the association, or whether there are differences between the two variables as well as the significance of the differences.

Respondents who did not run away from home when they were under the age of 18 years (n=18; 69.2%) were less likely to have children/dependants than respondents who ran away when they were under the age of 18 years (n=32; 94.1%). Also, respondents who did not run away from home when they were under the age of 18 years (n=18; 69.2%) were more likely to be employed in the formal sector than respondents who ran away when they were under the age of 18 years (n=32; 94.1%). Respondents who indicated that they ran away from home when they were under the age of 18 years were significantly more likely to have had consensual sex between the ages of 13 and 15 years of age (n=9; 34.6%). There was a significant difference between the respondents who ran away from home when they were under the age of 18 years consulting a psychologist and the respondents who never ran away from home. Three (11.5%) of the respondents who ran away from home have consulted a psychologist, whereas none of the respondents who did not run away have ever consulted a psychologist (Table 18).

Table 18: Bivariate results of respondents' background information

	Ran away		Did not run away		<i>p</i>	<i>r</i>
	n	%	n	%		
Has children (dependants)	18	69.2	32	94.1	0.011	-0.3
Was previously employed in the formal sector	2	16.7	8	38.1	0.024	-0.4
Age of first consensual sexual experience (13-15 years of age)	9	34.6	0	0.0	0.000	-0.5
Has consulted a psychologist in the past	3	11.5	0	0.0	0.044	-0.3

Respondents who did not report running away from home indicated that their parents knew their whereabouts when they were not at home (n= 9; 26.5%), whilst individuals who ran away from home indicated that they left their parents' supervision without telling them many times (n= 18; 69.2%) and that their parent, many times (n= 22; 84.6%), left them to do their own thing (Table 19).

Table 19: Bivariate analysis of respondents' childhood experiences with parents/guardians

	Ran away		Did not run away		<i>p</i>	<i>r</i>
	n	%	n	%		
My parents/caregivers knew where I was when I was not at school (many times)	3	11.5	9	26.5	0.005	-0.4
I left my parents/caregivers' supervision without telling them (many times)	18	69.2	8	23.5	0.002	-0.4
My parents/caregivers left me to do my own thing (many times)	22	84.6	17	50	0.005	-0.4
My parents/caregivers were too intoxicated to take care of me (many times)	2	7.7	0	0.0	0.005	-0.4

Respondents who indicated that they ran away from home when they were under the age of 18 years (n=26; 43.3%), later when they were over the age of 18 years left home voluntarily, owing to their own addiction/substance abuse and/or because of parental abuse (Table 20)

Table 20: Bivariate analysis of respondents' reasons for voluntarily leaving home

	Ran away		Did not run away		<i>p</i>	<i>r</i>
	n	%	n	%		
Left home voluntarily because of own addiction/substance abuse	4	100.0	0	0.0	0.014	-0.3
Left home voluntarily because of parental abuse	5	20.8	1	2.9	0.029	-0.3

Furthermore, the respondents who ran away from home were more likely to have experienced abuse prior to their involvement in CSW than respondents who indicated that they did not run away from home. The respondents were more likely to have experienced the following types of abuse: physical abuse (n=12; 46.2%), emotional abuse (n=9; 34.6%), sexual abuse (n=8; 30.8%) and financial abuse (n=4; 15.4%). More respondents who had ran away from home witnessed a family member experiencing physical abuse (n=10; 38.5%). Additionally, respondents (n=5; 57.7%) who ran away from home also indicated that they experienced being bullied as a child (Table 21).

Table 21: Bivariate analysis of respondents who ran away from home and abuse experienced prior to their sex work involvement

	Ran away		Did not run away		<i>p</i>	<i>r</i>
	n	%	n	%		
Individuals who experienced abuse prior to their CSW involvement	15	57.7	8	23.5	0.007	-0.3
Experienced physical abuse prior to their CSW involvement	12	46.2	6	17.6	0.018	-0.3
Experienced emotional abuse prior to their CSW involvement	9	34.6	4	11.8	0.035	-0.3
Experienced sexual abuse prior to their CSW involvement	8	30.8	3	8.8	0.031	-0.3
Experienced financial abuse prior to their CSW involvement	4	15.4	0	0.0	0.019	-0.3
Witnessed a family member experiencing physical abuse	10	38.5	5	14.7	0.037	-0.3
Was bullied as a child	15	57.7	6	17.6	0.001	-0.4

Respondents who have used substances before were more likely to have run away from home when they were adolescents (under 18 years of age) (n=24; 92.3%). The respondents who ran away from home when they were under the age of 18 years were more likely to have used nyaope (n=8; 30.8%) and rocks (n= 5; 19.2%) before. Of the respondents who ran away more were likely to currently use nyaope (n= 5; 19.2%). The respondents who reported running away from home were unable to stop using substances many times, felt guilty/bad about their substance abuse many times, had spouses/partners who complained about their substance abuse many times and neglected their families because of their substance abuse many times (Table 22).

Table 22: Bivariate analysis of respondents' substance abuse

	Ran away		Did not run away		<i>p</i>	<i>r</i>
	n	%	n	%		
Have ever used Nyaope – Yes	8	30.8	3	8.8	0.031	-0.3
Have ever used Rocks – Yes	5	19.2	0	0.0	0.008	-0.3
Currently uses Nyaope	5	19.2	0	0.0	0.008	-0.3
Individual has used substances before	24	92.3	24	70.6	0.039	-0.3
Was unable to stop using substances (many times)	4	15.4	2	5.9	0.008	-0.3
Felt guilty/bad about their substance abuse (many times)	4	15.4	0	0.0	0.000	-0.5
Their spouse/partner complained about their substance use (many times)	2	7.7	0	0.0	0.005	-0.4
Have neglected their family because of their substance use (many times)	3	11.5	0	0.0	0.001	-0.4

Individuals who ran away from home were more likely to have family members who currently abused substances, as well as abused substances in the past. Respondents who ran away from home specified that their parents were on many occasions too intoxicated to take care of them (n=2; 7.7%) (Table 23).

Table 23: Bivariate analysis of respondents' familial substance abuse information

	Ran away		Did not run away		<i>p</i>	<i>r</i>
	n	%	n	%		
Family members currently abuse substances	9	34.6	2	5.9	0.005	-0.4
Family members abused substance in the past	14	53.8	6	17.6	0.003	-0.4

There was a significant number of respondents who specified that they never ran away from home when under the age of 18 years who also indicated that they were mostly arrested for a crime as adults ($n=19$; 100.0%). Slightly less than half of the respondents ($n=12$; 46.2%) who ran away from home either committed or were arrested for public intoxication, followed by respondents ($n=3$; 11.5%) who either committed or were arrested for the possession of drugs (Table 24).

Table 24: Bivariate analysis of respondents who were arrested

	Ran away		Did not run away		<i>p</i>	<i>r</i>
	n	%	n	%		
Was arrested as an adult	8	57.1	19	100.0	0.002	-0.5
Committed or was arrested for public intoxication	12	46.2	6	18.2	0.022	-0.3
Committed or was arrested for possession of drugs	3	11.5	0.0	0.0	0.044	-0.3

Respondents who did not run away from home were more likely to deem family support ($n=12$; 35.3%), home assistance ($n=25$; 73.5%) and housing ($n=27$; 79.4%) as important aspects for inclusion into sex work exit programmes (Table 25).

Table 25: Bivariate analysis of factors which respondents deem as important for sex work exit programmes

	Ran away		Did not run away		<i>p</i>	<i>r</i>
	n	%	n	%		
Indicated family support as being very important for sex work exit programmes	3	11.5	12	35.3	0.026	-0.3
Indicated home assistance as being very important for sex work exit programmes	9	34.6	25	73.5	0.006	-0.4

Indicated housing as being very important for sex work exit programmes	9	34.6	27	79.4	0.001	-0.4
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Respondents who experienced abuse prior to their CSW involvement were more likely to have used rocks (n=4; 17.4%). Two respondents (8.7%) highlighted that their spouse/partner complained about their substance use, many times. Individuals who experienced abuse prior to their involvement in CSW were significantly more likely to report on familial substance abuse. The majority of respondents (n=15; 65.2%) indicated that their family members abused substances in the past, followed by respondents who indicated that their family members currently abuse substances (n=8; 34.8%) (Table 26).

Table 26: Bivariate results of respondents who experienced abuse prior to commercial sex work

	Experienced abuse prior to CSW involvement		Did not experience - abuse prior to CSW involvement		<i>p</i>	<i>r</i>
	n	%	n	%		
Had previously been employed prior to CSW involvement	8	34.8	25	67.6	0.014	-0.3
I feel safe in my work environment	5	21.7	23	62.2	0.002	-0.4
Have ever used Rocks – Yes	4	17.4	1	2.7	0.047	-0.3
Their spouse/partner complained about their substance use (many times)	2	8.7	0	0.0	0.044	-0.3
Family members currently abuse substances	8	34.8	3	8.1	0.012	-0.3
Family members abused substances in the past	15	65.2	5	13.5	0.01	-0.3

Respondents who indicated being arrested were mostly South African citizens as opposed to the non-South African citizen's arrest frequency (n=4; 12.1%). Individuals employed in street-based CSW for less than one year were more likely not to have been arrested (n=7; 25.96%). Markedly more individuals who were arrested reported currently using substances, specifically cannabis (n=8; 24.2%0). Respondents who have been arrested reported experiencing police abuse. The respondents who were arrested were more likely to have experienced physical

abuse (n= 20; 60.6%). The respondents who were arrested also reported experiencing financial abuse (n= 13; 39.4%) and sexual abuse (n=12; 36.4%) from the police (Table 27).

Table 27: Bivariate results of arrests amongst sex workers

	Individuals who were arrested		Individuals who were not arrested		<i>p</i>	<i>r</i>
	n	%	n	%		
Nationality: South African citizen	29	87.9	16	59.3	0.012	-0.3
Nationality: non-South African citizen	4	12.1	11	40.7	0.012	-0.3
Period employed in street-based CSW (Less than 1 year)	3	9.1	7	25.96	0.017	-0.3
Currently use cannabis	8	24.2	0	0.0	0.006	-0.4
Type of police abuse experienced: physical	20	60.6	3	11.1	0.000	-0.5
Type of police abuse experienced: sexual	12	36.4	1	3.7	0.002	-0.4
Type of police abuse experienced: financial	13	39.4	2	7.4	0.005	-0.4

5.6 Summary

In the pursuit of the aim of the proposed study the above-mentioned results reflect the first three objectives formulated for the study. More specifically, the results provide the reader with a broad understanding of the profile of adult female street-based sex workers; the nature of adult female street-based sex work; and risk factors which have shaped respondents' trajectories into adult female street-based sex work. In the chapter which follows (Chapter 6), the data will be interpreted with reference to the literature review and the theoretical framework as well as the integrated theoretical model developed for the purpose of the present study. In addition, the context-specific pathways framework focussed on adult female street-based sex work in Arcadia and Sunnyside, Pretoria will be presented (i.e. the last objective formulated for the study).

Chapter 6: Discussion and recommendations

6.1. Introduction

The current study aimed to identify the context-specific pathways women follow into adult female street-based CSW in Arcadia and Sunnyside, Pretoria. The concepts sex work, sex worker, street-based sex work, intermediary, risk factor and pathways were operationally defined in the first chapter of the research report. The remainder of Chapter 1 was dedicated to the origin and rationale of the study, the aim and objectives were delineated and a synopsis of the research methods applied in the study was furnished. In Chapter 2, extant research findings pertaining to the focus of the current study were inspected and assessed. An explication of relevant Criminology theories that provide possible explanations for women's trajectories into adult street-based sex work followed in Chapter 3. In addition, the researcher developed an integrated theoretical model in order to facilitate a more holistic understanding of women's context-specific pathways into adult female street-based CSW in Arcadia and Sunnyside, Pretoria. In Chapter 4, the methodological procedures applied in the study were justified and the pertinent ethical considerations were disclosed. The results of the univariate and bivariate analyses of the empirical data was presented in Chapter 5. In the current concluding chapter, the results will be discussed against the background of extant international and local research evidence and relevant Criminology theories. Informed by the discussion of the results, the context-specific pathways framework focussed on adult female street-based sex work in Arcadia and Sunnyside, Pretoria will be presented and examined against the backdrop of the integrated theoretical model that was developed for the purpose of the present study.

The focus of the present chapter will be to answer the research question that was formulated for the study, namely: What are the context-specific pathways women follow into adult female street-based CSW in Arcadia and Sunnyside, Pretoria? The objectives of the study centred on compiling a profile of the characteristics of adult female street-based sex workers, identifying possible risk factors which may shape an individual's trajectory into adult female street-based CSW, describing the nature of adult female street-based sex work and constructing a pathways framework specifically focussed on adult female street-based CSW in Arcadia and Sunnyside, Pretoria. The chapter is structured broadly according to the aforementioned objectives. The chapter will conclude with recommendations pertaining to policy and practice as well as suggestions for the directions of future research enquiries.

6.2. The profile of adult female street-based sex workers in Arcadia and Sunnyside (Pretoria)

The socio-demographic characteristics and background information of sex workers will serve to highlight key findings in terms of the profile of adult female street-based sex workers in Arcadia and Sunnyside, Pretoria. Information pertaining to sex workers' socio-demographic characteristics and backgrounds (i.e. prior employment, citizenship, migration and discrimination) shed light on factors which could contribute to rendering women vulnerable for entry into CSW.

6.2.1. Socio-demographic characteristics and background information of sex workers

All the street-based sex workers were female and over the age of 18 years, with the median age being 33 years. The average age of sex workers when they entered street-based CSW was 29 years, which is in line with evidence from India (Saggurti et al., 2011:5) and South Africa (Gould, 2008:23-136; Manoek, 2012:8; SALRC, 2009:48-50). As per the survey results, the age of sex workers when they entered CSW ranged between 14 and 49 years, which highlights the applicability of the developmental model (Brown et al., 2010:382) in terms of certain risk factors having a varied effect on different individuals, owing to their age and other demographic characteristics (e.g. ethnicity). In other words, the age of a person when they enter the sex industry may be informed by the impact a combination of risk factors had on them during a certain life stage.

The vast majority of the sex workers who participated in the present study were black (90.0%) and only three sex workers (5.0%) were white. The aforementioned finding of the present study is disproportional to South Africa's national racial population averages with black population groups comprising 76.2% and whites 8.9% of the population (Statistics South Africa, 2012:50-52). Based on the 2011 census data, Sunnyside's population composition comprises of the following: 88.4% black, 8.5% white, 1.7% coloured and 0.9% indian. The population composition of the current study's respondents broadly mirrors the Sunnyside population (Statistics South Africa, 2012:50-52)²⁸. Important to note is that owing to South Africa's racially segregated past and resultant social and racial disparities, the racial composition of the population in a specific area varies greatly depending on the geographic location. In contrast to the findings of the current study, the SALRC (2009:48-50) found that street-based 'fast living' sex workers, who are typically found in areas near inner-cities, are

²⁸ There is no population breakdown for Arcadia, Pretoria owing to the fact that Arcadia falls within the boundaries of the greater Sunnyside area.

mostly white. The SALRC (2009: 48-50) is unclear regarding the methodological considerations for conducting their study across various provinces and the number of respondents drawn from each province and location is not stated. The result is that it proves difficult to compare the data they collected between different areas.

Various studies highlight that sex workers come from low socio-economic backgrounds (Gould, 2008:23-136; Rhoda, 2010:75; SALRC, 2009:48-50; Sonke Gender Justice, 2014:7) and that a lack of education can make women vulnerable to CSW entry (Brennan et al., 2010:36-47; Rhoda, 2010:75; Kennedy et al., 2004:3-4; Sonke Gender Justice, 2014:7-8; Richter et al., 2013:246-251), especially in the absence of viable employment opportunities and the financial motivation which accompanies CSW entry. The survey results support the aforementioned as the majority of sex workers came from low socio-economic backgrounds (63.3%), considered themselves poor prior to their CSW entry (45.0%) and mostly reported only having some secondary schooling (61.7%). Whilst keeping the above-mentioned outcomes in mind, it is likely that women who come from low-income households have limited access to education and skills development training, which subsequently limits viable employment opportunities for them. Owing to the fact that sex workers do not need specific educational levels to be employed within the sex trade, low socio-economic background and the resultant educational deficits in an environment where viable employment opportunities are limited, can influence an individual's trajectory into CSW.

The survey results potentially point to a lack of support in the family structures of sex workers, which is congruent with the elements of social bonding theory (Brown et al., 2010:300-301; Pratt et al., 2011:58-59; Siegel, 2012:246; Williams & McShane, 2010:156), as sex workers were mainly raised by only their mothers (43.3%) and were predominantly currently single (70.0%). However, most of the sex workers had children of their own (83.3%) whom the sex worker was the primary caregiver of (32.0%), which indicates that sex workers still had some attachment to family structures. Also, the aforementioned alludes to the possibility that sex workers have to cope with extreme parenting strains. Studies conducted in South Africa (Sonke Gender Justice, 2014:7-8; Richter et al., 2013:246-251) explicate that the sex work industry enables sex workers to provide for extended families, which coincides with the current study's findings as more than half of the sex workers indicated that they support someone else (dependants and other family members) with their sex work income, as well as having dependants who reside in other provinces (e.g. KwaZulu-Natal) or countries (e.g. Zimbabwe). Therefore, in line with general strain theory, the perceived parenting strain and subsequent financial strain experienced by sex workers may inform their involvement within CSW (criminal consequence) (Brown et al., 2010:249-251; Brown et al., 2007:281). However, it should be

noted that sex workers' mothers also assumed the responsibility of primary caregiver to the sex workers' dependants. Thus, perhaps alleviating the extreme parenting strains felt by sex workers, but increasing the financial responsibilities sex workers have to take care of the needs of their children, as well as those who care for the sex workers' dependants.

6.2.2. Sex workers' prior employment information

Likewise, various local studies (Richter et al., 2013:246-251; SALRC, 2009:42-49; Sonke Gender Justice, 2014:7-8; Thusi, 2015:223-227) accentuate that sex workers earn more in CSW than they did whilst employed in other industries. The aforementioned is also supported by the survey findings with sex workers who indicated that they had previous employment (55.0%) in a variety of industries (e.g. restaurant sector/retail sector/beauty industry) and that owing to their current involvement in street-based CSW, they are able to earn more (between R1000 and R4000 a month) in comparison to their previous employment. The greater proportion of sex workers who had prior employment were employed between one and four years. It is worth noting that 85.0% of sex workers who participated in the present study highlighted that they would consider employment other than sex work, if they could earn more money or if the employment offered a stable income, further drawing attention to the strong economic motivation attached to CSW involvement. The reasons sex workers furnished for not considering any other type of employment than sex work, also serve to reinforce the strong economic motivation attached to CSW involvement, as the income they generate through CSW capacitates them to support their dependants (88.9%). In light of the finding that the vast majority of sex workers would consider alternative employment to sex work, it is important to underscore that sex workers do not necessarily reject the legal forms of employment as posited by Agnew in the general strain theory (Brown et al., 2010:461), but rather have limited access to the institutional means to successfully attain their goals in terms of economic needs and the relief of financial strains.

6.2.3. Citizenship, migratory information and discrimination

With reference to the current study's citizenship and migratory information, three quarters of the sex workers were South African nationals and only a quarter of the sex workers were foreign nationals. However, a high degree of migration between South African provinces was observed as 83.3% of sex workers currently engaged in the sex industry in Arcadia and Sunnyside, Pretoria in Gauteng originated from other South African provinces. The aforementioned migratory information pertaining to sex workers (from other countries and between provinces) is consistent with the findings of various other local studies (Rhoda, 2010:75; Statistics South Africa, 2018:14-16; SALRC, 2015:56-58). The SALRC's discussion paper (2015:56-58) should be highlighted in terms of its argument that whilst South Africa also

faces substantial unemployment issues, other African countries' nationals still view South Africa as a country with numerous economic opportunities. Therefore, it could be argued that migration is an important factor when considering women's entry into sex work, as their involvement in CSW provides them with financial relief.

Whilst keeping in mind the preceding migratory information, various studies (Balfour & Allen, 2014:4-7; Dodsworth, 2011:4; Fitzpatrick et al., 2012:7; SALRC, 2009:19) stress that discrimination experienced by sex workers serve to ensnare women in the sex industry, owing to factors such as social exclusion and lack of social support, which is supported by the findings of the current study. More than three quarters (78.3%) of the sex workers in the present study specified that they have been discriminated against and treated with indifference, because they are sex workers. The main reasons listed by the sex workers for not telling people that they are sex workers were related to fear of judgement (65.0%), fear of being labelled (53.3%), shame (46.7%) and trepidation of not being accepted (36.7%). Therefore, the present study's discrimination findings in combination with the migratory patterns of sex workers, suggest that when sex workers migrate to a new country or province where social support may be lacking, they experience discrimination which can exacerbate feelings of isolation, further obstructing migrants/or other stigmatised groups' efforts to find employment (Brown et al., 2010:461; Richter et al., 2013:246-251; SALRC, 2009:30-32; Sonke Gender Justice, 2014:7-8). Consequently, CSW may be perceived as their only viable alternative. Here too it should be emphasised that sex workers do not necessarily reject the legal forms of employment as proposed by the assumptions of the general strain theory. Instead, they have limited access to the institutional means to attain their goals, as sex work in South Africa may serve as a viable economic option for individuals who migrated from another province or country, due to the dearth of employment opportunities in the formal labour market.

In summary, the survey results suggest that black single women from low socio-economic backgrounds, with poor education levels, who have dependants and extended family to financially support, as well as migrated from other provinces (i.e. beyond the provincial borders of Gauteng) or countries (i.e. beyond the national borders of South Africa) with limited economic opportunities, may be more likely to engage in adult female street-based sex work. The proposed profile of an adult female street-based sex worker in Arcadia and Sunnyside, Pretoria reveals noteworthy similarities to the marginalised 'socialised' women pathway, lifelong victimisation pathway and the serious, chronic and violent women pathway proposed by Brennan et al. (2010:36-47).

6.3. Risk factors associated with adult female street-based sex workers in Arcadia and Sunnyside (Pretoria)

The following section will reflect on the risk factors associated with adult female street-based sex work. The discussion will draw attention to childhood experiences and abuse experienced prior to sex workers' involvement with CSW, as well as substance abuse and run-away behaviour. Moreover, it should be noted that the risk factors, which may be present when individuals voluntarily leave home (over the age of 18 years), will also be deliberated.

6.3.1. Childhood experiences and abuse experienced by sex workers prior to CSW entry

The survey results revealed that sex workers who experienced physical abuse and/or emotional abuse during their childhood, were 15 years of age at the time of the abuse. Sex workers who experienced sexual abuse and/or financial abuse, were 13 years of age at the time of the abuse. With reference to the ages sex workers were at the time of the abuse they experienced, the apparent violence, power imbalance and abuse trajectory into CSW closely mirrors Daly's harmed and harming pathway in terms of women experiencing neglect and/or abuse (physical, emotional and/or sexual) as children (Daly, 1992:11-52). However, the respondents' age ranges (between 10 and 22 years of age) in terms of abuse experienced prior to their sex work involvement should also be flagged as it may shed light on the cycle of violence and abuse and that abuse is not only prevalent when respondents are under the age of 18 years. Therefore, the ages between 18 and 21 years may be considered as a high-risk life stage in terms of vulnerability for CSW entry, as well as wherein sex workers may be most vulnerable to experiencing abuse.

Various authors posit that sex workers experience some sort of threat to their security during their childhood or adolescence (Brennan et al., 2010:36-47; Clarke et al., 2012:278-289; Dodsworth, 2011:3; Hwang & Bedford, 2004:139-142; Ramudzuli, 2016:6; Servin et al., 2015:6; Swendeman et al., 2015:1011–1023). The present survey results support the aforementioned notion, as 35.0% of sex workers were bullied as a child, 46.6% witnessed abuse (physical, sexual, emotional and financial abuse²⁹) in their family context and 38.3% experienced abuse (physical, sexual, emotional and financial abuse) prior to their involvement in street-based sex work. The findings thus suggest the presence of a threat to the security of sex workers (e.g. abuse/bullying) during their childhood and it in fact may be observed as a

²⁹ Financial abuse encompasses control through money which includes restricting access and/or withholding it completely. In South Africa this may include the social grant payments afforded to families not being used for the purpose it was intended (i.e. childcare).

notable constant characteristic in sex workers' backgrounds. Although the presence of a threat to the security of sex workers during their childhood may not necessarily be seen as a direct cause for their entry into CSW, it may increase their vulnerability for entry into sex work during a certain life cycle.

As stated above, sex workers experienced physical, sexual, emotional and/or financial abuse prior to their CSW involvement. However, no extant research evidence presented in the literature review make specific reference to the frequency of the abuse experienced by sex workers prior to their sex work involvement or who was responsible for the abuse. Instead, research evidence broadly refers to family dysfunction, childhood abuse or power imbalances in the household (Brennan et al., 2010:36-47; Clarke et al., 2012:278-289; Dodsworth, 2011:3; Hwang & Bedford, 2004:139-142; Ramudzuli, 2016:6; Servin et al., 2015:6; Swendeman et al., 2015:1011–1023). Therefore, the current study offers the following observations:

- Physical, emotional and sexual abuse were mostly experienced on a daily basis.
- Financial abuse was mostly experienced on a monthly basis.
- Physical, emotional and financial abuse were mostly perpetrated by sex workers' parents/caregivers.
- Sex workers who experienced sexual abuse reiterated that the abuse was mostly perpetrated by an adult they knew.

With reference to the perpetrators of abuse, the survey results did not vary greatly between the types of abuse (physical, emotional, sexual or financial abuse) experienced by the sex workers prior to their CSW involvement. As indicated above, the individuals who were the perpetrators of sexual abuse against sex workers differed from the perpetrators of physical, emotional and financial abuse. However, the individuals who were the discernible constant abusers comprised of the sex workers' parent/guardian, boyfriend, an adult they knew or an adult they did not know.

As indicated, the literature review offered valuable insights regarding sex workers' childhood experiences and the security threats they experienced, such as family dysfunction and familial substance abuse (Brennan et al., 2010:36-47; Clarke et al., 2012:278-289; Dodsworth, 2011:3; Hwang & Bedford, 2004:139-142; Ramudzuli, 2016:6; Servin et al., 2015:6; Swendeman et al., 2015:1011–1023). However, there appears to be a lacuna of detailed information regarding children's interactions/experiences with parental figures/caregivers, not necessarily directly in terms of the above-mentioned risk factors, but rather indirectly. The

current study offers the following observations with reference to sex workers' interactions/experiences with parental figures/caregivers during childhood. Parents/caregivers, a few times, did not send them to school (40.0%), which possibly could have contributed to sex workers not finishing school as well as not developing and fostering bonds with pro-social peer networks. Additionally, sex workers' parents/caregivers did not give them food when they were children (21.1%), a few times, did not really know what they were doing with their free time (46.7%) and two thirds of sex workers' parents/caregivers left them to do their own thing (65.0%). The afore-listed interactions/experiences may serve to shed light on aspects which may render an individual vulnerable to CSW entry, as it can be gleaned from the findings that the degree of familial involvement is low and that to some extent there exists a lack of support from familial structures. Strain can also be noted between the relationships of individuals and caregivers, which creates a dysfunctional psychological and/or behavioural response, ultimately increasing women's ultimate vulnerability towards CSW (Reid & Piquero, 2013:4-6). Also, the fact that sex workers left their parents/caregivers supervision on many occasions without telling them (43.3%) and that parents/caregivers did not know where they were when they were not at home (56.7%), may indicate weak involvement on the part of the family construct, which in turn may make individuals vulnerable to further abuses. The likelihood of security threats experienced during sex workers' childhoods, as well as the weak involvement of parents/caregivers, underscores the applicability of social bonding theory and general strain theory.

6.3.2. Familial substance abuse and sex workers' substance abuse prior to CSW involvement

Similarly, familial substance abuse may also be considered as a threat in sex workers' childhood or adolescence (Clarke et al., 2012:278-289; Dodsworth, 2011:3; Hwang and Bedford, 2003:201-210; Servin et al., 2015:6), which is reaffirmed in the findings of the current study, as sex workers who experienced abuse prior to their involvement in CSW were significantly more likely to report on familial substance abuse ($r = - 0.5$). The current study ventured further to find information pertaining to current and past substance use/abuse amongst sex worker's families, in line with studies highlighted in the literature review (Clarke et al., 2012:282-283; Hwang & Bedford, 2003:201-210; Servin et al., 2015:1-17) which identified parental substance abuse as an emerging theme amongst sex workers' backgrounds. Nearly one in five (18.3%) sex workers had family members currently abusing substances and 33.3% indicated that their family members abused substances in the past, with the most commonly abused substance being alcohol. A study conducted by Clarke et al. (2012:283) found that adolescents who have family members who abused substances have easier access to substances. The aforementioned assumption is strengthened by the survey

results which found that 73.3% of the sex workers started (between 14 and 32 years of age) using substances (e.g. alcohol, tobacco, cannabis, tik, cocaine or nyaope) before they became involved in adult female street-based sex work.

Various studies (Daly, 1992:11-52; Simpson, Yahner & Dugan, 2008:85; Clarke et al., 2012:282-283; Richter et al., 2013:249) emphasise substance addiction and homelessness as two significant risk factors in terms of street-based sex work specifically. Homelessness and substance addiction are also highlighted in Daly's street women pathway and drug-connected women pathway. Sex workers who participated in the current study did not necessarily indicate that they were homeless as a result of their substance use. However, of elevated importance is that sex workers who ran away from home were more likely to have used substances before their involvement in CSW ($r = - 0.3$). Therefore, it is possible that women who ran away from home owing to substance addiction, were effectively rendered homeless for a certain amount of time, which could have made them vulnerable for CSW entry in order to provide for themselves, as well as maintain their substance use. The SALRC (2009:66), however, posits that the lines between sex work and substance use or substance dependence in South Africa are often blurred and that there is insufficient information regarding the direction of causation. However, what can be gleaned from the aforementioned data is that substance abuse was quite prominent before women became involved in street-based sex work.

6.3.3. Runaway behaviour (under the age of 18 years)

Research evidence discussed in the literature review divulged a link between individuals' progression from family dysfunction (e.g. abuse) to delinquent acts (e.g. running away from home) (Brennan et al., 2010:36; SALRC, 2009:48-50; Simpson et al., 2008:85 Hwang & Bedford, 2004:136-146). The present study explored sex workers' runaway behaviour in more depth and found that, as supported by numerous studies (Benoit-Bryan, 2011:5-40; Brakenhoff et al., 2015:1015-1034; Jeanis, 2017:1-129; Sanchez, Waller, & Greene, 2006:778-781; Thrane, Hoyt, Whitbeck & Yoder, 2006:1117-1128), the average age of sex workers who engaged in runaway behaviour as adolescents was 16 years. The finding coincides with the findings of Daly's street women pathway with the corresponding age of 16 years being most notable. Nearly half of sex workers who participated in the present study (43.3%) reported that they ran away from home at some stage³⁰. Both the current study and numerous extant research studies (Benoit-Bryan, 2011:5-40; Brakenhoff et al., 2015:1015-

³⁰ Of the 54 sex workers who voluntarily left home, 26 ran away at some stage when they were under the age of 18. Thus, not all the sex workers who left home necessarily ran away from home during adolescence.

1034; Jeanis, 2017:1-129; Sanchez, Waller, & Greene, 2006:778-781; Thrane, Hoyt, Whitbeck & Yoder, 2006:1117-1128) found that adolescents who run away from home eventually return home despite their varied circumstances.

Street-based sex workers who reported running away from home furnished reasons for their runaway behaviour that comprised of it feeling like the only solution (38.5%), parental neglect (30.8%), parental abuse (26.9%), poverty (26.9%), own addiction/substance use (23.1%), unemployment (23.1%) and parental substance abuse (11.5%). The reasons why sex workers ran away from home not only puts the spotlight on parental abuse and neglect, but also on the financial motivations behind sex workers' runaway behaviour, as well as substance abuse within the family context. However, significant results between runaway behaviour and abuse experienced prior to CSW involvement were found. There were observable effect sizes in terms of sex workers who ran away from home and abuse experienced prior to CSW involvement ($r = - 0.3$), specifically physical abuse ($r = - 0.3$), sexual abuse ($r = - 0.3$), emotional abuse ($r = - 0.3$) and financial abuse ($r = - 0.3$). Research conducted by Chesney-Lind and Groot (2010:153-157) suggests that the trauma caused by physical and sexual abuse in adolescence may be characterised by certain behaviours which include, but not limited to, depression, delinquent behaviour, inappropriate sexual behaviour and/or running away. The above research evidence coincides with Daly's street women pathway wherein the author posits that individuals ran away from home (at an early age) in order to escape their abusive circumstances (Daly, 1992:11-52). Sex workers, who took part in the present study, who indicated that they ran away from home when they were under the age of 18, were significantly more likely ($r = - 0.5$) to have had consensual sex between the ages of 13 and 15 years. A study conducted in Taiwan (Hwang & Bedford, 2004:136) reaffirms the aforementioned association by highlighting that sex workers' histories included that the individual had early sexual experiences. However, the authors did not specify what age is considered as early.

In line with the theoretical line of argumentation of the general strain theory, adolescents' progression from experiences involving family dysfunction to running away from an abusive situation, using substances or disengaging from family relationships can be explained (Reid & Piquero, 2013:4-6). The following survey results also strengthen the afore progression as explained by the theory; however, it should be noted that some of the below results also highlight the applicability of the developmental model and social bonding theory within the proposed integrated theoretical model (Bartollas, 1997: 178-180; Brown et al., 2010:300-301; Pratt, Gau & Franklin, 2011:58-59; Siegel, 2012:246; Williams & McShane, 2010:156) and the developmental model (Brown et al., 2010:379; Sampson & Laub, 2003:301-334):

- Individuals who did not run away from home (under the age of 18 years) were more likely ($r = - 0.4$) to reiterate that their parents knew where they were when they were not at school, suggesting that the sex workers might have had a good relationship with their family structure and that dysfunction/abuse to the extent where sex workers wanted to run away from home, was not that serious. However, individuals who ran away from home (under the age of 18 years) indicated that they were more likely ($r = - 0.4$) to leave their parents/caregivers' supervision without telling them (many times), elucidating the contrary to the aforementioned in terms of sex workers' bond with pro-social constructs. Similarly, sex workers who ran away from home stated that their parents/caregivers were more likely ($r = - 0.4$) to leave them to do their own thing than sex workers who never ran away from home. Likewise, the sex workers who ran away from home specified that their parents were on many occasions too intoxicated to take care of them ($r = - 0.4$), which alludes to family dysfunction amongst the background of sex workers. Slightly more than half of the respondents (53.8%) indicated that their caregivers did not punish them for running away from home and mostly so because they did not notice and/or did not care (57.1%), thus amplifying the applicability of the developmental model and social bonding theory.
- Individuals who ran away from home (under the age of 18 years) were more likely ($r = - 0.4$) to have been bullied when they were children, which draw's attention to individuals' weak social bonds in terms of pro-social peer networks. The sex workers were mainly bullied by older children from their neighbourhood (38.1%), older children from school who were not friends with the sex worker, their siblings (23.8%) and/or their friends (14.3%).
- Individuals who did not run away from home (under the age of 18 years) were more likely ($r = - 0.3$) to have children (dependants) than individuals who ran away from home, which may also highlight that individuals who ran away from home for a variety of reasons (e.g. family dysfunction, childhood abuse, neglect, familial substance abuse), had broken and resultantly weakened bonds to pro-social/non-deviant institutions such as family. However, sex workers also indicated that their mothers assumed the responsibility of primary caregiver (30.0%) to their dependants, as well as that they have support from family (43.3%) and friends or peer networks (63.3%) should they decide to ever leave the sex industry thus suggesting that some sex workers have an existing relationship with family.
- Individuals who did not run away from home (under the age of 18 years) stated that family support ($r = - 0.3$), home assistance ($r = - 0.4$) and housing ($r = - 0.4$) are of elevated importance for CSW exit programmes, more so than individuals who did run away from home, which also draws attention to individuals' weak bonds with pro-social constructs like family.

- Individuals who did not run away from home when they were under the age of 18 years (69.2%) were more likely ($r = - 0.4$) to be employed in the formal sector during their previous employment, than respondents who ran away when they were under the age of 18 years. Thus, it may be that sex workers do not necessarily reject the legal forms of employment, but rather that they cannot attain their goals through the institutional means.
- Sex workers' reasons for never running away from home such as not wanting to leave their siblings (52.9%), wanting to finish school (47.1%), being happy with their circumstances (44.1%), feeling secure (35.3%) and not wanting to leave their friends (29.4%), may serve to reinforce that sex workers had some level of attachment to pro-social/non-deviant institutions (e.g. family/friends/school) (Brown et al., 2010:300-301; Pratt, Gau & Franklin, 2011:58-59; Siegel, 2012:246; Williams & McShane, 2010:156).

It is noteworthy that the vast majority of sex workers who took part in the present study (95%) have never consulted a psychologist. The aforementioned coincides with the study conducted by Brennan et al. (2010:36-47) who in their pathways research found that women in their sample had no histories of mental illness. However, an association between runaway behaviour and mental illness should be noted in terms of the present study ($r = - 0.3$), which also coincides with elements in Daly's harmed and harming women pathway (Daly, 1992:11-52). In terms of mental illness, it should be considered that people are less inclined to report on their own mental illness and that individuals from low socio-economic backgrounds may not have the financial means to consult a psychologist.

6.3.4. Sex workers who voluntarily left home (over the age of 18 years)

Sex workers who eventually voluntarily left home (i.e. no runaway behaviour) were on average 25 years of age. The literature review (Dodsworth, 2011:4; Rhoda, 2010:73; Richter et al., 2013:246; SALRC, 2009:30-32; Sonke Gender Justice, 2014:7-8; Thusi, 2015:223-227) and the reasons sex workers in the present study gave for voluntarily leaving home, accentuate the economic advantages of participating in CSW. However, Swendeman et al. (2015:1011–1023) in their study not only highlighted economic factors but also relationship factors as an important driver for entering CSW. The survey results correspond with Swendeman et al.'s findings, as sex workers highlighted unemployment (62.1%), poverty (50.0%) and finding employment (31.0%) as motivating factors for voluntarily leaving home. Likewise, the relationship factors elucidated by sex workers for voluntarily leaving home related to moving in with a partner (19.0%), parental abuse (10.3%) and getting married (10.3%). Furthermore, the following measured effect sizes should be noted, as sex workers who ran away from home (under that age of 18 years) specified that they later voluntarily left their places of residence because of their own addiction/substance abuse ($r = - 0.3$) and parental abuse ($r = - 0.3$). In

the case of sex workers' who voluntarily left home, the most prominent risk factors identified were abuse, relationship factors, economic needs and substance abuse.

6.4. The nature of adult female street-based sex work in Arcadia and Sunnyside (Pretoria)

The section below envisages to provide a comprehensive understanding regarding the nature of adult female street-based sex work in Arcadia and Sunnyside, Pretoria. In order to achieve the aforementioned, the motivations for sex workers' involvement in street-based sex work, the sexual services they provide, the rates they charge and the remittance they receive on a weekly basis, as well as their interactions with key role-players (i.e. police, clients and intermediaries) in CSW will be discussed. Additionally, current substance abuse, arrest frequencies amongst the sex worker population and activities engaged in outside of the sex industry will contribute to the holistic understanding of the CSW phenomenon.

6.4.1. Motivations for sex workers' involvement in adult female street-based sex work

Numerous studies in the literature review offered insights into the reasons women are involved in CSW (Balfour & Allen, 2014:4-7; Cobbina & Oselin: 2011:312-313; Clarke et al., 2012:270-289; Dodsworth, 2011:4; Gould, 2008:23-136; Manoek, 2012:4-8; Mattisson & Ekebrand, 2010:17; Rhoda, 2010:72; Richter et al, 2013:246-251; SALRC, 2009:30-50; SANAC, 2013:3; Simpson et al., 2008:88; Sonke Gender Justice, 2014:4; Thusi, 2015:223-227; Ure, 2009: 326-328). The present study's results to some extent supported similar motivations highlighted by the aforementioned studies. Sex workers' motivations for their involvement in CSW were mainly rooted in financial need (93.3%), lack of employment (78.3%), a friend was doing it (33.3%), homelessness (21.7%), maintaining addiction (11.7%) and exploring sexuality (1.7%). The economic and substance related motivations are evident. However, the researcher would like to draw focus to one of the main reasons sex workers attributed to their involvement in the sex industry, which is that a friend was also engaged in the industry (33.3%). Therefore, it is plausible that when women notice the benefits associated with sex work (e.g. money earned via CSW) through a family member or peer involved in sex work, it may influence them to also venture into the sex industry. The finding is in line with the social learning theory, which posits that individuals who observe other individuals' actions in the face of positive outcomes, are likely to replicate the observed behaviours through imitation (Akers, 2012:62-78).

Furthermore, the sex workers who participated in the current study were asked why they specifically opted for street-based sex work and not another type of sex work (e.g. escort services). In the survey results the sex workers' reasons for their involvement in street-based

sex work specifically was related to receiving sufficient remuneration for the services they provide (96.7%), not considering another type of sex work (56.7%), flexibility in sexual services the sex worker is willing to provide (45.0%) and working in a group context (40.0%). Thus, the findings further strengthen the economic motivation for sex workers' engagement in street-based CSW. However, what is noteworthy in terms of the aforementioned is the fact that working in a group context may not only provide sex workers with safety, but also confirms the assumption that sex workers create their own communities within sex work (Balfour & Allen, 2014:4-7; Dodsworth, 2011:4; Fitzpatrick et al., 2012:7; Manoek, 2012:4-8; SALRC, 2009:20). In so doing, lost bonds are re-established and the perception of stability and safety is created, which is also reinforced by sex workers who stated that they felt safe in their work environment because they (the sex workers) look out for each other/protect each other (32.1%).

6.4.2. Services provided by sex workers, rates charged and weekly earnings

What is evident from extant research evidence (Huschke et al., 2014:52-68; Pitcher, 2014:111; SALRC, 2009:48-51; Weitzer, 2009:213-234) and the survey results is that rates charged for sexual services can vary greatly between different study localities. However, there appears to be some consistency in terms of rates in a specific geographical location, such as in the current area of interest, namely Arcadia and Sunnyside, Pretoria. The survey indicates that all of the sex workers who participated in study provide vaginal penetrative sex (with a condom), whilst the other services provided by sex workers comprised of oral sex, manual masturbation, non-penetrative sex, anal sex and group sex. It is noteworthy that only a small number of sex workers provided vaginal penetrative sex without a condom, which may suggest that sex workers are aware of the negative health consequences associated with providing this type of sexual service (e.g. STDs/STIs/HIV). The rates charged for different sexual services varied, but the majority of sex workers reported the following rates for their services:

- For vaginal penetrative sex (with a condom) sex workers charged between R50 and R300.
- For oral sex, manual masturbation and non-penetrative sex, sex workers charged between R50 and R100.
- For anal sex, sex workers charged between R100 and R150.
- For group sex, sex workers charged between R100 and R200.

Whilst the above rates appear to be low when considered in isolation, it should be borne in mind that the vast majority of sex workers plied their trade on a daily basis and mostly earned between R500 and R5500 per week (84.9%), which is substantially more than sex workers could earn per month during their prior employment, as indicated above in the sex workers'

prior employment information (Richter et al., 2013:246-251; SALRC, 2009:42-49; Sonke Gender Justice, 2014:7-8; Thusi, 2015:223-227). Expanding further on the economic motivations of women to remain in street-based sex work are the findings of the current study which indicate that the vast majority of sex workers (90.0%) indicated that they did not accept any other form of payment than monetary, because they needed the money for expenses such as rent, child support, groceries and family support (75.9%). The finding highlights the applicability of general strain theory in terms of sex workers not being able to attain their goals (i.e. financial need and economic emancipation) through institutional means (i.e. lawful employment), responding to the strain experienced (e.g. unemployment or prior employment not offering sufficient remittance) through crime (i.e. street-based sex work) (Agnew, 2001:352-353; Brown et al., 2007:281; Brown et al., 2010:249-251; Lyons, 2002:3-10; Yilmaz & Koca, 2015:168-169).

6.4.3. Intermediary information

The present study produced insufficient evidence to offer significant insight into the role intermediaries play in sex workers' lives in Arcadia and Sunnyside (Pretoria) specifically, as 95.0% of the sex workers did not have an intermediary. Data collected from the three sex workers who had intermediaries highlighted that physical, sexual and financial abuse (33.3%) played a role in the dynamics between sex workers and intermediaries, which is subsequently in line with the research evidence expounded in the literature review (Sonke Gender Justice, 2014:7; Spidel et al., 2006:194; Williamson & Cluse-Tolar, 2002: 1075). Therefore, the findings of the current study potentially indicate that intermediaries may perpetuate the cycle of violence within sex workers' adult lives.

6.4.4. Client information

The vast majority (95.0%) of sex workers in the present study indicated that they were able to choose their clientele, which is congruent with the findings of another local study (Sonke Gender Justice, 2014:7) that suggests that street-based sex workers in South Africa generally operate independently. Further strengthening the aforementioned, is the finding that the majority (93.3%) of sex workers could refuse to provide sexual services to clients if they chose to do so. The main reasons sex workers refused to provide clients with sexual services related to the clients having acted aggressively before, clients being intoxicated and or on drugs, the sex worker not providing the specific sexual service or the client refusing to pay the specified tariffs for the sexual service. It should also be noted that less than half of the sex workers (45.0%) felt that clients respected their decisions when they refused them sexual services. The aforementioned highlights the possible presence of risk factors such as violence and substance abuse within the nature of adult female street-based sex work.

6.4.5. Abuse experienced during the course of commercial sex work

The continuation of abuse and violence into women's adult lives are supported by the findings of the current study, as sex workers detailed experiencing intimate partner violence (25.0%), police abuse (41.7%), client abuse (80.0%) and colleague abuse (31.7%). The continuation of abuse and violence into sex workers' adult lives is derived from data collected concerning intimate partner violence, police abuse, client abuse and colleague abuse, which is also supported by various studies conducted locally and internationally (Brennan et al., 2010:41-45; Gould, 2008:23-136; Manoek, 2012:4-17; SALRC, 2009:52). However, the frequency of client abuse, and the fact that it appears to be the most likely type of abuse experienced by sex workers, prove to be noteworthy. Therefore, the current study offers the valuable observation that sex workers who experienced client abuse mostly experienced physical and sexual abuse (27.7%), as well as physical, sexual and financial abuse (17.0%). Further strengthening the notion of a continuation of abuse and violence into women's adult lives, is data collected from the current survey which encompass that more than half of the sex workers (53.3%) did not feel safe in their work environment and a large number of sex workers indicated that they could not conduct their work without fear of police abuse. However, it should be noted that more than half (58.3%) of the sex workers indicated that they have never experienced any police abuse. Of the sex workers who experienced police abuse, they mainly experienced extortion (financial abuse), coercion (sexual abuse), manipulation (emotional abuse) or hitting (physical abuse).

With regard to the observed effect sizes and in line with the above results, sex workers who did not experience abuse prior to their CSW involvement, were more likely ($r = - 0.4$) to feel safe in their work environment. Additionally, sex workers who were arrested, were more likely to have experienced physical abuse ($r = - 0.5$), sexual abuse ($r = - 0.4$) and/or financial abuse ($r = - 0.4$). Individuals employed in street-based CSW for less than one year were more likely ($r = - 0.3$) not to have been arrested. Therefore, it might be that childhood abuse extends into current abusive relationships and perpetuate the cycle of violence, as well as the threat of violence within a sex worker's adult life, rendering the sex worker vulnerable both prior to and post their sex work involvement. Consequently, sex workers are rendered vulnerable to violence and abuse from a variety of perpetrators, which may only be exacerbated by the fact that they are discriminated against and enjoy limited legal protection, as police also perpetuate the cycle of violence against them. The abuse experienced prior to CSW entry, the further abuse perpetuated by police, clients, colleagues and/or partners as highlighted above contribute to the holistic understanding of the nature of adult female street-based CSW. There is a dearth of information pertaining to the abuse between sex workers (colleague abuse) in extant research evidence. However, the data collected in the present study is still of

importance as it sheds light on the further abuse experienced by sex workers in the context of street-based sex work. The main types of colleague abuse sex workers experienced are emotional (38.9%) and sexual abuse (16.7%). It should be noted that sex workers declined to specify or elaborate on the nature of the sexual abuse they experienced from colleagues.

6.4.6. Substance use/abuse amongst sex workers

Whilst the bulk of sex workers stated that they have used substances before, only a few (15.0%) sex workers indicated that they started using substances after they became involved in street-based sex work, which indicates that substance use/abuse does not play such a pronounced role in sex workers' current lives. Sex workers who currently use/abuse substances reported using alcohol, tobacco, cannabis, nyaope, khat, ecstasy and/or cocaine. However, more than half of the sex workers (58.8%) currently use alcohol daily, which is markedly more than reported in the study conducted by Richter et al. (2013:249) wherein an estimated 20% of female sex workers reported daily binge drinking habits.

In the drug-connected women pathway identified by Daly (1992:11-52) the author suggests that women immersed in the pathway used or sold drugs in some instances through a boyfriend, husband or brother. At the very least the women allowed drug dealing to occur in their homes. The aforementioned is not congruent with the findings of the current study, as the survey results indicated that only 3.3% of the sex workers currently sell substances and very few denoted that they previously sold substances (13.3%). However, the sex workers who sold substances in the past illuminated that they sold the substances for economic gain (62.5%), which highlights the economic motivation for sex workers' involvement with the selling of substances (Clarke et al., 2012:283). Furthermore, more than half of the sex workers stated that they buy the substances they use themselves or obtain it from friends, indicating to some extent that the sex workers' substance habit was not necessarily costly (Hwang & Bedford, 2004:140).

There is a notable association between sex workers who ran away from home and sex workers who currently use nyaope ($r = - 0.3$), neglected their family because of their substance use ($r = - 0.4$) and was unable to stop using substances ($r = - 0.3$). Therefore, it is possible that women, who ran away from home owing to substance addiction, were effectively rendered homeless for a certain amount of time, which might have impacted on their trajectory into CSW as a way to provide for themselves, as well as to maintain their substance use. Furthermore, the survey results exposed an association between sex workers being arrested and current substance use as markedly more individuals who were arrested reported currently using substances ($r = - 0.4$), specifically cannabis. However, individuals who have previously been

arrested indicated that they have used rocks ($r = - 0.3$). However, in terms of the current study's results some of the sex workers who committed/were arrested for shoplifting, drug dealing/trafficking/possession of drugs, assault (GBH and common), prostitution/soliciting, theft and public intoxication indicated that they were under the influence of a substance during the commission of the said crime. In line with the theoretical assumptions of general strain theory and social learning theory, adolescents' progression from experiences involving family dysfunction to running away from an abusive situation, using substances or disengaging from family relationships can be explained (Brown et al., 2010:284; Cochran et al., 2015:1-22; Reid & Piquero, 2013:4-6).

6.4.7. Frequency of arrests amongst street-based sex workers

Sex workers were asked to report on crimes they were previously arrested for, as well as crimes they had committed but were not arrested for. More than half of the sex workers stated that they had been arrested before, mostly as adults with only a few indicating that they were arrested when they were adults and adolescents. The finding signifies that sex workers had some interaction with the criminal justice system when they were under the age of 18 years. The vast majority of sex workers (96.6%) committed prostitution/soliciting for which only 48.3% were arrested, followed by public intoxication (30.5%) for which 44.4% were arrested. In the study conducted by Brennan et al. (2010:36-47), in their serious, chronic and violent women offenders' pathway, the authors suggest that the pathway shows an early onset of persistent delinquency, low educational properties, extreme parenting stress (single mothers), violent adult crime, impulsive behaviour and histories of both mental illness and childhood abuse (sexual and physical). Despite the lack of observable effect sizes, the current study's information pertaining to the profile of an adult female street-based sex worker (e.g. low educational levels and being single mothers) coincide with the aforementioned study's findings.

Individuals employed in street-based CSW for less than one year were more likely ($r = - 0.3$) not to have been arrested, suggesting that individuals who have not been sex workers for an extended period of time have had less contact with the criminal justice system. It should be noted that individuals who were not arrested were less likely to experience police abuse, coinciding with Gould's (2008:23-136) study who conceded that police perpetuate the cycle of violence against sex workers. There was a significant number of sex workers who denoted that they never ran away from home when under the age of 18 who also indicated that they were mostly arrested for a crime as adults ($r = - 0.5$), which contradicts the findings by Chesney-Lind and Groot (2010:153-157) who postulate that women who have been in conflict with the criminal justice system are more likely to have engaged in runaway behaviour.

Moreover, the current study collected valuable data concerning the types of crimes sex workers committed and had been arrested for as well as their reasons for committing the crimes. In the literature review of the present study sex workers' engagement with the criminal justice system was elucidated, however, a paucity of information pertaining to the types of crimes sex workers committed and their motivations was noted. In the current study, sex workers who committed or were arrested for prostitution/soliciting, theft or shoplifting specified that their main reasons for the commission of the crimes were economic need and that opportunities presented itself to commit the said crimes. Sex workers who committed or were arrested for theft or the possession of drugs stated that their main reasons for the commission of the crimes were that opportunities to commit the crimes presented itself and that drug use drove them. Sex workers who committed or were arrested for public intoxication illuminated that their main reasons for the commission of the crime was related to peer pressure. The above elucidates the crimes sex workers have been arrested for, as well as the main reasons attributed to the transgressions, which proves beneficial in terms of the evident economic motivations (Brennan et al., 2010:36-47; Rhoda, 2010:75; Kennedy et al., 2004:3-4; Sonke Gender Justice, 2014:7-8; Richter et al., 2013:246-251) behind sex workers reasoning, as well as the role of deviant peer networks in crime causation (Akers, 2012:62-78; Goodlin, 2008:35-38) where sex workers listed peer pressure as their reason for committing the crime.

6.4.8. Activities engaged in outside of the sex industry

The current study explored information regarding the activities sex workers engaged in outside of the sex industry. The bulk of the sex workers stated that they mainly socialise outside of the sex industry, followed by parenting/caregiving. A fifth of the sex workers stated that they engage in other employment activities outside of the sex industry. The finding stands in contrast to the study conducted by Hwang and Bedford (2004:140) where participants in their study spent most of their time and earnings from sex work on hotels, clothes, transportation, video games or friends. Social learning theory proposes that deviant peer networks influence individuals to engage in deviant acts. In other words, if a sex worker socialises with friends who have similar beliefs (e.g. CSW is a victimless crime and satisfies financial needs), ideas and personal justifications, it is probable that the sex worker will share the same beliefs, ideas and personal justifications. In so doing, the behaviour becomes justified and the general belief that, breaking the law in terms of sex work is acceptable, becomes entrenched (Goodlin, 2008:36-38). As discussed earlier, the findings of the present study suggest to some degree that sex workers had weak bonds to pro-social institutions such as family and peer networks, which potentially creates a dysfunctional psychological and/or behavioural response, ultimately increasing women's vulnerability to become involved in CSW. However, it should also be noted that as a result of the stigmatised nature of sex work and the weak social bonds

to family and peer networks, women may form their own communities within CSW, which can also indirectly keep women entrapped in CSW (Balfour & Allen, 2014:4-7; Dodsworth, 2011:4; Fitzpatrick et al., 2012:7; Manoek, 2012:4-8; SALRC, 2009:20).

6.4.9. Willingness to exit the commercial sex work industry

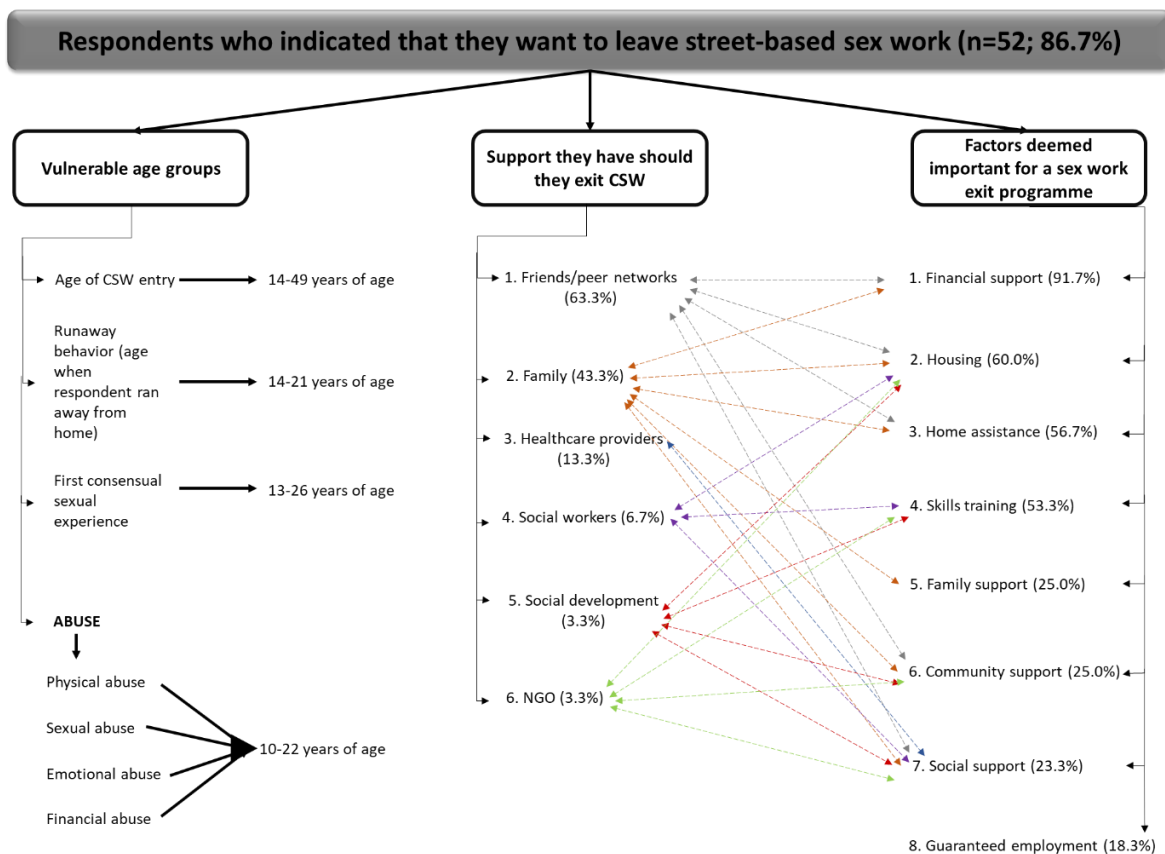
The bulk of sex workers (86.7%) indicated that they would leave street-based sex work if they had the opportunity to do so. The majority of sex workers (85.0%) stated that they would consider other types of employment than sex work if they could earn more money (92.2%) or if the employment offered a stable income (92.2%), as well as better working hours (80.4%). However, nine sex workers (15.0%) indicated that they would not consider any other type of employment than sex work, owing to the income they generate thus being able to support their dependants (88.9%), as well as being happy with their current employment in CSW (88.9%). The finding illuminates the strong economic need/financial motivation associated with sex work and why women engage in CSW and remain in the industry. The willingness of sex workers to form part of the formal labour market should be noted here; however, they still do not possess the institutional means in order to either alleviate strains or meet their cultural goals (Agnew, 2001:352-353; Balfour & Allen, 2014:4-7; Brown et al., 2010:249-251; Fitzpatrick et al., 2012:1-21; Dodsworth, 2011:4; AVA, 2010:1-5; SALRC, 2009:30-32; Hwang & Bedford, 2004:136-146).

Furthermore, the survey results revealed that sex workers deemed certain factors as being more important for inclusion into sex work exit programmes than other factors. The factors listed by sex workers as the main features required in successful sex work exit programmes were financial support (91.7%), housing (60.0%), home assistance (e.g. child care) (56.7%) and skills training (e.g. hairdressing) (53.3%). The lesser factors were related to family support (25.0%), community support (25.0%), social support (23.3%) and guaranteed employment (18.3%). The aforementioned may suggest that sex workers value economic related support (i.e. financial support) more than factors related to interpersonal relationships (i.e. family support). Consequently, the prioritisation of certain economic support factors as superior to others, may suggest that sex workers' bonds to pro-social constructs are weak. However, sex workers stated that they have support from friends/peer networks (63.3%), family (43.3%), healthcare providers (13.3%), social workers (6.7%), social development (3.3%) and non-governmental organisations (3.3) should they decide to leave the sex work industry, which may point to an existing relationship; thus, suggesting that sex workers' bonds to pro-social constructs may be intact. Alternatively, sex workers may deem some factors (e.g. financial support/home assistance) more important than other factors (e.g. community support/social support), because they already have the latter support systems in place, which would suggest

that economic factors are not necessarily placed above factors relating to interpersonal relationships.

Furthermore, the factors deemed necessary for inclusion into sex worker exit programmes and the support structures already in place should be evaluated during the conception phase of the said exit programmes. The below figure (Figure 64) concerning the afore-mentioned may serve to enlighten key role-players in terms of factors deemed necessary by sex workers in comparison to the support the individuals indicated they already had should they exit the sex industry.

Figure 64: Support structures and factors sex workers listed as important for sex work exit programmes

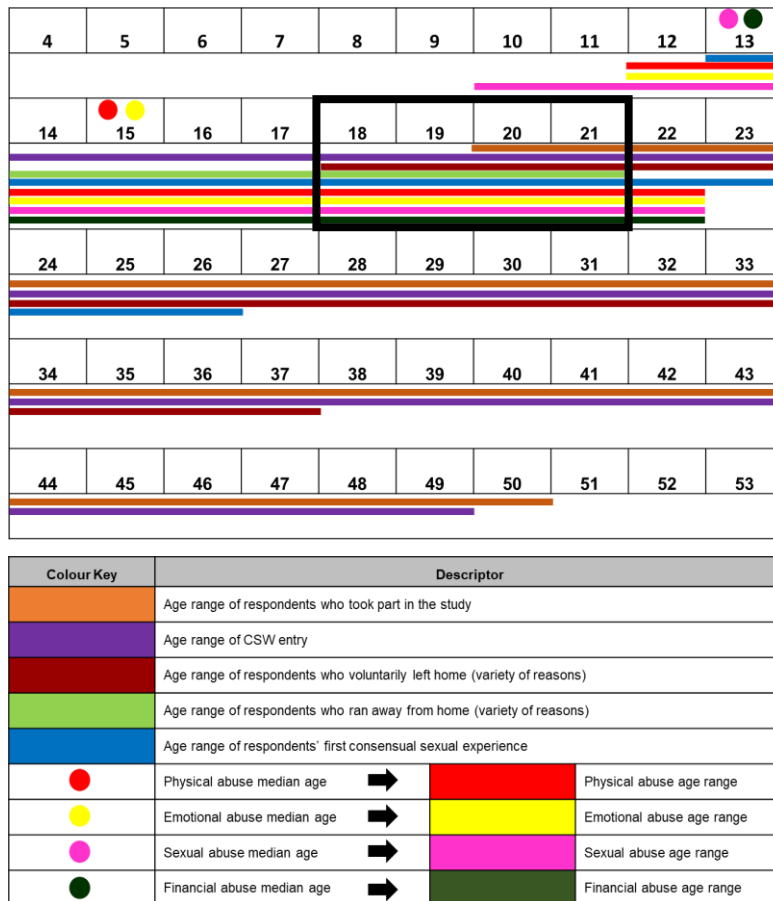


6.5. Pathways framework for adult female street-based sex work

What can be gleaned from the preceding discussion specifically related to high-risk ages, is that there is an age overlap (between 18 and 21 years of age) in terms of significant events in the sex workers' lives (e.g. ages of sex workers who voluntarily left home/ran away from home/experienced abuse/ages of entry into CSW). Therefore, the ages between 18 and 21 years may be considered as a high-risk age category in terms of vulnerability for CSW entry,

as well as wherein sex workers may be most vulnerable to experience abuse (pre and post CSW involvement). Subsequently, the aforementioned age category may be useful in terms of the time at which role-players should intercede in the lives of individuals who have not yet engaged in CSW, as well as individuals who have already ventured into the industry. The below visual representation serves to highlight the aforementioned age overlap and high-risk age category (Figure 65)³¹.

Figure 65: High risk age for street-based sex workers



The above figure and preceding discussion illuminates that the risk factors in some instances intersected and influence one another throughout an individual's life course (e.g. demographic characteristics, financial/economic circumstances, runaway behaviour and addiction, violence, power imbalances and family dysfunction, education, migration and/or discrimination). In other words, no single risk factor impacts on an individual's trajectory into

³¹ Take note that some individuals entered CSW when they were under the age of 18 years and should therefore, not be confused with the age range of sex workers who took part in the study, as the researcher only interviewed women who were over the age of 18 years, despite their CSW entry age or abuse age possibly being under 18 years.

street-based sex work in isolation. In light of this, as young vulnerable female adolescents become adults their interaction between personal and environmental elements (rooted in childhood experiences) may shape the pathways taken into street-based sex work and sex workers' perceptions regarding their engagement with the commercial sex trade. Therefore, individuals' pathways into adult female street-based sex work may intersect, as the different risk factors could either be a direct cause of or contributing factor to CSW entry. The survey results reveal the below pathway construct specifically aimed at adult female street-based sex workers in Arcadia and Sunnyside, Pretoria (Figure 67). Some of the pathways receive robust support from the survey results (i.e. the economic circumstances and financial greed pathway as well as the runaway behaviour pathway), and others, whilst receiving less empirical support, appear to be auspicious but requiring further exploration in future research endeavours (i.e. the abuse pathway and the substance use and/or abuse pathway). The proposed pathways construct for the current study is as follow:

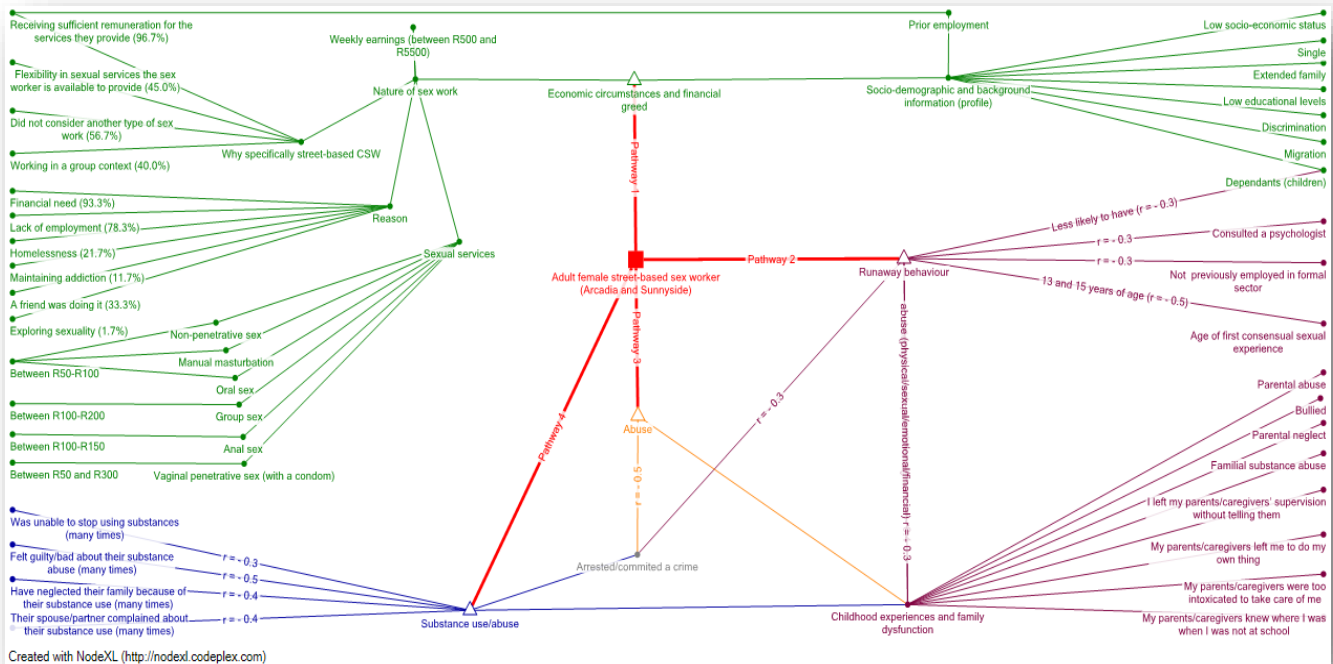
- **Economic circumstances and financial greed pathway:** In terms of the survey results, both economic and relationship factors had a bearing on sex workers' trajectory into adult female street-based sex work. However, in terms of the current study's data the economic factors (e.g. socio-economic information/educational levels/migration) were significant both as a direct cause (e.g. poverty/unemployment/remittance received for sexual services) and a contributory factor (e.g. migration/discrimination) to women's entry into and involvement in CSW. Additionally, the nature of the sex industry (i.e. services provided/rates charged/weekly earnings derived) speak directly to the economic motivation of sex workers who are involved in CSW. Other risk factors which were pronounced and intersect within the proposed pathway relate to the socio-demographic characteristics and biographical information of sex workers. In line with the aforementioned, the proposed pathway suggests that black, single women, from low socio-economic backgrounds, with poor education levels, who have dependants and extended family to financially support, as well as migrated from other provinces (i.e. outside Gauteng) or countries (i.e. outside SA) with limited economic opportunities may be more likely to engage in adult female street-based sex work.
- **Runaway behaviour pathway:** Runaway behaviour amongst sex workers was notable and emerged as a significant pathway, with various intersecting risk factors (e.g. socio-demographic information, childhood experiences and family dysfunction) evident in the pathway. The proposed pathway is strengthened by the intersection of several risk factors in the pathway such as the apparent threats (e.g. abuse/neglect/substance abuse/family dysfunction/being bullied/witnessed abuse) to the sex workers' security during childhood,

which compelled numerous sex workers to run away from home. Despite the evident security threats, more than half of the sex workers did not have such experiences. Although the proposed pathway draws attention to important observations regarding abuse and bullying, early childhood experiences and family dysfunction do not appear to play such a pronounced role as indicated by extant research evidence.

- **Abuse pathway:** Incidents of childhood abuse were discernible, which sex workers also listed amongst their main reasons for running away from home (under the age of 18 years), as well as voluntarily leaving their homes (over the age of 18 years). Subsequently, the focus is drawn towards family dysfunction as a risk factor. Additionally, the violence and abuse experienced after sex workers became involved in CSW should be noted and considered as a possible risk factor which keep them entrapped in the industry. The possibility of a cycle of violence in sex workers' lives is suggested with abuse being perpetrated against them by clients, colleagues and police officials. Sex workers' conflict with the criminal justice system further strengthens the cycle of violence suggestion. Although the data obtained in the present study pertaining to intermediaries was limited, it potentially indicates that intermediaries may perpetuate the suggested cycle of violence within sex workers' adult lives. Whilst valuable data pertaining to the cycle of violence and abuse in terms of CSW have been collected, the data is not as pronounced as elucidated by other studies highlighted within the literature review. Despite the aforementioned, the data collected still provides valuable insight into violence and abuse as a risk factor.
- **Substance use and/or abuse pathway:** Substance abuse appeared to play a more pronounced role prior to sex workers' involvement in CSW, which is supported by the bivariate results pertaining to substance abuse/use and run-away behaviour. However, continued substance abuse subsequent to women becoming involved in sex work. was also noted. Substance abuse was amongst the reasons sex workers voluntarily left home (over the age of 18 years), as well as ran away from home (under the age of 18 years). Despite the information collected, it is unclear whether substance abuse can be seen as a direct cause of their involvement in sex work or as a response to risk factors, such as abuse, neglect and/or family dysfunction. Due to the uncertainty regarding the causal direction between substance abuse/use and sex work, the proposed pathway is not as distinct as highlighted within extant research evidence. However, the empirical results clearly highlight family dysfunction in terms of familial substance abuse in the proposed pathway as a risk factor.

The following visual representation of the four proposed pathways depicts the intersection of risk factors (e.g. demographic characteristics, financial/economic circumstances, runaway behaviour and addiction, violence, power and family dysfunction, education, migration and/or discrimination), as well as key elements within each pathway (Figure 66³²).

Figure 66: Pathways framework for adult female street-based sex work in Arcadia and Sunnyside, Pretoria



The applicability of the integrated theoretical model is illuminated in the findings of the current study. The theoretical model suggests that individuals due to both structural (poor education levels/unemployment/poverty/abuse/family dysfunction) and psychological strains (e.g. feelings of frustration due to economic situation/anger due to abuse/family dysfunction) struggle to obtain their goals. The aforementioned strains (psychological and structural) may prompt individuals to either run away from home or voluntarily leave home. It should be noted here that individuals' weak bond with the family could create a need to escape abusive relationships, causing the individuals to use/abuse substances creating the illusion of escape. In light of the individuals' weak bonds to pro-social constructs (owing to various risk factors) and obstruction to institutional means (legal forms of employment), street-based sex work may serve as a viable economic option, in order for individuals to meet their various needs (e.g. economic emancipation/escape from abusive family contexts/substance dependence).

³² See Appendix G

What should also be considered in terms of the aforementioned is that increased contact with deviant peers (i.e. other street-based sex workers) may shape individuals' beliefs, ideas and personal justifications; consequently, justifying their involvement in CSW by arguing that it is a victimless crime and that earning a living through sex work is not wrong (the definition of a criminal act is justified and becomes favourable). Additionally, women may notice the benefits associated with sex work (e.g. financial rewards) by observing a family member or peer involved in sex work and in doing so become motivated to also venture into the sex industry. Subsequently, individuals' response to the aforementioned strains should be considered in light of the impact intersecting risk factors had on them during a certain life stage, as it may have ultimately impacted on their life trajectory (involvement in CSW). Whilst the theories provided useful insights in terms of the findings of the current study, the developmental model and general strain theory appear to play a more pronounced role than social bonding theory (i.e. attachment) and social learning theory (i.e. imitation). Therefore, the applicability of the integrated model proposed in Chapter 3 is apparent.

6.6. Recommendations

The following recommendations are derived from the research findings:

- The first recommendation relates to the design and delivery of sex work exit programmes. Governmental and non-governmental organisations can use the findings of the present study in order to design effective sex work exit programmes to adequately assist sex workers to leave street-based sex work in the Sunnyside and Arcadia area of Pretoria. However, the intersection of a number of risk factors in women's pathways to CSW should be considered when exit programmes are developed. The factors deemed necessary for sex work exit programmes and the support structures that sex workers already have in place should be evaluated during the conception phases of exit programmes in order to ensure that the appropriate support/response is available.
- The second recommendation revolves around the education and training of role-players who regularly come into contact with sex workers. The fact that sex workers in the present study highlighted poor support received from social workers, the Department of Social Development and other non-governmental organisations raises serious concerns and suggests that role-players might benefit from education and specialised training in order to deal more effectively and sensitively with sex workers' needs.
- Risk factors seem to have a varying impact on different individuals during a certain life stage. Therefore, the next recommendation is that attention should be directed at the

identified high-risk age category between 18 and 21 years of age as well as the intersection of risk factors (e.g. abuse) in the age category in terms of vulnerability to CSW entry.

- Furthermore, the evident dire economic circumstances which seem to shape women's trajectories into street-based sex work and/or serve to keep them ensnared in the sex industry, especially in the South African context, are of grave concern. Therefore, the researcher recommends access to education and increased employment opportunities. However, due to South Africa's current economic situation and poor economic forecasts, the aforementioned recommendation does not address the problem in the short-term, but should rather be seen as a long-term strategy.
- Lastly, continued uncertainty regarding the future legislative management of sex work in South Africa only contributes to a lack of/poor/uncoordinated policies and effective service delivery to sex workers. In addition, legislative and policy uncertainty promote the social exclusion and stigmatisation of sex workers, which render them vulnerable to exploitation and abuse. Therefore, the recommendation is that the political will that have been demonstrated by South African legislators since democratisation in 1994 to revise the country's sex work legislative framework, should soon reach a stage of practical implementation.

6.7. Future research

The researcher offers the following suggestions pertaining to the directions of future research endeavours into CSW:

- Sex work exit programmes should be based on solid research evidence, aligned with the carefully assessed needs of sex workers and role-players should be cognisant that a 'one-size-fits-all' solution to sex work exit programmes does not exist. Therefore, more research should be conducted to evaluate the impact of extant sex work exit programmes in order to align the needs of sex workers with the content of sex work exit programmes.
- There appears to be a dearth of information regarding migrant populations in South Africa and their involvement in CSW specifically. The researcher concedes that this may be a difficult venture as some foreign nationals in South Africa are not in the country legally and may be unwilling to participate in a research study.
- Whilst insightful research pertaining to sex workers' clients and intermediaries have been conducted internationally, there exists a lacuna of information regarding these two key role-players in the sex industry within a South African context.
- Expansion of pathways research into not only adult female street-based sex work, but CSW in general, in different areas in South Africa consisting of larger sample sizes is

required in order to fully comprehend entry into the commercial sex trade. A growing body of knowledge pertaining to pathways into CSW in a variety of locations in South Africa will create the opportunity to draw comparisons and aid in fully understanding the CSW phenomenon and pathways into the sex work industry.

- The pathways that received less empirical support in the current study (i.e. the abuse pathway and substance abuse pathway) should be examined in future research. Qualitative research to explore the pathways in-depth as well as research with a mixed methods study design are suggested.

6.8. Conclusion

Despite sex work being regarded as one of the oldest professions for women and numerous existing studies alluding to the presence, prevalence and nature of the sex work phenomenon, the South African sex industry remains largely misunderstood. Various studies have identified a number of risk factors that have been offered as reasons for women's involvement in the commercial sex trade. The paucity of local studies focussing on the pathways of adult female street-based sex workers into CSW informed the research question that was formulated for the current study. The study followed a quantitative, descriptive cross-sectional survey design in which non-probability sampling methods were utilised. In pursuit of the aim and objectives of the study, 60 adult female street-based sex workers were interviewed in Arcadia and Sunnyside, Pretoria utilising a structured questionnaire. Non-parametric procedures were employed to determine significant relationships that could point to factors that play a meaningful role in women's pathways into CSW. The survey results corroborated much of the findings of numerous international and local studies (each with their distinct foci), namely that a multitude of risk factors should be considered in terms of individuals' vulnerabilities to become involved in adult female street-based sex work. Additionally, the intersectionality of the various risk factors is illustrated in the study's proposed pathways construct and the applicability of the various theories. In terms of the present study's proposed pathways framework, it is evident that the pathways do not necessarily arise and/or develop as unitary processes, which makes it a challenging phenomenon to explain owing to the various risk factors that intersect in and between the pathways. Instead the pathways appear to be 'creased into' one another and to some extent contain supplementary causal processes. Therefore, in conclusion the importance of clarifying the degree to which pathway studies in general might be utilised to generalise across different samples or the subsequent lack of generalisability, is highlighted.

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Appendix A: Declaration of own work

UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
RESEARCH PROPOSAL & ETHICS COMMITTEE

DECLARATION

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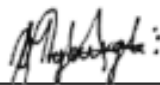
Degree/Qualification: MA (Criminology)

Title of thesis/dissertation/mini-dissertation:

Context-specific pathways into adult female street-based sex work in Arcadia and Sunnyside, Pretoria.

I declare that this thesis / dissertation / mini-dissertation is my own original work. Where secondary material is used, this has been carefully acknowledged and referenced in accordance with university requirements.

I understand what plagiarism is and am aware of university policy and implications in this regard.



SIGNATURE

2018/11/02

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Appendix B: Questionnaire

SECTION A: BIOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

1. How old are you? _____

2. With which population group do you identify?

Black		Indian	
White		Coloured	
Asian		Other: _____	

3. Nationality:

RSA Citizen		Non-South African Citizen	
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4. What is the economic status of the household you grew up in?

Low income		Middle income		High income	
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5. By who were you mainly raised?

Both mother & father		Grandparents	
Mother only		Siblings	
Father only		Other guardians	
Father and stepmother		Foster care	
Mother and stepfather		Adopted	
OTHER, please specify			

6. What type of school did you attend?

Private		Public	
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7. Which of the following academic information applies to you (highest qualification)?

Some primary schooling		Some tertiary education	
Some secondary schooling		Tertiary qualification	
Grade 12 qualification		None of the above	

8. Do you have any children? **If no, skip to question 12.*

Yes		No	
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9. If yes, how many children do you have?

1-2		3-4		5 or more	
-----	--	-----	--	-----------	--

10. Where do they live? _____

11. Who takes care of them? _____

12. Do you financially support anyone with your sex work income? **If no, skip to question 14. If yes please indicate who*

Yes		No	
Who: _____			

13. If yes, how many individuals do you financially support?

1-2		3-4		5 or more	
-----	--	-----	--	-----------	--

14. What is your current relationship status?

Single		Widowed	
In a relationship		Living with a partner	

Married		Casual dating	
Divorced			
If other, specify:			

15. What type of area did you grow up in?

Urban		Small town	
City		Informal settlement	
Rural		Township	

16. Are you originally from the area (Pretoria)? **If yes, skip to question 19.*

Yes		No	
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17. Did you migrate from another city/country? **If no, skip to question 18.*

Yes		No	
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18. If yes, where are you originally from? _____

19. What reason (if possible) would you attribute to your engagement within the sex industry (mark the appropriate boxes)?

Possible reason	Yes	No	Possible reason	Yes	No
Financial need			Lack of employment opportunities		
Homelessness/home security			Friend was doing it		
Maintaining addiction			Exploring sexuality		
If other, explain:					

20. Why did you specifically choose street-based sex work and not another type of sex work (e.g. escort)?

Possible reason	Yes	No	Possible reason	Yes	No
Sufficient remuneration for services rendered			I didn't consider doing any other type of sex work (e.g. escort service/brothel based)		
Other benefits other than monetary (e.g. airtime/groceries/goods)			Protection from intermediary (pimp/madam)		
Flexibility in terms of the sexual services I am able to provide			If other, explain:		
Working in a group context on the street provides some security/safety/sense of belonging					

21. Were you employed prior to your engagement in sex work? **If no, skip to question 26.*

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

22. If yes, in what industry were you employed? And how many years ago was this?

23. How much did you earn (per month) whilst employed in other sectors (not the sex industry)?

24. For what period (years) were you employed in your previous job (mentioned above)?

25. Was your employment part of the:

Formal sector		Informal sector		Don't know	
---------------	--	-----------------	--	------------	--

26. Would you consider any other type of employment other than sex work? **If no, proceed to question 28.*

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

27. If yes, please indicate why:

Possible reason	Yes	No	Possible reason	Yes	No
Better working hours			Benefits associated with other types of employment (e.g. sick leave, vacation leave, pension fund, medical aid etc.)		
More money			If I got married I would consider other employment		
Stable income			If I had a child I would consider other employment		
Opportunity for further study/job skills training/professional growth			I don't like working in the sex industry		
If other please specify:					

28. If no, please indicate why:

Possible reason	Yes	No	Possible reason	Yes	No
I am able to choose my working hours			I am happy with my current employment		
I am able to set my own rates			I don't have any other option because of a lack of education/training		
I am able to support my dependants with the money I make now			If other, please specify:		

29. Before your involvement in street-based sex work, were you/your family:
(tick appropriate box)

Wealthy		Just getting along	
Comfortable		Poor	

30. What type of services do you generally provide/individuals mostly solicit from you (please tick the applicable boxes; more than one option can be chosen)?

Services	Yes	No	Services	Yes	No
Vaginal penetrative sex			Manual masturbation		
Penetrative sex (with condom)			Oral sex		
Penetrative sex (without condom)			Non-penetrative sex		
Anal sex			Group sex		
If other, please specify:					

31. What are the rates you typically charge for the following services?

Services	Rate estimate	Services	Rate estimate
Vaginal penetrative sex		Manual masturbation	
Penetrative sex (with condom)		Oral sex	
Penetrative sex (without condom)		Non-penetrative sex	
Anal sex		Group sex	
If other, please specify:			

32. How much do you earn per week as a sex worker? _____

33. Do you have an intermediary (pimp/madam)? *If no, skip to question 37.

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

34. If yes, what portion/percentage of your remuneration do you have to pay to your intermediary?

35. Is your intermediary abusive towards you? **If no, skip to question 37.*

Yes		No	
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36. If yes, what type of abuse do you experience from your intermediary?

	Yes	No		Yes	No
Physical			Sexual		
Emotional			Financial		
If other, specify:					

37. How long have you been working in the sex industry?

Weeks:	Months:	Years:
--------	---------	--------

38. Do you feel safe in your work environment and explain the reason for your response?

Answer	Main reason for your response
Yes	
No	

39. In what type of activities do you regularly engage outside of the sex industry?

Activity	Yes	No	Activity	Yes	No
Other employment activities			Parenting/caregiving		
Studying towards a formal qualification			Socialising		
If other please specify:					

40. How often do you provide sex work related services?

Daily		Weekly		Monthly		A few times per year	
-------	--	--------	--	---------	--	----------------------	--

41. Are you able to choose your clientele?

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

42. Have you ever refused a client services? **If no, skip to question 44.*

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

43. If yes, what was the reason for your refusal?

Possible reason	Yes	No	Possible reason	Yes	No
Do not provide the services the client wanted			It was a client who has acted aggressively before		
The client did not want to pay the tariffs for the specific service			If other, please specify:		
The client was intoxicated/on drugs					

44. In your opinion, do clientele respect your decision to refuse sex work services?

Yes		No		Do not know	
-----	--	----	--	-------------	--

45. Do you accept any other form of payment instead of money?

Answer		Elaboration on your respective answer to either yes/no
Yes		
No		

SECTION B: PATHWAYS

STREET WOMAN PATHWAY:

46. At what age did you leave your family home (when you were over the age of 18)? _____

47. Reason for leaving your family home:

Poverty		Own mental health issues		I got married	
Unemployment		Family member mental health issues		I moved in with a partner	
Loss of housing		Felt like the only solution		Could function autonomously/on my own	
Own addiction/substance abuse		I found employment		Further education and training	
Parental substance abuse		Sibling abuse		Parental abuse	
Sibling substance abuse		Spousal abuse		Parental neglect	
if other, specify:					

48. If yes, please indicate the possible reason for running away from home (when under the age of 18)? (please tick the applicable **boxes**; more than one option can be chosen)

Poverty		Own mental health issues		I got married	
Unemployment		Family member mental health issues		I moved in with a partner	
Loss of housing		Felt like the only solution		Could function autonomously/on my own	
Own addiction/substance abuse		I found employment		Further education and training	
Parental substance abuse		Sibling abuse		Parental abuse	
Sibling substance abuse		Spousal abuse		Parental neglect	
if other, specify:					

49. What age were you when you ran away from home? _____

50. How many times did you run away from home, when you were under the age of 18? (if answered yes to question 48)

Daily		Weekly		Monthly		A few times per year	
-------	--	--------	--	---------	--	----------------------	--

51. Were you punished by your caregiver/parent/guardian for running away from home?

Answer	Elaboration on your answer
Yes <i>*if yes state how</i>	
No	

*If **no** state why not

52. If you have never run away from home, please indicate why (please tick the applicable **boxes**; (more than one option can be chosen):

Possible reason	Yes	No	Possible reason	Yes	No
Too scared (did not have the courage)			I did not want to leave my friends		
I wanted to finish school			I felt secure		
I did not want to leave my siblings			I was happy with my circumstances at home		
If other, please specify:					

HARMED AND HARMING PATHWAY/BATTERED WOMEN

53. Age of first consensual sexual experience? _____
54. At what age did you get involved in sex work? _____
55. When you first became involved in sex work, was it on a continuous basis or from time to time?

Time to time		Continuous	
--------------	--	------------	--

56. Did you experience any of the following types of abuse prior to your engagement in sex work?

a) Type of abuse:	Physical	Emotional	Sexual	Financial	Other	
b) Age when the abuse occurred:						
c) Who was responsible for the abuse you experienced:	Parent/guardian	Parent/guardian	Parent/guardian	Parent/guardian	Parent/guardian	
	Sibling(s)	Sibling(s)	Sibling(s)	Sibling(s)	Sibling(s)	
	Boyfriend	Boyfriend	Boyfriend	Boyfriend	Boyfriend	
	Peer(s)	Peer(s)	Peer(s)	Peer(s)	Peer(s)	
	Other adult in your household	Other adult in your household	Other adult in your household	Other adult in your household	Other adult in your household	
	Adult you knew	Adult you knew	Adult you knew	Adult you knew	Adult you knew	
	Adult you did not know	Adult you did not know	Adult you did not know	Adult you did not know	Adult you did not know	
	Other	Other	Other	Other	Other	
d) Frequency of abuse:	Daily	Daily	Daily	Daily	Daily	
	Weekly	Weekly	Weekly	Weekly	Weekly	
	Monthly	Monthly	Monthly	Monthly	Monthly	
	A few times per year	A few times per year	A few times per year	A few times per year	A few times per year	
e) In the worst attack, did you suffer:	No physical injuries	Impact:	No physical injuries	Impact:	No physical injuries	
	Serious physical injuries		Serious physical injuries		Serious physical injuries	
	Minor injuries		Minor injuries		Minor injuries	

57. Have you ever witnessed a family member (sibling/parent/guardian) experiencing any of the following types of abuse? If yes, indicate the frequency.

Type of abuse	No	Yes	Daily	Weekly	Monthly	A few times a year
Physical						
Emotional						

Sexual						
Financial						
Other						

58. Have you ever experienced intimate partner violence? **If no, skip to question 60.*

Yes		No	
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59. If yes, please complete the next section to elaborate.

a) Type of interpersonal violence experienced:	Physical		Emotional		Sexual		Financial		Other	
b) Specification	Hitting		Deprivation/neglect		Coercion		Financial coercion (taking my money)			
	Kicking		Verbal		Manipulation		Withholding money			
	Biting		Manipulation		Physical force		Spending my money without my consent			
	Burning						Withholding financial support (e.g. not paying rent/not buying groceries)			
							Withholding money to change my behaviour (e.g. if you don't stop seeing your friends I won't give you any money)			
c) Frequency of violence:	Daily		Daily		Daily		Daily		Daily	
	Weekly		Weekly		Weekly		Weekly		Weekly	
	Monthly		Monthly		Monthly		Monthly		Monthly	
	A few times per year		A few times per year		A few times per year		A few times per year		A few times per year	
d) In the worst attack, did you suffer:	No physical injuries		Impact:		No physical injuries		Impact:		No physical injuries	
	Serious physical injuries				Serious physical injuries				Serious physical injuries	
	Minor injuries				Minor injuries				Minor injuries	

60. Were you bullied as a child? **if no, skip to question 63.*

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

61. How often were you bullied as a child?

Daily	
Weekly	
Monthly	
A few times a year	

62. Who mainly bullied you (please select the relevant boxes):

	Yes	No
Siblings		
Friends		
Older children from the neighbourhood		
Older children from school who are not my friends		
Younger children from the neighbourhood		
Younger children from school who are not my friends		

If other, please specify:

63. Have you ever been abused by?

	Yes	No	What type of abuse did you experience:			
a) A client			Physical		Financial	
			Emotional		Other	
			Sexual			
b) A colleague			Physical		Financial	
			Emotional		Other	
			Sexual			

DRUG CONNECTED PATHWAY (all of the respondent's answers will be dealt with the utmost confidentiality)

64. Have you ever used any of the following substances?

	Yes	No		Yes	No		Yes	No
Alcohol			KHAT			Cocaine		
Tobacco (cigarettes)			Tik			LSD		
Marijuana			Nyaope			Ecstasy		
Prescription medication			Heroin	Other:				

65. Do you currently use any of the following substances? *If yes indicate frequency

	Yes	No	At what age did you start?	Daily	Once a week	Twice a week	More than three times a week	Daily
Alcohol								
Tobacco (cigarettes)								
Marijuana								
Heroin								
KHAT								
Tik								
Cocaine								
LSD								
Ecstasy								
Nyaope								
Prescription medication								
Other:								

66. When did you start using substances?

	Yes	No
I have never used substances		
Before my involvement in sex work		
Started using after I got involved in sex work		

67. (DAST-10) drug abuse particulars in scale form (tick appropriate box):

Question:	Many times	Few times	Once	Never
a) Do you abuse/use more than one drug at a time?				

b)Were you unable to stop abusing drugs even when you wanted to?				
c)Did you ever feel bad or guilty about your drug use?				
d)Did your spouse or partner/parents ever complain about your involvement with drugs?				
e)Have you neglected your family because of your drug use?				
f)Have you engaged in illegal activities in order to obtain drugs?				

68. From whom do you obtain the substances you use?

	Yes	No		Yes	No
Doctor's prescription			Intermediary/Drug dealer		
Friends			Spouse		
Other street-based sex workers			Boyfriend/partner		
If other, please specify					

69. Do any of your family members currently abuse substances?

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

70. If yes, do they abuse:

Alcohol		Drugs		Both	
---------	--	-------	--	------	--

71. Have any of your family members abused substances in the past?

Yes		No	
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72. If yes, did they abuse:

Alcohol		Drugs		Both	
---------	--	-------	--	------	--

73. Do you currently sell any substances?

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

74. Have you ever sold any substances? **If no, skip to question 76*

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

75. If yes (to either question 73/74), was it for (please indicate below):

	Yes	No		Yes	No
Yourself			Friend		
Colleague			Family member		
Partner			Intermediary (pimp/madam)		
If other, please specify:					

SERIOUS/CHRONIC/VIOLENT OFFENDERS PATHWAY

76. Have you ever consulted a psychologist/psychiatrist? **If no, skip to question 78.*

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

77. Have you been diagnosed with any of the following mental illnesses?

	Yes	No
Depression/Bipolar disorder		
General anxiety disorder		

Panic disorder		
Obsessive compulsive disorder		
Post-traumatic stress disorder		
Schizophrenia		
Alcoholism		
Substance (drug) dependence		
Eating disorder		
Body dysmorphic disorder (A mental illness involving obsessive focus on a perceived flaw in appearance).		
Antisocial personality disorder		
Paranoid personality disorder		
If other what		

78. Have you ever been arrested? **If no, skip to question 80.*

Yes		No	
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79. If yes, was it as an:

Adult		Both		Adolescent	
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80. What type/s of crime have you committed (please indicate even if you were never arrested for the crime)? ** Note that no admission of crime(s) committed will be reported to the police*

a)Type of crime	b)Possible reason:	c) Were you arrested for the crime: * If no skip to e		d) What happened after the arrest?: (e.g. did not proceed with a court case/ Sentence/punishment imposed/ imprisonment/fine/community-based sentence/diverted to attend a programme/not guilty verdict)	e)Were you under the influence of a substance when you committed the crime	
		Yes	No		Yes	No
Prostitution/soliciting	Opportunity				Yes	No
	Thrill/excitement					
	Peer pressure					
	Financial greed					
	Drug use					
	Revenge/payback					
	Admiration of others					
	Power/control					
	Sexual relief					
	Unintentional					
	Impulse					
	Idle/bored					
	Economical need					
Public intoxication	Opportunity				Yes	No
	Thrill/excitement					
	Peer pressure					
	Financial greed					
	Drug use					
	Revenge/payback					
	Admiration of others					
	Power/control					
	Sexual relief					
	Unintentional					
	Impulse					
	Idle/bored					
	Forced/coerced					
Anger/frustration						
Theft	Opportunity				Yes	No
	Thrill/excitement					
	Peer pressure					
	Financial greed					
	Drug use					

	Revenge/payback Admiration of others Power/control Sexual relief Unintentional Impulse Idle/bored Economical need Forced/coerced					
Assault (includes both GBH/common assault)	Opportunity Thrill/excitement Peer pressure Financial greed Drug use Revenge/payback Admiration of others Power/control Impulse Idle/bored Forced/coerced Provoked Self-defence Anger/frustration	Yes	No		Yes	No
Possession of drugs	Opportunity Thrill/excitement Peer pressure Financial greed Drug use Revenge/payback Admiration of others Power/control Sexual relief Unintentional Impulse Idle/bored Forced/coerced	Yes	No		Yes	No
Drug dealing/trafficking	Opportunity Thrill/excitement Peer pressure Financial greed Drug use Revenge/payback Admiration of others Power/control Sexual relief Unintentional Impulse Idle/bored Forced/coerced	Yes	No		Yes	No
Shoplifting	Opportunity Thrill/excitement Peer pressure Financial greed Drug use Revenge/payback Admiration of others Power/control Sexual relief Unintentional Impulse Idle/bored Economical need Forced/coerced	Yes	No		Yes	No
Fraud	Opportunity Thrill/excitement Peer pressure Financial greed Drug use Revenge/payback Admiration of others Power/control Sexual relief Unintentional Impulse Idle/bored Economical need	Yes	No		Yes	No

		Forced/coerced												
Arson		Opportunity		Yes	No		Yes	No						
		Thrill/excitement												
		Peer pressure												
		Financial greed												
		Drug use												
		Revenge/payback												
		Admiration of others												
		Power/control												
		Sexual relief												
		Unintentional												
		Impulse												
		Idle/bored												
		Forced/coerced												
		Anger/frustration												
Assault (common)		Opportunity		Yes	No		Yes	No						
		Thrill/excitement												
		Peer pressure												
		Financial greed												
		Drug use												
		Revenge/payback												
		Admiration of others												
		Power/control												
		Sexual relief												
		Unintentional												
		Impulse												
		Idle/bored												
		Forced/coerced												
		Anger/frustration												
Child maltreatment/abuse/neglect		Opportunity		Yes	No		Yes	No						
		Thrill/excitement												
		Peer pressure												
		Drug use												
		Revenge/payback												
		Power/control												
		Unintentional												
		Impulse												
		Idle/bored												
		Forced/coerced												
		Anger/frustration												
	Murder		Opportunity							Yes	No		Yes	No
			Thrill/excitement											
			Peer pressure											
		Financial greed												
		Drug use												
		Revenge/payback												
		Power/control												
		Sexual relief												
		Unintentional												
		Impulse												
		Idle/bored												
		Economical need												
		Forced/coerced												
		Provoked												
		Self-defence												
		Anger/frustration												
Other, please specify _____		Opportunity		Yes	No		Yes	No						
		Thrill/excitement												
		Peer pressure												
		Financial greed												
		Drug use												
		Revenge/payback												
		Admiration of others												
		Power/control												
		Sexual relief												
		Unintentional												
		Impulse												
		Idle/bored												
		Economical need												
		Forced/coerced												
		Provoked												
		Self-defence												
	Anger/frustration													

OTHER CHILDHOOD EXPERIENCES NOT LISTED IN THE ABOVE PATHWAYS:

81. Relationship with caregivers/parents/guardian:

Question:	Many times	Few times	Once	Never
a) Did your parent(s)/guardian(s) know where you were when you were not at home?				
b) Did you leave your parent(s)/guardian(s) supervision without telling them where you were going?				
c) Did your parent(s)/guardian(s) leave you to do your own thing?				
d) Did your parent(s)/guardian(s) really know what you were doing with your free time when you were not at school, home or work?				
e) How often did your parent(s)/guardian(s) not give you any food?				
f) Were your parent(s)/guardian(s) too drunk or intoxicated by drugs to take care of you?				
g) How often did your parent(s)/guardian(s) not send you to school?				

SECTION C: LEGISLATIVE MANAGEMENT OF SEX WORK

82. Do you understand the following concepts that relate to the management of sex work by the government:

	Well informed	Moderately informed	Uninformed
Criminalisation			
Decriminalisation			
Legislation/regulation			
Partial Criminalisation			

83. Would the sex work industry benefit from any of the following legislative models (researcher to explain differences)?

Type	Description	Yes	No
Total criminalisation	Means that all aspects of sex work are against the law. In other words, sex workers are considered criminals and all acts relating to sex work are crimes. It is the current system in South Africa		
Partial criminalisation	Refers to laws that make some aspects of sex work illegal. For example, being a pimp or running a brothel would be illegal. However, the act of sex work would be considered a private matter affording sex workers some self-determination		
Legislation/regulation	Refers to a specific regulatory system which determines where, when and how sex work will take place legally. Regulatory measures will for example prescribe health checks, registration of sex workers, licensing of brothels and allow sex work to take place in certain areas		
Decriminalisation	Refers to a situation wherein sex work and related businesses are subject to the laws which apply to all other business sectors. Sex work and all aspects of sex work will be legal		

84. What are your views pertaining to the viability/practicality of each of the following models?

	Will definitely work	Could potentially work	Will never work	Undecided
Criminalisation				
Decriminalisation				

Legislation/regulation				
Partial Criminalisation				

85. Do you think the government has the capacity to implement and regulate any of the four models?

	Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided/neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Criminalisation					
Decriminalisation					
Legislation/regulation					
Partial Criminalisation					

86. Will you be willing to register as a sex worker if the government decides to regulate the sex industry?

Definitely		Never		Undecided	
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87. In South Africa sex work is currently illegal. Does this affect the treatment you receive from the following?

	Yes	No	Do not know		Yes	No	Do not know
a)Police				e)Retailers			
b)Health care providers				f)Friends			
c)Clients				g)Family			
d)Society							

88. If you have answered "yes" to any of the above please elaborate: _____

89. If laws regarding sex work in South Africa should change (from the current criminalisation model), would it affect any of the following:

Type	Effect on	Yes	No	I don't know
Decriminalisation	Clients			
	Income			
	Living conditions			
	Service providers (e.g. police/healthcare)			
	The manner in which society views you			
If yes, in what way?				
Legislation/regulation	Clients			
	Income			
	Living conditions			
	Service providers (e.g. police/healthcare)			
	The manner in which society views you			
If yes, in what way?				
Partial criminalisation	Clients			

	Income			
	Living conditions			
	Service providers (e.g. police/healthcare)			
	The manner in which society views you			
If yes, in what way?				

90. What legislative model would you prefer?

	Yes	Maybe	No	Undecided
Criminalisation				
Decriminalisation				
Legalisation/regulation				
Partial Criminalisation				

91. Please elaborate on the answers above _____

92. Should any of the four models be implemented:

Question		Yes	Maybe	No	Undecided
a) Do you feel that the law will be fair in terms of any of the four models	Criminalisation				
	Decriminalisation				
	Legislation/regulation				
	Partial Criminalisation				
b) Will you be willing to pay taxes if government decides to regulate the sex industry?	Decriminalisation				
	Legislation/regulation				
	Partial Criminalisation				
c) Lessen the social stigma/discrimination?	Criminalisation				
	Decriminalisation				
	Legislation/regulation				
	Partial Criminalisation				
d) Police would provide you with better services?	Criminalisation				
	Decriminalisation				
	Legislation/regulation				
	Partial Criminalisation				
e) Health care workers would provide you with better services?	Criminalisation				
	Decriminalisation				
	Legislation/regulation				
	Partial Criminalisation				
f) It would allow for a cooperative relationship between sex workers and police to reduce violence	Criminalisation				
	Decriminalisation				
	Legislation/regulation				
	Partial Criminalisation				
	Criminalisation				
	Decriminalisation				

g) It would assist towards improving the limitations in the health and human rights department	Legislation/regulation				
	Partial Criminalisation				

**SECTION D: ADDITIONAL
GENERAL ACCESS TO SERVICES**

93. Do you use the following services offered by? **If no, skip to question 94.*
Rate the services

	Yes	No	Very Poor	Poor	Good	Very Good
Police						
Healthcare practitioners (e.g. at government clinics)						
Youth Workers						
Social workers						

94. If no, please tick the appropriate box in order to elaborate why you do not access services:

Service	Possible reason	Yes	No
Police	Fear of abuse		
	Fear of being discriminated against		
	Fear of experiencing stigma owing to the type of work I do		
	I feel that I do not need to access any of the services		
	If other, please specify:		
Healthcare	Cannot afford certain services (e.g. X-rays)		
	Cannot afford medication		
	Fear of abuse		
	Fear of being discriminated against		
	Fear of experiencing stigma owing to the type of work I do		
	I feel that I do not need to access any of the services		
	If other, please specify:		
Social workers	Fear of abuse		
	Fear of being discriminated against		
	Fear of experiencing stigma owing to the type of work I do		
	I feel that I do not need to access any of the services		
	If other, please specify:		
Youth/community workers	Fear of abuse		
	Fear of being discriminated against		
	Fear of experiencing stigma owing to the type of work I do		
	I feel that I do not need to access any of the services		
	If other, please specify:		

95. What would encourage you to access the above-mentioned services?

	Yes	No
a) Non-judgemental and compassionate service providers		
b) More social workers		
c) Mobile clinics		
d) Employing peer workers (persons currently/previously involved in sex work) as service providers		
e) More night services, such as a 24-hour drop-in or afterhours services		
If other, please specify:		

HEALTHCARE

96. Can you access sufficient healthcare services, please rate:

Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided/neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree

97. Do you use the services of a general practitioner (doctor)?

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

98. What type of healthcare provider do you typically consult?

	Yes	No
Private practitioners		
State funded facilities (e.g. clinics)		

99. How frequently do you visit a healthcare provider (tick appropriate box)?

Only when sick/needed		Every three months	
Almost never		Once a month	
Once a year		Once a week	

100. Do you inform the healthcare provider that you are a sex worker?

Yes		No		Sometimes	
-----	--	----	--	-----------	--

101. Will you be willing to go for mandatory health testing if government decides to regulate the sex industry?

Yes		No		Maybe		Undecided	
-----	--	----	--	-------	--	-----------	--

102. Do you regularly get tested for sexually transmitted diseases? **if no, skip to question 104.*

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

103. How often do you get tested for sexually transmitted diseases?

Almost never		Once a month	
Once a year		Once a week	
Every three months			

104. Do you use any contraceptive measures? **if no, skip to question 107.*

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

105. If yes, where do you source your contraceptives from?

	Yes	No		Yes	No
Pimp			Pharmacy		
Clinic			Co-workers		
Hospital			Retailers (e.g. Pick n Pay)		

106. What type of contraceptive measure do you use?

	Yes	No		Yes	No
Condom			Vaginal ring (e.g. Nuvaring)		
Morning after pill			Mini pill (lower hormonal dose)		
Oral contraceptive pill (daily contraceptive progestogen only or combined pill)			Progestogen injections		
Contraceptive patch			Intrauterine contraceptive (IUC) (e.g. Mirena)		
Hormonal implant (e.g. Implanon)			Intrauterine Device (IUD) (e.g. Copper T)		

POLICE

107. Have you ever been abused by the police? **if no, skip to question 109.*

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

108. If yes, what type of abuse have you experienced from the police?

a) Type of abuse experienced:	Physical	Emotional	Sexual	Financial	Other				
b) Specification	Hitting	Deprivation/neglect	Coercion	Extortion					
	Kicking	Verbal	Manipulation	Theft					
	Biting	Manipulation		Property damage					
	Burning	Harassment							
c) Frequency of abuse:	Daily	Daily	Daily	Daily	Daily				
	Weekly	Weekly	Weekly	Weekly	Weekly				
	Monthly	Monthly	Monthly	Monthly	Monthly				
	A few times per year	A few times per year	A few times per year	A few times per year	A few times per year				
d) In the worst attack, did you suffer:	No physical injuries		No physical injuries	No physical injuries	No physical injuries				
	Serious physical injuries		Serious physical injuries	Serious physical injuries	Serious physical injuries				
	Minor injuries		Minor injuries	Minor injuries	Minor injuries				

109. Are you able to conduct work without fear of police abuse?

Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided/neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree

110. Have you ever been unlawfully arrested/detained by the police: **If no, skip to question 112.*

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

111. During your unlawful detainment/arrest, did you experience any of the following procedural violations?

	Yes	No		Yes	No
a) They drove me around and said I was arrested but I never went to the police station			b) I could not receive visitation from family or friends whilst being detained		
c) They took pictures of me			d) I was denied medical attention		

e) I had no access to food or water			f) I was denied legal representation		
g) I was not allowed to make a phone call after I was detained					

112. Would you be more willing to refuse work if you had the police to protect you?

Definitely		Maybe		Never	
------------	--	-------	--	-------	--

113. Do you report crimes committed against you to the police?

Always	Often	Sometimes	Seldom	Never

114. Will you be more willing to report crimes committed against you to the police if sex work is decriminalised?

Definitely		Maybe		Never	
------------	--	-------	--	-------	--

DISCRIMINATION

(Read to participant: Discrimination is the unjust and damaging treatment of different categories of people, especially on the grounds of race, work, age, sex or occupation)

115. Do you feel discriminated against for being a sex worker? ** If no, only complete 116 (a), skip (b) and then proceed to 117. If yes, please rate the frequency?*

Yes				
No				
	1-2times	3-5 times	6-8 times	9-10 times
Daily				
Monthly				

116. If yes, please mark the appropriate boxes:

a) Do any of the following people know you work in the sex industry?		b) Have any of the following individuals <u>discriminated</u> against you because you are a sex worker:	
Parents		Parents	
Family		Family	
Children		Children	
Friends		Friends	
Healthcare providers		Healthcare providers	
Police officials		Police officials	

117. What is your reason for not telling people about your involvement in the sex industry?

Possible reason	Yes	No	Possible reason	Yes	No
Fear of judgement			Shame		
Fear of being labelled			Scared of not being accepted		
If other, please specify:					

118. Are you able to leave the sex industry anytime I want without fear of prejudice?

Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided/neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree

119. What do you think are the most important causes of discrimination against sex workers?

	Yes	No		Yes	No
Religious beliefs			Personal views		
Cultural views			Laws		

Past experience			Physical differences		
Negative experience			Jealousy		
Ignorance			Family views		
If other, please specify:					

STIGMATISATION

(Read to participant: Stigmatisation is to describe, label or regard someone or a group of people in a way that shows strong disapproval).

120. Do you think you are more likely to be victimised because of the stigma attached to sex work?

Yes		No		Do not Know	
-----	--	----	--	-------------	--

121. Have you ever been stigmatised on the basis of any of the below?

	Yes	No	Occasionally		Yes	No	Occasionally
Income				Geographic location (Where you work)			
Education				The way you dress			
Gender				Social values			

122. Have you experienced social labels or stigmatisation because you are a sex worker?

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

123. Does the stigma attached to sex work influence you directly or indirectly?

	Yes	No	Main reason for answer
Directly – For example “Name calling” e.g. whore			
Indirectly For example receive no services due to the location of where you stay/work			

124. Indicate whether you agree/disagree with the following:

	Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided/neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
I think that I am negatively labelled and judged for being a sex worker					
People in the past have negatively labelled and judged me for being a sex worker					
People avoid me when they find out that I am a sex worker					
I feel the need to hide the fact that I am a sex worker					
People around me (e.g. family/friends) are stigmatised because of my involvement with sex work					

125. Do you avoid social interactions due to the stigma attached to sex work?

Yes		No		Sometimes		I don't know	
-----	--	----	--	-----------	--	--------------	--

126. Have any of the following individuals socially labelled/ negatively judged you because you are a sex worker?

	Yes	No		Yes	No
Family			Social workers		
Friends			Police		
Healthcare providers			Public		
Youth workers					

127. Does the stigma attached to sex work influence any of the interaction you have with the below individuals?

	Always	Often	Sometimes	Seldom	Never
Police officers					
Doctors					
Nurses					
Social workers					
Landlords					
Shop owners					
Shop attendants					
Clients					
Family					
Friends					
Romantic partners					
Spouses					

128. What do you think informs the stigma attached to sex work in terms of people's perceptions (please tick the relevant boxes)?

	Yes	No		Yes	No
Religious beliefs			Physical differences		
Cultural views			Jealousy		
Past experience			The belief that sex work causes the breakdown of family values		
Negative experience			The belief that sex work increases crime in a given area		
Ignorance			The belief that sex work increases drug abuse in an area		
Personal views			Laws		
If other, please specify:					

129. What type of stigma have you experienced?

	Yes	No		Yes	No
Name calling/verbal			Being spat on		
Harassment – by public to get off the streets			Refusal of services (e.g. shop owners)		

Being laughed at					
If other, specify:					

EXIT/DIVERSION PROGRAMMES

(Read to participant: A program designed to (a) possibly make it easier for sex workers to leave the sex industry and (b) provide assistance to sex workers once they decide to leave the sex industry).

130. Would you leave sex work?

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

131. What might make it difficult for you to leave the sex industry? Please rate your response.

	Yes	No	Not difficult at all	Difficult	Very Difficult
Family					
Finances					
Living conditions					
Studies					
Pimp/Madam					
If other, please specify:					

132. What might make it easier to leave the sex industry? Please rate your response.

	Yes	No	Very Easy	Easy	Not easy at all
Support groups					
Family support					
Community support					
Financial support					
Guaranteed employment					
Skills training					
If other, please specify:					

133. If you could exit the industry today do you have any support from:

	Yes	No		Yes	No
Family			Healthcare providers		
Friends/peer networks			Social development		
Social worker			NGO		

134. In your opinion which of the below would you deem necessary to include as part of an exit programme?

	Very Important	Important	Not important
Financial support			

Social support			
Community support			
Family support			
Skills training (e.g. hairdressing)			
Home assistance (e.g. child care)			
Housing			
If other, please specify:			

Appendix C: Pamphlet

Contact details

1. Women's Legal Centre

- 112 Main Street, 9th Floor, Johannesburg.
- 011 339 1099

2. Foundation for Victims of Crime (FOVOC)

- 183 Pienaar Drive, Meyers Park Shop NO. 2, Elma Centre.
- 012 812 1530 OR 071 483 7176

3. Lerato House (Tshwane Leadership Foundation)

- Jubilee Centre, 288 Burgers Park Lane, Pretoria Central.
- 012 320 2123

4. Sex Workers Education & Advocacy Taskforce

- Main offices Cape Town
- Helpline: 0800 60 60 60

5. Sisonke

- Contact person: Kholi Buthelezi
- 021 448 7875 OR 073 247 9623

The above listed organisations may be able to refer you to other relevant/localised organisations or individuals for assistance and guidance.

Appendix D: Letter of informed consent



Faculty of Humanities
Department of Social Work and Criminology

Informed consent information leaflet

Dear Participant

Invitation

You are invited to participate in a research study that is titled: *Context-specific pathways into adult female street-based sex work in Arcadia and Sunnyside, Pretoria*. The information leaflet will help you to decide whether you would like to participate in the study. Before you agree to take part in the study, you should fully understand what the study entails. If you have any questions or concerns regarding the study, please do not hesitate to ask the researcher to clarify. Your participation would involve the completion of a questionnaire during a face-to-face interview with the researcher. You will be asked to provide basic information about yourself and your involvement in adult female street-based sex work, including socio-demographic and biographical information, as well as questions more relevant to the pathways which have lead you into street-based sex work.

Aim and objectives of the study

The aim of the study is to identify context-specific pathways into adult female street-based sex work in Arcadia and Sunnyside, Pretoria. In pursuit of the aim, the objectives of the proposed study are to:

- Describe the nature of adult female street-based sex work.
- Compile a profile of the characteristics of adult female street-based sex workers in Arcadia and Sunnyside, Pretoria.
- Identify possible factors which may impact an individual's decision to become involved in adult female street-based sex work in Arcadia and Sunnyside, Pretoria.
- Construct a pathways framework specifically focussed on adult female street-based sex work in Arcadia and Sunnyside, Pretoria.

Procedures

To be included in the study you must meet the following criteria:

- You must be over the age of 18 years (adult).

Level 10, Humanities Building
University of Pretoria, Private Bag X20
Hatfield 0028, South Africa
Tel +27 (0)12 420
www.up.ac.za

Fakulteit Geesteswetenskappe
Departement Maatskaplike Werk en Kriminologie
Lefapha la Bomotho
Kgoro ya Modiro wa Leago le Bosenyi

- Only females will be included in the study.
- Purely street-based sex workers will be included in the study (no other types, e.g. escorts).
- You must be willing to participate in the study (voluntary participation).
- You should not be intoxicated.
- You should be able to conduct the interview in English.

Once selected, you will be interviewed utilising a questionnaire consisting of fixed questions and a range of possible answers. Please note that there are no correct or incorrect answers to the questions. You may elaborate on questions if you feel comfortable to do so. The interview would last for approximately 30-45 minutes. The interviews will take place where you feel most comfortable and safe. On completion of the interview you will be provided with a blank envelope in which you can safely seal your completed questionnaire. Thereafter, you will be debriefed about the study and asked whether you would like to receive a pamphlet containing the contact numbers of organisations which will be able to provide you with counselling services should you feel emotionally distressed as a result of the interview. Additionally, upon completion of the interview you will be given a R60 retail or grocery store voucher to thank you for your participation. You may choose not to receive the voucher as well.

Possible risks and discomfort

Possible risks which may be associated with your participation in the study may include (not necessarily limited to):

- (i) The questions in the questionnaire are of a personal nature and may cause emotional distress.
- (ii) Loss of clientele owing to time spent on the interview.
- (iii) The researcher's presence may draw increased attention to you.

However, the aforementioned risks and discomfort will be managed as follows:

- You can decide when and where the interview should take place.
- You can choose to receive a pamphlet containing the contact details of organisations equipped to provide you with counselling if you feel emotionally distressed after the interview. You will be able to contact the organisations at any time. The organisations typically after consulting with you telephonically (e.g. find out what type of help you need) refer you to a local contact person in the organisation for assistance.

Possible benefits of the study

Upon completion of the interview you will receive a R80 retail or grocery store voucher (one easily accessible in the area) to thank you for your participation. Indirectly you may benefit in future as a result of your participation, because through the raising of awareness and greater understanding of the context-specific pathways women follow into sex work, service delivery to sex workers may be improved.

What are your rights as participant?

Your participation in the study is entirely voluntary. You may choose not to participate in the study or stop the interview at any stage, without giving any reason. Withdrawing from the study will not affect you in any way, should you decide to do so. In the event of a withdrawal from the study, your questionnaire will be destroyed. Additionally, if you feel that you would like to participate in the study, but cannot do so at this specific time, an arrangement with the researcher can be made to meet at a later time and location. You also have the right to refuse to answer certain questions that you may not feel comfortable with. Lastly, you have the right to receive feedback about the results of the study upon its completion. You can contact the researcher for this purpose.

Confidentiality

The information you reveal will be kept confidential. You can in no way be linked to the information you choose to reveal. Only the researcher and allocated supervisors will have access to your questionnaire and letter of informed consent. Additionally, data will be stored in a safe with limited access at the University of Pretoria in the Department of Social Work and Criminology for a period of 15 years. Data will be stored for archiving purposes and future research. The information you provide will be used for academic purposes only. This means that it will be published as a dissertation, in academic journals and presented at conferences. Your questionnaires and informed consent letter will not contain any identifying information such as names, addresses, relatives' names, email addresses or phone numbers. The privacy and confidentiality of the information you provide will further be enhanced by the fact that you will seal your questionnaire in an envelope at the completion of the interview.

Contact details

If you have any questions or concerns about the study, the contact person is Maretha Myburgh 082 328 1830 or maretha.myburgh@yahoo.com.

Participant statement

I hereby acknowledge that the research study has been explained to me. I fully understand the requirements and understand that I may withdraw from the study at any time with no ill consequences. I will be interviewed after which I will be debriefed and offered a pamphlet, which I may decline. On completion of the interview I will receive a R60 retail or grocery store voucher, receipt of which I may decline as well. I fully understand that the voucher is a courtesy to thank me for my participation. I understand that my information will be kept private and confidential and that it will be stored for archiving and research purposes for a period of 15 years. I declare that my participation in the study is completely voluntary and that I have in no way been coerced to take part in it.

Please tick the appropriate box:

The research has been fully explained to me	YES	NO
The researcher read and explained the information sheet to me	YES	NO
I read and understand the information sheet	YES	NO

I hereby give consent to participate in the research project.

_____	_____	_____
<i>Name and Surname (optional)</i>	<i>Signature</i>	<i>Date</i>
_____	_____	_____
<i>Researcher</i>	<i>Signature</i>	<i>Date</i>
_____	_____	_____
<i>Supervisor</i>	<i>Signature</i>	<i>Date</i>

Appendix E: Guards on call Security Company



GUARDS ON CALL SECURITY SERVICES CC 2007/101650/23
PROFESSIONAL GUARDING (Member C Morries)

P O BOX 101344
MORELETA PLAZA
MORELETA PARK
0167

Phone: 072 234 4800

Fax : 086 566 7716

Email: guards-on-call@webmail.co.za

Registered as a security service provider: Registration no: 1474785

To whom it may concern

19/02/2015

Guards On Call Security Services have been working in the Arcadia, Sunnyside and Pretoria Central areas for nearly 9 years and have extensive knowledge about and experience with the daily operations of sex workers in the area. It can be safely stated that the company has earned the trust of many of the street-based sex workers who operate in the area.

Our services include:

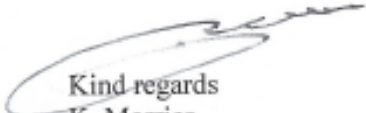
- Uniformed guarding and armed response
- Training of security personnel and body guards
- VIP protection
- Installation and monitoring of alarm systems and CCTV cameras
- Investigations
- Tracing and recovery of stolen property
- Patrols
- Protection and escort services

For the past 3 years we have accompanied Criminology Honours students into the field without any incidents in order to observe and gain a better understanding of the criminal activities in the area. Consequently, it would be our pleasure to act as an intermediary for Ms Myburgh and Ms Lawson in order to gain access to adult street-based sex workers as research participants in the Arcadia, Sunnyside and Pretoria Central areas. We are also keen to provide security services at no cost to the researchers during their data collection stage. Precautionary measures that will be taken to increase the safety of the researchers include the following processes/arrangements:

- Travelling in marked security vehicles
- Handheld radios
- Armed supervisors and management
- Travelling in a group
- No one will be left alone at any time
- Guarding whilst interviews are conducted

Although the company realistically cannot guarantee the safety of the researchers, we are committed to take every possible precautionary measure to enable them to conduct their interviews in a safe environment.

Please feel free to contact us at any time.



Kind regards
K. Morries
Contact details: 072 234 4800

Appendix F: Full ethical clearance letter



UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA

Faculty of Humanities
Research Ethics Committee

11 April 2018

Dear Ms Myburgh

Project: Context-specific pathways into adult female street-based sex work in Arcadia and Sunnyside, Pretoria
Researcher: GM Myburgh
Supervisor: Ms H Klopper
Department: Social Work and Criminology
Reference number: 10396285 (GW20160424HS)


Thank you for your response to the Committee's letter of 9 May 2016.

I have pleasure in informing you that the Research Ethics Committee formally **approved** the above study at an *ad hoc* meeting held on 11 April 2018. Data collection may therefore commence.

Please note that this approval is based on the assumption that the research will be carried out along the lines laid out in the proposal. Should your actual research depart significantly from the proposed research, it will be necessary to apply for a new research approval and ethical clearance.

We wish you success with the project.

Sincerely


PP.

Prof Maxi Schoeman
Deputy Dean: Postgraduate and Research Ethics
Faculty of Humanities
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
e-mail: PGHumanities@up.ac.za

cc: Ms H Klopper (Supervisor)
Prof A Lombard (HoD)

Research Ethics Committee Members: Prof MME Schoeman (Deputy Dean); Prof KL Harris; Dr L Blokland; Dr K Booysens; Dr A-M de Beer; Ms A dos Santos; Dr R Fasselt; Ms KT Govinder; Dr E Johnson; Dr W Kelleher; Mr A Mohamed; Dr C Puttergill; Dr D Reyburn; Dr M Soer; Prof E Taljard; Prof V Thebe; Ms B Tsebe; Ms D Mokalapa

Appendix G: Proposed pathways framework

Double click on the below for a user-friendly amplified version of the proposed pathways construct (Figure 66).



GraphImage.xps