

PROSTITUTION IN URBAN ZAMBIA:
AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF THREE TOWNS.

BY

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DECLARATION

I, Augustus Kasumpa Kapungwe solemnly declare that this dissertation has not previously been submitted for a degree in this or any other University.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Augustus', with a stylized flourish at the end.

signed:

APPROVAL

This dissertation of Augustus Kasumpa Kapungwe is approved as fulfilling part of the requirements for the award of Master of Arts in Sociology.

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PREFACE

Every study has its weaknesses but those of the present one were aggravated by a number of factors. The first one was the dearth of relevant literature on prostitution in Zambia. This meant that the researcher had no alternative but to rely on literature from Western Countries which, if available that is, was either very old or of very little relevance to Zambia. The sensitivity of the subject of prostitution was another factor which made it difficult to have as large a sample as the researcher would have liked. Despite trying to disguise himself as a customer the researcher was denied audience by some prostitutes who, through one way or the other, came to know about his identity and purpose.

The third factor was the limited period of two months within which the whole research had to be conducted. This period turned out to be too short to enable the researcher to investigate not only most aspects of prostitution but also to penetrate deep enough into those which were investigated. What this means is that even after perusing through all the chapters of this paper the reader will still remain with some un answered questions in his mind concerning prostitution because the present study is unable to provide answers to all questions. Lastly funds for this study turned out to be insufficient. Any one who wants to know more about prostitution must be prepared to spend more and this demands alot of money. One of the fastest ways of eliciting information from prostitutes in Zambia is the ability to entertain them. It was very frustrating and discouraging during the course of this research that any slightest sign of being broke on the part of the researcher was enough to chase away a prostitute. This used to happen even during discussions. This meant that not only money but even precious time was wasted.

However inspite of the weaknesses of this study, it is hoped that its findings will serve as a stepping stone for further research in prostitution.

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Although I conceived the topic, carried out the interviews and wrote up the dissertation myself, many people contributed alot in making this work take the shape in which it appears now. In this connection I would like to extend my heart-felt gratitude to my Supervisor Professor A. Chilivumbo whose comments on my draft chapters made me delve deeper into issues which would have otherwise remained hanging. His comments really gave me insight into various issues.

I would also like to thank Dr. Peter Hayward in particular and all the members of the Social Development Studies Department of the University of Zambia for their individual comments on my tentative proposal. My other thanks go to Chomba Kapepula without whose help, both material and moral, my stay in Ndola would have been unbearable.

Although I can not mention their names here because of the present status of their occupation, I would all the same like to extend my thanks to all those prostitutes I interviewed. Although I took up most of their business hours when interviewing them by pretending to be one when in actual fact I was not a genuine customer, it is my hope that the information they supplied and which is contained in the following pages will go a long way in making people see prostitution in a different way.

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INTRODUCTION

Abundant historical and contemporary evidence exists to show that prostitution is wide spread both in space and time. As Kingsley Davis (1961, P263), says:

Prostitution is a ubiquitous institution present wherever civilization has achieved any sort of complexity and often existing even in primitive societies.

The same point is stressed by H. Benjamin and R.E.L Masters, (1965) who assert that when discussing the phenomenon of prostitution we should always remember that it is not something evanescent but that it has existed from the first times of the world's history up to the present time and differs but little and in minor details from what it used to be in the earliest times. The two authors maintain that the written records of the human race bear witness to the perpetual presence of prostitutes among men.

There is no general consensus in sociology as to the concise definition of the word prostitution. Various people have defined prostitution in different ways. For example according to the International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, (volume 12, P592), prostitution has been defined as:

The granting of sexual access on a relatively indiscriminate basis for payment either in money or in goods depending on the complexity of the local economic system. Payment is acknowledged to be for a specific sexual performance.

A.M. Elliot and E.F. Merril, (1961, P170), define prostitution in a slightly different way when they say:

Prostitution is illicit sex relation on a promiscuous and mercenary basis with accompanying emotional indifference.

M.B. Clinnard's and R. Quinney's (1967) definition approximates that of Elliot and Merrill while S. Dinitz et al (1969, P385), define it in the following way:

Prostitution simply defined is the use of sexual stimulation to attain non-sexual ends.

As already pointed out, there are many definitions of prostitution but these few above embrace the main elements in various definitions. Because of the unresolved contraversies over what exactly is meant by promiscuity or indiscriminate and because of the difficulties inherent in trying to determine whether or not emotional involvement is present in prostitutional contacts, prostitution in this paper should be understood to mean the granting or promise to grant sexual access for payment or promise of payment either in money or goods or in both. It is true that the above definition may not include all contacts or relationships considered prostitutional but this definition will serve the purpose of the present study.

The International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences points out that prostitution is an activity that may be performed by either males or females and for either males or females. However in actual practice acts of prostitution are commonly performed by females for males (heterosexual) or males for males (homosexual), or females for females (lesbian). In this study the focus is on the first type. It follows therefore that a prostitute in this paper refers to any female person who grants or promises to grant sexual access to a male person who pays or promises to pay her money or goods or both. It is important to note here that no matter what definition is used there is a great variety of prostitution and prostitutes.

Numerous studies on the subject have tended to study prostitution from a moralistic view point and see it as a major source of many social evils. For example, Benjamin and Masters (1965), Acton (1971), Elliot and Merrill (1961), Sanger (1972) and others have argued that sexually transmitted diseases e.g Syphilis and Gonorrhea, infanticide, baby damping and baby farming, drug addiction alcoholism, foeticide, corruption, abortion, illegitimacy etc. are very closely associated with prostitution. Because of the above and other related problems, different societies at different times have attempted different measures aimed at either crushing out prostitution or eliminating or minimizing its negative consequences.

Variis experts on the subject e.g Sanger (1972), Benjamin and Masters (1965) have identified, among others: humiliation of prostitutes with their customers; murder of prostitutes; branding of prostitutes with hot iron bars; mutilations; exile; imprisonment and/or fines and, not infrequently, death penalties. Despite these efforts to stamp out the practice, prostitution has continued to exist and in some cases substitutions or alternatives have been improvised. Benjamin and Masters in their book argue that measures intended to suppress prostitution result in an increase in masturbation; homosexuality; child molesting; adultery; seduction; indecent carnal assault; bribery and general corruption and a tendency for more women entering prostitution, accompanied by an astronomical increase in the rate of venereal diseases. Sanger (1972, P19) summarizes these measures and their effects when he says:

It is a mere absurdity to assert that prostitution can ever be eradicated. Strenuous and well directed efforts for this purpose have been made at different times. The whole power of the church, where it possessed not merely a spiritual, but an actual secular arm, has been in vain directed

against it. Nature defied the mandates of the clergy, and the threatened punishment of an after-life were futile to deter men from seeking and women from granting sinful pleasures in this world. Monarchs, victorious in the field and unsurpassed in the council chamber have all bent all the energies of will and brought all the aids of power to crush-out prostitution but before these vice has not quailed. The guilty women have been banished, scourged, their partners have been subjected to the same punishment, held up to public opinion as immoral, denuded of their civil rights; have seen their offenses visited upon their families; have been led to the stake, the gibbet and the block, and still prostitution exists. The teachings of morality and virtue have been powerless. In some cases they restrain individuals; upon the aggregate they are inoperative.

However not all human societies both in time and space have been intolerant and spiteful to prostitution. Kingsley Davis (1970, P258), points out:

Prostitution has not always been demeaning as it is today. In ancient Roman Society, certain prostitutes were accorded special esteemed status, a fact which is also true in contemporary Japanese society.

In Zambia there is a law against prostitution but this law is not very clear as shown by the following sections of the Penal Code:

SECTION 146

1. Every male person who:
 - (a) Knowingly lives wholly or in part on the earnings of prostitution: or
 - (b) In any public place persistently solicits or importunes for immoral purposes:
2. Where a male person is proved to live with or to be habitually in the company of a prostitute or is proved to have exercised control, direction or influence over the movements of a prostitute in such a manner as to show that he is abetting, aiding, or compelling her prostitution with any other person or generally, he shall satisfy the court to the contrary, be deemed to be knowingly living on the earnings of prostitution.

SECTION 147

Every woman who knowingly lives wholly or in part on the earning of the prostitution of another or who is proved to have for purposes of gain, exercised control, direction or influence over the movements of a prostitute in such a manner as to show that she is aiding, abetting or compelling her prostitution with any person or generally is guilty of a misdemeanour.

It is clear from the two sections above that whereas there is a law against some agents of prostitution e.g. pimps, "customers" and "madams", there is no law against female prostitution. Also a man commits an offence only if he solicits persistently in public and not in private places. It is more likely that this is one of the reasons why it is difficult to enforce this law purported to be against prostitution. There is no clear-cut official stand either from the party or government on prostitution in Zambia. Equally it is difficult to say there is a generally agreed attitude in Zambia on prostitution. However some of the words used to describe prostitutes e.g. the lowest of the low; sellers of their honour; repudiators of society's morals; "toilets"; the "sick"; the "fallen"; conveyor belts of communicable diseases or insect carriers; marriage breakers etc show that there are some people in Zambia who condemn prostitution.

At this juncture it becomes imperative to pose one basic question and that is; why is it that, inspite of the numerous negative consequences attributable to prostitution and regardless of the approach society takes, does the institution of prostitution continue to thrive?

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

One of the premises of this study is that any social phenomenon in which not only a few but a great number of people engage is no longer a personal issue but, as C.W. Mills (1959), says, becomes a social issue. As such the reasons for its existence should be sought not in the individual but in the social system.

Some functionalists e.g Durkeim, Merton and Malinowsky among others have used the functionalist model to analyse human activities and they have shown that such activities fulfil certain vital social functions. This study partially uses this model to examine the extent to which prostitution as a social phenomenon fulfils certain socio-economic functions and societal demands.

Prostitution as a social phenomenon appears to be a product of such achievement oriented society which motivates people to achieve certain aspirations. The means of achieving these goals are many. One such means is defined by Merton as "deviant behaviour". According to Merton (1968) deviant behaviour occurs when society puts too much emphasis on goals or things people aspire for and less emphasis on institutionalized means of realizing such things. Merton argued that in such a society people tend to devise their own means of attaining their goals in order to adapt. He asserted that there are four types of deviant behaviour which he referred to as modes of individual adaptation to a situation in which too much emphasis is put on goals. One of the modes he identified is innovation whereby the individual rejects the institutionalized means but accepts the existing goals/values and devises his own means of attaining the goals. There is also retreatism which, according to Merton occurs when the individual rejects both the institutionalized means and the existing goals/values. The third type of deviant behaviour is ritualism. In this mode of individual adaptation the individual puts so much emphasis on institutionalized means that the goals for which such means exist are overlooked. Finally there is rebellion in which not only the institutionalized means but even the existing goals/values are rejected and in their stead new ones are sought and advocated.

Merton distinguished the four types of deviant behaviour from conformity. This is also a mode of individual adaptation but unlike

the other four, it is not usually considered as a problem because the individual conforms to societal norms by accepting both the institutionalized means and the existing goals.

In Zambia the emphasis placed on material wealth is good indicator that our society is achievement-oriented. Money, being a symbol of wealth, enjoys so much emphasis that to have plenty of it means one has achieved alot in life. A person who has alot of money/wealth is able to use it not only to buy food to satisfy his physiological needs but also to exert influence, command respect and hence enhance his social standing in society. Because of this, money has become a value in itself. One peculiar attribute of money is that it is accepted almost everywhere. Whether a person acquires it through what society generally considers to be unacceptable means, he can use it to buy the same goods and/or services which a person who acquires it through "legitimate" means can buy. Because of this, people tend to be less preoccupied with whether or not the means they use to acquire it are generally considered acceptable by society: Their immediate concern becomes whether or not the means at their disposal are technically the most efficient in achieving their goals. This is largely an outcome of putting more emphasis on ends and less emphasis on "legitimate" or prescribed means of realizing the goals/ends.

Using the premise that the present Zambia society approximates the ideal type presented by Merton this study examines the degree to which prostitution is deviant and innovative behaviour. The basic assumption of the study is that women who enter prostitution do so because they are socially motivated to achieve certain goals

which cannot be achieved through institutionalized or what society generally considers to be "legitimate" or acceptable means. It therefore follows that prostitution presents a normal response to the conditions in which people find themselves.

Prostitution is a marketable commodity which can be sold and bought: there are always people who are ready to pay for this commodity. Existence of a hostile attitude towards prostitution does not prove that prostitution is dysfunctional to all sectors of society. From the functionalist view point it can be said that as long as prostitution continues to serve some social functions it will continue to be part of the social system. As Benjamin and Masters (1965, P35), say:

There has always been and will always be a market for something men demand and are willing to pay for, and which women are able to supply and are willing to sell.

SPECIFICATION OF PROBLEMS

Among the problems this study focusses on are the following: social, marital-status, familial and educational backgrounds of prostitutes; methods of operation by different types of prostitutes; extent of sexually transmitted diseases among the participants; customers' reasons for engaging the services of prostitutes and non-participants' general attitude towards prostitution.

METHODOLOGY

Before discussing the techniques used in the collection of data for this study we first examine the various techniques which have been used in this kind of study. This is necessary in order to show why we chose a particular technique. Other studies on prostitution have used one of the following techniques:

One method which was used by Norman Jackman et al and is reported in Simon Dinitz et al (1969) involves interviewing prostitutes who are jailed and/or fined. This method has one advantage and that is that it is faster in the collection of data since there are specific places where the researcher can go and interview his subjects. This method is mostly used in countries where prostitution is a crime and the laws are enforced. This method has one weakness and that is it deals only with those prostitutes who are arrested and leaves out those who tend to escape the law. This method could not be used in the present study because in Zambia we have no persons arrested for prostitution.

The other method which was very common in Western countries when brothels were very common is one in which the researcher goes to places where prostitutes are housed and where they carry out their business and to interview them there. In this method it is a matter of arranging with the people who run such places. This method has the same advantage as the one we have just discussed but we could not use it in the present study because in Zambia we have no such organized houses of prostitution.

The third method involves interviewing those prostitutes who present themselves for treatment. For example Dr. H. Greenwald (1969) when studying one type of prostitutes called call-girls interviewed those who came to him for psychiatric treatment. The problem this method has is that the subjects are not completely normal people and as such data from them is not reliable. Because in Zambia we have no prostitutes who present themselves for psychiatric treatment this method could not be used in the present study.

Because none of the above methods could be used in the study of prostitution in Zambia the researcher decided to use the participant observation method which involved going out and meeting the

prostitution^{es} on their various grounds of operation and these include bars, hotels and disco houses. Prostitutes who operate from their homes could not be observed in this research because these are difficult to contact. This type of prostitutes provides very fertile ground for further investigation in Zambia.

A non probability sample of 42 prostitutes, 36 customers and ex-customers and 30 non participants was studied. Although it was initially intended that all interviews would be conducted by use of questionnaires, it became apparent that this could not work with the prostitutes. The majority refused to be interviewed either because they thought the topic was too sensitive to be discussed with a man or because they regarded such a discussion to be a waste of their time. It was in view of this that the researcher found it necessary to abandon the questionnaire and adopt alternative techniques.

In depth interviews were conducted with four prostitutes who were willing to freely discuss their past histories and present careers. Two of the respondents were from Lusaka, one from Mufulira and one from Ndola. The other information from the rest of the prostitutes was obtained through informal discussions, active participation and through mere observation. All information on customers, ex-customers and non-participants was collected by use of a questionnaire.

Eighteen out of the 42 prostitutes were from Lusaka, 13 from Ndola and 11 from Mufulira. Thirty of the prostitutes were bar prostitutes, eight hotel prostitutes while four were street walkers. While thirty three preferred overnights nine said their speciality were quickies.

CHAPTER TWO

REASONS FOR BECOMING A PROSTITUTE

To answer the question, "why some Zambian women turn to prostitution," we examined four case studies which highlight some reasons why some women enter prostitution. The four case studies are based on data collected from the girls themselves. To determine the validity of the girls' reports, the researcher cross-checked the statements with their friends in the girls' absence. These confirmed what the subjects said.

The first case is that of a 26 year old girl who left school in form 3 because she was not able to go into form 4. When the father died the mother who is still alive could not by herself support her because she is very old. After leaving school, she looked for conventional employment but was not able to find one that was acceptable to her. As a last resort she became a vendor at a market. Through this she was able to support not only herself but even her old mother. She did this for sometime until she got married. For three years everything went well and it was no longer necessary to continue selling at the market. She had literary nothing to complain about.

In the fourth year things started to change. At first the husband was merely sleeping out - something which had never happened before. What followed next was that there was no food. Then one day the thing she had dreaded most happened. She was told to pack all her belongings and to go to her mother. When she asked for the reason, she was told that since she was not working, she and her mother were proving to be too expensive for the man's financial comfort and as such he was divorcing her and marrying a working girl. All attempts including tears, to persuade him to change his mind fell on deaf ears and blind eyes. The most unfortunate thing about the whole affair was that this man refused in no

uncertain terms, to continue giving support to the two children she had with him and all the responsibility, therefore, fell on the woman's shoulders. For nights on end she could not sleep until in the end she accepted the fate as part of life and was consoled to think that there are many single girls who look after themselves. She tried to go back to selling at the market but this could not take them anywhere considering the fact that the family had now increased to four people. As she admitted, there were days when they used to go to bed on empty stomachs simply because there was nothing to eat. On two occasions the family was a victim of eviction because they could not pay the monthly rent. She tried to get a job but she could not find one until finally she decided to become a vendor of sex. "I tell you it was a painful and difficult decision which brought tears to both me and mother." It took her a long time to convince the mother that there was just no alternative to their survival except to join other girls who earned their living through prostitution. Although it was difficult in the beginning, after a few weeks she got used to the new source of income.

This girl is always found in one of the hotels on the Copper-belt. She comes at 18.00 Hours at that particular hotel until she gets a customer. She neither solicits for customers nor drinks beer which she regards as a waste of hard-earned money. She prefers soft drinks. She is there every day of the week unless she is sick. She prefers to go to the customer's or any other place not her home because she fears that if she took men home this would be destructive to her children. Besides she stays with the mother in the same house. Every morning, depending on whether she was successful the previous night (normally, she is, since she demands payment before sexual intercourse) she goes to the market, buys food and takes it home. If a man does not give her money she is willing to accept

food especially relish as payment. She does not charge less than K10.00 for a night. She accepts this amount when business is poor. After eating and washing her body she goes back to her business. This woman prefers overnights and considers prostitution to be temporary. Once she is married again she will stop it but until this happens, she will continue with her present source of income.

Our second case study is that of a 24 year old beautiful girl with form V academic qualification. She trained as a secretary and worked for three years before she decided to resign. The reasons for her resignation were as follows: Firstly she did not like the routine of working according to a fixed time table - up in the morning and back home in the evening, very tired. Secondly she did not like being ordered around by her boss. Thirdly she was not satisfied with her salary. "Other girls, less beautiful with very little or no education at all and no training were enjoying life more than I was doing." They could afford expensive clothes from neighbouring countries while I was stuck in the office, months on end." At the time of the interview she boasted that since she started her present career, she has managed to visit three of Zambia's neighbouring countries and that she is now always abreast with the latest in women's dressing. This, she said was almost impossible when she was working. She also pointed out that, unlike in the past, she is now a boss on her own. This girl comes from a very rich family her father has a chain of businesses in Lusaka and is prepared to give her almost anything she demands but this she does not like because it is at the expense of her freedom. This is one of the reasons she decided to leave Lusaka and go to the Copperbelt where she can enjoy maximum freedom. Marriage to this girl is out of question because there is nothing she is missing by remaining single.

from school. After giving birth her elder sister chased her from her home because the younger sister had already been taught how to look after herself. For sometime she stayed with a friend until, through prostitution, she managed to accumulate some money to enable her to rent a room where she stays up to now. She summarized her reasons for entering prostitution in the following way: "if only my parents had not died when they did and if I had a slightly more responsible sister, I would not have become what I am!" She regards prostitution as temporary. Since she has her own room she prefers over nights so that she can have enough time with her customer. She thinks one day she will meet a man who will marry her and that will mark the end of her present career. She is 19 years old.

Our last case study is that of a trained secretary, who, like the majority of prostitutes interviewed, was married before. She decided to divorce her husband with whom she had two children because he wanted more children whereas she considered the two to be enough. This woman does not like many children because a woman who bears many children gets old very quickly. The second reason for divorcing her husband is that she does not seem to be sexually satisfied with one man. She considers the maximum period she can stay with one man to be one week after which she is fed up with him and wants a different one. She maintained that alot of men have tried to establish lasting relationships with her but have failed. Not that these men are not attractive or handsome or sexually strong but simply because sticking to one man cannot do. Even when she was married she used to have private sexual affairs with other men. At first money to her was of secondary importance; sexual satisfaction was primary. When she started her present career, she did not charge any money but she soon realized that there were men

who were prepared to give a woman money after sleeping with her even if she does not demand payment. After that realization she decided to start killing two birds with one stone i.e. get sexual satisfaction and make some more money. Depending on what the customer wishes she is ready to spend a short time or the whole night with him. As long as she remains attractive she will continue with prostitution. This girl is 20 years of age.

Except for the second girl who is a member of the United Church of Zambia the other three girls are Catholics.

Among the characteristics the four women above share with each other is that by definition all of them are prostitutes although they seem to differ in the reasons they give for entering prostitution. On the surface it appears that the immediate cause of the first girl's entry into prostitution was divorce. In this study, as table I shows there were many women who were divorced who entered prostitution. Of the 42 prostitutes, 40.50% were divorced and only 9.50% were currently married. However, the largest proportion of prostitutes, i.e. 50%, were single.

TABLE I

CURRENT MARITAL STATUS OF PROSTITUTES

MARITAL STATUS	RESPONDENTS	% OF TOTAL
Single	21	50
Married	4	9.50
Divorced	17	40.50
TOTAL	42	100

One other reason often given by the majority of prostitutes was that they had children who they had to support and could do so only through prostitution. Table II shows the number of children among prostitutes.

TABLE II

PROSTITUTES BY NUMBER OF CHILDREN

NUMBER OF CHILDREN	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	% OF TOTAL
NONE	12	28.6
ONE	10	23.8
MORE THAN ONE	20	47.6
TOTAL	42	100

Table II shows that out of the 42 prostitutes who were interviewed only 28% had no child, 72% had at least one child. Both divorce and possession of children are contributory causes, forcing some women to enter into prostitution. However, since there are other women who are in similar situations who do not become prostitutes these reasons offer partial explanation.

SOCIAL CHANGE AND PROSTITUTION

The advent of the money economy and urbanization which are aspects of social change has tremendously transformed traditional or communal society. Such transformation can be observed in the changes which have taken place in both the basic institutions and in individuals. Institutional and individual changes are reflected in various ways and one of these is the existence of prostitution.

As compared to the modern society the traditional society was an inclusive society in which the system of the extended family and the entire society looked after each member of the community.

The extended family system constituted a social security scheme in the sense that whether one was an orphan in the literal sense, old or otherwise he/she could always count on the help of others. The responsibility of bringing up and looking after children was not the duty of the parents only. All members of the extended family shared the responsibility. If this could not work (which was rare) then the responsibility fell squarely on the community. The same was true of the old people. If his/her own children could not care for him/her there were always others to do so. Now all this has been changing. The extended family system has greatly collapsed and no proper institutional replacement has been found. This has led to a number of consequences. People can no longer rely on the help of the members of the extended family as the members' responsibilities are now often confined to the immediate family. Such changes are illustrated by the first two cases we have discussed.

Let us take the case of the girl who left the rural area in search of her elder sister in town who forced her to become a prostitute. For this girl her cause for entering prostitution was that her parents died when they did and she had no responsible elder sister. This is an illustration of how the concept of the extended family has lost both its meaning and role. If this girl lived during the time when the traditional society was still effective, after her parents died the responsibility of looking after her would have fallen on any of her numerous 'fathers', 'mother', sisters, cousins, aunts or uncles. This could have been possible because the titles of father and mother were not confined to ones male or female parent. As K. Kaunda (1968, P7), pointed out:

These are not just courtesy titles. With the title 'father', for example, goes all the responsibility of parenthood and in return all the fathers receive filial

devotion. Hence no child in a traditional society is likely to be orphaned. Should his leteral parents die, then others automatically assume the responsibility for his upbringing.

We can see therefore that if the extended family system was still as operational as before this girl would not have become a prostitute because in the first instance it is more likely that she would not have left home in search of her immediate elder sister. Even after being chased away by the elder sister, the young sister would have survived on her own without entering prostitution because in traditional society money was not as crucial as it is today where almost everything has to be bought with money. It is for this reason that in order to survive or to get what she needed, this girl had to turn to prostitution.

A similar link between prostitution and the break up of the extended family system can be established even in the case of a girl who had to look after her old mother and her two children. As already pointed out the responsibility of looking after old people in traditional society was not the duty of their off springs only; it was a collective responsibility. The same was true of children. So after the girl was divorced (divorced because of the money economy in the sense that the husband wanted to marry some one who could contribute financially to the upkeep of the home) it would not have been necessary that the girl turn to prostitution because the responsibility of looking after her old mother and the two children would not have been hers only. Others would have shared it with her. But because this is no more she turned to prostitution.

The case of the girl who left her earlier work because she did not like it and because she wanted to be a boss on her own introduces a new element in our discussion of the consequences of

social change. We have already noted that this girl comes from a rich family but decided to go to Copperbelt in order to have more freedom. This kind of behaviour is indicative of the loss of parental grip over their children as the latter search for more and more personal freedom especially among the womenfolk who had no such freedom in traditional society. The search for personal freedom is characterized by rebellion against traditional norms such as obedience to ones parents. This girl under discussion does not want to get married - something which was almost unheard of in traditional society where marriage was a sacred institution. It is also true however that another contributory factor to the girl's decision to enter prostitution was the search for job satisfaction which she found lacking in her first career. This last point emphasizes the fact that there is no single cause of prostitution at all.

The case of the fourth girl seems to be a little more complicated but the following can be inferred: Firstly we see in this girl that she does not like children - again this was almost unheard of in traditional society where children were highly valued because they were a longtime investment and an asset in old age. In modern society children have come to be regarded as a liability because of the expenses involved in bringing them up. It is also clear that one of the major reasons why this girl turned to prostitution is that she seems to be over sexed. In psychology this kind of girl can be called a nympholeptomaniac which simply means a girl with an uncontrollable sexual desire. It is possible that such type of women existed even in traditional society but because of the way that particular society was organized it was difficult for such desires to be expressed as they are today. However because of the permisiveness of modern society people are able to express almost all sorts of urges, desires, feelings etc.

CONCLUSION

The transformation of traditional or communal society has led to the erosion of certain basic institutions, norms and value systems. At societal level we see that whereas traditional society was an inclusive society modern society is an exclusive one (K.D Kaunda, 1967). In traditional society the responsibility of looking after the poor, the old and the children was the responsibility of almost the entire extended family. As K.D. kaunda (1967), pointed out, with the modifications within the extended family system without alternative societal mechanisms to take over its functions, the responsibilities of looking after the children who have no parents, the old, the orphaned etc. create societal strains and leave those affected without guaranteed support. This situation **compels** some individuals to take up methods which the society may not consider to be appropriate in neting their goals or ends. It is because of this that some women turn to prostitution. This does not mean that prostitution is the only alternative to them but because this is what they consider to be the best of all alternatives. Others do so as a rebellion against traditional norms and they are able to succeed because of the "permissiveness" of modern society.

METHODS OF OPERATION

The focus of this Chapter will be on the methods of operation used by bar prostitutes, hotel prostitutes and street walkers as well as those of their customers. Also to be discussed will be forms of solicitation, home preference and specialties.

Generally speaking Zambia has three types of prostitutes i.e those who operate mainly from public bars, those who operate from hotels and those who walk streets. The majority of prostitutes fall under the first category followed by those in the second category. Street walking is not very widespread in Zambia and is confined mainly to streets near hotels especially in Lusaka. In Zambia there are no call girls.

BAR PROSTITUTES

Unlike the bar prostitute in other countries, a Zambian prostitute, on average, does not engage herself in overt solicitation. In other words her type of solicitation is very subtle and takes many forms among which are the following: One method is for a prostitute to approach the man of her interest and ask for a beer or cigarette if the man happens to be smoking. This normally happens if all attempts to attract the man's attention fail. In asking for a beer a prostitute is more likely to say either, "but some men are mean. Ever since you came in this bar you have just been drinking alone as if there are no women around," or "brother would you mind buying me a beer?" Now depending on whether or not the man is interested he will or will not buy her a beer. For an experienced customer, a request for a beer by a woman is enough to tell him that formalities called for in conventional courtship are not necessary. A request for a beer is an indirect way by which a woman tells a man that she is interested in him. If (often it happens)

the man is still in doubts as to the woman's intention, such doubts will be carried away by the kind of introduction the woman will give should any of her friends happen to come nearby. The usual introduction is for the woman to say to her friend, "mwana come and greet your mulamu (brother in law)." After asking for and being given a beer, it is always the rule that the woman joins the man who has offered her a beer. When the man is ready to go he tells the woman, "let us go now" and in the majority of cases the immediate answer is, "where?" We shall have occasion to examine home preference later on. What is of our immediate concern is to note that depending on what arrangements have been made the two will leave. It is important to point out that the majority of bar prostitutes do not want to leave the bar until they are drunk.

Another form of solicitation employed by some bar prostitutes is simply sitting directly opposite the man a woman is interested in and make sure that the man realizes somebody is interested in him. This message is conveyed to the man by staring at him intently and smiling everytime their eyes meet. This non verbal communication is very common among bar prostitutes. The meaning of the stare and smile is very clear to an experienced customer. Should staring and smiling continue the man knows what to do next; either he will call the girl to join him or he himself will join the girl. In places where people dance the stare and smile technique is not necessary because in such places all the woman does is to keep on asking the man of her interest for a dance ^{every} ~~any~~ time a song plays. If the man takes long to indicate to the woman that he has understood her message, she will hold him by the waist pretending to be very drunk. At this point the majority of experienced customers realize what the woman is after. Should this technique fail (it rarely does) some

prostitutes will whisper the following words into the man's ears, "I love you darling." At this juncture even a new convert to prostitution knows what the woman wants. In crowded places some prostitutes will deliberately slip their fingers into those of a man they want, withdraw them quickly then with an inviting broad smile, will say, "I am sorry darling." Alternatively, some prostitutes brush against a man's front in a very suggestive way, look in the man's eyes and then apologise with such an inviting smile as to leave no doubts in the man's mind as to the woman's intention.

The last technique is very important as it throws some light on the nature of social relationships prostitutes have with each other. It is indicative of the type of mistrust, rivalry and competitiveness characteristic of Zambian prostitution. If a prostitute is interested in a man who happens to be in the company of another woman, she will try to do all she can in order to discredit the other woman by saying a lot of things about her. For example, she will wait until the other girl has gone to the toilet then she will approach the man and inform him, as an act of good will, that the other girl is diseased or that she is a widow who has not been cleaned yet. These accusations are very effective in putting off a man. What is interesting to note is that such accusations are blatant lies as they are aimed at snatching away the man from the other girl. This motive is confirmed by the woman's willingness to go with the man if asked. Such rivalry and competitiveness does not exist among non friends only; even between friends. If you are sitting with two prostitutes who are friends and both of them happen to be interested in you, both of them in the friend's absence, will try to discredit the other in numerous conceivable ways. For example the friend could tell you that the

clothes the friend is wearing are hers or borrowed from another person, that she sleeps on the floor, she is a thief who steals her customers money, she wets her bed or anything that will discourage you. This kind of rivalry and competitiveness is a common characteristic of various relationships in which ones success depends largely on his/her ability to out do the other person. The commercial element involved in prostitution accounts for the existence of rivalry mistrust, cheating and competitiveness that characterize prostitution.

Bar prostitutes are not difficult to identify. One of their identifying characteristics is that, inspite of being competitive they rarely move singly: they always move in a group of two or three. If a woman is sitting alone in a bar then she is either not a prostitute, a new prostitute in town who has made no friends as yet or a prostitutes waiting for some one. Real business for bar prostitutes starts after 17.00 hours and this is due to a number of reasons. The first one is that the majority of them drink so much beer that they go home very late and tend to sleep most of the day. By the time they wake up, wash and eat what ever there is to eat most of the day will have been spent. The most important reason why business starts after 17.00 hours is that it is mainly after that hour that many people knock off from work and start drinking. During week ends business starts very early as soon as bars are opened.

In these bars men outnumber women. This means that in most cases it is not necessary for a woman to solicit as there is high demand for women among men. This accounts for the fact that even if a woman has agreed to go with a man it is not always certain that she will do so when the time comes to leave the bar

despite the fact that alot of money might have been spent on entertaining her. She can leave with another man if she so wishes. This is one reason why most customers do not trust prostitutes. Once you get one and you really want to go with her you have to keep a constant watch on her. Such kind of behaviour is not uncommon in a seller-buyer relationship. Sometimes a prostitute, since she has a marketable commodity which is in high demand, tries to sell her commodity to maximize profit. In most cases prostitutes do not take into account the money a man spends in buying them beer. They consider such expenditure as mere inducement so that she can become interested and not a guarantee that she will accept the man.

THE BAR PROSTITUTES' CUSTOMERS

As already stated, in Zambia it is mainly the man who solicits a woman. There are two types of solicitation i.e. direct and indirect. In direct solicitation a man simply approaches a woman of his interest and asks her if she would be interested in his company and if she answers in the affirmative then the two pair up and in most cases they will leave together. Another direct method is simply telling a woman that "I want to sleep with you." This is what some prostitutes call frank talk and such prostitutes prefer men with frank talk than those who use conventional courtship. The latter is regarded as a sign of amaturism on the part of the man. Another technique is to offer a woman a beer and if she accepts it then she accepts the man's intentions. It is like a woman requesting for a beer from a man. The intentions are clear to experienced customers.

One indirect way of soliciting among men, especially by those who have no courage to propose a prostitute, is to impress all the

women around by the display of the money one has. Quite often this is done by producing K10 or K20 notes in front of women whenever one wants to buy beer. This is done even if the man has got enough small change. It is also common for some men to impress women by revealing their social status, the countries they have visited, that they have a car etc. Such techniques are very effective in creating a favourable impression among some women.

To cut down on expenses, experienced men wait until its about time to close the bar or late in the night before they start soliciting women. The main reason for this is that it is generally believed that prostitutes in Zambia are among the most tough-tasted drinkers who can swallow large quantities of beer with very little signs that they have been drinking. It is the practice among the Zambian prostitutes that immediately the woman acquires a customer she stops buying her own drinks. Even if the woman was drinking soft drinks, when she gets a customer, she changes to beer and in most cases she is very reluctant to leave the bar until she is drunk. It is for this reason that some men wait until its late then they will start soliciting. Another reason for waiting is that some men find it difficult to approach a woman when they are sober and as a result they need a few drinks in order that they muster some courage to approach a woman.

HOTEL PROSTITUTES AND THEIR CUSTOMERS

As pointed out in the introduction, hotel prostitutes constitute a small group of prostitutes compared to bar prostitutes. There are very few areas in which hotel prostitutes differ from bar prostitutes. In some leading hotels e.g. Pamodzi, Savoy, Intercontinental and Edinburgh un accompanied girls are not allowed to enter and as a result it is common to find women waiting for men to take them in.

This is more like open solicitation. It is very unlikely that a prostitute who asks a man to take her in will change to another man. It sometimes happens however that upon entering the hotel, the woman ends up with a different man.

One feature which distinguishes bar prostitutes from hotel prostitutes is the latter's preference for whites e.g Greeks, Italians and other foreigners e.g Senegalese. The reason for this preference is two fold. Firstly these foreigners tend to give prostitutes alot of money. It is for this reason that some Zambian prostitutes consider Zambian men as mean since they are not prepared to give out alot of money. Secondly some hotel prostitutes hope that once these foreigners leave the country they will leave them some of their property e.g a car, furniture etc. It is largely due to this hope that hotel prostitutes try to establish permanent relationships with their customers. Some of these prostitutes hope, even against the weight of experience, that they will marry one of these foreigners in the end.

Solicitation ranges from direct to indirect solicitation.

Directly, as the Zambia Daily Mail (July, 9, 1981) points out;

These women approach the guests offering to provide them with a good time in exchange for several Kwacha which broken, on average down thus: K20 for risk against pregnancy, another K20 for risk against disease and K30 for entertainment.

It is true that such charges are not always true but one thing is evident and that is that hotel prostitutes make relatively more money compared to bar prostitutes. This as already pointed out is possible because of the nature of their customers. Indirect solicitation involves blinking at a man until the message is conveyed to the man. Others just sit patiently waiting for an interested man to approach them. Unlike bar prostitutes hotel prostitutes are

ready to leave the place should the customer demand so. It is important to add also that in terms of drinks, hotel prostitutes, on average, prefer spirits, probably in order to add more to their 'sophistication'.

Another feature which differentiates an average bar prostitute from an average hotel prostitute is that for the latter it is essential to know English as some of the customers are foreigners. Because of this hotel prostitutes tend to be relatively more educated than bar prostitutes. As the Zambia Daily Mail (already quoted) pointed out;

Surprisingly enough, it is not only those who have failed to make it in life that patronize hotels, but even the educated women, some of them working with very responsible positions.

The hotel prostitutes, on average tend to be better dressed than bar prostitutes who tend to be poorly dressed. It is very common to find among bar prostitutes, some with worn-out and dirty tropical sandals, cheap bata shoes and dressed in clothes of cheap quality.

The distinction between bar and hotel prostitutes is not very rigid and there is no clear-cut boundary between the two groups. Sometimes hotel prostitutes operate from bars and bar prostitutes from hotels. There seems, however, to be more upward than downward mobility in prostitution. When a bar prostitute has acquired some sophistication in terms of dressing, there is a tendency to start patronizing hotels. Downward mobility seems to be very rare and takes place mainly as a result of age when the woman's marketability value dwindles.

Street walking, as pointed out earlier on is very rare in Zambia. There are however some places where prostitutes walk along streets looking for interested men. Usually the customers of such prostitutes are men with cars. Such prostitutes are willing to be taken almost anywhere and enjoy themselves. Since

street walking is the newest form of prostitution, it provides good ground for research. As it is very little is known about street walkers.

HOME PREFERENCE

This Section examines home preference of prostitutes. The majority of prostitutes interviewed preferred the customer's home to theirs. A number of reasons were given for this preference. The common reason given was that they stay with relatives, Children or friends. As already pointed out many prostitutes interviewed had at least one child staying with them and they felt taking different men to their homes was destructive to their children, especially daughters. One respondent said "I would not like my daughters to know how I earn a living other wise they grow up to become what I am". Others argued that it gives a bad impression to neighbours if they always see you with a different man, so they prefer to go to men's homes. This finding serves to show that among prostitutes there are some who are responsible mothers and who care about their public image. Another implication of this finding is that some prostitutes do not like their profession.

Among other reasons given by prostitutes who do not want to take customers to their homes was to avoid possible collisions among men. Some prostitutes have a chain of boy/men friends who occasionally provide for their upkeep, some buy them food, clothes and others take care of entertainment. In order not to lose any one or all of them they make sure that when they have a new customer they would rather he did not know where they stay. These temporary relationships operate like ordinary friendships. The boy/men friends do not have to pay for sex each time they want to have it.

Although no prostitute among those interviewed said it openly, one of the reasons some prostitutes do not take customers to their homes is the way they live. In spite of the sophistication they present to the public, some prostitutes live under very poor conditions: no mats, sheets etc and they would not like customers to know about it. Another reason is that some prostitutes in order to impress their customers do not want to be associated with certain residential areas e.g shanty compounds so they tell their customers, that they stay somewhere else. Should a customer propose to go with them where they stay, such prostitutes use different types of excuses e.g "I stay with my parents; I am married etc " are used.

Not all prostitutes prefer going to the customer's home. There are others who prefer to take customers to their homes. One of the reasons is that these prostitutes have nice homes which they are proud of and feel they have no one to inconvenience. But there are others who do not care about what impression they create to their neighbours or relatives. As one prostitute commented; "Everybody knows that I am finished, so why should I care. It is my own body I use." Among prostitutes there are those who want to show their customers that in spite of or because of being prostitutes they are able to maintain their homes as good as any one else. This they feel will enhance their chances of being given more money. They believe that a man who sees that they have good and expensive household items will feel shy to give them little money.

One reason some prostitutes take men to their homes is to ensure that they get money from men. Some of the methods used to get money cannot be used if the prostitute is at the customer's home. For example, some prostitutes resort to the confiscation of the man's property if the required amount of money is not paid.

Many customers have had their items like wrist watches, jackets registration cards etc confiscated until they have paid the required amount. Other prostitutes threaten customers with beating from mishanga boys or other crooks. Actually some men have fallen victims to beatings organized by prostitutes most of whom have friends among different crooks they stay with in the same areas. It is very normal for people who are despised by society to form alliances among themselves even if such alliances are not consciously formed.

These techniques used to ensure payment cannot be used by a prostitute if she is at the customer's home or somewhere else. Many customers of prostitutes are aware of the methods employed by prostitutes and as a result they are reluctant to go with a prostitute to her home unless they are very drunk or they know the prostitute very well, where she stays, who **her friends** are, her favourite drinking places and who she stays with. Among those who go to customers' homes, there have been instances where by a prostitute has refused to leave the customer's house until she has been paid the 'correct' amount . One customer explained how after taking a prostitute to his home when the wife was away, the prostitute refused to leave the house early in the morning because the man did not give her the amount of ~~money~~ ~~of money~~ they had agreed upon. Unfortunately for the man, this was the day when the wife returned home. This experience, the respondent explained, made him stop engaging the services of prostitutes. Another man explained how he was insulted by a prostitute in front of his neighbours when he failed to pay K20.00 for the services. The prostitute's language was so obscene and embarrassing that he had to borrow money from his neighbour to pay the prostitute. Other prostitutes, if they know the wife of the man who fails to pay them, simply go to the wife and tell her that her husband had slept with her

(prostitute) but had failed to pay her. This sometimes leads to fights between the wife and the prostitute. Sometimes it leads to marital strains or even divorce, but some married women do not regard prostitutes as rivals to their marriages.

"QUICKIES"

In researching into the methods of operation we also inquire which of the two alternatives i.e quickie and overnight prostitutes is preferred and for what reasons. A quickie refers to sexual intercourse performed over a short period of time while an overnight means the prostitute spends the whole night with the customer.

Generally, quickie is a method preferred by prostitutes who operate near where they stay and this is common in compounds. These prostitutes rent houses in which they stay, often two or more women stay in one house, each with her own room. Prostitutes who go for quickies prefer drinking in bars which are within walking distance. If she gets a customer the fee is agreed upon in advance before the woman agrees to take the man home. Unlike overnight methods the money has to be paid before actual sexual intercourse. Often when leaving the bar the two leave and return to the bar separately. This is important to the prostitute's business. Prostitutes are aware that not many Zambian men, unless they are drunk, are willing to go with a woman who, a few minutes ago, was with another man, having sexual intercourse. This is regarded as dirty especially since most prostitutes do not wash after sexual intercourse. When they reach the woman's house, the money, if it was not settled in the bar, has to be paid before the woman can get into bed with the man. There is a psychological technique used by prostitutes to induce men to pay the money should they happen to be reluctant to do so. When the two enter the house the woman takes off all her

clothes and stands naked in front of the man with lights on, stretches out her hand and demand payment. This technique is said to be very effective in inducing men to pay. It is veryrare, as one prostitute pointed out, for a sexually normal man to resist paying you money after seeing you naked unless he has no money. It is more or less like putting a cup of water to the mouth of a man about to die of thirst and asking him to pay before you can release water into his mouth. The prostitutes who use this method are unlikely to give in to the man whatever his pleas or promises might be without payment. There is no sexual intercourse offered on credit. The money has to be paid first and goods will then be delivered. In Zambia, it is probably among those who prefer quickies that one is more likely to find the conventional prostitute who, while her 'lover' pants and groans upon her chest, she can count rafters in the roof, smoke, sing, tell stories and urge the customer to come quickly so that he does not waste her business time. This display of lack of emotional involvement on the part of the prostitute is further manifested in her refusal to allow the customer (who so wishes) to have another round of sexual intercourse unless the same fee as before is paid. It is also among this group where there are prostitutes whose main interest in a man is his money. Some prostitutes argued that the reason for preferring quickies is that some men are so un appealing that to agree to spend the whole night with them is an ordeal. But for their money the prostitutes do not mind having a few minutes with them.

Whatever reasoning is there for preferring quickies one thing is obvious and that is that those who prefer them make relatively more money than others. For example, on average, a bar prostitute who prefer a quickie, charges a minimum of K5.00 per each act.

For hotel prostitutes the money is even more as it may range from K20.00 to even K50.00 or more. If she is very attractive and can attract alot of men, she can sleep with at least 4 men and be able to make approximately K20.00 (for a bar prostitute) or K80.00 - K100.00 (for a hotel prostitute). This amount of money, especially for bar prostitutes, is not easily obtained among those who go for overnights; not many men are willing to part with this amount of money after sleeping with a woman for only one night. On the average the maximum money a male is prepared to pay for an overnight is K10.00

Quickies are not confined to houses only. It is not uncommon of quickies to be performed in the bush, at the back seat of a car or in a rented room. The last one is very common among hotel prostitutes. Married women are more likely to have a quickie in the bush, in a car or in a rented room. The extent of such types of quickie was difficult to determine in this study as most prostitutes interviewed said they regarded sexual intercourse in a car or in the bush as debasing and that only those who are completely 'finished' could engage in them. Inspite of these views there are men who prefer quickies and these are mainly those who have cars and/or are married which means they cannot take a woman home or sleep out away from home. It is also true that unmarried men without their own houses are more likely to prefer quickies. Also hotel residents e.g. tourists are more likely to go for quickies. In terms of stages in the career it appears as if prostitutes start with overnights if circumstances allow, and then gradually they turn to quickies as they become to realize that they can make more money that way. In terms of the types of prostitutes identified in this paper hotel prostitutes and street walkers prefer quickies to overnights more than bar prostitutes. However more investigation is

required in order to support this asser~~tion~~tion.

OVERNIGHTS

Ironically there are some prostitutes who prefer overnights because they believe they can make more money through this method than through quickies. The reasoning behind this is that if you have the whole night with a customer and you give him good time he will give you alot of money. We need further investigation among customers to determine whether the amount of money one is ready to pay a prostitute is a function of the amount of satisfaction derived from intercourse with a prostitute. Another reason for prefering overnight to a quickie is that since the majority of prostitutes interviewed hoped to find a future husband through prostititutional contacts they believe that a woman who goes for a quickie stands a very slim chance of finding a husband among her customers since men regard such women as completely "finished". Still other prostitutes argued that it is not possible to have complete sexual satisfaction in a quickie since the time is limited.

CONCLUSION

Although the foregoing discussion does not exhaust all the possible methods of operation employed by prostitutes it is evident that on average, the type of prostitution in Zambia is an incipient one i.e it is just in the making. Evidence for this comes from the analysis of the methods of operation used by bar prostitutes who constitute the largest section of Zambian prostitutes. As already pointed out, even after getting a customer the majority of prostitutes would like to drink first before leaving the bar not knowing that this, in a way, will reduce the amount of money a customer can give them. Further more in the majority of cases the amount of money

to be paid is not agreed upon in advance except in the case of those who prefer quickies. A person on business does not normally combine work with enjoyment yet this is exactly what bar prostitutes do. They spend most of their time drinking instead of making money. Another evidence for the conclusion that most of Zambian prostitution is incipient comes from the fact that it is not organized at all. Each prostitute works **alone** - there are no agencies involved. However, it is true also that there are some full fledged or professional prostitutes in Zambia who go out strictly for business. Such prostitutes are mainly found among hotel prostitutes. As we pointed out earlier on many hotel prostitutes are ready to abandon drinking should they get a customer.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE PROSTITUTES CUSTOMERS

A total of 36 customers and ex-customers were studied. 19 were customers and 17 ex-customers at the time of the interview. 11 of the 19 clients were single and 8 married. Out of those who were single 76% said they had steady girl friends when they were interviewed. Only 4 out of 19 customers had no permanent sexual partners. Out of 17 ex-customers 8 were single and 9 married (see table III)

TABLE III

MARITAL STATUS OF RESPONDENTS

MARITAL STATUS	CUSTOMERS	EX-CUSTOMERS	TOTAL
SINGLE	11	8	19
MARRIED	8	9	17
TOTAL	19	17	36

The table above shows that almost as many single as married men interviewed engage the services of prostitutes.

Out of those interviewed 53% were aged between 26 and 30; about 11% between 31 and 35; 25% between 21 and 26; about 11% over 35 and none was under 20 years of age. Out of the 19 respondents who were customers 68% were between 26 and 30; about 6% between 21 and 25; about 3% between 31 and 35; about 8% over 35 and none was under 20 years old (see table IV). It is clear from table IV that the mode of customers who were interviewed falls between 26 and 30 years.

Responses to the question of what their feelings on prostitution are indicated that the majority of them (about 67%) felt that prostitution was a good thing inspite of its attendant problems. 50% of the 36 respondents agreed that some women enter prostitution in order to earn a living. This is in contrast to those who attributed entry into prostitution to inequalities in society (about 17%); love for

luxuries (almost 14%); lack of morals (almost 6%) capitalism (about 3%); poor upbringing (about 6%) and to the fact that prostitution was a well paying job.

TABLE IV

AGE GROUP OF RESPONDENTS

AGE GROUP	CUSTOMERS	EX-CUSTOMERS	TOTAL
15 - 20	0	0	0
21 - 25	2	7	9
26 - 30	13	6	19
31 - 35	1	3	4
35+	3	1	4
TOTAL	19	17	36

From table V it is clear that the majority of respondents interviewed indicated that the desire to satisfy the sexual appetite was the main reason why they engage the services of prostitutes. This is conventional wisdom. It is for this reason that other reasons e.g variety, drunkenness, curiosity, lack of courage to approach 'decent' women, lack of responsibilities etc. become important. These are not contradictory reasons since they can and do influence a person at the same time. We shall briefly comment on two reasons only i.e lack of responsibilities and lack of courage. The reason for commenting only on these two stems from the fact that they seem to be incongruent with the findings of this study.

One respondent who gave the no responsibilities explanation argued that prostitutes do not become pregnant because they sleep with alot of men. This is based on the principle that grass does not grow on side walks or that a field which is ploughed too often does not yield any harvest. From the present study's findings there is no

evidence to support this. In fact our findings contradict this. As we saw earlier on the majority of the prostitutes interviewed had at least one child. It is important to note also that the fact that it is rare to find a prostitute pregnant or to find one accusing a man of having impregnated her does not in any way mean that prostitutes are infertile. It is very likely that all this does not happen because to begin with, since a prostitute sleeps with many men in a short time it is difficult for her to know which one of them is responsible for her pregnancy. Furthermore, since the majority of prostitutes have no other means to earn a living apart from through prostitution, it is very likely that once pregnant a prostitute will abort because pregnancy for nine months means no business and no business means no food. Another explanation is that most prostitutes use precautions against pregnancy. What the above means is that while it is true it is very rare for a prostitute to become pregnant and/or accuse a man of being responsible, to jump from this fact to the assertion that prostitutes cannot become pregnant is erroneous and it is not backed by empirical findings.

TABLE V

REASONS FOR ENGAGING THE SERVICES OF PROSTITUTE

REASON	RESPONDENTS	% OF TOTAL
To satisfy the sexual appetite	21	58.3
No responsibilities	4	11.11
Drunkness	3	3.33
Variety	3	9.33
Lack of courage	2	5.56
Cheapness	1	2.78
Curiosity	2	5.56
TOTAL	36	100.00

The respondents who said they patronize prostitutes, because they have no courage to approach 'decent' women who appeal to them, argued like so many people do, that a prostitute is ready to sleep with any man whether or not she likes him provided he has money. This statement is not always true as our findings indicate that in some cases a prostitute may still retain her prerogative to choose who to sleep with. This is possible because nearly every where they operate there is a high demand for prostitutes, this enables them to choose their customers. In general a prostitute is only interested in money but in Zambia this is not true for every prostitute.

Responses to legal status of prostitution show that 50% favoured legalizing it and introducing compulsory regular medical check ups for prostitutes in order to combat venereal diseases: 19.4% were for eliminating socio economic inequalities in society; about 5% for abolishing capitalism; another 5% for prohibition and about 8% for changing the public attitude towards prostitution. 11% indicated that prostitution should be left to its own devices. (see table VI)

TABLE VI

MEASURES ADVOCATED BY MALE PARTICIPANTS

MEASURES ADVOCATED	RESPONDENTS	% OF TOTAL
Leave it	4	11.11
Change public attitude	3	8.33
Legalize it	18	50.00
Eliminate inequalities in society	7	19.44
Abolish capitalism	2	5.56
Prohibit it	2	5.56
TOTAL	36	100.00

Responses in table VI show that there is strong support, among customers, for legalizing prostitution.

When the same group of people were asked whether they would like any of their female relatives to become prostitutes their responses no longer indicate a favourable attitude towards prostitution. (see table VII)

TABLE VII

RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION: "WOULD YOU LIKE ANY OF YOUR FEMALE RELATIVES TO BECOME PROSTITUTES?"

RESPONSE	RESPONDENTS	%
Yes	0	0
No	27	75
Depends on circumstances	9	25
TOTAL	36	100

Table VII shows that out of the 36 customers and ex-customers 75% answered that they would not like any of their relatives to become prostitutes and 25% said it depends on circumstance. None answered in the affirmative.

NON-PARTICIPANTS

Of the 30 persons in this group who were interviewed 16 were males and 14 were female, 17 were single and 13 were married. Of 17 who were not married 15 had steady girl/boy friends and only 2 had no steady sexual partners.

One third of the respondents attributed entry into prostitution by some women to the need to earn a living. The rest attributed it to love for luxuries (about 23%); lack of morals (about 13%); poor upbringing (about 7%); bad company (about 17%); deep frustrations (3%);

and broken marriages (3%). Whereas about 44% of the males interviewed attributed the cause of prostitution to the need to earn a living, out of the 14 females interviewed almost 43% attributed it to love for luxuries.

Unlike the customers most of the non-participants (about 73%) did not approve of prostitution. Out of those who did not approve, about 45% felt that prostitution has to be eradicated at all cost and about 55% were of the opinion that although it was a bad thing prostitution was difficult to eliminate. The rest of the 30 interviewed 25% expressed no opinion and the rest were of the opinion that it was necessary to society.

Responses to what their opinions were of those who patronize prostitutes revealed that about 23% were of the opinion that patronizers of prostitutes enabled prostitutes to earn a living and about 86% of these were males: 25% felt that prostitution was not good for married men while the other 25% were of the opinion that those who patronize prostitutes lack morals. 13% regarded patronizers of prostitutes as irresponsible; about 7% felt they were useless characters; 3% regarded them as people who just spread venereal diseases and another 3% felt that only those who were disappointed with their wives or girl friends patronize prostitutes. The other 10% were of the opinion that it was alright as long as one protected himself against venereal diseases. We can see from the above that most of the non-participants did not have a positive attitude towards those who engage the services of prostitutes and most of these were married respondents. There were no significant differences among non-participants in their responses to various questions in terms of age and education.

There are marked differences between the measures advocated by non-participants and those advocated by participants. Tables

VI (showing the customers' responses) and VII (showing non-participants) show this.

TABLE VIII

MEASURES ADVOCATED BY NON-PARTICIPANTS

MEASURE ADVOCATED	RESPONDENTS	% OF TOTAL
Leave it	0	0
Change public attitude	7	23.3
Legalize it	4	13.3
Prohibit it	18	60.0
Eliminate inequalities in society	1	3.3
Abolish capitalism	0	
TOTAL	30	100*

It is very evident from table VIII that whereas only about 13% were for legalizing prostitution the majority i.e. 60% were for prohibiting it. This is in sharp contrast to responses given by participants 50% of who were for legalizing prostitution. It is also evident from tables VI and VIII that whereas only one person among the non-participants advocated eliminating inequalities in society which were considered to be the cause of entry into prostitution 7 (19%) of the customers and ex-customers advocated this measure.

Answers to the question, "would you like any of your female relatives to become prostitutes?" show that, like the participants i.e. prostitutes and their customers, the majority of non-participants answered in the negative. This is clear from table IX which shows the answers given by non-participants.

* Rounded up

TABLE IX

NON-PARTICIPANTS' RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION:
"WOULD YOU LIKE ANY OF YOUR FEMALE RELATIVES
TO BECOME PROSTITUTES?"

RESPONSE	RESPONDENTS	%
Yes	0	
No	26	86.6
Depends	4	13.4
TOTAL	30	100

It is clear from table IX that whereas 86.6% answered that they would not like any of their female relatives to become prostitutes, only 13.4% said this depended on circumstances and none answered in the affirmative.

CONCLUSION

From our discussion of participants and non-participants the following conclusions can be drawn. The first one is that the majority of those who patronize prostitutes fall between 26 and 30 years of age. Evidence for this comes from our findings that out of 19 respondents who were customers at the time of the interview 68% fell within that age bracket. Another conclusion is that participation in prostitution on the part of men does not depend on whether or not one has a sexual partner. As we saw only 4 of the customers interviewed were single in the real sense of having no sexual partner and the rest had such partners. We can infer from this that marriage does not seem to be a powerful force in deterring men from engaging the services of prostitutes. Further evidence for this is provided by the finding that out of a total of 9 ex-customers who were married at the time of the interview only one

said he had stopped patronizing prostitutes because he got married and the rest attributed their decision to the realization that the habit of patronizing prostitutes was morally wrong (4) and that it was a risk to their health (4).

A third conclusion is that, by and large, those who do not take part in prostitution have a negative attitude towards it as well as towards those who take part in it. It is also evident from our discussion that in spite of the fact that they participate in prostitution the participants, both the prostitutes and their customers, would not like any of their relatives or those very close to them to take part in it. The conclusion we can draw from this is that there are certain activities in which people engage even though they do not enjoy it and would not recommend it to their relatives.

PROSTITUTION AND VENEREAL DISEASES

Many writers on the subject of prostitution have asserted that there is a high and positive correlation between prostitution and venereal diseases. For example, according to the United Nations International Review of Criminal Policy No. 13 of October 1958 it was argued that very few cases of venereal disease are caught from sources other than prostitution. Sanger (1972, P22), a well known authority on prostitution wrote:

It is no longer necessary to prove that syphilitic faint is propagated by the direct agency of prostitution. That fact has been demonstrated years ago.

M.A. Elliot and E.M. Francis, (1961, P174), made a similar assertion by saying:

Prostitution is the major source of venereal diseases. This is one of the major reasons for the campaigns against prostitution.

The above are not the only ones who have asserted that there is a positive correlation between prostitution and venereal diseases.

There are many others like E.M. Cole and H.M. Milner (1965) who have argued that the visibility of prostitution is enhanced by the fact that prostitution is closely associated with the incidence of venereal diseases.

Of late sexually transmitted diseases have become a national issue on which private citizens, medical experts and the government (Times of Zambia, Friday July 30, 1982) have expressed their views and numerous suggestions as to how best to deal with the problem have been advanced. Special Clinics to treat only venereal diseases have been established. What has prompted this interest in this type of disease is the fact that the growth rate of the venereal diseases in Zambia has been unparalleled. In all arguments, be they from

private citizens, medical experts or the government (Times of Zambia already cited) the incidence of venereal diseases is often attributed to indiscriminate sexual indulgence which is used as a synonym for prostitution.

Although there are over ten different types of venereal diseases syphilis and gonorrhea are the most common ones and of the two syphilis is the more serious. This is because if left untreated for a long time it gives rise to insanity, blindness, impotence, infertility and ultimately death. According to existing medical evidence once syphilis becomes constitutional even modern anti biotics cannot cure it. According to Elliot and Merril, (1961) syphilis is more common among men than women who are mostly affected by gonorrhea. According to the two writers many surgical operations carried out on women are necessitated by the infection of gonorrhea. Because it is milder than syphilis, gonorrhea is very difficult to detect.

The negative consequences of sexually transmitted diseases affect not only those who are directly involved in sexual intercourse but even innocent victims, especially children, are affected. They may inherit it from their parents. At the time of writing the Ministry of Health is carrying out a survey to determine the extent of congenital syphilis among women and children in Zambia. What has prompted this survey is the reported high incidence of congenital syphilis among pregnant mothers who give birth to still born babies or infected children. According to reports from the Ministry of Health, about 30 percent of new born babies admitted to sexually transmitted diseases clinics in the country, suffer from congenital syphilis. Emphasizing the point on congenital syphilis A.M. Elliot and Merril (1961, P174), had this to say:

Many syphilitic fetuses are born dead and of those born alive many are blind or have hearing or some other loathsome physical defects.

We can see from the above picture that even if we decided to be so harsh as to declare venereal diseases as wages of sin or as the avenging plague which God mets out on sexually indiscriminate people as punishment for a special sin, the fact that such sin or punishment affects even innocent ones demands, nay, commands that greater attention be paid to this issue. After all in the final analysis we see that reticence or indifference will only result in a loss for the entire society. As Sanger (1972, P24), says:

Private interest demands this investigation on mere private grounds; the individual and personal expenses caused by the disease. There is the money a working man has to pay for his cure. this is his share of the loss. There is the unproductive time and the loss of profit upon his labour: this is the employers' sacrifice. There is the deprivation of comforts and necessities experienced by his family and dependants: this is their penalty. Society is thus involved in a general loss on account of an act of folly or passion, or crime (call it which you please) committed in a concealed and secret haunt and such loss could be saved by the intervention of proper means.

Because of the alleged link between prostitution and venereal disease this research tests the existence of such link in Zambia. This is important in the light of the consequences of the diseases as outlined earlier. In order to ascertain whether or not the link is there figures were collected from the University Teaching Hospital, Ndola Central Hospital and figures for Kabwe and Kitwe were obtained from newspapers reports. Also prostitutes and their customers were interviewed in order to determine the amount of infection with venereal diseases among them.

The amount of sexually transmitted diseases in any society is never known for a number of reasons. One of them is that not all who have it are ready and willing to confess it either because they may not realize that they have it or because they are shy to do so because of the social stigma attached to it (Newspapers in Zambia call the disease shame disease). The other reason is that the diseased may and usually prefer to be treated somewhere else where figures are difficult to obtain e.g. private medical practitioners or traditional herblists. As one medical officer pointed out the majority of victims prefer to be treated by private medical practitioners. He also added that some of those involved held top posts and did not want to be identified with the disease.

According to figures obtained from Ndola Central Hospital, from January to December 1981 the hospital treated a total of 9,683 new cases of venereal diseases out of which 7,125 were males and 2,558 were females. From January to March 1982 for which figures were available a total of 2,227 new cases were treated out of which 1,737 were males and only 490 were females. Latest reports from the hospital (Times of Zambia , Monday 17, 1982) show that there has been a tremendous increase in the number of new cases of venereal diseases. It came to light that an average of between 70-80 new cases were being treated everyday giving us an average of between 2,100 and 2,400 new cases every month which is more than twice the monthly average for the year 1981.

Figures from the University Teaching Hospital in Lusaka indicate that a total of 9,255 new cases of venereal diseases were treated in 1981. 7,517 were males and 1,738 were females. According to the specialist in venereal diseases at the hospital the rate of increase in new cases has more than doubled for the year

1982.

From Kitwe reports are that not less than 50 new cases of the disease are treated every day.

From the figures above it is evident that venereal diseases are spreading very rapidly especially in the urban areas of Zambia. It is also clear that there are more male victims than females. This was confirmed even by the responses given by prostitutes and their customers. Table X below shows the extent of venereal infection among male participants.

TABLE X

TABLE SHOWING THE EXTENT OF VENEREAL DISEASES
INFECTION AMONG MALE PARTICIPANTS

NO OF TIMES SUFFERED	NO OF RESPONDENTS	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL
Never	8	22.2
Once	5	13.9
Twice	5	13.9
More than Twice	18	50.0
TOTAL	36	100

It is clear from table X that 77.2% of the males interviewed had been victims of one type of venereal disease or the other. 50% of all those interviewed had contracted the disease on more than two occasions.

It is interesting to note here that only 6 of the 42 prostitutes interviewed confessed having been victims of the disease. One possible explanation for this small number could be that since the interviewer was a male person who disguised himself as a customer prostitutes could not tell the truth. But this explanation does not explain why even in the figures from hospitals the number of females who go there for treatment is far less than that of males. It appears that the main explanation lies in the fact

that whereas it is possible for a man to realize that he has the disease within 5 days it takes a woman between 3 and 8 weeks to know that she is a carrier of the disease. In most cases the disease in a woman begins to show signs only after the secondary stage is attained. For example out of a total of 295 female victims who were treated for venereal diseases only 26 received treatment when the disease was in its primary stage and the rest went to the hospital when the disease had reached secondary stage. The specialist at the hospital pointed out that even in the case of the 26, discovery of the disease was accidental; the victims themselves did not know and they went to hospital for other illness. The figures above contrast sharply with these for males. Out of 465 cases, 289 reported the symptoms of the disease during its primary stage. Even the 176 who reported when the disease was in its secondary stage had seen the symptoms very early but had tried to treat the disease by other means. All the above just shows that it is possible to have very few diseased women who are capable of transmitting the disease to a lot of men quickly before they realize they are carriers of a dangerous germ. It should be added here, as a matter of information, that even after seeing the symptoms of the disease a woman, unlike a man, is still capable of having sexual intercourse with a man because it takes a woman a long time before pains can render her incapable of having sexual intercourse. This is not the case with a man. Five days or less are enough to produce such discomforts and pain in a man that sexual intercourse with a woman is almost impossible.

CONCLUSION:

One thing evident from the foregoing discussion is that as far as data from the hospital and those collected by the researcher are concerned there is no evidence that prostitution is the major

source of venereal diseases although it has been shown that the diseases are on the increase in urban Zambia. From the responses given by prostitutes themselves it is clear that there are very few prostitutes who have had the disease. As already pointed out only about 14% said they had suffered from venereal diseases before. This is as it should be if one considers the methods of operation employed by prostitutes. Most prostitutes have specific areas from which they operate and as such they would not risk the possible consequences of keeping the disease and transmitting it to customers. A prostitute who infects her customer knows quite well that the consequences are not pleasant. These usually include beatings or mere humiliation by informing all those around that she is diseased. This, if it happens will put her out of business for sometime or may lead to a change of the area of operation. In order to avoid this it is logical for prostitutes to remain as clean as possible.

On the basis of the foregoing we can conclude that at present there is no evidence to show that prostitution is the major source of venereal disease. If anything the available evidence points in the opposite direction and that is that very few prostitutes in Zambia are carriers of venereal diseases. We therefore have to look elsewhere for the causes of the high rate of increase in venereal diseases. After all there are other ways through which the disease may be transmitted other than through sexual intercourse. Sanger (1972, P669), shows this to be true when he says:

That tainted child, now a sickly nursling
at her breast, has a venom in its ulcerated
lips which can inoculate the mother with its
own loathsome poison, while it draws sustenance
from the sacred fountain of infantile life.
But this is not all. These little innocents
sometimes spread the disease through the whole
circle of those who bestow on them their care
and kindness. The contagion spreads through
the use of the same spoon, the same linen and
even by that highest token of affection, a kiss.

It has been known that a single diseased child has contaminated its mother, a hired nurse and through that nurse, the nurse's child and in addition to these the husband's mother and the mother's sister. Such are sometimes the weighty consequences of a single error.

There is need to investigate how much venereal disease is spread through means other than sexual intercourse.

CHAPTER SIX

SYNTHESIS AND CONCLUSION

From the foregoing discussion, the following things surface. The first one is that people turn to prostitution not because this is the only alternative through which they can achieve their goals but largely because they consider it the most efficient means of achieving their goals. Two findings support this conclusion. The first one is that, among those women who have turned to prostitution there are many who share the same attributes with some who achieve the same goals through means other than prostitution. Secondly we have shown that engaging the service of prostitutes is not a function of whether or not one has a wife or permanent sexual partner. As already pointed out, almost as many men with "permanent" sexual partners as those without such partners engage the services of prostitutes. These findings confirm our earlier assumption that people turn to prostitution because they are socially motivated to achieve certain goals which cannot efficiently be achieved through institutionalized means. The source of motivation lies in the amount of emphasis placed on ends/success rather than on acceptable means.

Secondly, the study has established that, though relatively incipient, prostitution in Zambia is taking on some of the features which characterize many relationships in which the success of one person largely depends on his ability to out do his oponents or rivals in business. Some of these features include; rivalry, mistrust, competitiveness, cheating and lying.

Thirdly, the study has shown that the alleged link between prostitution and the incidence of venereal diseases which is one of the major grounds for condemning prostitution, does not seem to have evidence in Zambia.

Further more, the study underscores the fact that, the rapid social change which the Zambian society is undergoing has resulted in the transformation of certain institution without proper replacements to carry on their functions. This transformation is manifested at both societal and individual levels. At the individual level, this leads to the gradual loosening of the traditional parental hold on their children as the latter search for more and more personal freedom. The search for personal freedom is made possible by the "permissiveness" of modern society in which there appears to be more emphasis on the individual. This "permissiveness" is reflected in many ways which include the expression of various urges, desires and feelings as well as the search for job satisfaction.

One of the objectives of this study was to determine the extent to which prostitution is innovative behaviour. To the extent that all the four girls in chapter two have rejected institutionalized means while retaining cultural goals their behaviour is characteristic of innovation in Merton's typology. This conclusion should however be qualified particularly in relation to rejection. Whereas Merton's theory presupposes choice in the rejection of institutionalized means, our findings indicate that this is not applicable in all cases. The accounts given by the four girls clearly show that there is a difference in the mode of rejection. Whereas the second and fourth girls chose to become prostitutes, the first and third ones were merely forced to do so.

Both the second and fourth girls had 'legitimate' means of earning a living. The second one was a former Secretary who took up prostitution simply because she did not like her salary, routine work and being bossed around. The fourth one was actually working at the time of the interview and had been married before. As she herself pointed out monetary gain was of secondary importance to her when she just entered prostitution.

The accounts of the first and third girls are quite different from the two above. The story of the first girl clearly shows that she entered prostitution after all attempts to earn a living through 'legitimate' means had failed. For example after being divorced she tried to find a job but failed. She also tried to go back to selling at the market but this could not work. That the decision to enter prostitution was a painful one which brought tears to both mother and daughter is enough to suggest that this girl was merely forced to take up prostitution. The same is true of the third girl. Her story is quite clear. The elder sister forced her to enter prostitution and she had no choice since she had no other means of making ends meet.

From the above analysis we can generalize to say that whereas some people turn to deviant behaviour as a matter of choice, others do so out of compulsion or force. In other words, entry into deviant behaviour can either be active or, passive. Further more, unlike what Merton implies, deviant behaviour is not largely for those with no access to institutionalized means. On the contrary, even those with access to such means engage in deviant behaviour as long as it promises to be the most technically efficient means of achieving their goals.

On the basis of the evidence presented in this study, one can conclude that as long as it continues to be functional to certain sections of society, prostitution in particular and deviant behaviour in general will continue to be part and parcel of society.

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APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE 1

FOR CUSTOMERS AND EX - CUSTOMERS

Explanation to the interviewee: this is a research carried out by a Graduate Student of UNZA. Please could you answer the questions carefully and honestly. In doing so you are helping to solve some of the problems accompanying prostitution in the long run. The questionnaire is absolutely anonymous.

1. Occupation:
2. Marital Status:
 - 1 single
 - 2 married
3. If single: do you have a steady girlfriend?
 - 1 yes
 - 2 no
4. How old are you
 - 1 15 - 20
 - 2 21 - 25
 - 3 26 - 30
 - 4 31 - 35
 - 5 36 and above
5. Which of the two groups do you belong to?
 - 1 Customers of prostitutes
 - 2 Ex-customers of prostitutes
6. Why do/did you use prostitutes at all (indicate the main reason by an "x" circle one or two additional reasons)
 - 1 to satisfy sexual desires
 - 2 it is cheaper in terms of money, effort and time
 - 3 there are no responsibilities involved
 - 4 prostitutes are more experienced in the art of sex
 - 5 need of variety
 - 6 out of curiosity
 - 7 drunkenness
 - 8 I have no courage to approach other women
 - 9 any other reasons

7. If you are an ex-customer: why did you stop using prostitutes?
 - 1 I found it a risk to my health
 - 2 I found it expensive
 - 3 I realized it was morally wrong
 - 4 I got married
8. If you are a customer: do you ever feel guilty for using prostitutes?
 - 1 sometimes
 - 2 never
 - 3 most of the time
9. Had/have you ever contracted V.D. from contacts with prostitutes
 - 1 yes
 - 2 no
10. If the answer to Question 9 is "yes": how many times
 - 1 once
 - 2 twice
 - 3 more than twice
11. Whom did you blame for the fact that you contracted the disease
 - 1 the prostitute
 - 2 myself
 - 3 both of us
12. If you are a customer, how many contacts have you had with prostitutes in the last one month?
 - 1 none
 - 2 once
 - 3 twice
 - 4 three times
 - 5 four times
 - 6 more than four times
13. Do you usually negotiate for the amount of money you pay?
 - 1 yes
 - 2 no
14. How much money do you usually pay prostitutes
 - 1 nothing
 - 2 between K2.00 and K5.00
 - 3 between K5.00 and K10.00
 - 4 K10.00
 - 5 over K10.00

15. Why in general terms, do you think some women become prostitutes?
- 1 to earn a living
 - 2 it is a well paying business
 - 3 love for luxuries
 - 4 don't care much about morals
 - 5 have not been brought up properly
 - 6 exposure to bad company
 - 7 because of the inequality in society
 - 8 it is a result of the capitalist system
 - 9 any other
16. How do you feel about prostitution?
- 1 it is a bad thing which has to be eliminated at all costs
 - 2 it is a bad thing although it is difficult to eliminate
 - 3 it is a good thing since it provides a service
 - 4 it is a good thing in spite of the problems it breeds
 - 5 it is neither good nor bad, it is neutral
17. Below are some of the suggestions on how to deal with prostitution. Which do you consider the best one?
- 1 leave it to its own devices
 - 2 change the public opinion towards prostitution
 - 3 legalise it and introduce compulsory medical check-ups
 - 4 prohibit prostitution and introduce tougher penalties for culprits
 - 5 eliminate inequalities in society
 - 6 abolish capitalism
18. What is your opinion about the Zambian Government's present stand on prostitution?
- 1 ambiguous
 - 2 lenient
 - 3 tough
19. Would you like any of your female relatives to become prostitutes?
- 1 yes
 - 2 no
 - 3 it depends on circumstances

20. How far did you go in formal education?

- 1 never went to school
- 2 below Grade IV
- 3 Grade IV
- 4 below Form III
- 5 Form III
- 6 Form V
- 7 College
- 8 University

21. In which income group would you place yourself

- 1 below K100 per month after deduction
- 2 between K100 and K350 per month after deduction
- 3 above K350 per month after deduction

APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE 2

FOR NON-PARTICIPANTS IN PROSTITUTION

1. Occupation:
2. How old are you?
 - 1 15 - 20
 - 2 21 - 25
 - 3 26 - 30
 - 4 31 - 35
 - 5 36 and above
3. Marital status
 - 1 single
 - 2 married
4. If single: do you have a steady boyfriend/girlfriend?
 - 1 yes
 - 2 no
5. Why in general terms, do you think, some women become prostitutes?
 - 1 to earn a living
 - 2 it is a well paying business
 - 3 love for luxuries
 - 4 don't care much about morals
 - 5 have not been brought up properly
 - 6 exposure to bad company
 - 7 because of the inequalities in society
 - 8 it is a result of the capitalist system
 - 9 any other reasons
 -
6. What do you think about those who use prostitutes?
 - 1 they allow prostitutes to earn a living
 - 2 it is everybody's right to use prostitutes
 - 3 it is o.k. for single men in general
 - 4 it is o.k. for ~~single~~ men only if they do not have a steady girlfriend
 - 5 it is o.k. for every men as long as he protects himself against V.D.
 - 6 it is under no circumstances o.k. for married men

Would you like any of your female relatives to become prostitutes?

yes

no

it depends on circumstances

How far did you go in your formal education?

never went to school

below Grade IV

Grade IV

below Form III

Form III

Form V

College

University

Which income group would you place yourself?

below K100 per month after deduction

between K100 and K350 per month after deduction

above K350 per month after deduction

Male

Female

APPENDIX C

MAIN QUESTIONS FOR PROSTITUTES

1. Age 2. Place of birth 3. Marital status
4. Number of children 5. Level of education
6. Previous occupation (if any)
7. Reasons for taking up prostitution
8. Has she ever contracted V.D through prostitution
9. Speciality
 - i. Quickies
 - ii. Over nights
- 9 b) Reason(s)
10. Areas of operation:
 - i. Hotels
 - ii. Bars
 - iii. Streets
 - iv. Any other
11. Home preference:
 - i. Customers'
 - ii. Her own
 - iii. Any other
- 11 b) Reasons
12. Forms of solicitation
13. Amount charged
14. Methods of ensuring payment
15. Attributes sought for in a customer
16. Future plans
 - i. Stop prostitution
 - ii. Continue with prostitution
16. b) Reasons.