Screw You! This Flag Is Theirs Too: Reconstructing Narratives And Challenging Perceptions With Zimbabwean Sex Workers.

Princess. A. Sibanda

Student Number: 213574395

Thesis submitted for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

College of Humanities, School of the Arts

University of KwaZulu-Natal

Drama and Performance Studies Programme

Supervised by Dr. Miranda Young-Jahangeer

2021

Plagiarism Declaration

I declare that this is all my own work and that all reference to external sources has been duly cited and acknowledged. I have used the HARVARD referencing style.

Signed by: Princess. A. Sibanda

Abstract

This is a story about Zimbabwean sex workers' stories. What their experiences are, and how they make sense of them within the heteronormative hegemony that is Zimbabwe. A space in which to be a sex worker is to be an undisciplined body, an abominable and evil practice that defiles the nations' socio-cultural and moral fabric. This is the single story that dominates public discourse and other experiences of being a sex worker remain untold. If and when they are told, HIV is the focus. In particular, how sex workers are a(t) risk of contracting and transmitting HIV. I hanker, therefore in this study to centre the voice of sex workers themselves in exploring the multiple experiences of being a sex worker through a popular participatory theatre approach. The investigation hinges on Decoloniality and Postcolonial feminist theories.

Through a marriage of academic research, activism and art, the study makes humble but significant contributions, mainly to the subject and form of inquiry. That is sex work research and Applied theatre, respectively. To an extent it is also an important addition to African feminist theorization.

Sex work has been named, understood and mostly theorised from a western perspective. I challenge the notion of the universal sex worker or stereotypical 'African prostitute' by investigating the experiences of a varied sample of Zimbabwean sex workers. Although sex work scholarship is growing on the continent, there is still a relative scarcity of localized sex worker stories especially in Zimbabwe, apart from biomedical oriented research. Moreover, it brings to fore the voices of transgender women sex workers who often fall through the cracks of the already limited sex work research.

As an Applied theatre practitioner, I also contribute to practice and knowledge in the discipline through this study. Sex work is an issue that most practitioners evade in an otherwise vibrant Applied theatre movement in Zimbabwe. The study dares the morally anxious Zimbabwean context to explore the political potency of AT, specifically Popular Participatory Theatre in exploring sex work, an issue that most practitioners evade and avoid in Zimbabwe. Particularly how the pedagogy can be used to facilitate space for telling alternative narratives as well as transforming sex workers living conditions and challenging their denial from laying claim to a Zimbabwean identity.

Further, I add an Afro-feminist voice to an issue that Africa largely denies as western. One that is also avoided by most African feminists mostly because of fear. This fear is a familiar experience of mine as a young feminist interested in seeing gender, sex and sexuality issues through an African lens. But of what need is a liberatory pedagogy that is predicated on the culture of silence and fear? Extricating myself from the abyss of fear to theorise about sex work as a Christian, Zimbabwean is in part a contribution to the larger feminist objective. Especially as I challenge the decorporealisation of cis and trans women sex worker's bodies in conservative Zimbabwe.

Major insights from the study are to the effect that sex work in Zimbabwe is queer. It is much more complex and nuanced, than is projected. The study contradicts numerous prevailing assumptions, myths, and stereotypes about sex work(ers) in Zimbabwe. Even the individuals that sell sex in Zimbabwe are not just poor, uneducated, uncultured women, nor are all clients/customers men. Empirically, the demography cuts across social status, gender, sexual orientation among other variants. Here, we are also redirected to alternative, humane portrayals of sex workers. Moreover, what their lived experiences are from their own perspective.

Dedicated to

To the 8 young people who co-told this story with me. *Thank you for being generous with your time, ideas and stories. Most of all thank you for trusting me to relay your experiences.* – Idi muri *Hweva.*

Mother & (my late) Father

It is hard to acknowledge you in this radical piece of work. But this is both yours and mine. *Kwamakatadza kusvika, Sindorino wenyu akusvikirai. Ndinotenda Mamoyo naShumba nekundikurudzira nerudo neminamato. Shumba you had been waiting for this for years, and sadly it gets to arrive just as you exit. I hope you are proud of me wherever you are Baba Pee.*

Tinashe

I wish you had stayed with me right to the end. But "it is what it is". We are here now. May you continue to rest in peace. I love you.

Lastly to Anotidaishe Sibanda. *Ndazvifumura*. May this give you reason to dare anything.

Acknowledgements

My heartfelt gratitude goes to my co-researchers a.k.a participants. I had so much fun with you. The way I view/perceive sex work will never be the same because you allowed me a glimpse into your lives. Thank you so much.

Special gratitude also goes to the following organisations; Zimbabwe Rainbow Community, Trans and Intersex Rising Zimbabwe, Economic Justice for Women Project and SAfAIDS. The knowledge, time and support you rendered is greatly appreciated.

To my supervisor, Dr Miranda Young- Jahangeer, your critique and mentorship has benefitted me immensely over the years. I am forever grateful. Appreciation also goes to other members of the Drama and Performance Studies Department: Ongezwa Mbele, Nomcebisi Moyikwa, Dr Tamar Meskin, Dr Lliane Loots and Dr Noxolo Matete,

To both my extended and immediate family, I thank you for the support. You were patient and kind throughout the journey. Dad, Mum, Rodney, Abel, Kg & Bobo you particularly carried me through.

Dr Precious 'Shumba' Simba, *shamwari handizive ndokutenda sei*. *Denga rikurangarire*. We met right at the beginning of it all and journeyed to the finish line together. You are a gift of a friend. Nyarie Nhongonhema sha, it's been a decade *tichifamba tese*. I thank you. Moud Goba, I have no words my darling. You have been the best cheerleader ever since we met. Thank you plenty.

To the phenomenal males that form part of my tribe, Dr Tina 'Shumba' Mutero, Dr Nkululeko Sibanda, Dr Tawengwa Gwekwerere, Dr Ngoni Muwonwa, Dr Pedzisai Maedza, Dr Simbarashe Tembo, I am particularly grateful for your love, support and care. You did not only show me how it is done, you were present!

I also acknowledge close friends that I have walked this journey with, Beatrice Savadye, Sfundo Sosibo, Hillary Rwaingesu, Patrick Miller and Simbarashe Dewa, Dorothy Madzerete, Davidzo Dhumbura, Noma Mabhena, Mbali, Tadi and Kudzi- Vimbiso makandikoshera. Instead of asking me *kuti haupedzi* here, you asked me kuti, what do you need. Calvin and Jessie Anthony. Thank you for being my home. Your support, love, care and generosity over the years is greaty appreciated.

To Tafadzwa Bob Mutumbi, who co-facilitated the popular participatory project, Munesu and Bee Chihera my research assistants, thank you for being generous with your time and expertise. Charmaine Kahiya and Benevolence Mugada I thank you so much for the moral support and technical assistance given in the field. I am also grateful to Dr Ngonidzashe Muwonwa who edited this thesis.

Special and big thanks to the Canon Collins Trust for funding my PhD Studies. Beyond the financial assistance, I am grateful for the personal and professional support given throughout my PhD journey. Your support in every way throughout the years is unparalleled.

And to the God who never sleeps, I am most indebted.

Table Of Contents

List of appendices

List of images

List of figures

List of tables

“**There's** really **no such thing** as the '**voiceless**'. **There** are only the deliberately silenced, or the preferably unheard.” ― Arundhati Roy

Chapter One: The Beginning

> Stories matter. Many stories matter. Stories have been used to dispossess and to malign, but stories can also be used to empower. Stories can break the dignity of a people, but stories can also repair that dignity.
>
> (Adichie, 2010)

> When we tell our own stories we build hope, we rekindle our spirits and challenge the river's flow to change. When we keep our stories, eventually they die with us and the river's flow remains the same. In telling our stories, we have hope that we and those around us will learn from them. Stories matter, especially when they are told from the margins.
>
> (Sibanda 2015:161)

1.0 Preamble

This is the beginning of a story about sex workers' stories**.** It has been difficult for me to get started. It still is. I find myself facing a dilemma, with a myriad of questions irking my mind. How do I name and introduce the subjects of this research, when one of my key objectives is to establish what they prefer or want to be called? Is it not too premature, projective, and hypocritical on my part to name them, when they should be naming themselves? How then do I write this introduction without falling into the trap of 'naming' which as warned by Allie Bunch (2015: 12) "institutes epistemic violence"?

Thus, while it seems prudent to begin with a definition of terms, the terminology around sex work is so laden with complexities that doing so may divert the focus of this dissertation. In light of this, it seems best to begin with a disclaimer. In this thesis, I refer to the research subjects as *sex workers*. However, I use this term with some trepidation, knowing I run the risk of imposing a term that was coined by a woman from the Global North for African subjects[1].

In spite of this 'identity predicament', this story must be told. It is my hope that the politics of naming will be addressed through my use of Popular Participatory Theatre (PPT). This methodology will provide the research subjects, the people who do sex work, with a platform from which to name themselves and tell their story.

[1] Terminology associated with sex work is discussed further in Chapter Two.

1.1 The Research Problem

Sex work is yet to be fully accepted as a bonafide form of labour world over. It is perceived by many as an unnatural, sinful and degrading practice which pollutes the moral fabric of humanity (Busza et al., 2017, Mgbako and Smith, 2009, Mgbako, 2016, Richter, 2013, Scorgie et al., 2013). As a result, sex workers are cast as home-breakers, sinners, deviants and consequently, the ostracised. Even the religious, socio-political and cultural structures across the geographical divide, which often represent disparate discourses converge on this one moral issue to deprecate sex workers.

In Africa, and particularly in Zimbabwe, perceptions on sex work and sex workers largely ride on a conservative trajectory. Oliver Nyambi (2015:1105) confirms that, "In Zimbabwe, as with most African countries that are traditionally conservative, patriarchal and Christian dominated, sex work is abhorred on moral grounds as an unbecoming means of livelihood that takes away social respectability". This places sex workers on the fringes of society's religious and socio-cultural milieu. Within this marginalised space, most studies reveal that sex workers are exposed to routinous physical and psychological abuse which usually goes unchecked (Hunt et al., 2017, Mgbako and Smith, 2009).

A report published by Sex Workers Education and Advocacy Taskforce (SWEAT), an organisation based in Capetown, South Africa, reveals that sex worker abuse is rife. A total of 101 female and transwomen sex workers died between 2018 and 2019 in South Africa, 45% of which were murder cases (Vidima, Tenga and Richter 2020). Among these are Ayanda Denge who was stabbed to death in her room on the 24th of March 2019, and Rendaishe Tasarirangoma a migrant sex worker from Zimbabwe who was shot dead. That these numbers are based solely on reported cases that SWEAT received, and in South Africa alone, leaves one wondering how many more sex worker deaths have not been accounted for in Africa as a whole? How many cases of rape and other forms of violence do sex workers endure in silence?

Perpetrators of this violence are usually reported to be clients or general members of society. However, the State too plays a significant role in 'disciplining and punishing' (Foucault 1977) sex workers through the police force. Substantial evidence provided in several studies casts the police as chief protagonists of sex worker abuse (Busza et al 2017, Richter 2013). This is in

brazen defiance of their responsibility to protect citizens but is exacerbated by the criminalization of sex work in the majority of African countries (detailed in chapter 2). Although the restrictions on sex work range from place to place, "there is no African country in which sex work is entirely decriminalized" (Mgbako and Smith 2010:1187). The law in this context is used to establish a binary between a sex worker and 'the citizen'. The former becomes undeserving of protection because they are in themselves a 'criminal' against whom 'citizens' should be protected. This is evident in the general perception that "a whore cannot be raped" (McClintock, 1992:76).

All of this happens amid calls for the decriminalization of sex work by sex worker rights movements across the globe. The Global North has been at the helm of this decades long campaign which prompted New Zealand to pioneer full decriminalization of sex work through the Prostitution Reform Act of 2003 (Abel, 2014). It seems however that "despite decades of sex workers calling for the decriminalisation of sex work and collectively organising against repressive laws, decriminalisation remains uncommon" (Armstrong, 2020:1). Africa in particular has largely been absent from this global conversation (Mgbako and Smith 2010) with the exception of South Africa and Kenya (Huschke and Coetzee, 2020, Pereira, 2017).

In the face of dehumanising experiences and restrictive legal systems, it has been found that sex workers internalise the societal stigma, leading to psychological trauma and "a grinding sense of hopelessness" (Mgbako and Smith 2010:1178). One would, in these circumstances, expect sex workers to provide each other with psycho-social support but alas, 'workplace politics' hinders this. In her study on sex workers in Africa, Fiona Scourgie (2011:46) observes that "perhaps an unavoidable feature of sex work is that conflict and jealousy arise among sex workers owing to the fierce competition for clients". Further, it has been noted that the rate of suicide and drug and alcohol addiction in the sex worker population is disproportionately high (Busza et al 2017, Mgbako 2016). I am particularly curious to understand this dynamic in the context of Zimbabwean sex workers.

It is evident from the above that sex workers generally, and in Africa specifically, are as identified by Ratna "sexual subalterns" (Kapur, 2000:855). They are raped, exploited, and denied from laying claim to their humanity, dignity and African identity. No wonder most sex work research slants towards predetermined topics of study around violence, drugs, mental

health and HIV/AIDS (Capous Desyllas, 2010). Studies are generally focused on projecting the image of problematic or problem infested sex workers, who are victims of circumstances and "core reservoirs of STD's and HIV" (Pettifor et al., 2000:36). But the critical underlying problem is noted by Moshoula Capous-Desyllas (2010:1):

> The ways in which sex workers have been studied and represented historically, socio-politically and academically do not take into account their voices, subjective experiences and participation in the process. Women working in the sex industry are seldom heard and their needs are consistently defined and represented by others. This contributes to the stereotyping and stigmatization of sex workers, while academic research is consistently being done on sex workers instead of with them.

A random google search on sex workers in Africa ushers you into conversations about their vulnerability to HIV (Cowan et al 2017, Huschke and Coetzee 2020), and more recently the Corona virus (Kimani et al., 2020, Macharia et al., 2020, Jozaghi and Bird, 2020). In the context of the COVID-19 pandemic, scholarship is focusing largely on how the restrictions imposed by governments to help curb the spread of the virus, have to a large extent made it difficult for the sex workers to access their healthcare needs (Gichuna et al., 2020). This dominant health 'vulnerability narrative' also informs many non-governmental organisations' (NGO's) sex work interventions in Africa. I have seen this often in my work as a sexual reproductive health and rights ambassador and consultant within the NGO sector in Zimbabwe.

While health risk and vulnerability are undoubtedly an element of sex workers' experience, it is certainly not the entirety of their reality. Taking COVID-19 for instance, one wonders what economic dynamics are at play when selling sex in a pandemic? In what ways has the lockdown regime affected the sex industry in Zimbabwe? A failure to acknowledge and engage sex workers' wider experience amounts to a denial of their full humanity.

This research aims to use Popular Participatory Theatre (PPT) as the primary means to get a different perspective of sex workers' lived realities in Zimbabwe. PPT is used to deepen our understanding of the issues affecting sex workers from *their* own standpoint. It is my belief that telling /performing their own stories, will empower sex workers to challenge and complicate the dominant single story of supplication, plight, pain and victimhood. The simplistic and problematic tale of the "suffering third world prostitute" (Mgbako and Smith 2010:1189) that dominates literature can be challenged and contested too.

What are the lives of sex workers in Africa really like? What circumstances promote their wellbeing? Is it the case that through their work they become more aware of health risks, more vigilant, and better protected from sexually transmitted diseases than the general public? Is it possible that some African sex workers find sex work lucrative and enjoyable, rather than an act of desperation? Or that like the rest of us, some days at work are better than others? How can we possibly answer these questions if sex workers do not get to tell their own varied and multidimensional stories?

The answer may be found in Paulo Freire's rhetorical question: "Who are better prepared than the oppressed to understand the terrible significance of an oppressive society? Who suffer the effects of oppression more than the oppressed? Who can better understand the necessity of liberation?" (Freire, 1996:27). Thus, it is the imperative of this study to provide sex workers in Zimbabwe with a platform where they can tell their own stories.

Freire (1996:30) asks, "How can the oppressed [sex workers] as divided… beings, participate in developing the pedagogy of their liberation?" This study will explore how sex workers themselves, rather than outsiders, can take on the role of identifying and acting to remedy problems encountered. Though PPT, sex workers will have an avenue to express their voice as an integral part of claiming their dignity, humanity and identity.

PPT will also be used as a means of facilitating cohesion and building a sense of community among sex workers exploring solidarity as a path to lobbying for change and transforming their reality on their own terms. The form also embodies relational potentials which allow space for ethics of care to be practiced. To this end, PPT has been used successfully in various contexts as a space for storytelling and unity building especially for marginalised communities (Young-Jahangeer and Sibanda, 2018, Young-Jahangeer, 2020, Malibo, 2008, Chivandikwa and Muwonwa, 2013).

PPT falls under Applied Theatre (AT), an umbrella term for a range of theatre forms concerned with empowerment, capacity-building and social transformation (Davis, 2012). Although the ultimate thrust of AT is facilitating change and raising awareness, it is achieved differently through the different theatre genres. Not all forms of AT for example engage participants fully in the theatrical process. However, PPT is distinctive in engaging "people actively in the

creation of theatre as a means of exploring, questioning, challenging and seeking new solutions to issues of key importance in their lives" (Baldwin, 2009:134). Samuel Chukwu-Okoronkwo (2012:692) adds that PPT, "recognises the creative potential of people's experiences and the necessity to engage them in active participation to chart the course of their collective destiny".

1.2 Key Research Objectives

The key objectives of this practice-led research are as follows:

a) To co-facilitate a popular participatory play with sex workers that will aim to:

- Find out about sex workers lived realities in Zimbabwe.
- Indentify and establish the various challenges sex workers encounter in their day to day lives.
- Facilitate dialogue among sex workers and in the process build social networks and cohesion among them.
- Explore the impact of Popular Participatory Theatre techniques in boosting confidence, self-esteem and promoting psychological wellness.
- Build advocacy among sex workers in Zimbabwe and determine the impact of PPT in achieving that.

b) To document the various experiences of sex workers in postcolonial Zimbabwe.
c) To establish the place of sex work in African feminism(s).

PPT is used to understand from the perspective of sex workers', the politics of sex work and prevailing opinions towards sex work in postcolonial Zimbabwe. I examine the most important/dominant current challenges facing sex workers in Zimbabwe, and look at the coping strategies and mechanisms they are using to confront these challenges. I explore how sex workers relate to each other in their workspace and if it is at all possible for them to increase social capital through building friendships and networks.

1.3 Study Motivation

A Personal Incentive

This research is inspired by my personal experiences as an activist, artist and aspiring academic, and in particular my work as a sexual reproductive, health and rights (SRHR) Ambassador under the Young for Real project[2] in Zimbabwe. For the six years that I was an ambassador, I worked extensively with young people in Zimbabwe conducting outreach campaigns, doing theatre for development plays and co-producing songs with them. Although I interacted with young people referred to as 'key populations' in NGO lexicon, my interaction with sexual minorities was minimal and limited. I was aware of the omission of sexual minorities in mainstream SRHR programming in Zimbabwe but due to fear, did not do much about it.

My journey as a young Zimbabwean researcher interested in gender and sexuality studies has been characterised by moments of doubt, hesitation, and dread. I have self - censored, and still do, especially in the face of the stigma associated with researching sex and sexualities, particularly in Zimbabwe. Some of my thoughts have only ever lived in my mind, some words remain unspoken on the edges of my tongue. I am still scared that while writing myself in some paragraphs, I delete other parts of me elsewhere. In her article, '*Sexual Pleasure As A Feminist Choice'*, Patricia McFadden (2003:2) recounts how the Zimbabwean government accused her of betraying Zimbabwean culture and family values because of her writings about women's rights and the rights of sexual minorities. Shortly after, she was given a deportation order. There is a definite and strong socio-sexual anxiety in Zimbabwe specifically, and in Africa more generally (McFadden, 2003).

The research process has in part been deeply personal, and included a slow row-back from the abyss of fear. The personal journey began for me in 2013 when a young gay man challenged me to produce a play addressing homophobia in Zimbabwe as part of my sexual reproductive health rights (SRHR) ambassadorial duties. He felt that the educational material I was distributing and our programming as a whole was exclusively heterosexual. I admitted the hypocrisy - our programme was running under the theme, 'Young for Real: Scaling up SRHR Services to **all**

[2] The Young For Real project was launched by SAfAIDS (a regional non - governmental organization), born of the need to scale up access of sexual, reproductive health and rights of all young people in Zimbabwe. The term young person is used to refer to people aged 10 – 24 years. I was ambassador from 2011 to 2016.

young people in Zimbabwe'. I reflected on my duty to represent *all* young people regardless of race, gender, class and sexual orientation.

This interaction propelled me into a contemplative exercise which led to the birth of *Project Nhanho.* In collaboration with six LGBTI+ youths, I co-created and performed a PPT play that sought to challenge homophobic perceptions in Zimbabwe, and in the process humanise the LGBTI+ community itself (Sibanda 2015). Major insights for me included seeing the power of PPT to humanise LGBTI+ people and facilitate changes in the ways they are perceived by society. In this regard the project was a success - good participatory theatre not only facilitates change, but also empowers and transforms the community (Epskamp and Epskamp, 2006). Project *Nhanho* put my creative activism for gender justice into full-throttled motion. This motion has continued through this research engaging and collaborating with sex workers, who like the LGBTI+ people routinely experience discrimination and hostility in Zimbabwe (Hunt et al., 2017).

An Intellectual Incentive

While my personal experiences, preferences and biases have significantly influenced why I undertook this research, these were not the only impetus or incentive for this work. Several other scholarly and intellectual related factors have also motivated me to take on this study.

To begin with, there is the fact that sex work is both over- and under-studied in Africa. As mentioned earlier, despite a substantial body of literature on sex work, the scope and focus of this work is limited to particular and problematic paradigms that deny the agency of sex workers. Alluded to earlier is the predominantly biomedical focus of research related to sex work, with HIV prevention being the primary focus of this public health discourse (Busza 2017, Leddy et al, Lyons et al 2020, Scorgie 2011). Many of these studies designate sex workers as carriers of disease, while others imply it by their relentless focus on STI and HIV prevention. According to Jennifer Hunt et al. (2017:3), African studies on sex work generally focus on risky behaviours and disease transmission. Marlise Richter (2013:16) states that sex work in sub-Saharan Africa is understudied, with limited information on sex workers outside the bio-medical literature. There has been an insufficient narrow consideration of sex work in African academia, and specifically so with regards to how sex work is considered within the humanities.

Secondly, a significant research focus is directed to the feminist debate on whether sex work is exploitative or empowering (Mgbako, 2016, Weitzer, 2009, Richter, 2013). In my opinion, this is a narrow academic debate among feminists examining a moral/political binary. What is needed to bring substance and depth to our understanding of how to better the quality of life for sex workers, is a closer investigation of their lived realities. This has been an important motivation for this study too.

Thirdly, in addition to the content bias discussed above, many studies on sex work have been faulted on methodological grounds (Vanwesenbeeck, 2001, Weitzer, 2009). In his article, '*Flawed Theory and Method In Studies Of Prostitution'*, Ronald Weitzer (2005) exposes numerous methodological blind spots in sex work research. He notes that most researchers fail to describe how they contact and engage their research sex worker subjects. This is a problematic methodological loophole, which I have also observed in my review of the literature, because all too often these studies are characterised by what appears to be the 'pseudo-participation' of sex workers in the research process and its outcomes. For example, at times the information extracted from sex workers through interview processes is used to expose and heighten the plight of sex workers without necessarily engaging them in ways that seek to redress issues in a meaningful way. "To alienate human beings from their own decision-making is to change them into objects…The pursuit of full humanity cannot be carried out in isolation or individualism, but only in fellowship and solidarity" (Freire 2005:86).

I aim through this study, to contribute to addressing the limitations in both the literature about, and the understandings of the lived experiences of sex workers and sex work in Sub-Saharan Africa, particularly as explored through the lens of the humanities. I wish to expand the focus of my exploration of issues affecting sex workers in Zimbabwe beyond public health, legality and the ongoing feminist debates. I seek ways to identify and address critical issues in collaboration with sex workers themselves through popular participatory theatre, which, as a problem–posing methodology[3], is well-suited to this task. PPT will open the space required for sex workers to tell their all too often silenced stories. Through their stories, sex workers will be able to reflect on how they see themselves, what they want to be called, how they feel about sex work and what they perceive as the most relevant challenges affecting them. A key part of this process will be

[3] This is borrowed from Paulo Freire's (1970) Problem Posing Education.

proposing possible solutions. Only through dialogic platforms like PPT, can those whose views are often 'banked' – or worse still, silenced - begin to speak and, to speak according to Augusto Boal (1979:xx) "is to take power".

1.4 A Roadmap

This study presents and analyses an account of sex workers' stories, as told by them. It is organized into 9 chapters. This introductory chapter has set out the framework for what this study will investigate and why this is required. The key research objectives are clearly stated and discussed in relation to both personal and scholastic commitments, providing further credence to why these research objectives are exigent.

Chapter 2 offers a broader linguistic and socio-political contextual framework for understanding the realities of sex workers globally, and within Zimbabwe. I begin with a discussion of the definitions of terms surrounding sex work, and explore their political implications, with a focus on the 'feminist wars', and the position of African feminists on sex work. I then focus on the socio-political realities of sex workers in Zimbabwe, including a consideration of societal perceptions of sex work and sex workers. I explore the existing relationships and dynamics between sex workers and the government as well as other institutions like religion and the law. The chapter concludes with a discussion about the relationship between sex workers and the NGO sector in Zimbabwe.

The theoretical and conceptual frameworks that inform this study will be discussed in Chapter 3. I draw largely from two theoretical perspectives namely, Postcolonial feminist theories and Decoloniality. These two frameworks are discussed in detail as I provide insights on how each of them informs the study, and intersect to provide a sound theoretical framework to inform and support the narration of the stories of African sex workers from their own standpoint.

Chapter 4 is dedicated to a thorough consideration of Applied Theatre (AT), which provides the backbone of this research, in the sense that the study is situated within the Drama and Performance discipline, and thus shapes the form of the study. AT is a layered and complex field of theory and practice, and as such requires an in-depth discussion of what it is, defining trends and how it is conceptualised and practiced, especially in Africa, and Zimbabwe in

particular. I also locate and explore Popular Participatory Theatre as a specific AT genre used in this study.

Chapter 5 presents the methodology used for this study - the 'how'. I describe how the research has been conducted, including an exploration of the methodological paradigms that have informed this study, as well as the methods and tools used to arrive at my findings. I introduce the 'drivers' of the research, namely the sex worker participants, and locate myself as a participant in relation to them. I describe how participants were selected, engaged and mobilised throughout the research process.

Chapter 6 provides a comprehensive account of the creative process and the PPT play that was produced as a key part of this process. I give a detailed description of how the play came about, explaining every stage of the process. I also discuss the various creative choices and decisions made throughout and discuss the performances.

Discussion of the sub-questions on form is essential to this study, and Chapter 7 is dedicated to this effort. I look specifically at the impact of PPT on the outcomes of the study, and discuss the (ir)relevance of using PPT to understand sex workers in Zimbabwe.

Chapter 8 offers a discussion of the findings in relation to the research objectives and research questions. What is it that I found out about sex workers from the sex workers? What do they want to be called? What are the prevailing opinions towards sex work in postcolonial Africa? What is the state of sex worker activism in Africa? What are the most important/dominant current challenges facing sex workers in Zimbabwe according to sex workers? What coping strategies and mechanisms do sex workers use in confronting these challenges? How do sex workers relate with each other in their workspace and is it possible for them to build friendships and networks?

Chapter 9 offers a summary of key issues that emerged from the findings in relation to the research questions. In conclusion, I reflect on the limitations and achievements as well as provide recommendations for further research in the area.

1.5 Conclusion

The primary intention of this introductory chapter was to orientate the reader to the phenomenon under investigation and provide a road map for the dissertation. As a starting point, I introduced the research and gave a brief background as to how and why I embarked on this particular study. I also outlined the objectives and questions that will guide my enquiry. The envisioned outline of how the paper will unfold was given last. The beginning ends here.

Chapter 2: Whorephobia! A World-wide Phenomenon?

> **Lady**: You expect a sob story, I am sure. A broken home. Abused as a child by a stepfather. Family so poor we had to scrounge for food any way and anywhere we could. I am sorry to disappoint you. I was from a very happy family. We were not millionaires, but we had enough to eat. You can even say we lived on the wealthy side of the street. I went to a private school. Even up to university. Attempted a BA. Didn't finish though.
>
> **Woman:** Then why did you become a prostitute?
>
> **Lady**: Choice! Godammit, can't a woman choose what she wants to do with her life?

- excerpt from *And The Girls In Their Sunday Dresses* (Mda, 1993a:13).

2.0 Introduction

The excerpt above provides a counter discursive read to the simplistic and monolithic construction of sex workers as uneducated women who are merely drawn to the profession by poverty. It destabilises the stereotypical construct of the poor uneducated sex worker which is dominant across the globe. For a sex worker in Africa, this identity is layered with what Isaac Ndlovu (2020:692) calls "the condescending characterisation of Africa" that Africa already carries in popular images. That is an Africa with "incomprehensible people fighting senseless wars, dying of poverty and AIDS, unable to speak for themselves and waiting to be saved by a kind white foreigner" (Ngozie-Adichie 2010). By pointing this out, I am by no means denying the poverty and strife that Africa has for long been grappling with and how this has fuelled the growth of sex work on the continent. Indeed, poverty features in Africa's story and it has been documented that much sex work in Africa is a consequence of poverty (Mgbako and Smith 2010), but that is not the only story. Chimamanda Ngozie-Adichie (2010) warns that:

> The single story creates stereotypes, and the problem with stereotypes is not that they are untrue but that they are incomplete. They make one story the only story…the consequence of the single story is this; it robs people of dignity, it makes our recognition of equal humanity difficult, it emphasises how we are different rather than how we are similar.

In a study conducted in Portland, Oregon (United States of America), Capous Desyllas (2010) found that sex workers are a heterogeneous group who have multifaceted socio-political and economic realities. In Zimbabwe too, as this research will reveal, sex work is a much more complex phenomenon than is typically acknowledged. These are the perspectives that The Lady, in Mda's acclaimed 1993 play is inviting us to tap into and consider in our engagement with sex work(ers). In this chapter, I attempt an in-depth exploration of the subject. I shall commence with the definition of terms, before detailing the context.

2.1 Definition of Terms.

In the first chapter, I term those who sell sexual services 'sex workers' albeit with some hesitancy. Defining terms is a problematic endeavour when it comes to the topic at hand. In Richter's (2013:17) words, difficulties in establishing clear definitions of sex work have plagued descriptions of the phenomenon in both legal instruments and in the socio-medical field. Sex work terminology is so contentious that it has been an area of consistent contestation among feminists within the broader 'feminist wars,' (Showden, 2016, Yingwana, 2018) which will be unpacked in the next chapter. This confusion and controversy within the academia, legal fraternity, and popular literature as well as among researchers and social service providers needs to be unpacked.

STELLA, an organization founded and run by sex workers for sex workers in Canada emphasizes the need to go beyond simplistic use of terms and words on the subject:

> The way we talk about sex work is anything but neutral – it communicates meaning and influences how people understand our work and create policy about us. The words we use when speaking about sex work – whether in media or legal arguments, with our friends or in discussion with a stranger – matter… Sex work and sex workers are often framed in very simplistic and stereotypical ways that erase the complexity of our realities: good or bad, forced or chosen, glamorized or exploitative. When choosing language to talk about sex work we are trying to balance self-identification, our desire to represent our diversity and the importance of breaking through stereotypes and binary categories. (2013:2)

In this section therefore, I discuss the terminology and from there, establish working definitions for this thesis.

Several words have been and continue to be used to refer to the activities where two or more individuals engage in sexual activity for material benefit. Terms include, prostitution, transactional sex, trading sex, survival sex and sex work. While people often use survival sex, transactional, trading sex interchangeably, some scholars have separated them. Johanna Busza (2006:135) contends that survival sex is one in which the ultimate aim is to alleviate extreme poverty while transactional sex is a financial arrangement within other relationships often characterised by friendship, affection, or romantic attachment. Meanwhile trading sex has been defined as sex that is traded for food, shelter, money and drugs (Tyler and Johnson, 2006). In the context of homeless youth, trading sex has been used as a marker of delinquent behaviour. In their study Kimberly Tyler and Katharine Johnson (2006:208) state that "many homeless youth engage in delinquent activities to survive, given their limited resources and lack of opportunities. These deviant subsistence strategies may include stealing, conning, robbing, and trading sex for commodities".

The term prostitution is arguably the oldest and most popular. In her paper, Lara Gervase (2015:595) opines that the term prostitution refers to the unlawful promotion of or participation in sexual activities for profit, including attempts or the solicitation of customers or transport of persons for prostitution purposes. Prostitution therefore encompasses every individual who participates in sexual activities for profit, irrespective of their age or willingness. Moreover, the term prostitute "does not simply mean a person who sells her or his sexual labour (although rarely used to describe men in sex work), but brings with it layers of 'knowledge' about her worth, drug status, childhood, integrity, personal hygiene and sexual health" (Smith, 2013a: 2).

Carol Leigh (in Nagle 2003:229) also problematizes the term prostitution as one that "does not refer to the business of selling sexual services but simply means to offer publicly…it is a euphemism that veils our [sex workers] 'shameful' activity". For this and several other reasons, the term prostitution is regarded a politically incorrect label hence becoming unpopular over time. It is under this pretext that Leigh coined the term sex work which she explains as thus:

> I invented sex work. Not the activity of course. The term. This invention was motivated by my desire to reconcile my feminist goals with the reality of my life and the lives of the women I knew. I wanted to create an atmosphere of tolerance within and outside the women's movement for women working in the sex industry… (2003:226)

The term has since been adopted widely because it is free of complicated, derogatory, and sexist connotations which are more commonly associated with the term 'prostitute' (May, Harocopos and Hough, 2000). Lara Gerassi (2015:594) notes how advocates of this term argue that sex work provides a sense of professionalization and dignity similar to other professions, especially in comparison to the term 'prostitution'. Informed by this reasoning I adopt the term 'sex work'. However, I do so with a full awareness that it too, has its own problematics. Some scholars, for example Richter (2012) have noted that while sex work is a broadly preferred term, it remains unclear:

> Sex work is the term preferred to prostitution and is indeed the language used by international organisations such as the United Nations, and more importantly: sex workers themselves. But while the terminology is clear, the definition and content are not. Most people have a very clear picture in their mind (usually based on a stereotype) when one talks about sex work but very few can verbalise a precise definition. (Richter 2012:14)

Apart from its ambiguity, it is also dangerous, I contend, to uncritically use the term 'sex work' in Sub-Saharan context when it was coined in the Global North. Scourgie et al (2012:8) have also said that a western understanding of sex work cannot be easily applied to sub-Saharan Africa where there is no clear line between commercial sex and ordinary sexual relationships. A perfect example is the blesser/blesee phenomenon which has grown prominent in South Africa especially among female students in tertiary institutions (Thobejane 2017, Mampane, 2018). In these relationships, "rich men ("blessers") tend to entice young women ("blessees") with money and expensive gifts in exchange for sexual favors" (Mampane, 2018:1). This description makes it logical to classify the blesser/blesee phenomenon as sex work. However, there seems to be some level of reluctance in calling it such. More often than not, blesser-blesee interactions are mostly constructed as a healthier alternative to sex work because it's a relationship not a transaction (Jonas, 2019:26). Prevan Moodley and Ebrahim Sumayya (2019) call them 'blessed relationships' in which gift-giving is formalized in the context of an ongoing sexual relationship.

This sanitised reading of the blesser/blesee phenomenon is in my opinion an attempt at sanctifying them as more morally acceptable and respectable relationships that should be dissociated from sex work. Yet, it has been documented that often these 'blessed relationships' are paradoxically toxic; they are characterised by huge power imbalances which sometimes involve minors (Leclerc-Madlala, 2004). Nonetheless, this is not meant to be a critical analysis

of blesser-blessee relationships. Rather, I reference the phenomenon as an exemplar of how broad and blurred the parameters of sex work are in Africa. It can even be argued that this extends beyond Africa, only that it is much more blurred where poverty and patriarchy intersect more strongly as it does in the continent. Richter exposes this conundrum through a sex for reward continuum (shown below).

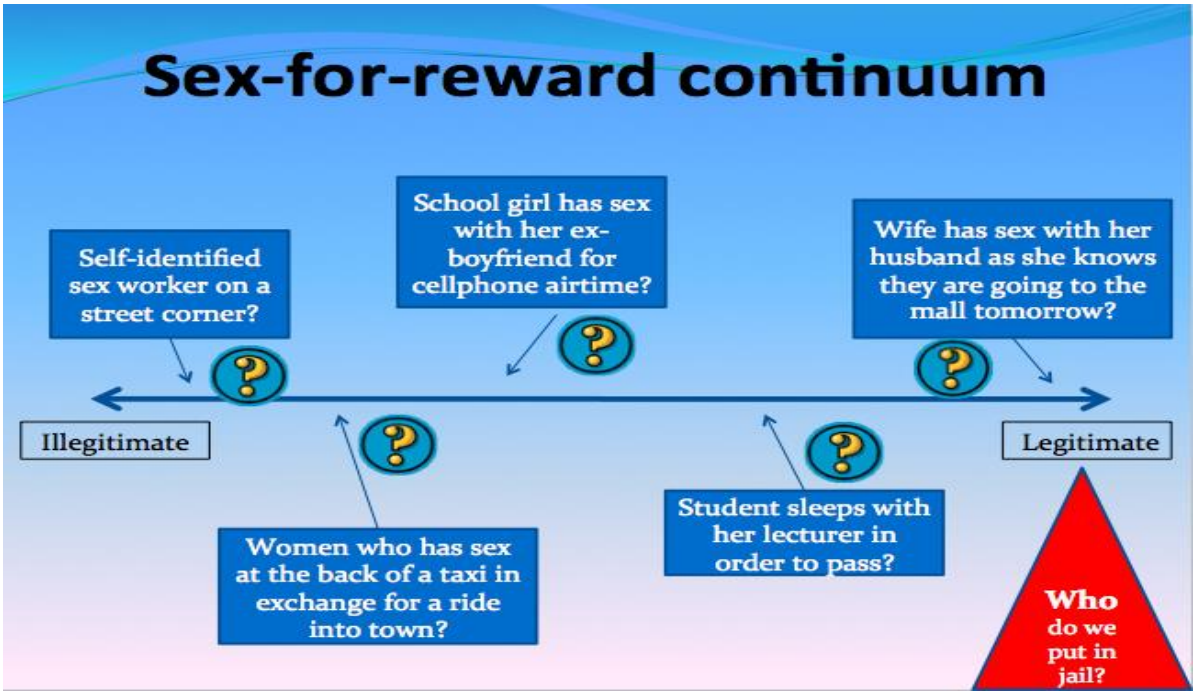

Fig. 1 Sex-for-reward continuum (Diagram taken from Richter (2013:69))

It seems therefore that whatever the term, label, or word, it seems, it will always to a greater or lesser degree evoke taboo and/or stigma. This is why situated linguistic revisions are necessary. By situated I mean definitions that are culture, language, and context specific, which among other objectives this study aims to decipher in the context of Zimbabwean sex workers. In the interim, a working definition is required.

Sex Work(er): A Working Definition

According to Reuben Balfour and Jessica Allen (2014:1) sex work covers a wide range of activities relating to the exchange of money (or its equivalent) for the provision of a sexual service. Ruth Jonas (2019:4) calls it "an expression, which is, constructed to comment on sexual commerce of different categories". Both definitions echo that which The South African Law Reform Commission proposes for public use in South Africa. They describe sex work as "the

exchange of any financial or other reward favour or compensation for the purpose of engaging in a sexual act" (2009:9). Sarah Pudifin and Shannon Bosch (2012:5) find this definition to be the most pragmatic and relevant, especially for the South African context. Indeed, both definitions capture the essence of sex work as a transaction, but they are found wanting. Focus is on the activity while the subject is omitted. Who is involved in these transactions? What age are they for example?

A considerably balanced and encompassing definition is provided by Cheryl Overs (2002). She defines sex work as the exchange of money or goods for sexual services which always involves a sex worker and a client, and it frequently also involves a third party. Ronald Weitzer (2000:1) extends what seems to be a more consolidated definition of sex work. Sex work according to him is "an exchange of sexual services, performances, or products for material compensation and can refer to direct physical contact between buyers and sellers as well as indirect sexual stimulation (e.g.) pornography, stripping, telephone sex, live sex shows, erotic webcam performances". This definition captures the myriad manifestations of sex work.

In their project, '*The Many Faces Of Sex Work'* (2005), Christine Harcourt and Basil Donovan (2005) compiled a typography of commercial sex work and identified at least twenty-five types. Ultimately, they grouped the various types of sexual services into two categories; direct and indirect sex work. Perhaps this is an indication that sex work is too complex and heterogeneous a phenomenon to even quantify. "There is a wide range of individuals involved in the industry, numerous ways in which sexual services and sexual fantasies are bought and sold, and much variety in the relationships that are developed in the workplace" (Capous Desyllas, 2010:12).

The definitions explored above each highlight important aspects that are helpful in establishing a working definition. However, they all seem to overlook issues of consent and age. As a gender activist who is aware of the several sexual injustices and violence against young girls and women, I feel these are of vital importance. Emphasis on consent and age essentially separates sex work from child prostitution and/or trafficking. Most abolitionists tend to use these two synonymously making that the premise upon which they further their anti-sex work advocacy. Sex work in this study refers only to consensual exchanges of sexual services between adults (Haak, 2019). It is neither child prostitution nor human trafficking.

Consequently, I have found a more agreeable definition by UNAIDS which I adopt here:

> Sex work is any agreement between two or more persons in which the objective is exclusively limited to the sexual act and ends with that, and which involves preliminary negotiations for a price. Hence there is a distinction from marriage contracts, sexual patronage and agreements concluded between lovers that could include presents in kind or money, but its value has no connection with the price of the sexual act and the agreement does not depend exclusively on sexual services.
> (UNAIDS 2001:13)

Now that I have established what sex work is, it seems logical to refer to those who are involved as sex workers. Beyond this logic however, there is need to substantiate why the term sex worker is privileged. Ordinarily people who ply the sex work trade are often called, whores, bitches, harlots, and prostitutes. All of which are derogatory terms that reduce a human being "from a whole and usual person to a tainted, discounted one" (Goffman, 2014:265).

Interestingly though, in more recent years, the same pejorative terms are now being deliberately used amongst young (typically black) women to stress a political point. As a case in point, the word bitch was traditionally considered an insult but is beginning to shift towards something positive or empowering. According to Vanja Vinter (2017:8), such a phenomenon indicates what she calls reappropriation, which is a negotiation of the meaning and semantics of a word. Pop culture has been a major drive in furthering this lexical antithesis. Madonna, a famous American pop star makes for a perfect example. She uses the term bitch several times on her album, *Rebel Heart* (2015) to connote power and pride in her womanhood. More recently, Priscilla Misihairabwi a Zimbabwean legislator wore a hoody that was inscribed *hure* (whore) to Parliament (see picture below).

Pic 1. Priscilla Misihairabwi at the Parliament of Zimbabwe. (Picture accessed from www.myzimbabwe.co.zw, 2019)

The term prostitute is also being reappropriated. Carol Leigh who came up with the term sex work and consequently sex worker has stated that: "in political contexts, I refer to myself as a prostitute to imbue it with some pride, although we rarely use that term referring to ourselves" (in Nagle 2003:29). While I acknowledge the power that reversing pejorative terms like bitch, whore and prostitute may have, I am also wary of possible misgivings. For starters, a term can either remain derogatory or become empowering depending on who uses it. Often a particular group feels empowered when using the derogatory terms for themselves and take offense when 'outsiders' use it toward them. "The other problem with reclaiming concepts", Gary Nunn (2015:3) observes, "is that not only do you have a set of people who don't understand that the word has been reclaimed in the first place, so they continue to use it in the older negative way, but you can also have different understandings of what the reclaiming actually means. And even if you're in on it, you still may not want to participate." All considered, this research embraces the term sex worker to refer to the consenting adults and youth (female, male and transgender) above the age of 18 who receive money or goods in exchange for sexual services either regularly or occasionally (Dingake, 2018).

2.2 Contextualising Sex Work

Sex work has been dubbed the oldest profession in the history of mankind. While the phrase 'oldest profession' seems to be an acknowledgement of it being work, it only goes as far as that. In reality, its acknowledgement has not translated to it being accepted as a bona fide form of labour world over. Rather, sex work is perceived an unnatural, immoral, sinful and degrading practice which must be abolished (Mgbako, 2016, Busza et al 2017) while sex workers are cast as home-breakers, sinners, deviants and carriers of disease. Even the religious, socio-political and cultural structures which often represent disparate discourses converge on this one moral issue to denounce sex work and dehumanise sex workers. In this section I shall fully explore the perceptions that various sectors of society have on sex work(ers) across the geographical divide.

Sex Work in the Global North[4]

For the longest time, the Global North, has positioned itself and enjoyed the master narrative of being the 'centre' of civilisation. This grand narrative characterises it as a liberal, progressive champion of human rights in the world while the Global South is cast as a dark, primitive and major human rights offender. However, proponents of postcolonial studies (Ashcroft et al 2003, Gandhi, 2019) complexify this unfortunate binary with the multiple narratives about how this perceived centre is not as liberal as purported especially with regards to issues of sex and sexuality. Particularly as the Global North swings further to the right (Roth, 2018, Erel, 2018), a large cross section of that perceives sex work as criminal, devilish and immoral behaviour. Its position is largely spelt out through punitive legal regulations and restrictions which inform most of Africa's legal regime today (Tamale, 2011).

Although we had begun to witness a paradigm shift where most of the Global North countries were revising these legal scripts along a pro-choice trajectory[5], conscious efforts are being made to flip the script back to its default mode by far-right populist movements. Lately, the anti-choice rhetoric has been gaining traction in the Global North, for example the current regressions

4 The Global North is used to refer to countries popularly considered as developed or first world. Countries in the Global North include Australia, Canada, Israel, Hong Kong, Macau, New Zealand, Japan, Singapore, South Korea, Taiwan, the United States and all of Europe (including Russia).

5 The Global North has been setting the pace for decriminalising same-sex marriages and sex work.

in abortion politics in countries like Poland, (Bloomer and Pierson, 2018, Hussein et al 2018, Flowers, 2018). This can be attributed to their dire need of safeguarding the 'nation' from moral impurity and cultural dilution that according to them is posed mainly by immigrants, homosexuals, sex workers etcetera. Umut Erel aptly captures that: (2018:175):

> Increasingly visible populist right and far right movements try to center white, heterosexual hegemonic masculinities and specific versions of femininities proclaimed to be 'traditional' … These groups cast themselves as saviours and protectors of a nation in danger of two evils: Firstly, they portray a danger of being outnumbered by immigrants and their uncontrolled fertility, which they fear may lead to an estrangement from 'their' cultural tradition…The second danger emanates from patronizing governmental and educational institutions, as they aim to 're-educate' the population into accepting particular versions of gender equality.

Thus, the Global North can be said to be right leaning that is anti-immigrant, racist, nationalist, sexist, homophobic, anti-Semitic and anti-Muslim. Such is the awakening that Ruth Riddick (2019) brings to fore in her article, '*Déjà vu: New is Old Again'.*

These growing far-right politics has not spared the domain of sex work. What with sex work being deemed immoral and an industry flooded by immigrants in the North? It is a twin tragedy that threatens the 'nation'. Consequently, a resounding anti-sex work sentiment reverberates across the North which seemingly is impacting negatively on sex workers. This despite there being progressive sex work policy regimes. According to a survey conducted by prostitution.procon.com (2018) sex work is legal in 53 countries, limitedly legal in 12 and illegal in 35 out of the 100 countries they focused on. This sample was largely concentrated on the Global North countries, suggesting that sex work is largely rendered legal there.

The epitome of this progressive legal discourse on sex work is the Netherlands. Among other erotic freedoms, they were the first country to fully decriminalise sex work in 1999 (Hekma and Duyvendak, 2011). This legislative decision granted full employment rights to sex workers over the age 18. By default, this model facilitated a clear distinction between voluntary and forced prostitution which as argued before is a necessity. The Dutch even went as far as gentrifying sections of the country into designated workspaces in the form of sex shops and brothels (Outshoorn, 2012). These sex shops have various amenities such as security features like a button that a sex worker presses to alarm the police if she is under threat.

Pic 2. Male and female sex workers in the Amsterdam red light district (Picture accessed from www.thenextcorner.net, 2019)

While the Netherlands set substantial precedent for putting in place policies that create safer working environments for voluntary sex workers in the Global North, these gains are under threat. Recently, there has been "a notable shift toward more repression and criminalization in sex work policies, in Europe…many have now turned to criminalizing the buying of sex which rests on the idea that ending demand will ultimately abolish sex work" (Vanwesenbeeck, 2017:1634).

The Nordic Model of sex which Sweden adopted in 1999 and later on France, Iceland and Canada exemplifies this regression (Kingston and Thomas, 2019). This model criminalises the purchase of sex work and not the selling. In theory this is progressive legislation which – at least apparently - is aimed at 'protecting' female sex workers. The practicality, however, is that the model dehumanises female sex workers by taking away their agency and casting them as victims of male exploitation. The other problematic is that the law implicitly suggests that sex work is exclusively a heterosexual and cisgender[6] female reserve, which renders other gender and sexual orientations invisible in sex work. The Nordic law on sex work therefore is a paradox, a paradigm of empowerment on the surface, a dehumanising one at its core. To this effect, Kate Iselin (2016) a Swedish sex worker and feminist echoes that:

6 This term refers to people whose gender identity and expression matches the biological sex they were assigned when they were born MCINTYRE, J. Explainer: the difference between being transgender and doing drag. Conversation, 2018. Conversation Media Group.

> You could say the Nordic Model doesn't have many fans within the industry. For starters, the whole concept behind it relies on this weird dichotomy of 'criminal or victim' that sex workers and their clients get boxed in to, when really, neither of us should be considered either so long as we're both consenting adults… Hold up though, what about, like, male sex workers? And trans sex workers? And even women who pay for sex with women? And –Yeah nah – that's not really something anyone seems to have considered. (www.pedestrian.tv)

It then follows logic that the ultimate objective of the Nordic model on sex work regulation is to "eradicate sex work both in the short term, via criminalisation and fines for buying sex, and in the long term, by creating an understanding of sex work as inherently harmful to both the individual and society" (Global Network of Sex Work Projects 2017:1). Other countries that purport to have a legal framework on sex work and have not adopted the Nordic law apply its reverse. In countries like Argentina, Canada and the United Kingdom and the United States it is a worse crime to sell sex than it is to purchase it (Vanwesenbeeck, 2017). Technically therefore, selling is a felony and purchasing a misdemeanor.

Of course, it does appear from the discussion above that the Global North is largely enlightened when it comes to sex work but the tentacles of right-wing populist movements seem to have a tight grip on the status quo. Sex work in the Global North is still policed albeit in varying degrees from place to place. Even where it is not outlawed, it is regulated and controlled. There seems to be an acceptable visceral aversion to sex work akin to that which supersedes or defies legislation.

It goes without saying then that legal acceptance has not necessarily translated to social acceptance. There is a disjuncture or disconnect between legal frameworks and lived reality particularly in the context of homophobia. South Africa with its benchmark legislation around same sex relationships remains one of the most homophobic countries[7].

Likewise, sex workers in jurisdictions that are considerably tolerant continue to experience violence, stigma and discrimination. Petra Östergren (2004:3) in his study on Swedish sex workers recounts that "all sex workers I have spoken to mention the stigma attached to

7 An average of 10 lesbians are raped every week as a means of 'curing' them of their lesbianism in South Africa (Smith 2015 http://www.telegraph.co.uk/women/womenslife/11608361/Corrective-rape-The-homophobic-fallout-of-post-apartheid-South-Africa.html).

prostitution where the sex worker is seen as weak, dirty, mentally ill, addicted to drugs and alcohol and viewed as a victim". A sample of Polish sex workers also highlighted their shared experiences of stigma in a study conducted by Desylass (2014:5). Even the Netherlands, which as highlighted before is the paragon of sex worker rights in the World, there have been reports of abuse, bad working conditions, stigma and discrimination (Gibly, 2012, Outshoorn, 2012).

It is my hope that the few examples provided here give some kind of insight into the politics of sex work in the Global North. The analysis may have been too scant to adequately portray the actual image of the status quo, but it sufficiently exhibits the existence of a 'whore' stigma in the Global North. That is in the absence of extensive literature that explores sex workers lived experience outside the legal and biomedical domains. It ought to be acknowledged too that some countries of the Global North have been consistent in championing sex worker rights, in spite of a strong right-wing backlash.

Sex Work in the Global South[8]

In the Global South, particularly Africa, perceptions on sex work are largely antipathetic. Consequently, sex workers are highly stigmatised and discriminated within the religious, socio-cultural milieu and routinely subjected to all forms of abuse (Hunt et al 2017). As is typical globally, sex worker abuse is usually perpetrated by clients or general members of society. However, within the Global South, the role of the State in humiliating and marginalising sex workers is notable. This has mostly been effected through the police force whom research has exposed as the chief protagonists of sex worker abuse in Africa (Mgbako, 2016, Mgbako and Smith, 2009, Huschke and Coetzee, 2020). Such inhuman treatment usually goes unabated because sex work is illegal and criminalised in most Global South countries (Mgbako and Smith 2011). Sex workers are, therefore, victims of systematic State retribution which fuel popular opinion and sanction physical acts of state violence. This is what Foucault details in *The History of Sexuality* (1998) when he explores how sexuality becomes essential to the operation of power in governing both the actions and morals of the individual and population.

8 Global South is a politically correct term used to refer to countries often known as 'developing' or 'third world'. The Global South includes Asia (with the exception of Japan, Hong Kong, Macau, Singapore, South Korea and Taiwan), Central America, South America, Mexico, Africa, and the Middle East (with the exception of Israel).

In Africa, this status quo is enabled by *Hunhu/Ubuntu* which Mogobe Ramose (1999) situates as the ontological, epistemological and moral fountain of African philosophy. Often it is used as a basis upon which sex work is denounced. This philosophy prescribes that *Munhu ane hunhu* [a person with humanity] is one that adheres to societal dictates or behaviours and norms that have been established as morally upright. Individuals who deviate from these set norms automatically become excluded from laying claim to the African identity and denied humanity itself. Molly Manyonganise (2015:1) has said before that "*Ubuntu,* as an African ethic has been embraced in Africa as one that defines an individual's African-ness". In the grand scheme of this ethic, sex work is mostly characterised as morally reprehensible lacking *hunhu,* hence it is disqualified from being African. *Havasi vanhu chaivo* [they are not fully human].

Having said that, it is almost impossible to talk about the Global South's position on sex work, outside the Global North. This is because when the colonialists captured the Global South geographically, they also colonised the mind (Fanon, 1967, Wa Thiong'o, 1992). The process disguised as a civilisation project polluted the socio-political and cultural fabric of the South and as a consequence, it impacted the natives' behaviours, attitudes and perceptions. In that respect, the Global South's worldview became in many respects a replica of the North. Today, post the geographical colonial conquest the Third World is still reeling under the structurally entrenched effects of colonisation, inspite of the calls and efforts to decolonise (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2018). It is through these colonial legacies that concepts like *Ubuntu*, have come to be misinterpreted and consequently used to ostracise instead of humanising. Walter Mignolo (2012) calls it coloniality while Ayo Coly (2019) theorises it as postcolonial hauntologies[9].

Among these hauntologies, is the coloniality of gender (Lugones, 2016)[10]. Numerous scholars have argued that the aversion to sex work and homosexuality in the Global South is informed mostly by the conservative sex and sexuality script that was infiltrated by the North during the onslaught of colonisation (Magubane, 2001, Epprecht, 2004, Nyanzi, 2013). According to Sylvia Tamale (2011:16) this script, "steeped in the Victorian moralistic, anti-sexual and body shame edicts was inscribed on the bodies of African women and with it an elaborative system of control. The elaborative system involved the use of religion, especially Islam and Christianity,

[9] "To be haunted by colonial specter means to be forced to relive the violence of colonialism" (Coly, 2019: 15)
10 an in-depth discussion will be given in the next chapter

to emphasise the impurity associated with sexual freedom. Where religious rebuke failed, draconian laws were introduced to punish those who disregarded the script. This colonial legacy still lingers, and it informs most of the Global South's laws on gender and sexuality.

Within the African context sex work is illegal in a majority of the countries, partially legal in a few and legal only in Senegal (Mgbako 2016, Ito et al 2018). Beyond the legal stance, the Global North's influence on the Global South vis-à-vis gender and sexuality matters, is also evident in the civic society. The latter keeps vacillating along with the former. When the North was moving towards neo-liberal policies, they funded non-governmental organisations in Africa to promote sexual and reproductive health rights. This worked as most NGO behavioural change programmes especially in SRHR have been seen to be effective (Jewkes et al 2014, Eghtessadi 2020). Now as they shift more towards the right, most NGO's have taken the right turn too. As an example, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) recently ceased to support NGO's that support or promote abortion (USAID 2020). Some organisations that were pro-abortion in the past have since become abolitionists. Through its dictates therefore, the North keeps dictating the world's perceptions and behaviours around sex and sexuality in a way.

2.3 Unpacking Zimbabwe's *Hure* Phobia

Growing up in Zimbabwe, I loved the idea of wearing make-up, pants and short skirts. These fantasies would however be thwarted by my socio-cultural and religious circumstances. My parents constantly policed my dressing. No skirt of mine went above the knee and pants were forbidden. If I really had to put them on, they had to be accompanied by a skirt. While I took heed of their rebuke, I had my moments of resistance. I would pull my skirt up a bit, make earrings out of flowers and smear charcoal on my lips and strut around with confidence. I carried this persona consistently during *mahumbwe/amatope* (playing house) and the result was as consistent - a good hiding from my livid mother accompanied by the words '*uchaita kahure'* [you will become a whore]. This is how I got introduced to the term *hure* [whore] and a whore stigma was powerfully imbued in my memory. I felt a great deal of pressure to not behave or speak like a *hure*.

It has taken a lot for me to unlearn my prejudices and fears towards, '*mahure'*. I am not there yet, it is a process and this thesis is an integral part of it. Questions linger though – why was it so important for my mother to 'beat' the whore (signals) out of me? What is it about '*mahure'* that she resented and fought so hard against? Why do '*mahure'* unsettle most people? Could it be that they wield some sort of power that evokes such powerful responses in others? What precisely, as questioned by McClintock (1992: 76), "is the scandal of the whorearchy?"

According to Zimbabwean memory "a prostitute is a deviant woman undeserving of respect, existing in opposition to celebrated patriarchal womanhood best defined by the Shona proverb *'musha mukadzi'* [a home is a woman]" (Nyambi, 2015:1105). This assertion reveals in summary, a common sentiment among Zimbabweans on sex work(ers); that sex work represents societal filth and that it is a reserve for 'loose' women. These and other misconceptions are facilitated and reinforced by religious and cultural institutions.

2.4 Sex Work as *Shavi*

As of 2018, it was revealed that 86 percent of the Zimbabwean population is Christian (United States Department of State 2018). The remainder includes a considerable number that subscribes to African traditional religion (ATR) and a portion that is syncretic - they identify as Christians and practice ATR on occasion. This discussion about Zimbabwe's religious demography and belief systems that will follow is not only meant to establish how much Zimbabwe is religious, but to also reveal how much religious sentiment matters and informs her moral fabric.

African Traditional Religion (ATR) is the cauldron of Zimbabwean traditional cultural value systems (Mbiti, 2015). At the heart of ATR ontology are *vadzimu/amadlozi* (ancestors) [11] who act as intermediaries between the living and God or the Supreme being *Mwari/Unkulunkulu*. Ancestors inform people's moral behaviour and conduct. Tabona Shoko (2012) identifies numerous spirits that populate the ATR universe. Within this spiritual firmament are *mashave* (alien spirits) under which sex work is categorised as *shave rechihure* (whore spirit). *Mashave* are spirits of people who died far away from home and did not get a decent burial (Maregedze 2019). These spirits then hover and wander around in search of a host from any family. In the

11 *Vadzimu* are spirits of people who died but exist in a spiritual form. The dead include family elders like fathers, mothers, grandfathers, grandmothers, uncles, cousins, aunts, etc.

context of sex work, it means that an individual who sells sex is possessed by the spirit of someone who was a 'whore' before they transcended. It may be of interest to note the framing of a whore in this context mostly refers to promiscuity rather than the actual trade of sex. The ancestor would have probably been involved with more than one lover.

With this perspective in mind, sex work is not considered work but a bad spirit that one must be cleansed from through a ceremony called *kugadzira* 'to repair'. This reading constructs a sex worker as victim of a bad spirit rather than an adult with choice. It is a consequential bad spirit more than it is a conscious decision. Some sex workers have internalised the fact that their actions are controlled by spiritual forces. In an interview, Emma from Harare, Zimbabwe asserts that:

> *kune vanoti kuhura ishave ini ndozvibvuma zveshuwa, pane pandendichiona kuti apa handisirini ndirikushanda, ishavi ririkutosenza pandiri because time yacho yandinenge ndisina kugarwa naro ndendisingazvide but dzimwe dzenguva ndendakatopfekwa naro ndendichitoda and varume vacho vanenge vakatowandisa* [some say that sex work is a *shave* and I do concur. Some days I actually see that I am not the one working but the spirit because when I am not possessed, I get disinterested. But sometimes I am entirely possessed by it so much that I enjoy, even the men will be coming in their numbers. (Soundproofilm 2020)

Sex work is also believed to be a threat to the family nucleus and the institution of patriarchy which are central in ATR. Cementing this, Tamale (2018) observes that, male dominance and female subordination, from the level of the family unit to the community and state levels, have to be maintained for the survival and supremacy of the two systems. It is against this background that sex work is condemned in ATR as moral degradation and a 'loss' of African culture. It is believed that people who subvert the moral codes of ATR such as 'prostitutes and homosexuals' attract ancestral wrath, not only for themselves but the entire populace. Preben Kaarsholm (2006) notes how some custodians of ATR, view HIV/AIDS, poverty, famine and other related social ills as a form of punishment from the ancestors. Thus, sex workers have been blamed for the spread of immorality, witchcraft and death in Zimbabwe and Africa at large.

2.5 Sex Work as Devilish Enterprise

Christianity too (another form of coloniality) perceives non-heteronormative sexual expressions as profane and evil. Sex work for one is considered sinful, immoral and a sign of impurity. It is denounced a number of times in the Christian Bible. Below are some of the verses from the King James Version (2015) that establish this:

> For a prostitute is a deep pit and a wayward wife is a narrow well. Like a bandit she lies in wait, and multiplies the unfaithful among men. Proverbs 23:27-28
>
> For the lips of an immoral woman drip honey, and her mouth is smoother than oil; But in the end she is bitter as wormwood, Sharp as a two-edged sword. Her feet go down to death. Her steps lay hold of hell. Proverbs 5:3-5
>
> When you are bringing an offering to fulfil a vow, you must not bring to the house of the Lord your God any offering from the earnings of a prostitute, whether a man or a woman, for both are detestable to the Lord your God. Deuteronomy 23:18
>
> None of the daughters of Israel shall be a cult prostitute, and none of the sons of Israel shall be a cult prostitute. You shall not bring the fee of a prostitute or the wages of a dog into the house of the Lord your God in payment for any vow, for both of these are an abomination to the Lord your God. Deuteronomy 23:17

While the verses above reveal how prostitution is biblically condemned, there are several prostitute accounts in the bible that arguably give a sympathetic portrayal of prostitution. Rahab is an interesting example to cite. She is the prostitute who helps Joshua's spies escape from Jericho after they had sneaked into the city (Joshua 2, 6:17-25). For this reason, she is celebrated as the "righteous whore" (Charles, 2011b:209) and upheld as a model of faith (Hebrews 11:31). In Physlis Ann Bird's book, *Harlot as Heroine* (2013) Rahab is profiled as a biblical heroine. In another dense analysis of Rahab, Obiorah Mary Jerome asserts that:

> Rahab is a model proselyte and a worthy ancestress of important people…one of the few women whom the Gospel according to Matthew included in the Genealogy of Jesus (Matthew 1:5) Secondly, the author of the Letter to the Hebrews (11:31) presents her as a prototype of faith in Israel. Finally, in the Letter of James (2:25) Rahab is an example of faith with good works, for in believing in the Lord she received the spies in her house (2014:19).

Another prostitute of interest is Gomah. She is chosen to fulfill God's instruction and desire which God communicated to Hosea thus: 'Go, take to yourself a wife of whoredom and have children of whoredom" (Hosea 1:2). While God's objective is not spelt out in the Bible, it is quite significant that a prostitute is chosen (regarded as impure) to not only marry but have children with Hosea (regarded pure). The idea of inclusivity that plays itself in the narrative cannot be taken for granted. Jesus Christ too engages with it in his encounters with prostitutes in the Bible.

While the above examples exhibit the levels of tolerance in some biblical accounts, it would be naive to overlook what may have been the overarching objectives of these narratives. It seems that prostitutes are strategically placed to emphasise the message of repentance or give a moral lesson. It has been argued that "more often than not, the concept of prostitution was used by biblical writers as a metaphor for unfaithfulness to God (prostitute appropriated to a foreign god) or as a judgment against detestable moral behaviour, be it sexual misconduct or economic injustice" (Naffziger 2011:1). It then makes sense that all the prostitutes Jesus encountered were forgiven upon repentance. Rahab too, was 'saved'. As for Gomah, most scholars converge on the idea that she is a metaphor that God used to express how his people (represented by Hosea) were whoring/prostituting with other gods and idols.

Both sides of the debate present a lot of positives in so far as the treatment of prostitutes is concerned. The former, which is a literal interpretation clearly epitomises the tolerance and to an extent celebration of prostitutes in the Bible. While emphasising the impurity and sinful nature of prostitution, the latter also symbolises tolerance in its deconstruction of the schisms between immorality and purity. There is a visible deliberate use of an inclusionary strategy in 'bringing prostitutes back to Christ' and involving them with significant 'men of God'. Germond and De Gruchy (1997) bemoan how this inclusionary discourse is the Christ like behaviour that many Christians of today have failed to adopt.

Sex work and Christianity are treated as mutually exclusive entities in Zimbabwe such that in his study on sex workers in Masvingo, Zimbabwe, Victor Muzvidziwa (1997:78) found it interesting that one of the four full time prostitutes he interviewed attended church on a regular basis. His assertion feeds into the general perception that sex work and Christianity occupy polar positions. Akin to ATR proponents, some Christian leaders claim that the Ebola virus that hit Africa was

sent by God to express his anger towards immoral acts like homosexuals and sex workers (Bongmba, 2016). This mind-set influences the discrimination and hostile treatment of people who engage in sex work. It is often that one hears statements like, "*hure ngaripiswe*" [the prostitute must be burnt] and this is always justified with some biblical references like Leviticus 21:9: "If a priest's daughter defiles herself by becoming a prostitute, she also defiles her father's holiness, and she must be burned to death". This is despite there being no incident in the Bible where a prostitute is actually beaten or burnt. Jesus actually challenges the Pharisees to only cast a stone on the prostitute at the well if they themselves were without sin.

I am also tempted to think that the casting of prostitutes as mostly female and male prostitutes as 'sodomites'[12] in the Bible may have cultivated the general belief in Zimbabwe that females are the face of sex work and males who engage in sex work are homosexuals. There are many correlations between what the Bible says and Zimbabweans' perceptions of sex work. Even the repentance trajectory is quite common in contemporary Zimbabwe. In 2014, Beverly Sibanda, a popular pole dancer (a form of sex work according to Weitzer (2009a) was converted to Christianity by Prophet Magaya who offered to open a 'legitimate' business for her (Samkange, 2014).

Having discussed sex work and religion in Zimbabwe, it is undeniable that Zimbabwe rates strongly among the most traditionally conservative, patriarchal and Christian dominated countries (Mudavanhu, 2010). Its influence on Zimbabweans' perceptions on sex work is also apparent. The language employed to explain the intolerance (alien spirit and sin) may be different, but it all translates to the perception that sex workers are possessed by bad spirits and are impure. The country is unkind to any form of sexual 'democracy' such that any sexual behaviour that is read as inconsistent with Zimbabwean mores and values is proscribed.

12 "There shall be no whore of the daughters of Israel, nor a sodomite of the sons of Israel." Deuteronomy 23:17.

2.6 Screwed By The System? Unpacking the Socio-cultural Realities of Zimbabwean Sex workers

> Devil, western styles, not employment my dear some of them are married or were married and divorced to pursue evil works some are from families of single mothers. All of these are failures, they failed their lives and *vanoshandira* devil. Women can still survive without being employed but man need to be employed for them to live *[sic*] - Mhofela.
>
> It is inhuman and sick to allow a thing called sex workers, such is inhuman and a poison to society. Zimbabwe must set up a system that will erase such madness. Those promoting such madness should be exposed as inhuman people. There is a problem and it must be fixed and not accepted you psychopaths – Marlvin
>
> I thought prostitution is illegal according to our laws. My question therefore is: can the government allow organisations to openly support and promote illegalities like this organisation is doing? This is no different from supporting homosexuality or any other illegalities for that matter. I would recommend for the government to deal with this NGO and others like it whose mission is to promote things or behaviours that our laws are clearly against - Pedzo

These remarks were passed by some Zimbabweans in response to an article which read, "12 383 sex workers register" in the country's most popular newspaper, The Herald (12 November 2013. This along with the discussion above on Zimbabwe's *hure* phobia above shows the level at which the subject of sex work instigates moral anxiety in Zimbabwe. It is this anxiety that invites all forms of violence upon sex workers or anyone who is perceived to be behaving or dressed like a sex worker.

In 1983, for example, Robert Mugabe the former president of Zimbabwe ordered massive roundups for people who were considered 'vagrants' and not earning an 'honest' living as part of a national clean- up campaign (Masakure, 2016, McClintock, 1992, Tandi, 2012). Women seen walking alone in the streets or living alone in the flats around the Avenues area (marked as the official red-light district in Harare) were the major targets. A lot of women, sex workers and non-sex workers were arrested and sent to camps where they would be subjected to appalling abuse during this clean up Zimbabwe operation (McClintock, 1992). That this 'clean- up' came up three years into the country's Independence from British colonial rule may also be indicative of Mugabe's and by extension Zimbabwe's perceptions about sex work. First, it is societal filth

that needs to be discarded from the face of the city and second, it is a western import that should not be associated with the pan African regime which he represented.

The campaign was not a once off event, it stretched over decades. It is only now that the harassment of women, particularly in the Avenues, has gone down because of the new law that was passed (this will be discussed later). In spite of this, the Avenues is still designated a hub of sexual deviance hence a hunting ground for the police. There are many recorded accounts where sex workers continue to be harassed and arrested by the police. Some are coerced into giving free sexual services or offer them willingly to police as bribe for their release (Mgbako, 2016, Scorgie et al., 2013a, Tandi, 2012).

Outside the physical violence, sex workers are subject to a lot of verbal abuse. Some of it is embedded in the language and/or labels used at sex workers. *Hure* which was discussed earlier on is used as the highest form of insult. This is also the case with terms like *pfambi*, *bhichocho* and *omahotsha* in isiNdebele[13] which are commonly used to describe sex workers in Zimbabwe. All of these "carry connotations of immorality and aberrant behaviour" (Nyambi, 2015:1105). The term *Pfambi* for example, is a noun derived from the shona term *mufambi* (a walker/traveller). The term is dense and layered. On one hand it connotes that sex workers are sexual travellers who journey from one person to the next with no fixed abode. On another, it suggests that sex workers are emotional spiritual 'vagrants' who do not have a moral grounding. *Pfambi* therefore translates to a placeless immoral individual. This *pfambi* notion also feeds into the perverse perception that sex workers are 'carriers of disease'.

13 Ndebele is the second national language in Zimbabwe.

Portrayals of Sex Work(ers) in Zimbabwean Media

The media that we consume plays a pivotal role in shaping and moulding our thinking patterns, attitudes and behaviours. This is well documented and supported theoretically. Acclaimed media theorist Marshall McLuhan (1964) and George Gerbner (1998) of the cultivation theory, have both found that various forms of media have the potential to shape and organise culture. Most of all they mould our perspective of self in relation to other people, other people in relation to us, actions and reactions. Dennis McQuail (2005) articulates this comprehensively through his Mass Communication Theory.

Not only does the media shape culture and social reality, inform our behaviours and attitudes, it also is key to the setting of agendas and focusing public interest on particular subjects, which operates to limit the range of arguments and perspectives that inform public debate (Happer and Philo, 2013:14). This idea of media having the power to inform which issues are important or subject to debate and discussion is the agenda of the Agenda setting theory (McCombs, 2007). According to this theory, media, particularly the news, has immense potential to exert significant influence on what issues the public focus on. The issues that receive the most attention from media therefore become the issues that the public discusses, debates, and demands action on. By implication, an issue that is not prioritised by the media (in its various forms) remains at the periphery of public memory and agenda.

Zimbabwe is a good example of how the media has been used strategically to direct and redirect what people think, discuss and act on. Whenever there is an outcry or complaint about governmental incompetence, issues of homosexuality top the national agenda. It seems that amid calls for a regime change, the late Robert Mugabe's anti-gay sentiment grew apace with the hyperinflation of the economy. He was a chief homophobic protagonist who up to his death publicly declared and maintained that 'we are not gays' [in Zimbabwe] to assert his Pan Africanist stance. The media, especially print, rode on his trajectory too. Thus, scholars have argued that he used homosexuality to discredit the opposition party and obstruct Zimbabweans from his inadequacies, that is, the country's economic woes (Sibanda, 2015, Epprecht, 2004, Mabvurira et al., 2012). Resultantly, LGBTI+ people have borne the brunt of these diversionary tactics.

While most of the theories above were put forward in response to mass media, they are also applicable to new/ online media. The influence cuts across all forms of media. Using a Facebook influence model, Megan Moreno and Rosalind Koff (2016) observe the significant influence of new media in establishing social norms, identity, identity expression, preoccupations and distractions. The impact is even heightened by the fact that new media offers an opportunity for people to spend considerable time-consuming news and entertainment. In 2014, Hakim Mehraj projected that people spend, on average, 25 hours per week either online or watching television, while also finding time for radio, cinema, magazines and newspapers. 6 years later, at the height of the 4th industrial revolution[14], one wonders now what the consumption rates look like.

By pointing out the effects of social media on people, I am not attempting to discredit or nullify people's ability to sieve or absorb news critically. It is a mere acknowledgement of how the images and sounds we take in through media are susceptible to creating and/or shifting our mind-sets, shape public perception about particular issues and influence behaviours and attitudes. In relation to this, it is necessary and crucial to read into and analyse Zimbabwean media as a means of gaining insight into people's perceptions of sex workers.

Most mass media fraternities in Zimbabwe are run by the State. Those that operate 'independently' are frequently censored as the media governing bodies in the country are constricted and captured (Gwindingwe et al., 2020). In order to buttress their monopoly over the media, government has introduced numerous laws among them Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act (AIPPA, Public Order and Security Act (POSA) and the Broadcasting Services Act. Online media is not immune to this State interference. Chapter 11:20 of The Interception of Communications Act

> provides for the lawful interception and monitoring of certain communications in the course of their transmission through a telecommunication, postal or any other related service or system in Zimbabwe; to provide for the establishment of a monitoring centre; and to provide for any other matters connected with or incidental to the foregoing. (2007)

14 This characterized by a fusion of technologies that is blurring the lines between the physical, digital, and biological spheres and as such the possibilities of billions of people connected by mobile devices, with unprecedented processing power, storage capacity, and access to knowledge, are unlimited (Schwab, 2016)

Through this law, the government has been legally justified in their interference with online media. In January 2019, they shut down the internet for a week in response to the protests that broke out nationwide[15]. The act was justified as a way of thwarting cyber terrorism, maintaining security and peace in the country. Elliot Muchena (2013) laments how the media is perpetually used to control and manipulate the masses yet "most of the sons and daughters of Zimbabwe joined the liberation struggle to fight some of the unfair pieces of legislation such as freedom of expression". Ironically, media laws in Zimbabwe are a caricature of the Rhodesian (colonial) government which used media as political weaponry (Mazango, 2005).

Within this porous mediascape, sex workers are generally invisible. If and when they are visible, the portrayal is often negative. This is ubiquitous across all media and perhaps feeding off or into the dominant images of sex workers in Zimbabwe, which Chitando (2011) labels as patriarchal and inherently negative.

15 https://abcnews.go.com/International/wireStory/zimbabwe-forces-total-internet-shutdown-amid-unrest-60462190.

https://www.npr.org/2019/01/18/686448187/zimbabwe-orders-second-internet-shutdown-in-a-week-of-deadly-protests.

https://www.news24.com/Africa/Zimbabwe/zimbabwe-again-forces-total-internet-shutdown-amid-unrest-20190118-2.

Sex Worker Stories in Newspapers

Pic 3. Sex worker meets law enforcement (Picture accessed from www.sundaymail.co.zw, 2018).

The picture above accompanied a story in the Sunday Mail of 26 August 2018 under the headline, "*This is Our Own Sin City*". The opening paragraph of the story read:

> When God rained fire on Sodom and Gomorrah, the twin sin cities of biblical times did not die. They simply waited some 5 000 years to relocate to downtown Harare. A grid formed by Jason Moyo Avenue, Mbuya Nehanda Street, Nelson Mandela Avenue and Luck Street in the downtown section of the capital are our very own Sin City…

Both the image and the content extend a problematic portrayal of sex workers. The content literally casts them as Sodom and Gomorrah remnants hence sinners while the image reinforces the criminality of sex work by juxtaposing the police officer and the supposed sex worker. Moreover, the image of the sex worker as a **woman** who is wearing a mini-skirt perpetuates stereotypes about sex work being a female preserve that is denoted by wearing mini-skirts. Thus, the prejudice embodied in and transported through the veins of images and words cannot be ignored.

While this is a common feature in Zimbabwean newspapers, it is not the only narrative. Sometimes newspapers publish articles that are sympathetic and humane towards sex workers. As an example, *The Standard* carried a story on male sex workers under the

headline, 'Male Sex Worker Bares Soul' on the 20th of August 2017[16]. The article, is in my opinion, progressive. First, it gave space for sex workers to tell their own story which is a rarity in Zimbabwe. Second, it was counter discursive in its challenging of the profession along gender lines. The image on the article, which may not necessarily be representative of the reality of male sex workers in the country also promulgated alternative ways of thinking about sex workers that challenge the mainstream vitriol.

Pic 4. Sex worker stories in newspapers (Picture taken from www.thestandard.co.zw/2017/08/20/)

While this kind of narrative is still scarce in Zimbabwean newspapers, the fair shift in the way journalists report on issues to do with sex work in Zimbabwe over the years is commendable. There has also been a steady increase in the number of newspaper articles stories sex workers as will be exhibited in a table of selected headlines overleaf. Perhaps this is so because some Non-governmental Organisations (NGO's) now buy columns in some newspapers. Whichever way, there is a gleam of hope in the current trajectory.

16 https://www.thestandard.co.zw/2017/08/20/male-sex-worker-bares-soul/.

Date	Newspaper	Headline	Source
04 August 2017	H-Metro	Prostitutes Offer Free Sex at Thief's Funeral	https://www.pazimbabwe.com
22 August 2017	H-Metro	Male Sex Workers on The Rise	hmetro.co.zw/male-sex-workers-on-the-rise/
20 August 2017	The Standard	Male Sex Worker Bares Soul.	https://www.thestandard.co.zw/2017/08/20/male-sex-worker-bares-soul/
19 January 2018	Zimbabwe Independent	Being Gay In Zim: A Male Sex Worker Opens Up On Choice	https://www.theindependent.co.zw/2018/01/19/gay-zim-male-sex-worker-opens-choice/
23 July 2018	The Chronicle	Over 50% of prostitutes are HIV+.	https://www.chronicle.co.zw/over-50-percent-of-prostitutes-hiv/
24 January 2018	H-Metro	*Madzimai* in Sex Work.	hmetro.co.zw/madzimai-in-sex-work/
12 March 2018	H- Metro	Manager Sent Me To Sex Work.	hmetro.co.zw/manager-sent-me-to-sex-work/
27 March 2018	The Herald	CESHHAR Opens Health Centre For Sex Workers.	https://www.herald.co.zw/ceshhar-opens-health-centre-for-sex-workers/.

Table 1: Changing sex worker narratives in Zimbabwean media

Novels

Sex workers occupy considerable space in the literary industry of Zimbabwe. Patrick Chakaipa's *Garandichauya* (1964), Ignatius Mabasa's *Mapenzi* (1999) as well as Farai Nyandoro's *Ndozviudza Aniko*? (2006) are some of the texts that touch the fringe of the subject. Where sex work is not the thrust of the novel, some of these texts have sex worker characters as

protagonists. However, most of them construct sex work as an unintelligible life path by desperate women. In *Mapenzi* and *Garandichauya* for example the protagonists are sex workers and they are portrayed as deviant women. Wellington Wasosa (2011:26) notes how the author "blames Muchaneta's [sex worker] mother for bad tutelage…which is against the society's cultural ethos" in *Garandichauya.*

This single story projected in most literary works in Zimbabwe is however challenged by Virginia Phiri's oeuvre of literature. Her novels *Desperate* (2012) and *Highway Queen* give sex workers a humane face and are written from a sex worker perspective. In a newspaper interview, Phiri narrates that her impulse to write about sex workers emanates from how they gave her shelter during the liberation struggle (Tapureta 2018). However, her work is not very popular with both publishers and consumers in Zimbabwe. She has had to self-publish her books ergo, they still suffer "critical neglect" (Nyambi 2015:1103).

Theatre

In the mainstream theatrical realm, not much has been done on sex work. Albeit, negative narratives of prostitution are always ingrained in most plays often to stress a moral point. With the exception of *Sinners?* (2011) and *Molly Street*, I have not encountered a play that solely focuses on sex work(ers).

Sinners? was written by Patrick Chasaya, a Development Studies degree holder who believes in the power of theatre to facilitate community development and empowerment (The Zimbabwean 2011). The play however does not seem to live up to his aspirations. First, it does not challenge the predominant narrative that sex workers are not sinners. It seems otherwise to proliferate the notion as the three protagonists (sex workers) get to be involved in raping and harvesting their clients' sperm. The play's attempts to highlight the plight of sex workers in the City are compromised thereof. It fails to evade stereotypical and prejudicial traps characterised with the subject in Zimbabwe. Moreover, all of the characters are females who resort to sex work as a means of eking for survival not necessarily out of choice. In a review, The Standard (27 June, 2011) wrote, "[the play] does attempt to highlight the abuse that sex workers experience at the hands of the police but very little is explored in this regard...it needs to balance form with matter,

and develop a sense of audience empathy in its character portrayal as well as develop a more convincing conclusion".

Molly Street, written by Peter Churu (2017) is a play that explores the journey of a sex worker and celebrates her as a heroine. This play is derived from the real-life story of Molly, a sex worker from Chiredzi who plied her trade in the 60s and was eventually murdered. He wrote the play after Zimbabweans responded with anger to Chiredzi Municipality's decision to honour sex workers like Molly and Hilda for making the town popular, by naming streets after them[17]. However, Molly Street is still a script yet to be staged. According to Peter Churu, it has been difficult to attract funding for the play.

Apart from mainstream theatre, there could be theatre for development performances about sex workers mainly commissioned by Non-governmental organisations. These are rarely consumed publicly. If at all they are documented, they are not accessible on the public domain. One, Chirimumimba (2018) documents a participatory theatre project on sex workers in Harare, Zimbabwe to improve relations between female sex workers and the general public. Akin to this study it is a research-oriented production. It is possible that there are other researchers who have done theatrical interventions on/about sex workers that I am not aware of.

Outside the above examples that fall neatly within the genres of mainstream theatre, there is another popular theatrical phenomenon by sex workers. They perform whenever a colleague or popular client dies. The performances are usually a mimicry of the deceased's personality, behaviour and conduct interspersed with dance and song. Funeral performances where people sing, dance and imitate the deceased are not unusual in Africa (Oripeloye, 2016, Nwosu, 2019, Kamwendo and Manyeruke, 2017). They are an integral ritual. However, typical performances usually present a sanitised version of the deceased's lifestyle, hence the popular phrase, '*wafa wanaka/'* [a dead person is a righteous person]. Any behaviours associated with the deceased that are considered morally reprehensible or taboo are not often included.

17 https://www.iol.co.za/news/africa/zim-city-honours-prostitutes-who-made-the-town-popular-8757927.

For this reason, sex worker performances at funerals are almost always met with apprehension by the deceased's family. Some even attempt to stop the performances by bringing in members of the police. It is anathema to them. Especially considering that performers are always dressed in revealing outfits and exaggerated makeup often depicting the 'archetypical prostitute'. The dances too, are characterised by vigorous waist and hip gyrations that simulate sexual activity around the coffin.[18] In some instances, performers use props like condoms which they blow and parade. It is quite a full-on aesthetic display.

Pic 5. Sex worker performances at funerals (Pictures sourced from H-Metro, 2018)

Reflectively, the sanctioning of sex worker performances in Zimbabwe invoke the 'postcolonial hauntology's' that Ayo Coly writes about. Postcolonial hauntologies according to her, signal the extension of colonial(ism) trauma (Coly, 2019:15). At the advent of the missionaries in the then Rhodesia, *Mbende*/*Jerusarema* a Shona traditional dance was banned (Asante, 1985), on the pretext that it is heathen. Similar to sex worker performances, the dance is characterised by "sensual, acrobatic waist-shaking and hip movements by women in unison with men, both dancers ending with energetic thrusts of the pelvis directed towards each other" (Mataga, 2008:97).

18 Typical funeral performances can be accessed on https://youtu.be/M4FwPDx2bDY, https://youtu.be/9FYaYBWdtkQ.

There are several other African conceptions/manifestations of performance that were distorted as a result of the colonial encounter. Funeral performances, among other rituals that constituted performance in an African sense, did not find space within the European established definitions of theatre. Unlike schools of thought that detach theatre from everyday life, boundaries are far more blurred within African contexts (Kamlongera, 1989)[19]. In the African sense of theatre therefore, funeral performances by sex workers are indeed a form of theatrical activity.

Film

Sex work is a prominent theme in most Zimbabwean fiction films. Where sex work is not necessarily a major theme in the film, it is often that there is a sex worker character. This trend is traceable in local dramas such as, *Mukadota, Parrafin, Mawoko Matema* and *Fidelis*. The sex worker character is usually portrayed as a **woman** of loose morals who wrecks the family unit. In most instances she gets HIV as a form of punishment or repents into a 'respectable woman' through divine intervention.

After a long search, *Sinners* (2013) a play adaptation, is the only movie that fully explores sex workers' lives that I could locate, view and analyse. There could be more, but they are not within reach. Nyasha Mboti (2016:148) warns about this paucity of data on the local film industry, which makes the task of researching the Zimbabwean film industry very difficult. The movie *Sinners*, focuses on the lives of three sex workers who venture into a lucrative deal of kidnapping, raping and harvesting sperm from men. As suggested by one of the characters' words, "*hatizi mahure* [we are not whores] we are business people"[20], the movie aims to situate sex work as work. However, it is largely successful in portraying sex workers as desperate women, who are a social menace.

The title itself is pregnant with prejudice. Thando Sithole (2013) echoed that, "the title Sinners sounds so apt there are some people who say in Shona, *mukadzi akapotsa anzi mutadzi*". This statement literally translates to, 'a woman was almost named/called a sinner'. Those who use it, usually men justify that the reason why *mutadzi* and *mukadzi* have the same aurality and only one syllable separates them is that a woman is closely associated with sin. This feeds off the

19 This will be explained further in the Chapter 4.

20 Watch trailer on https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QukDM3NYVbU.

legacy of women (represented by Eve in the Bible) as the gender that sold humanity's soul to the devil.[21]

On the non-fictional scene are numerous documentaries that focus on sex workers. A lot of these documentaries are either shown during workshops and conferences by NGO's (who happen to commission most if not all of them) or flight on Youtube, an online video platform. They have not penetrated the heavily censored (Mboti, 2016) and only television channel – Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC). It is no surprise therefore that health access is a major theme in the documentaries in line with the NGO agendas.

I must mention however that while these documentaries are commendable some of them are ill considered ethically. Not much effort is made to protect the interviewees. In a documentary by Soundproofilm (2020) for instance, a sex worker responds that

> *inini baba namai vangu kana masisters havazive zvandinoita zvekuti ndoenda kubhawa ndichinokechesa…zvinhu zvinotorema kwavari kuti vanzwe kuti ndoita zvinhu zvakadaro saka hazviite kuti vazvizive* [my parents and siblings are not aware of what I do, going to the clubs and selling sex. It would be unfathomable for them to hear that I do such, so they should never know]

It is puzzling why the producer would still publicise the documentary on public online media when the respondent is clearly closeted. To date, the video has 724,567 views and the likelihood is that her family has seen it. What was possibly a well-meant endeavour could easily create a wedge between the featured woman and her family.

Besides documentaries, there is a talk show, *Issues Pane Nyaya* produced by Rejoice Nharaunda which has also been at the forefront of sex work advocacy. The show that focuses mostly on issues that are considered taboo is aired concurrently on Zimpapers Television Network (ZTN) and StarFm. ZTN is an independent online channel, and *Star Fm* is one of the privately-owned popular radio stations in the country. Sex workers of all genders have been interviewed on *Issues Pane nyaya* including clients. Indicatively, the Zimbabwean populace is engaging with the programme because their Facebook page has a healthy followership.

21 In Genesis 3 vs 6.

And What Does the Law Say?

Zimbabwean legal prescriptions pertaining to sex and sexuality are often misinterpreted. As a result, there are a lot of legal myths that are disguised as facts. The subject is embroiled in confusion, contradictions and controversies, hence meriting the discussion.

For the longest time in Zimbabwe, soliciting or selling sex was illegal under section 81(2) of the Criminal Law (Codification and Reform) Act (Chapter 9:23). This legal prescription like other criminal frameworks that govern sexualities in Africa today, is a remnant of colonial laws. Therefore, it is no surprise that this law was used to arrest women seen walking around red-light districts after dusk akin to how black natives were treated by the white minority during the colonial epoch in Zimbabwe. Several women including non-sex workers fell prey to this legislation especially in the Avenues which serve both as residential and sex work hub. Apparently, the arrests were gendered.

This law was then challenged in a court order by nine women who had been arrested in Harare's Avenues residential area under a Zimbabwe Republic Police operation code-named Operation No to Robberies and Prostitution. The nine women contested that fundamental rights to liberty as provided for in Section 49 of the Constitution and their right to the protection of the law as guaranteed in Section 56 of the Constitution had been violated. After this case was heard, the Constitutional Court of Zimbabwe ruled that the arrests of women in the absence of a man who claims to have been approached were unconstitutional. A majority of Zimbabweans misinterpreted this court ruling:

> Today we are looking at one of the court judgements that has become a thorn in the flesh for many Zimbabweans. Did the Constitutional Court legalise sex work? What was the effect of the order that was made by the Concourt? There have been numerous misinterpretations of a number of court pronouncements. One such misinterpretation is towards the constitutional ruling that stated that the arrest of nine women alleged to have been soliciting for purposes of prostitution was unconstitutional as it deprived them of their right to liberty. Many Zimbabweans took it to mean that the Concourt had legalised sex work in Zimbabwe. This has caused a lot of hullabaloo with people blasting the bench for promoting immorality. (Herald 08 October 2018)

This opening paragraph in an article written by Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights for the *Herald* clarifies the illegal status of sex work in Zimbabwe. The court order did not legalise sex work, rather it ended the criminalisation of free movement of all women. Busza (2017:2) perceived this development as good news for sex workers in Zimbabwe as the court order will improve their safety in the absence of decriminalisation. Human rights activists across the country also celebrated this, as a landmark ruling that is one step in the right direction.

While I acknowledge the court order as progressive, I am not convinced that it benefits sex workers more than it does ordinary women who were being arrested arbitrarily on the streets. Sex workers remain criminals in the face of the law in Zimbabwe. Moreover, the idea that police have to find solid evidence that someone was indeed soliciting for prostitution before making an arrest, with the power resting on the man to determine whether it was solicitation or not is very problematic. The claws of patriarchy on the lawscape are quite visible. As Tamale (2011) argues, prostitution laws are used as tools of control, surveillance and regulation of female sexuality.

2.7 Sex Work Advocacy in Zimbabwe

Sex work advocacy in Zimbabwe has gained momentum over the years, channelled and championed by non - governmental organisations. At the helm is the Centre for Health and HIV/AIDS Research in Zimbabwe (CeSHHAR). A large component of their work involves the provision of "HIV prevention, treatment and care for sex workers to improve their Sexual and Reproductive Health" (http://ceshhar.org). The philosophy behind this being that "sex workers are at very high risk of acquiring and transmitting HIV infection" (http://ceshhar.org/our-work/key-populations/) hence central in the global fight against the HIV/AIDS epidemic.

Working with sex workers for HIV prevention is a mutual objective among most of the organisations that do sex worker advocacy in Zimbabwe. SAfAIDS, Real Open Opportunities for Transformation Support (ROOTS), Katswe Sistahood, Sexual Rights Centre, Trans and Intersex Rising Zimbabwe (TIERZ) and the Gays and Lesbian of Zimbabwe all have sex work advocacy as a component within their broader sexual reproductive health programming. Their interventions include setting up friendly health centres, disbursing sex paraphernalia such as condoms and disseminating information.

Although HIV prevention is clearly the thrust with most of these organisations, some go beyond that. The Sexual Rights Centre for example, managed to secure a stand for sex workers at the Zimbabwe International Trade Fair (ZITF) in 2018[22]. Through this platform sex workers shared experiences with people from various walks of life. It is also then that they got an audience with the president of Zimbabwe, Emmerson Mnangagwa - a first time occurrence in Zimbabwe.

Pic 6. Sex workers exhibiting at the ZITF (Picture accessed from https://face2faceafrica.com/article/sex-workers-get-exhibition-stand-at-zimbabwes-international-trade-fair-event.)

According to a brief contextual search that I conducted, there are only a few organisations whose full mandate is sex work advocacy:

- Zimbabwe Sex Workers Alliance (ZIMSWA)
- Zimbabwe Rainbow Community (ZRC)
- Space for marginalised Groups in Diversity in Zimbabwe Trust (SMDGZ)
- Pow Wow

22 https://www.newsday.co.zw/2018/04/sex-workers-show-off-work/.

https://www.dailynews.co.zw/articles/2018/04/28/sex-workers-exhibit-at-zitf.

These organisations were founded and are run by sex workers although focusing on different target groups. Specifically, ZRC works with male sex workers, while SMDGZ concentrates on transgender sex workers. Pow Wow and ZIMSWA work with sex workers of all genders. According to the organisational profiles that I read on the Global Network of Sex Work projects' website, all of them have a shared commitment to advocating for universal health care access, fighting for decriminalisation, challenging stigma and discrimination as well as economic empowerment (https://www.nswp.org/). Lamentably however, these organisations occupy the peripheries of the national gaze. They are barely known albeit conducting strong advocacy campaigns that have given space to sex workers' narratives, pushed the boundaries and engineered change in their lives.

2.8 Sex Work Scholarship in Zimbabwe

The account given above, of sex workers' socio-political cultural realities suggest that Zimbabwe is largely whorephobic. This probably explains why the number of scholars interested in the subject is relatively small. The dearth of scholarship on sex work among black Zimbabwean scholars is more noticeable. When people write about sex work, it is often mentioned as part of broader discussions on HIV and other STD's, not as a primary subject in itself.

Much literature on sex work in Zimbabwe focuses on health, particularly HIV and AIDS (Busza et al., 2017, Hunt et al., 2017, Steen et al., 2019, Napierala et al., 2018, Elmes et al., 2017, Crankshaw et al., 2020). Among the critical issues noted are the high prevalence rate of HIV and other STI's among sex workers. The prevalence, according to a report by Fiona Scourgie (2011) is commonly 10-20-fold higher than among the general population. Meanwhile, Frances Cowan et al. (2019:62) reveal that 70% (90% range: 32%, 93%) of all new infections in Zimbabwe from 2010 are directly or indirectly attributable to transmission via sex work and that female sex workers (FSWs) are at high risk of acquisition and transmission.

These statistics influence the research output on behaviour change and other programmes that can be implemented to alleviate HIV among sex workers (Ngugi et al., 1996, Cowan et al., 2013, Kesby, 2000, Wilson, 2015). Elizabeth Fearon et al. (2019) for example, explores how programmes can best be designed and implemented better to avoid HIV infection among female sex workers in Zimbabwe. While such work is important, it in some ways perpetuates the

'whore stigma' (McClintock, 1992) either overtly or by implication. Much similar to the "tropology of infectiousness and contagion with racial blackness that insinuates blackness as the racialised form of the death drive" (Nyong'o, 2012:42).

It is undisputable that sex work entails some health risks but to blame an entire pandemic on a specific group is unfounded. "While many sex work settings contain features that facilitate the spread of HIV including multiple sexual partners, the pre-existence of STI's possible exposure to contaminated needles and high levels of sexual of violence" Richter (2013:11) argues "it does not follow that sex workers themselves are responsible for the HIV epidemic which is often implied". Certainly, the general population are also carriers of STIs and practice unsafe sex with multiple sexual partners. As such, the notion that sex workers are vectors of disease is a misleading notion that must be challenged.

Other scholars explore sex work as a source of livelihood (Takawira and Helliker, 2018). Broadly though, these discussions are within the context of poverty. How poverty is a major motivation for sex work in Zimbabwe and sex work is a desperate form of earning a living, not a legitimate form of labour in itself. This forms part of the global sex work as capitalism conversation. However, scholars like Michelle Takawira (2016) identify sex work as a major livelihood strategy for Zimbabwean women. Abel Kapodogo et al. (2019) actually identify it as an occupational sector. Meanwhile, Victor Muzvidziwa (1997) considers sex work as a form of vendorism. These are among the few articles that perceive sex work as genuine labour.

There are also scholars who look into the experiences of sex workers beyond poverty and HIV albeit a few. Be it the portrayals of sex workers in novels (Nyambi, 2015), experiences of sex workers with disabilities (Rugoho, 2019) or improving relations between female sex workers and the general public (Chirimumimba, 2018).

This study is interested in understanding the realities of sex workers (of all genders) – at an experiential level. The personal narratives given by sex workers themselves through storytelling (PPT) with the hope of providing a rich archive of knowledge beyond biomedical facts that abound in literature.

2.9 Conclusion

In this chapter I attempted a detailed discussion of sex work in Zimbabwe. I started by unpacking the definitions and terms around the subject before exploring the various socio-political realities of sex work in the world at large and Zimbabwe in particular. This included an in-depth discussion about people's perceptions, media portrayals of sex work(ers) and the legal status of sex workers. I also gave a sneak preview of sex work advocacy before closing off with a brief review of sex work scholarship in Zimbabwe. Several issues came to the fore, but chiefly it was established in the chapter that negative constructions of sex workers as the 'carriers of disease' or disgrace to African *hunhuism/ubuntu* are dominant across socio-political strata. Zimbabwe may be among those nations that as feared by Philip Hubbard, in *Cities and Sexualities* (2011:27), are creating an anti-sexual city instead of anti-sexist one.

Chapter 3: Theorising Sex Work in Africa

> The potency of feminist consciousness is that moment when one is able to see one's world clearly and recognise the capacity to nurture, protect and celebrate the wonder of being a free woman. (McFadden, 2003:1)

> African female bodies are haunted by the past, but also the possibility of a return of the past in the future. To be haunted is to be tied to social and historical effects. Haunting is about endings that are not over. (Coly, 2019:2)

> How can a 'dismembered' people be 'remembered', how can they relaunch themselves from the world on 'non – being' into a world of 'being'? (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2015:23)

3.0 Theoretically Speaking…

"So which theory are you going to use?" was my Honours supervisor's favourite question yet my worst. I hated the term theory. The mere mention of it made my head spin. It made me cringe and always invited confusion. I did not even understand why he needed me to include theory in my dissertation. So, I would always mumble or over explain my ideas only to be confronted with the question again – which theory will you be using for your study? The inability to provide a concise answer as to what theory I was going to use, ushered in confusion and a feeling of inadequacy.

This discomfort became the launch pad of an inquiry; what is theory and why theory? There began a considerably healthy relationship with theory. Perhaps I never hated theory, but my idea of what it was. I had thought of theory as an encrypted discipline that did not correlate with my subjectivity or what I was investigating. The continued search for what theory is, could be and why I needed it, landed me to a place of appreciating theory. bell hooks' writing, specifically that on theory as a liberatory practice helped me embrace and love theory. She writes that:

> I came to theory because I was hurting— the pain within me was so intense that I could not go on living. I came to theory desperate, wanting to comprehend— to grasp what was happening around and within me. Most importantly, I wanted to make the hurt go away. I saw in theory then a location for healing (hooks, 1996: 59)

These words got me to the understanding that theory is also about me. That it has room to accommodate my pains, hurts, joys and curiosities about the world and how it functions. I understood that theory is not detached from my everyday realities and practices, rather it is informed by it and vice-versa.

My initial aversion to theory is shared by many across the globe, more specifically Africa. It is so common that, Obioma Nnaemeka had to offer a cautionary note to women of colour like myself:

> I am wary of a stance that is staunchly antitheory that it leaves no room for any engagement with theory. Theory plays a central role in helping scrutinise, decipher and name the everyday, even as practice of everyday informs theory making…to dismiss theory as always irrelevant is not helpful. 2003:358)

Theory is crucial in any scholarly endeavour. Theory can amplify voices; but it can also mute those voices. Sex workers have either been on the peripheries of theoretical engagement or conceptualized as sick and diseased. As an example, according to the core group theory - a critical theoretical concept in sexually transmitted disease (STD) epidemiology, sex workers are said to be disproportionately responsible for maintaining transmission in a population (Gesink et al., 2011:82). Today, most NGO interventions scholarship on sex work are modelled and informed by this theory[23]. This chapter is an exploration of the diverse theoretical perspectives that will aide me in exploring the discursive power/identity of African sex workers in Zimbabwe through the retelling of their own narratives. This will be done in two sections. In the first section I engage with feminist theories, followed by Decoloniality.

23 I exhibited in the previous chapters how literature on sex work mainly carries a public health agenda. This informs the robust engagement of sex workers in HIV programming so as to contain the disease so that it does not spread to 'the general public'.

3.1 Enter Feminism(s)

I think of feminism and its politics in the same way I think of hair. Straight, curly, natural, treated, blonde, brunette, red, grey or black; it is diverse. Suffice to say, there are almost as many strands and varieties of feminism today as there are hairs in the head. Of course, this is a metaphor but a nevertheless useful one when trying to conceptualise the numerical abundance and complexity that feminisms are and how they are connected to the personal, the political. What was once perceived a neatly defined category – feminism, has become a multifaceted, multidisciplinary space characterised by various definitions and conceptualisations across time, disciplines and geographical location hence feminisms[24]. Perhaps it was never a neat category, but its apparent *messiness* has become increasingly an area of contestation in recent years. Feminism has become a hotly contested discipline where scholars duel on definitions, language as well as other ontological and epistemological suppositions. This has made it difficult to provide a solid definition of this discipline.

In the absence of one coherent definition and an overwhelming presence of various strands and sometimes conflicting approaches to feminist philosophy, there seems to be a common commitment to ameliorate the lives of women. This ultimate objective is well articulated by Amina Mama. She postulates that feminism is a refusal of oppression, and a commitment to struggling for women's liberation from all forms of oppression –internal, external, psychological and emotional, socio-economic, political and philosophical (2001:59). Pinkie Mekgwe (2007) concurs that feminism is both an activist movement and a body of literature that underlines the need for a positive transformation of society such that women are not marginalized but are treated as full citizens in all spheres of life. I am particularly drawn to bell hooks' (1988) supple yet succinct definition of feminism as simply a fight against sexism, sexist exploitation and oppression.

However, the general consensus that there is a need to fight for women's emancipation does not end with that. It invites questions like emancipation from what or who? How this can this be achieved and who should emancipate whom? Ironically therefore, the common commitment or

24 The guiding premise of "Feminism (n.) Plural" is that feminism is not a monolithic movement but instead an ever-evolving concept (Ise, 2015).

objective in feminist philosophy also happens to be the point at which divergence is established. It is in the context of this questioning that women of colour began to contest mainstream feminism as one dimensional - a mere battle for gender equality. They found this as a lacking endeavour in that it was oblivious to the other dimensions of identities such as race and class. A crop of feminist thinkers emerged out of this contestation, most of which pioneered postcolonial feminist theories, which undergird this study.

Even within the mainstream camp itself, there have been contestations around what emancipation means. As what could be deemed emancipatory in one camp, could be read as oppressive in another. The feminist wars of the 70s are a good example of this and it is crucial that I discuss them as a foundation to my theoretical exploration.

Carisa Showden (2016:1) describes these wars as debates among feminists about ways in which both sexual orientation and sexual practices can contribute to either domination or liberation. Jenn Basiliere however gives a more succinct description that also provides a bit of context and background on these wars:

> This conflict rose to the surface of feminist discussions partially as a result of a conference held at Barnard College in 1982. As a result of the conversations that happened at this conference, a clash surfaced between women who embraced the pleasure of sexuality, and women who focused on the dangers inherent in sexual exploration. Women who embraced pleasure often acknowledged the dangers inherent in female sexuality but chose to focus their analysis on the positive aspects of sexual interaction. On the other hand, women who centred their discussions of sexuality on danger acknowledged the possibility for pleasure in sexual acts, but believed that the inherent dangers (rape, sexual assault, domestic violence) overshadowed any pleasure that could be gained. While there were certainly feminist thinkers who fell somewhere in the middle, the broader feminist discussion became organized around this dichotomy. (2008: 6)

Simply put therefore, the feminist wars refer to the polarisation of two feminist camps on the issues of feminist sexual morality (Ferguson, 1984:106). The two camps feat, abolitionists and pro sex feminists. While the feminist wars are as indicated above a collective of debates around issues of female sexuality and sexual activity dating from the 80s, sex work has emerged the hottest area of contention in contemporary feminist wars. Chi Mgbako and Laura Smith (2009) vociferously state that the prostitution debate has divided the feminist world.

Sex Workers as Sexual Slaves: An Abolitionist Perspective

The fundamental premise of the abolitionist position on sex work is that sex work is an embodiment of patriarchy that contributes largely to gender inequality (Barry, 1996, Farley, 2004). Proponents of this position recognise sex work as a "particularly vicious institution of inequality of the sexes" (Farley 2004:1117) that "doles out death and disease to women" (Raymond 2004:118). Ronald Weitzer (2005:935) in his critique of what he terms 'prostitution studies' states that, "radical feminists view sex workers as categorically evil, the epitome of male domination and exploitation of women irrespective of historical time period, societal context or type of prostitution". The feminist abolitionist perspective therefore casts sex workers as powerless victims of sexual slavery who need 'saving'.

In their critical opprobrium, abolitionists often use hefty language to assert their position. In most studies belonging to this camp, sex workers are referred to as 'prostituted women'. This of course is meant to emphasise passivity/ lack of agency on the part of the sex workers, where prostitution is what happens to them not what they do. It is a deliberate political decision to symbolise the lack of choice women have over being used in prostitution" (Jeffereys 1997:330). For this reason, Mellissa Farley (2004) considers sex work an activity that is 'bad for the body and bad for the heart' while Catharine MacKinnon (1984) outrightly declares that 'sex work is not work, work is not sexual'.

Not only does the anti-prostitution camp think sex work is exploitative to those who engage in it, they extend that it also promotes sexist attitudes and sexually aggressive male behaviour toward *all* women. Their argument is that the 'loose behaviour' exhibited by sex workers sabotages women as a political group, whether or not they ply the trade. In Jody Freeman's words, "prostitution is a manifestation of patriarchy rooted in the sexual exploitation of women which reinforces female subjugation (cited in Mgbako and Smith 2011:1178). Ironically, although abolitionism is the position taken by radical feminists it is also quite popular and draws tremendous support from several conservative institutions that thrive on 'Right' politics. These range from churches, other religious circles as well as non-governmental organizations who have embarked on 'saving' operations. Abolitionist thinking has also established strong roots that consolidate the conservative politics that have always enjoyed traditional dominance in Africa. Mgbako and Smith (2011:1178) unpack the conservative stance as thus; "African societies

promote the stigmatisation of sex workers by often casting them as vectors of disease who are at odds with the sexual mores of conservative societies".

The convergence of radical feminism along with the church, law, African tradition among other disciplines is an example of disparate discourses forming solidarity to pursue a disciplinarian and containing agenda. This is a common trajectory particularly when it comes to matters of sex and sexuality.

Sex Workers as Brave Bitches: A Pro – Sex Feminist Position

Occupying a polar position to the abolitionists are the pro-sex feminists. This camp contends that "the commercialisation of sex subverts heteronormative sexual norms and the prescribed sexual double standard between genders" (Zangger, 2010:569). With this reasoning in perspective, sex work becomes an act that challenges sexual mores and a tool to further gender equality as opposed to inequality and sex workers are portrayed as empowered beings. In extending their critique, pro-sex feminists perceive the abolitionists as feminists who rely on heteronormative ideals to suppress sexual liberation among women and perpetuate the same gender inequalities that they claim to be countering (Ahmed, 2011, Kempadoo and Doezema, 2018). "By classifying sex work as degrading and deviant", argues Zannger (2010:568), "sex work becomes the symbol of what is 'bad' and a political tool used to reinforce heteronormative dichotomies and ideals".

Anne McClintock (1992) unpacks comprehensively how the abolitionist stance straddles on double standards. She argues that the whore stigma (which is synonymous with abolitionism) reflects deeply felt anxieties about women trespassing the dangerous boundaries hence repressive. Her point here is that the fetishist desire to abolish sex work is more oppressive and consolidates patriarchal power more than sex work itself. She perceives sex work as a disruption of capitalism and by extension patriarchy:

> [I]f marriage was a source of father's accumulation, prostitution became the source of father's accumulation …control of women in marriage and exploitation of their labour is based on the monopoly of resources and means of production. When women have access to other forms of income, marriage and direct male control are threatened. (1992:85)

This idea of sex work being alternative labour rather than a 'vicious institution' is also emphasised by Nussbaum: "All of us with the exception of the independently wealthy and unemployed take money for the use of our body. Professors, factory workers, lawyers, opera singers, prostitutes [sic], doctors, legislators – we all do things with parts of our bodies for which we receive a wage" (Nussbaum 2006 in Richter 2013:570).

The pro-sex position is therefore premised on the human rights and labour framework in contrast to their counterparts who argue from a morality and deviance perspective. Although Marlise Richter would rather fit the economic empowerment arguments into a distinct category that she calls 'sex work as work', I believe that it largely falls within the pro-sex feminist camp.

While it looks largely progressive, the pro-sex position is not as popular. It enjoys little or no critical appreciation. In Adrienne Davis' (2015) words, the abolitionist position is a well-developed one while the pro-sex work camp does not seem to have gone as far.

The Dangers of an 'Either /Or' Narrative

[Hetero]normativity has made it a necessary condition to perceive phenomena only in binary terms (Butler, 2003, Tamale, 2020). In gender terms for example, the dominant idea is that one is either a woman or a man, anything in between is an anomaly. The either-or narrative is therefore a basic model with which phenomena is perceived. With this, we miss the several nuances and insights that lay in places in between. Sushmita Chatterjee (2016:24) has said that, "often specificities can provide an immediate answer but point little toward the complex, nature of a phenomenon". I contend here that a neat packaging of sex work into two distinct categories facilitates a dangerous dichotomous framing of sex work as either good (empowering) or bad (exploitative). Such a framing, which both feminist camps have created, is both essentialist and dehumanising.

The abolitionists' emphasis on the victimhood of sex workers assumes that exploitation is inherent, omnipresent and unalterable (Weitzer 2005:937) which forecloses other possibilities. It is imaginable that "prostitution could always be practiced as it occasionally is even now, in circumstances of relative safety, security, freedom, hygiene and personal control" (Overall, 1992:176). Sex workers are not simply, 'uneducated' women without choice nor agency as purported by most anti-sex work proponents. This linear perception is, according to Gayle Rubin

(1993), a result of poor research where only the worst available and most disturbing instances of abuse are presented as representative. This gives her reason to state that "radical feminist literature on prostitution and pornography is filled with sloppy definitions, unsupported assertions and outlandish claims" (1993:36). McClintock (1992:87) too, has said "the abolitionist tendency among some feminists has been nothing short of calamitous for prostitutes".

Pro-sex feminists on the other hand, present a sex worker that is brave, proud and has control over her life. They merely construct sex work as a glamorous endeavour by assertive women while glossing over sex work(er) complexities. This puts them under pressure to maintain the 'happy strong' sex workers narrative all the time which erases moments of weakness, or undesirable episodes in a sex worker's life. What arises from this kind of narrative are single stories that are told from a place of fear. That is fear of being shamed as weak and/or 'non - feminist'. The choice narrative may redeem sex workers from the shame, but there is another pitfall. When choice is claimed as the most significant feminist narrative, Rachel Thwaites (2017:66) contends, "feminists also claim silencing, individualism and market consumerism". This is what prompts Davis (2015:1202) to launch a conversation about whether the sex workplace really is like the factory floor?

Reflecting on her prime time as a sex worker, Carol Leigh confesses that "sex with clients annoyed me sometimes and interested me other times" (in Nagle 2013:228). This exposes the limitations of the choice/force, exploitation/empowerment debate. Sex workers, as rightfully observed by Mgbako and Smith (2011:1179) "do not simply exist as victims or agents, criminals or labourers, products of exploitation or products of liberation". Moreover, sex workers are not all women, neither are customers/clients entirely men as implied by these two camps. Indeed, studies have proved that women constitute the largest number of sex workers and clients are overwhelmingly male (Davis 2015, Mgbako 2016) but there is need for a more nuanced engagement with gender. In Africa for example, there has been a rise in transgender and male sex workers who seem to be receiving little attention as far as these debates are concerned. There is a "wide range of individuals involved in the sex industry, a myriad of ways in which sexual services and sexual fantasies are bought and sold and much variety in the relationships that are developed in the workplace" (Desyllas 2010:12).

This 'to be or not to be' polemic is symptomatic of a monolithic discourse that lacks critical percipience. It is a bird's eye narrative that limits the scope of sex workers' experiences. There is a need to go beyond this choice/force binary. In fact, Ntokozo Yingwana (2017) sees it as a necessity for us to transcend this victim versus agent dichotomy. Victimhood and empowerment are both possible realities in the trade and they are not mutually exclusive. This study aims to reach to these stories in between told by sex workers themselves through Popular Participatory Theatre.

I find both the premise and the sex work debate itself problematic as they appear to enable and embolden patriarchy. The debate also risks being read as either a self -serving endeavour or a futile intellectual battle that adds no value to the subjects in question – sex workers. This is succinctly captured by Zangger (2010:562) when she recounts how "with no agreed remedy feminists keep debating with each other instead of working with each other while ignoring the social, economic and political inequalities sex workers face every day". Feminism, as Chimamanda Adichie Ngozi (2018) would say, "is not about having arguments of theory. It is about changing the damn world!"

3.2 Postcolonial Feminist Theories

> How much did [does] one know of the true feelings of those who did [do] not have a voice? (Adichie, 2014:253).
>
> The strength of feminism lies in its accommodation of its intersections and multiple lived experiences; not from the dominating monologue of one voice – Obioma Nnaemeka (2004)

Within the diverse family of feminisms, resides postcolonial feminism. This is a body of ideas that critiques the "epistemological assumptions of Western feminist approaches in their attempts to speak about and speak for the 'Third World woman' as an undifferentiated object/subject of Western academia" (Ozkazanc-Pan, 2012:574). In other words, postcolonial feminisms are a distinct brand of feminisms that challenge representations of women in the Global South by women and men in the Global North based on their own ideas and ideals of being (Mohanty, 2003). It is a critique that asks both ontological and epistemological questions like who speaks for whom? What authority do they have to speak for the 'other'? What story are they telling and how accurate is it?

While the core mandate is articulated broadly through the above questions, postcolonial feminist critique is layered and here I unpack three aspects of the critique that are of foremost importance to this study and perhaps the pivot of the theories. First, postcolonial feminists problematise the role of western feminists as the ultimate/central voice or what Gatriyaki Spivak (1988) terms 'representing intellectual'. The outcome of this 'centre syndrome' is a simplified, exaggerated, edited or omitted narrative about the 'other'. This forms the second and third aspect to the postcolonial feminist critique; western feminists' homogenization of all women's aspirations and plights regardless of geographical location, culture or class and their representation of women in the Global South as the backward, abused 'other' who is unaware of her plight and is in need of 'saving'.

Cumulatively, postcolonial feminists proffer the argument that monolithic portrayals of Global South women as static and coherent subjects overlook the unique experiences of women outside the confines of the West. This ultimately translates to misrepresentation, perpetuation of stereotypical images and the stealing of these women's dignity, humanity and voice. Gatriyaki Spivak (1988) calls this form of erasure, 'epistemic violence'.

Women in the Global South embody a complex dynamic of being that should not be simplified by the 'shared oppression' rhetoric that characterises mainstream feminist analysis. As an example, women in the Global South do not have just a gender issue to grapple with, they:

> Have to resist the control of colonial power not only as a colonized subject, but also as a woman. In this oppression her colonized brother is no longer her accomplice, but her oppressor. In his struggle against the colonizer, he even exploits her by misrepresenting her in the nationalist discourses. Not only that, she also suffers at the hands of Western feminists from the colonizer countries who misrepresent their colonized counterparts by imposing silence on their racial, cultural, social, and political specificities, and in so doing, act as potential oppressors of their 'sisters'. (Tyagi, 2014:45)

The multifaceted nature of oppression which Chandra Mohanty (1996) calls double colonisation is thus, undeniable. Through an analogy, Molara Ogundipe-Leslie (1994) perceives the interlocked oppression as six mountains that women of colour carry on their backs and move with every day. It is within this context that Spivak (1988) refers to women who suffer these multiple oppressions as the subaltern (subalternity and how it relates to sex workers will be

detailed in the forthcoming sections). Given the layers of being (gender, race, class, sexual orientation, age among others) that intersect each other, it becomes unjust and dehumanizing to advance a monolithic script about women's existentiality that highlights gender as the only variable of women's oppression while obliterating other layers of oppression. Therein lies the premise of the postcolonial feminists' clarion call for a feminism that considers the interrelatedness of these markers of identity. It is a call for intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989, Collins, 2010). Intersectionality "has been heralded as one of the most important contributions to feminist scholarship" (Davis, 2008:67) hence a brief discussion is necessary.

Intersectionality concerns as its name describes, an acknowledgment for how different stratifications of power intersect with each other. Stephanie Shields (2008:301) defines intersectionality "as the mutually constitutive relations among social identities" and these influence one's beliefs about and experiences of gender. This basic definition may differ slightly in specific contexts but there is a general consensus that intersectionality refers to "social identities which serve as organising features of social relations, mutually, naturally constitute, and reinforce one another" (Shields 2008:302) or the "interaction of multiple identities and experiences of exclusion and subordination" (Davis 2008:67). Kimberlie Crenshaw (1991: 1299) reinforces that "through an awareness of intersectionality, we can better acknowledge and ground the differences among us and negotiate the means by which these differences will find expression in constructing group politics".

These important observations in intersectional thinking have been embraced by most women of colour and informed revisions on the feminist narrative. They have become a very helpful way of perceiving the feminist being in the Global South. Resultantly we have witnessed a rise in the last few decades of multiple feminisms that seek "to address the fact that the experiences and struggles of women of colour fall between the cracks of both feminist and anti-racist discourse" (Davis 2008:67). Postcolonial feminisms, Global South feminisms and African feminisms are among some of the movements that took root from this need to fashion a feminism that correlates with the Global South women's unique experiences. Some revisions to the feminist narrative have gone as far as totally rejecting the feminist title.

Their rejection of the term can best be summed up by the following sentiments:

> Once we talk about African feminism, I do not know what we are talking about. These things started with white feminists and their issues are different from our own issues. Also, it was started by white women in the West. (Mndende 2017)
>
> Feminism. You know how we feel about that embarrassing Western philosophy? The destroyer of homes. Imported mainly from America to ruin nice African women. (Hudson-Weems 2004:17)
>
> I have never called myself a feminist, now if you choose to call me a feminist that is your business but I don't subscribe to the feminist idea that all men are brutal and repressive and we must reject them. Some of these men are my brothers, fathers and sons. Am I to reject them too? (Emecheta 1994 in Mikell 1995)

It is this discomfort, if not apprehension with the term feminism, that concepts like womanism (Walker, 1983), Africana Womanism (Hudson-Weems, 2019), Stiwanism (Ogundipe-Leslie 1994), Motherism (Acholonu 2002) among other feminist versions rose to fore. Other women of colour resort to calling it gender activism which Josephine Ahikire (2014) outrightly dismisses as being devoid of the political punch that is central to feminism. It is also unpopular with Sylvia Tamale (2006:39) who posits that "the term gender activist has had the regrettable tendency to lead to apathetic relunctance, comfortable complacency, dangerous diplomacy and even impotence…we see gravitation towards 'inactive activists".

I am conflicted when it comes to this particular f - word (feminism). On one end, I appreciate the idea of interrogating names and their politics, renaming and giving a new language that speaks to specific spaces and their dynamics. To borrow Crenshaw's words, there is some degree of agency that people can and do exert in the politics of naming (1989: 12). I acknowledge the significance of (re)naming in asserting existences, writing back to centre and taking space. It occurs to me, a revolutionary stance and naming forms a crucial part of my argument in this thesis.

However, I find the rejection of the term feminism on the basis that it is white or western, divisive. I believe that feminism is a global philosophy that existed across the geographical divide under various manifestations and was named and documented by women in the Global North who had access to the academia. I therefore believe, like Ama Ata Aidoo (1988) that, "feminism is not new and I really refuse to be told I am learning feminism from abroad". The rejection of feminist philosophy or the movement on the pretext that it is western perpetuates the

idea that women of the Global South did not have agency nor solidarity to start movements. Anne Mclintock (1992:384) articulates this well when she states that, "the denouncing of all feminisms as imperialist erases from memory the long histories of women's resistances to local and imperialist patriarchies...many women's mutinies around the world predated Western feminism or occurred without any contact with Western feminists".

My conflicted stance is the one that further draws me to postcolonial/Global South and African feminisms/womanisms. The prefixes African, Global South and postcolonial embody a situatedness and sense of identity, while keeping the term feminism is an act of reclamation. Therefore, both present a healthy balance between renaming and claiming the feminist philosophy. It is for this reason that I settle for postcolonial feminisms, and for purposes of this dissertation, recognise and place this conglomerate of womanisms, feminisms and other intersectional responses by women of colour under the broad category of postcolonial feminisms.

By bundling them together, I am not overlooking the fact that the responses are informed by different socio-economic, political and cultural structures, occluding the diversity of women nor am I attempting a blanket narrative about women of colour that does not consider location, time and other circumstances. As Pumla Gqola (2001:18) rightly asserts, 'there is clearly diversity within and among the ranks of black women who identify similarly". I recognise them as a category at a political and ideological level. They all seem to proffer the same ideas albeit under different labels. Buchi Emecheta hints on the crossovers in an interview where she says, "I do believe in the African type of feminism. They call it womanism" in (Nfah-Abbenyi, 1997:7). This speaks to the need eventually for a unified movement and discourse because in carving out smaller spaces in an already marginal and marginalised Postcolonial feminist firmament detracts from the political project.

Having established that I am drawn to postcolonial feminisms, their resonance with this thesis needs to be engaged. However, before I discuss the nexus between postcolonial feminisms and sex work, I give a brief discussion of some aspects to postcolonial feminist theories that discomfort me. Once these are out of the way, a working theory can be established.

3.3 Critiquing the Postcolonial Feminist Critique

My initial discomfort with most postcolonial feminist theories is the constant and consistent focus on western feminism. This I highlight with an awareness and full acknowledgement that writing back to 'western' feminists was the premise upon which postcolonial feminist movements were built. Indeed, it was necessary for women of colour to challenge western feminists' homogenising tendencies and monolithic scripts of womanhood that did not consider the interrelatedness of various markers of identity and how they affect other women's experiences of oppression. It was crucial to go beyond the challenge and fashion a feminism that correlates with black women's lived experiences. However, a predominant focus on the western feminists tends to stagnate postcolonial feminisms and make them oblivious to their victories. As Amina Mama argues:

> To put it bluntly, white feminism has never been strong enough to be 'the enemy' – in the way that say, global capitalism can be viewed as an enemy. The constant tirades against 'white feminists' do not have the same strategic relevance as they might have had 20 years ago when we first subjected feminism to anti-racist scrutiny. Since then, many Westerners have not only listened to the critiques of African and other so-called Third World feminists - they have also come up with more complex theories. (2001:61)

Oyeronke Oyewumi (2017:7) also points out that "western feminists have reconsidered their earlier simplistic paradigms and have formulated more complex theories taking into account the importance of race, class, culture, context and history in configuring gender relations". It is therefore suicidal to maintain a 'western feminists are the enemy' trajectory as a major focus of postcolonial feminisms. The trajectory entangles us into the binarisms and dichotomies which we seek to challenge. It also forces us to obsess over the race problem while overlooking the gender problem, especially how it manifests in our own backyards. "*Within* these geographies and temporalities as well and any universalism, is discursive violence that writes out histories and mutes voices" (Parashar 2017:372). It is time that internal unjust power structures and relationships form a major part of the Postcolonial Feminist critique. As an example, postcolonial theory embodies representational baggage in its minimal references to women. Commendably, some Postcolonial feminist theorists have challenged postcolonial theorists for "not only of obliterating the role of women from the struggle for independence, but also of

misrepresenting them in the nationalist discourse" (Tyagi 2014:46) but this interrogation needs to be deepened.

This ushers me into my second area of discomfort, the over-emphasised assertion that unlike western feminists, women in the Global South are in concert with their men. Scholars who extend this line of thought argue that women and men in the Global South were 'victims' of the colonial experience and continue to suffer racism together therefore they are allies in the struggle for emancipation. While it is true that in the Global South women and men alike, were subjected to imperial rape, the continued emphasis on brother/sister solidarity makes us overlook the gender inequalities that exist within the Global South context.

In the same vein, attributing the patriarchy, sexism and misogyny of men in the Global South to the oppression they suffered at the hands of the 'white men' during the onslaught of colonisation as argued by most postcolonial theorists allows men in the 'postcolony' to become the 'untouched', unaccountable perpetrators of violence. Through this argument, they project a healthy woman/man relationship as a defining feature of Postcolonial feminisms. Clenora Hudson-Weems (2019) situates this argument as the premise of her Africana Womanist paradigm as provided by some tenets upon which she frames her theory. Among other attributes, an Africana Womanist is according to Weems; family-centered, in concert with males in struggle, is male compatible, respectful of elders, adaptable, mothering; and nurturing. This heralds a lot of problematics.

First, it situates postcolonial feminist thinking within a heteronormative paradigm by forwarding the idea that all women of colour love only men, enjoy the responsibilities of childbearing and are natural nurturers. If one is not nurturing, male compatible or mothering they do not fit within the African womanist narrative. This is a similar premise to Catherine Acholonu's Motherism which constructs a real African woman as rural, agrarian, spiritual being who is the "economic, agricultural, political, commercial and labour base of every nation" (1995:118). In many ways then, such constructions proliferate the stereotypical construction of a true African woman as a never tiring, strong provider, 'mother of nations' - '*Mama Africa!*' trope. It also constructs women in the Global South as a homogenous, coherent group with similar aspirations. Consequently, expunging those that do not desire or aspire to their womanist/motherist aspirations.

The issues plaguing postcolonial feminisms as discussed above, I argue, stem from critical myopia. While it was and still is important for women of colour to assert their sense of worth and importance in a world that erased and continues to erase them, postcolonial feminisms are slowly losing sight of the bigger objective. Much like the western paradigm that is "caught up in its ambivalence; while fighting for inclusion, it installs exclusion, advocating change, it resists change, laying claims to movement, it resists moving" (Nnaemeka, 2004:363).

In her earlier writings, the same author argues that it is not to Western Feminism that the phenomenon of African feminism needs to be meaningfully explained but rather:

> [T]o meaningfully explain the phenomenon called African feminism, it is not to Western feminism but rather to the African environment that one must refer. African feminism is not reactive; it is proactive. It has a life of its own that is rooted in the African environment. Its uniqueness emanates from the cultural and philosophical specificity of its provenance. (Nnaemeka 1998a: 9)

In saying this, Nnaemeka seeks to detach African feminisms (which by extension are Postcolonial feminisms) from Western feminism. She is asking for a different relational or contextual reference point, perhaps hankering for "alternative deployments of feminism that are possibly overlooked by articulations of Western feminism" (Onabolu, undated). However, 22 years later, most Postcolonial feminists, as alluded to earlier, seem to be stuck in the writing back/fighting against western feminism trajectory, rendering them more reactionary than proactive. By so doing, they embroil themselves in a hierarchical and reactive relationship where they will always be perceived and defined in relation to 'the one'.

They also seem to be flexing their muscles in 'intellectual gymnastics' (Nnaemeka 2004: 364) probably to match their western counterparts. This compels me to conclude that Nnaemeka's claims about an African feminism that is nego-feminist and proactive are still an ideal that has not been put into practicality by most postcolonial feminists. It is also possible that her claims were a reality then and these features have since eroded because they juxtapose with today's reality. African feminisms pose more as an exclusionary discipline (Nkealah, 2016).

Nonetheless Tobi Onabolu (undated) reminds us that:

> the dialogue between theory and reality is one which must remain continuous, to ensure reality is informing theory…reality is non-temporal, and varies between locations, thus it becomes important that theory acts like a malleable object, rather than a fixed entity…Practices that can be

> applied in Location 1 (L1) at Time 1 (T1) cannot necessarily be applied in Location 2 (L2) at Time 2 (T2). The theory that informs practices in L1 comes from an experience of L1 at T1. That experience of L1 does not forcibly relate in enough ways, to the experience of L2, at T2.

There is room to interrogate and edify theory. I therefore revert to Nnaemeka's nego-feminist principles as an important addition that should be implemented or revisited in the postcolonial feminist project. According to Nnaemeka, a nego-feminism is one that is a feminism of negotiation, a no ego feminism. The core of the nego-feminist narrative is embedded in the advice passed onto her by her uncle that she volunteers at the end of her article. "In this journey that is feminist engagement, we need to walk like the chameleon—goal-oriented, cautious, accommodating, adapt-able, and open to diverse views", she extends (2004:382).

With the above considerations, I (re)construct what I term a nego-postcolonial feminist theory hinged on the following principles:

- Nego-postcolonial feminist theory challenges the homogenous treatment of women in the Global South.
- It is cognisant of the multiple levels of oppression that women in the Global South are subjected to while emphasising that they are not victims. To borrow from Ogundipe (2006) they indeed carry six mountains, but these are not overwhelming.
- Beyond awareness of the multiple forms of oppression, women in the Global South also seek to challenge these including the internal forces.
- It is not merely positioned as a fight, but also a space for building.
- It recognises the need for negotiation more than ultimate disruption as a way of asserting self in the face of the colonising other.
- It recognises the importance of marrying the academy and other discourses outside the academy in order not to perpetuate the 'representing intellectual syndrome'.

A Nego-Postcolonial Feminist Framework on Sex Workers

As has been established in Chapter 1 and 2, sex workers have been and continue to be disenfranchised and are systematically excluded from the Zimbabwean narrative because their sexual behaviour does not correlate with the cultural mores of the land. Young-Jahangeer and Sibanda (2018) reveal how heteronormativity has been framed as the necessary and compulsory condition for a Zimbabwean identity. As such, individuals who sell sex are constructed negatively and automatically removed from claiming Zimbabwean identity. This along with a legal framework that does not protect them, exposes them to all forms of violence which are justified as correctional measures or disciplining the 'ill disciplined' bodies. Sex workers therefore, can be said to be the very embodiment of bodies that Raji Kumat Mishra (2013:133) says have been re-colonised by postcolonial men [and women] in the name of preserving their culture. What this breed is, is a people who do not feel adequate, neither Zimbabwean enough nor human enough, hence a sense of hopelessness, sometimes violence against self or among selves.

Externally too, they endure linear narratives of the global gaze. Ratna Kapur (2001:1195) observes that "sex workers in the Global North are positioned as those who are participating in the struggle for their rights and self- determination while those in the South are positioned as helpless victims in need of rescue". Concurring, Mgbako and Smith (2011: 1189) reveal how "the notion of the 'suffering third world prostitute' has often been invoked to justify Western interventionist programmes". The stereotypical and homogenous construction of their being is done at both a local and global level. Often this construction reads like this; heterosexual, woman, poor, illiterate, not religious (and therefore lacking in moral fortitude) and a victim in need of saving. Sex workers suffer these narrow interpretations at the hands of society, the state, religious entities as well as some sections of academia. These linear representations which are both defining and confining, are precisely the struggle women of colour battled (they still do) and one that prompted them to write back to the centre.

Considering this individual, collective, interpersonal, institutional, national, international, symbolic and structural violence, I perceive sex workers in Zimbabwe as the subaltern. Kapur (2001) has called sex workers in Africa the sexual subalterns. Subalternity occupies

considerable space in postcolonial feminist narratives. The concept of the subaltern is attributed to Antonio Gramsci (1971). He used the term to refer to "any 'low rank' person or group of people in a particular society suffering under hegemonic domination of a ruling elite class that denies them the basic rights of participation in the making of local history and culture as active individuals of the same nation" (El, 2012:5).

The concept was then borrowed by Rajanit Guha and other Indian scholars to form what they called the Subaltern Studies Collective (Prakash, 1994). They defined the term subaltern as "a name for the general attribute of subordination in South Asian society whether this is expressed in terms of class, caste, age, gender and office or in any other way" (Guha 1982:8). Gatriyaki Spivak, further edified the idea of the subaltern in her famous essay, 'Can the Subaltern Speak' (1988). She theorized subalternity more specifically around gender and it has become a grand aspect of postcolonial feminist theories.

Like the peasants of Italy who were oppressed by the fascist leadership of Mussolini and members of the Indian community who were subjected to apartheid in their own backyard based on class and caste, sex workers in Zimbabwe exist as the subaltern in Zimbabwe. Could this validate Spivak's assertion that the subaltern cannot speak? This will be unpacked in Chapter 7.

The relevance of postcolonial feminist theories to sex work may be apparent, but postcolonial feminists tend to omit sex workers in their narrative. Richter (2012) notes that in Africa, sex work is conspicuously absent from most discussions on gender and [one that] many feminists and gender activists avoid like the plague" (Richter 2012:66). Sex workers themselves have highlighted how they feel excluded from both feminist narratives and spaces. In a study conducted by Ntokozo Yingwana (2018) in South Africa, sex workers detailed how they found feminist spaces to be volatile as feminists are not always accepting them as feminists and comrades in the struggle for gender and sexual liberation but victims who need saving from sex work. One of her participants recounted that

> What confused me is that when everyone introduced themselves as feminist and we introduced ourselves as sex workers . . . they were not happy; not like, you know when people are happy they would be like, 'Oh wow! Sex workers are feminists. And then the topic continues. But it was like ignorance. And at that time I hadn't learned how to stand up for myself and say, 'Yes, we are [feminists]. In Yingwana (2018:280)

This is not just an African phenomenon but a Global South one, as Ratha Kapur (2001) also observes that a majority of Asian feminists speak against sex workers.

The anti-sex work stance by postcolonial feminists is a common one. It is perhaps founded on or justified by the idea that they are, as Gwendolyn Mikell (1997:1) puts it, walking on a political/gender tightrope. On one end they want to be loyal to the nationalist discourse, and on the other the gender agenda. The Global South nationalist agenda is often conceptualised in juxtaposition to western paradigms which are labelled imperialist. It is also constructed around the idea of family because "the home is the repository of national identity which must be protected from colonial intrusions by women through the virtues of chastity, self-sacrifice, submission, devotion, kindness, patience and the labours of love" (Kapur 2001:860). Under this rubric, sexual activities such as sex work that are perceived deviant and a threat to the family nucleus are ascribed to the West hence considered imperialist enterprise.

Imperialism refers to "a sophisticated type of dominance between collectivities, particularly between nations in which the 'Centre' nation establishes itself in the centre of the 'Periphery' nation" (Galtung, 1971:149). Decades post the Global North's physical dominance in the Global South, the former still exercises some form of socio-political and economic dominance through subtle means, coloniality as it were (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013a)[25] . Sex work and homosexuality are often listed as the utmost manifestations or subtle scripts of imperialism especially in Africa. A form of western pervasion that is aimed at corrupting Africa's 'pure' and 'morally correct' cultural fabric during colonisation. To then lobby for sex work which is perceived imperialist while assuming an anti-imperialist position presents a conundrum for most postcolonial feminists. This results in most of them assuming an anti-sex work position or a neutral one.

It could be argued that positioning yourself as a postcolonial feminist does not compel you to take on every woman who is in the Global South's cause. It is possible to be one, while condemning particular activities. Does that justify the ambivalence? More questions surface. Is assuming a neutral position not siding with the oppressor as Freire (1970) warns? Is the exclusion of sex workers by postcolonial feminists not a replica of how they were excluded by 'western feminists' on the basis of their colour and African identity? Is it not an oppression that

25 I discuss this in detail in the next section

keeps returning at the very point of its departure? Nagle (1997:13) in her critique of abolitionist feminists' position on sex work, urges us to move beyond how sex work oppresses women to theorizing about how feminism reproduces oppression of sex workers.

It would be helpful to/for postcolonial feminisms to move away from the nationalist rhetoric and begin to envisage ways of creating, giving space or merely acknowledging what I would call the harmony of being. The harmony of being would for example acknowledge the possibilities of a nationalist at heart who is also a sex worker, or a proud African who is also proudly gay. Sex work and the nationalist discourse are not mutually exclusive. They embody, intersect and inform each other (Yingwana, 2017/2018). In lieu of this, she (Yingwana) proposes an African Sex Work Feminism (2018). She conceptualizes this feminism as one that would adequately capture and recognize the multiple realities and nuances espoused by African sex workers while reconciling African identity, sex work and feminism.

Evidently, there is a huge gap and a considerable loss of opportunities within the feminist movement at large and Africa in particular. Given that feminism is a movement that is aimed at fighting sexism and ending women's oppression (hooks 2006:26) it is a potential tool for sex worker activism. Within an academic context where there has been a "difficulty in providing an adequate feminist theory of sex work" (Schotten 2005 in Zangger 2010:572) and an African context where feminists have not grappled much with the issue of sex work (Richter 2012; Mgbako 2016), I propose a Nego-Postcolonial Feminist framework as a relevant perspective through which to locate this African study. We cannot continue to allow, as McFadden (2003) laments, our feminist ideas, political instincts, energies and agencies to be muffled and stifled by patriarchal discourses of sexuality where sexual pleasure and freedom is defined as 'dangerous and irresponsible'. After all, "feminism is for everybody" (hooks, 2000).

3.4 Decolonial(ity) Considerations

Accompanying my main theory, nego-postcolonial feminism is Decoloniality (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2015, Maldonado-Torres, 2011, Mignolo, 2012, Quijano, 2007). Walter Mignolo (2009:39) shares that Decoloniality "emerged from the sixteenth century on, as responses to the oppressive and imperial bent of modern European ideas projected to, and enacted in, the non-European world". It seems from this definition that decoloniality and postcolonial studies (within which my main theory stems) are a theoretical tautology. This is a common suspicion among many, hence a cursory discussion that delineates the two concepts is necessary.

According to Mignolo (2011a: xxiii) postcoloniality and decoloniality drink from the same fountain but they are grounded in a different genealogy of thoughts and different *existentia*. Another proponent of Decoloniality, Sabelo Gatsheni–Ndlovu also acknowledges that the two theories do converge in as many ways as they diverge. He unpacks the distinction:

> The reality is that decoloniality and postcolonial theory converge and diverge in many ways. On the convergence side, they are both aimed at dealing with the colonial experience…They are both heterogeneous and eclectic in character. Both decoloniality and postcoloniality provide a range of critiques of modernity. They converge in their focus on the critique of European humanism… while both postcolonial theory and decoloniality claim their genealogy from the tradition of anti-colonial thought, they also diverge in their intellectual lineage in many ways. Postcolonial theory was also mainly used in literary and cultural studies before it broadened to other fields of study. It inaugurated what became known as a 'cultural turn' whereas decoloniality claims what is termed a 'decolonial turn'. The decolonial turn is the opposite of the colonial turn. It is a long-standing 'turn', as it marks a shift from colonial discourse to the decolonial tasks of decolonising knowledge, power and being. (2015:42-43)

It is clearer in his explanation and by extension other decoloniality scholars how decoloniality and postcolonial theories converge. However, the divergences are not as concise. They are seemingly encrypted or veiled in jargon that is subject to varying interpretation.

Nevertheless, it appears clear that Postcolonial theory and decoloniality are sibling theories. They share the same DNA - an unmistakable pattern between these siblings being the domination of male voices. They have similarities as much as they embody different traits. Postcolonial theory was largely born of the need to write back to the Centre and contest homogenization and

misrepresentation of Global South people by the Global North during the colonial onslaught (Bhabha, 1994, Said, 1994). Hence it is more of a literary and cultural project against colonial projections of the South. One can argue that it is more passive. For this reason, it has been criticised as a 'project' that has reached an 'epistemic limit' (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2015). Decoloniality on the other hand seeks to challenge not only knowledge, but its premises, power structures and being. I will not unpack Decoloniality in its totality here, even an attempt would be impossible because Decoloniality is a dense body of theoretical perspectives. I will therefore focus on the tenets or specific arguments that align with this study.

The decolonial mantra is that "coloniality is not over, it is all over" (Mignolo, 2014:276). According to Sithole (2014:vi) coloniality refers to the exercise of oppression covertly as opposed to overtly as in the advent of colonialism. Borrowing from Ngugi Wa Thiong'o, Gatsheni Ndlovu (2015) explains coloniality as dismemberment. That is to be erased. It is this idea that draws me most to the theory. The idea that the remnants or covert manifestations of colonialism such as erasure are rife and still as corrosive to societies that are deemed to be living 'post' the colonial era. The Global South may be 'post' the colonial era in a physical sense, but it has yet to deal effectively with the "metaphysical empire" (Gatsheni – Ndlovu 2015:22). The key levels of coloniality as identified by Anibal Quijano (2000) are:

- control of the economy
- control of authority
- control of gender and sexuality
- control of knowledge and subjectivity

I argue in this thesis that the stigma and criminalization of sex workers among other sexual minorities is a form of coloniality founded on the above constrictions. It is based on the Victorian script of sexuality which Tamale (2011:16) describes as one that is steeped in "moralistic, anti-sexual and body shame edicts which were inscribed on the bodies of African women and with it an elaborate system of control". In order to sustain this highly conservative script, religion was used stress the impurity and inherent sin associated with sexual freedom while the law acted as an instrument of control and punishment. In the African context and the Global South at large, religion and the law are held in high regard and constantly used to shame

and ostracize those who disregard the script - the 'wretched of the Earth' (Fanon, 2007). These institutions therefore serve as symbols which in the absence of physical colonial rule still pursue the colonial agenda and keep the colonial hegemony in place.

Decoloniality does not end with the mere realization that coloniality still prevails, it goes further to "confront and delink from [this] colonial matrix of power" (Mignolo 2011: xxvii). There is a deliberate action taken in order to counter the coloniality as suggested by the name decoloniality. Countering coloniality entails 'decolonising the mind' because the "most important area of domination was the mental universe of the colonised, the control, through culture, of how people perceived themselves and their relationship to the world" (wa Thiong'o, 1986:16).

Mignolo (2007:242) further asks of us to also interrogate the effects of coloniality not only in the mind but in lived experience as well. This 'epistemic disobedience' is spurred by a conscious search for "social liberation from all power organised as inequality, discrimination, exploitation and domination" (Quijano 2007:178) and is "part of the continuing search for a new base by the excluded and subordinated subjectivities from which to launch themselves into a new world order that is humane and inclusive […] such that they can regain their ontological density, voice, land, history, knowledge and power" (Gatsheni-Ndlovu 2015).

Third, the Decoloniality critical analysis emphasises new ways of researching the so-called colonised subject, and this is only possible if that subject is studied from within, and of course, as a subject and not an object to be ethnographically extracted and hypothetically tested (Sithole 2014:39). In that regard, Decoloniality as argued by Karsten becomes a "political commitment based on new forms of collaboration that are geared toward studying *with* subaltern social groups, instead of merely perceiving them as subjects of research". It enables "the re-telling of the history of humanity and knowledge from the vantage point of those epistemic sites that received the darker side of coloniality..." (Gatsheni-Ndlovu 2015:46).

This thesis seeks to tell the story of sex workers lives, from their perspective through popular participatory theatre (PPT). PPT which is a practice-led research, is a praxis (Freire 1970) that gets "closer to the society that independent research is supposed to critically explore" (Brun and Lund, 2010:825). This is in line with a decolonial agenda of "placing the colonized subjects at

the centre, to understand their subjectivity as ways to counter subjection and imagine possible *worlds* and *knowledges"* (Sithole 2014: iv).

Decoloniality therefore resonates theoretically, politically and epistemologically with this study, except it needs to departriachise. As Maria Lugones a luminary of Decolonial feminism warns, "the coloniality of gender is still with us; it is what lies at the intersection of gender/class/race as central constructs of the capitalist world system of power" (2010:746). This is witnessed in Decoloniality. It may need to exorcise itself in this regard because a real decolonisation process is about "returning to the annals of history to find ourselves, to become fluent in our cultural knowledge systems, to cultivate critical consciousness and to reclaim our humanity" (Tamale 2020:2).

3.5 From Whence Do I Theorise Transwomen Sex Workers?

Had it not been for the gender trouble (Butler, 2002) or gender problem (Adichie, 2014) that beset the world, this section would not have been necessary. It is obvious to me that feminisms, in particular African feminisms are the most appropriate theoretical lens with which to theorise transgender identities and African transwomen's issues in particular. Here, I make use of Susan Stryker's definition of transgender as:

> an umbrella term for a wide variety of bodily effects that disrupt or denaturalize heteronormatively constructed linkages between an individual's anatomy at birth, a non-consensually assigned gender category, psychical identifications with the sexed body images and/or gendered subject positions, and the performance of specifically gendered social, sexual, or kinship functions. (1998:149)

A transwoman or transgender woman therefore would be an individual whose assigned gender at birth was 'man'. This disruptive gender variant disturbs the rigid constructed ideals of being African prescribed by those that have the power to shape expectations of what it is to be African. Among them church, traditional and political leaders. It is regarded the uppermost form of abomination within the lens of the dominant anti-queer Pan Africanist discourse. Hence presenting a dilemma for African feminists who seem on the whole to be uncritical of this homophobic and 'Afro-normative' construction and consequently shun transgender women, and female queer bodies in general (Sibanda, forthcoming, Nkealah 2016). After all, transgender politics are still largely misunderstood and often conflated with sexuality (being gay or lesbian)

in Africa. This is despite there being a growing visibility of African transgender individuals like the Zimbabwean Tatelicious Karigambe (Young-Jahangeer and Sibanda, 2018) and a generation of scholarship from African feminists who are transwomen (Camminga et al., 2019, Camminga, 2020).

Even the Global North which has made steady progress in embracing and theorising about transgender identities as well as providing refuge to most transgender individuals from the Global South, is too implicated in trans exclusionary politics. The protagonists are western feminists popularly known as Trans Exclusionary Radical Feminists (TERF's). It should be noted that the reasons of exclusion between Western and African feminisms are different. For the latter, it is more of moral and cultural panic premised on homophobia, whereas the former "at its most basic, does not deem trans women to be women, and at its most extreme understands trans women to be interlopers and a direct threat to (cis) women's rights" (Camminga, 2020:819).

Transwomen are women. When I state that transwomen are women, I am not at all repudiating the differences between them and cis-gender women. To ignore or overlook these differences is to homogenise cis and transwomen's experiences. My privilege as a cis gender woman makes me experience the space quite differently from a trans woman, especially in Zimbabwe, where I come from. Transwomen experience another layer of oppression for being trans and their unique struggles should and must be highlighted. By highlighting that there is a difference I am also not suggesting that transwomen are not real women. Such was the trap that Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie fell in after she stated that transwomen are transwomen. A number of transwomen, activists and feminists mostly from the Global North attacked her for adopting TERF ideologies (Camminga, 2020, Fischer, 2017).

Contrarily, my extrapolation of Adichie's sentiments is that cis and trans women's experiences are different. In my opinion, her position echoes the theoretical basis of intersectionality which speaks to "the multiple social forces, social identities, and ideological instruments through which power and disadvantage are expressed and legitimized" (Crenshaw, 2017:1). Scholars like Panashe Chigumadzi (2017: line 25) refute that Adichie's insistence that "trans women are trans women is not the positive recognition of difference, but rather a negative recognition of difference that pushes trans women out of the category of women and into the category of

"Other." I may just be too naïve to appreciate the negative intersectionality in her comments, but I had to state my position as a means of justifying my inclusion of Chimamanda's work, a purported trans exclusionary feminist in my dissertation that engages transwomen.

She (Chigumadzi) further argues that Adichie's position is a betrayal to the principles of African feminisms which attempt to disrupt fixed and rigid constructions of the category woman. African feminisms may be theorised as more inclusive and fluid (Nnaemeka, 2004, Ogundipe-Leslie, 1994, Mikell, 1995, Mekgwe, 2007, Ahikire, 2014), but practically they are to a larger extent cis hegemonic. They have not in my opinion fully embraced transwomen, let alone queer women in general, with a few exceptions. Most of them overtly efface lesbians and transwomen while others imply it when they place biological procreation and motherism as the necessary condition for African womanhood (Acholonu, 1995, Ogundipe-Leslie, 1994, Hudson-Weems, 2019). This is mainly as a result of the fear and moral anxiety around issues of sex and sexuality in Africa (McFadden, 2003, Tamale, 2006)[26].

In that way African feminisms are a typical cage that Patricia MacFadden writes about:

> We have to see the cage for what it is - a set of carefully set bars that keep us locked into suffocating spaces efficiently reproduced by an uncompromising patriarchal system, and often closely patrolled by women from a cross-section of classes and social standings. (2003:2)

If sex workers are as previously highlighted, excluded from African feminist spaces, and transwomen are also marginalised, what can be made of African transwomen sex workers' experiences? Particularly as they fall short of the essentialised identity of what it is to be an African woman. Their oppression is a web of race, gender, and in this context sexual behaviour. It is for this reason that I propose African feminisms as the most relevant theoretical lens for transgender women's issues. Ironic yes, but the inclusive theoretical premise of African or broadly Postcolonial feminisms as articulated by Mohanty (1996), Nkealah (2016), hooks (2000), Oyěwùmí (1997) among others is potentially a useful lens of understanding African transgender women sex workers experiences.

26 Even though issues to do with transgender are more to do with gender than sexual orientation, in Africa they are conflated.

That transgender politics are mostly understood from the western perspective makes Decoloniality a relevant theory too. Especially as it asks the questions; 'from whose eye do we see, listening to whose voice?' (Morrison, 2015). I also make use of Homi Bhabha's (1994) Third Space theory to understand the concept of liminality in the context of transgender identities as they intersect with performance.

3.6 Conclusion

In two parts, I introduced and discussed the key theories that make up my conceptual framework. That is Nego-postcolonial feminism and Decoloniality. Before I delved into definitions and debates surrounding the theories, I first looked at the feminist wars surrounding sex work. After which I provided a critical analysis of the theories and how their philosophical underpinnings inform this study. While these two are distinct, they are all premised on a liberatory pedagogy. In the last section, I justified why both theories would also be helpful in theorising transgender women sex worker's issues. In the next chapter, I discuss Applied Theatre, which informs the form of this study.

Chapter 4: Applied Theatre in Africa

> So today it is inevitable and normal that in places like Africa and Asia, people who are not in accordance with power structures discover forms of theatre for themselves to say no to established forms which the powerful have arrogated to themselves. (Boal, 1996:51)

4.0 Introduction

Applied Theatre (AT) is a pivotal concept in this research. I used it as practice (informed by theory and as research) in my case-study. For me this is literature – but of course connects to 'ways of seeing' methodology, and 'ways of seeing' theatre, which implies a theory of sorts. Hence, I situated in between the theory and methodology sections to the discussion of Applied Theatre, a concept that informs the form of this research. That is Popular Participatory Theatre.

AT has become a discourse of interest across disciplines and the world (Prentki, 2015). According to Rikke Gjaerum (2013:350) "the recent interest in the field of Applied Theatre has emerged as a result of textbooks, articles, reports and papers that describe the philosophical basis, the aesthetics, the diverse challenges and huge amount of working methods, as well as the implication of practice-based or art-based research methodology". With this popularity has also come an unpopularity. AT has been met with a healthy amount of scholarly critique, with an incessant call to 'rethink Applied theatre'. Critique is part of scholarly culture in academia, and I will engage some of these critical voices in this chapter as I discuss in detail AT as a methodological lens in this study.

4.1 Applied Theatre: A Definition

Applied theatre (AT) is a practice-based paradigm premised around the idea of *applying* theatre in various spaces, places and contexts to achieve a specific purpose beyond mere entertainment. Peter and Briar O'Connor (2009:471) define it as "an umbrella term that defines theatre which operates beyond the traditional and limiting scope of conventional Western theatre forms". Although most scholars refer to it as an umbrella term (Prentki and Preston, 2013, Prentki, 2015, Nicholson, 2014, Horner et al., 2016), they also acknowledge that within this umbrella are various manifestations of AT which are executed in multifarious ways. In that variegated state however, there are three core parameters within which AT distinctively operates. These are

utilitarian purpose/intent, context, and active engagement with participants[27] as theatre makers, audience or both. Of course, these markers continue to be contested but fundamentally they are the major AT determinants. To this end, Kelly Freebody et al. (2018:2) submit that AT is governed by context and inexorably connected to transformation. Philip Taylor (2003:80) further unpacks that AT is concerned with doing activism/politics, posing alternatives, working with healing, challenging contemporary discourses and presenting voices from the viewpoints of the silent and marginal.

Owing to the characteristics mentioned above, AT has grown popular beyond the theatre itself. It is most popular among activists, academics, health practitioners among others who are driven by the desire for social change. This is to be expected as among other common tenets, AT practices seek to undo/decolonise the monopolist tendencies[28] of conventional theatre. AT is premised around the notion that, "theatre is a weapon, and it is the people who should wield it" (Boal, 2000:122). Thus, it is used across disciplines and geographical locations as a mode of information dissemination, voicing out concerns and/or dialogue starters in the spaces where the conversations need to happen. This is to the point where Judith Ackroyd (2007) argues that the term AT has become relatively common place. Loose interpretations and open-ended definitions now characterise the discipline.

In attempting to grapple with the terminology for the field, Tim Prentki asks what 'unapplied' theatre might be (2015:7). All theatre is conceived with some application or purpose even if that purpose is to try and find answers to existential questions. However, it is here in the naming that the AT critique that I referred to earlier on begins since by ring-fencing one form of theatre you are inadvertently establishing a binary: If AT is theatre with a purpose, 'other' theatre – in this case mainstream or conventional theatre – has no purpose. If conventional theatre is aesthetic and conceptual, AT lacks imagination and oversimplifies. A position that many AT practitioners contest (Freebody et al., 2018, Thompson, 2009). AT also positions itself predominantly as political theatre that operates deliberately away from the limelight, but this position is not particularly admired in theatrical circles. This narrative is so pervasive in fact that Timothy

27 In the context of Applied Theatre, participants are the people that are engaged (participate) in the theatre making process, there is no hierarchy intended (Shaughnessy 2012).

28 An example of these monopolist tendencies is the establishment of the 'fourth wall' (division) that separates the performers (often professional) from the audience (passive audience).

Fitzgerald (2019) had to write a cautionary note entitled "*Please Stop Looking Down on Community Theatre".*

On the other hand, I do acknowledge this critique. Indeed, some AT practitioners have over emphasised the utilitarian role of Applied theatre while rendering mainstream theatre as less significant (if not totally insignificant). Infact, this is how I understood AT when I undertook the module in my second year at university. Whenever we were asked to distinguish between AT and mainstream theatre, my answers tallied to a purposeful and boring AT and a fun-filled but useless mainstream theatre. This could just have been me simplifying and making absolutes out of a rather nuanced and complex module. Perhaps it is the language associated with most AT definitions that needs revision. Take for instance the definition that "Applied theatre is an umbrella term that defines theatre which operates beyond the traditional and limiting scope of conventional Western theatre forms" (O'Connor and O'Connor 2009:471). This may imply condescendence to the latter. Whereas saying AT is as a set of theatrical practices "whose raison d'être falls outside of Western conventional expectations of entertainment" (Horner et al., 2016:206) captures the fundamentals of the practice without overstating its significance or suggesting the insignificance of the other.

Applied Theatre is more than just ticking formulaic boxes. Theorists like Judith Ackroyd (2007), Nicholson (2011), Prentki (2015) and Freebody et al. (2018) actually bemoan the over instrumentalisation of AT and how establishing a binary *'applied'* theatre and '*unapplied*' theatre can be treacherous. All theatre serves a purpose, and "all drama is a political event: it either reasserts or undermines the code of conduct of a given society" Eslin (1976:29). Applied theatre is thus by no means an oppositional discourse aimed at undermining mainstream theatrical practices. Far from it, it just provides an alternative lens with which to perceive theatre outside its mainframe.

Applying theatre to something "indicates that this application can change at least one element of that thing" (Freebody et al., 2018:6). Nicola Shaughnessy (2012: 7) also concurs that "when applying theatre to something, it is in order to achieve a particular objective which is generally defined in terms of change". Applied theatre therefore becomes a practice-based theoretical paradigm premised around the idea of *applying* theatre in various spaces, places and contexts to achieve a specific purpose which inevitably involves some kind of personal or societal

transformation. Therefore, the notion of applying theatre is not a coherent thing, it manifests in various forms and is executed in multifarious ways.

To apply, therefore, should not be perceived in simplistic terms but as a layered or loaded concept. As discussed, simplistic understanding of the term 'applied' traps the form to a primary focus on usefulness and change, "hero narratives and localised miracles" (Freebody et al., 2018:6). Further, although the form is premised on the idea of transformation, that does not make it a homogenous discourse characterised by a focus on the outcome, bland or with no artistry whatsoever. Nicholson (2011) expresses concern on how, because of such misconceptions, AT has become too restrictive or in Ackroyd's (2007:1) words, "now delineates a restricted and exclusive type of radical practice, enshrined in an evangelical frame". But this is culminated by loose and narrow interpretations of AT that I nodded to at the beginning. To be fair though, AT is not static. As our knowledge grows, more definitions of disciplines are invented, and while these are useful for the experts, they may be confusing to others and often imply divisions and differences that do not really exist (Zull, 2002:xiv).

Despite all these considerations, I, like James Thompson do not:

> …seek to abolish the term. It exists, and, even if people might be keen to write its obituary, condoning or condemning its use is perhaps less relevant. It seems perverse to announce that it should not be used, when it will remain a category accepted by many practitioners, the title of university and college courses, and, in particular, a term that continues to galvanise an interest in theatre and performance amongst many artist facilitators, students and participant groups. (2009:5)

I subscribe to the ideas and ideals of AT as a rich and diverse set of theories and artistic practices, hence maintaining the label - Applied Theatre. I do this with the guidance provided by Nicholson (2014) who states that Applied Theatre is most useful as a term when it is used to conceptualise theatre-making rather than defining specific methodologies, dramatic strategies or ways of working. Nicola Shaughnessy (2012:6) also believes that the term AT is most pertinent when it is used to open intellectual, ethical and political questions about socially engaged theatre practice and asks challenging questions and provides critical frames for reflection.

Applied theatre here, therefore, refers to a "discursive practice" (Nicholson, 2011:16) committed to interrogating and charting new discourses around issues of key importance in the lives of people (Baldwin, 2009:135) by the people for the people (Mda, 1993b, Odhiambo, 2004) and often practiced "at the place and time where its representations are most relevant" (Prentki 2015:18).

4.2 The African Paradigm

It is evident from the section above that major definitions and debates around AT practice have been theorised from mostly a Western perspective. Major proponents of AT theorists who have steered the debates and definitions around AT in the world, are predominantly from the Global North (Prentki, 2015, Preston, 2013, Nicholson, 2011, Ackroyd, 2007, Thompson, 2009, Taylor, 2003). This is mostly attributable to how scholarship on AT burgeoned in the Global North when practitioners began to explore theatre beyond the limiting scope of typical conventional practices. Thus, theoretically, AT draws mostly from Bertolt Brecht's Epic theatre (1957/1964), Augusto Boal's Theatre of the Oppressed (1979) and Paulo Freire's Pedagogy of the Oppressed. All of them share a common goal; that of shifting the audience/learner's role from passive to critical engagement for critical consciousness.

This project of reclaiming theatre from mere entertainment to political, educational and community function outside conventional theatre spaces can only be considered remarkable or ground-breaking within a Global North context that had a 'fourth wall' in the first place. What was seemingly an epiphany in the Global North from Brecht was not a paradigm shift in Africa or indeed the global South. African performance has always been an integrated and functional (for want of a better word) part of daily life in a way that takes it beyond notions of spectacle (Kamlongera 1988:230).

Kamlongera's argument has invoked more contemporary debates on Applied Theatre in Africa. In some way, we are encountering the decolonisation of theatre within a broader decolonial era, where hegemonic knowledges are continuously being contested. Asserting these decolonial imperatives, Samuel Ravengai (2020:46) submits what he calls *Afroscenology,* a creative theory that presents "the opportunity to create knowledge based on African practice and produced from our local context".

As African performance theorists continue to centre their own African experiences as/and performance, they have also identified correlations between African everyday performance and AT as it is theorised (Kamlongera, 1989, Mda, 1990b, Okagbue, 2013, Ravengai, 2020). What Richard Schechner (2010) identifies as the nexus between anthropology and theatre, or transcendent nature of performance to some form of 'social event' is the default setting of African performance. This leads Osita Okagbue (2013:2) to state that African performance "predates Richard Schechner, Eugenio Barber or Western European avante garde theatre theory and practice". Performance is embedded in our socio-cultural events such as funerals, rituals, celebrations, religious activities, hunting and even sporting activities such as wrestling, boxing, and acrobatic displays (Okagbue, 2013). As such theatre and life are a simultaneous experience, within an African paradigm that Christopher Kamlongera (1988) redirects us to.

I therefore, situate my Applied Theatre practice within the African paradigm. The ideas around AT that are emphasised such as setting, functionality and participation are captured in Ibrahim Ogachi's (2012:2) description of Africa as highly communal and involving participation of people –in proverbial gatherings under the tree. In affirming the African paradigm, I do not fully endorse that Africa was the cradle of AT which was then theorised in the West. I acknowledge both the western and African origins of AT and how these today influence one another.

AT as it is practiced today includes "African performance modes and a creative recombination with multinational influences to create work that is unique to the African continent" (Ravengai 2020:2). Akin to most western AT theorists, a number of AT practitioners also draw influence from Bertolt Brecht, Augusto Boal and Paulo Freire (Kidd, 1984, Kerr, 1995, Chifunyise, 1990, Chinyowa, 2009, Chivandikwa and Muwonwa, 2013). Brecht (1964) challenged the passivity among bourgeois audiences in Europe through the *Lehrstuke* or techniques such as the *verfremdungseffekt* variously translated to 'alienation/ estrangement effect'.

I must admit too that my work as an AT practitioner draws immensely on Paulo Freire's pedagogy.

The Freirean Pedagogy

I consider Paulo Freire as the anchor theoretical foundation for Popular Participatory Theatre (to be discussed). Young- Jahangeer (2009) and Malibo (2008) also acknowledge his pedagogy as such. He framed his ideas within the discipline of education in a Brazilian context but they have since been adopted across disciplines and geographical locations. Freire's (1970) work began as problematization of the existing pedagogical approaches in education that promoted unchecked, unquestioned reception of information by the students as though they were empty receptacles. This he argues, stifles both the imagination and cognitive abilities of students and shuts out what could be critical perspectives from them hence dehumanizing:

> Any situation in which some individuals prevent others from engaging in the process of inquiry is one of violence. The means used are not important; to alienate human beings from their own decision-making is to change them into objects…The pursuit of full humanity cannot be carried out in isolation or individualism, but only in fellowship and solidarity. (Freire, 2005:86)

He therefore proposes a transitional pedagogy in which students would be involved in a collective inquiry with their educator as coinvestigators. He, in a way, was also destabilizing a fourth wall wherein students are the passive audience that merely spectate the grand performance of the alpha teacher. He called this the problem posing- education. In short, he promotes a transformative pedagogy:

> The education our situation demanded would enable men [sic] to discuss courageously the problems of their context — and to intervene in that context, it would warn men of the dangers of the time and offer them the confidence and the strength to confront those dangers instead of surrendering their sense of self through submission to the decisions of others. (Freire. 1974 33)

Shri Uday Mehta (2016: 2), interprets the expansive goal of transformative education as "one that generates reflective, self-critical and self-motivated students who are proficient in criticising and directing independent work open-mindedly and have powerfully developed higher order thinking skills in interpretation, analysis and communication". I will explain towards the end of the chapter where I discuss PPT, how Freire's pedagogy resonates with the form.

The Boalian Pedagogy

I would think of Augusto Boal's *Theatre of the Oppressed*, a bible even when he warns us to not perceive it as such (Boal, 1996). By the end of this section, I hope it will be understood why.

Drawing on Freire's influence, Boal sought to decolonise the theatre space which he claims the rich and powerful had abrogated themselves in Brazil. His work focused on how the oppressed could use theatre as a rehearsal for revolution, a weapon or tool for liberation within and outside the confines of the theatre. This he called Theatre of the Oppressed. "Even if we do not make theatre" he states, "we are theatre…T.O is a system of exercises, games and techniques that help everyone, whether professionally involved with the theatre or not, to try and develop a language that they already possess" (Boal, 1996:50).

Boal's insights and perspectives were very useful in the conceptualisation of my PPT methodology. In particular his principles around body politics and spect-actorship. The body, according to Boal (1979:125) is the first word in the vocabulary of theatre, "therefore to control the means of theatrical production, man [sic] must, first of all control his own body, know his body to make it more expressive". In TO therefore, Boal proposes a three-phase pedagogy. 1st stage involves knowing one's body, the 2nd has to do with bodily expression and the 3rd is concerned with the use of theatre as language. I will explain the latter in a bit. The 1st and 2nd stage point us towards the realisation that the body can be the primary site of oppression but also a resource for freedom. That is why he designed games and exercises, (and encouraged use of more) to enable us to know our bodily (in) capabilities and express ourselves for transformation.

Breaking the Oppressive Wall

Beyond its muscular freedom, the body can also serve as an interlocutor of other freedoms beyond itself. The power of the body has been reiterated by other performance theorists (Ravengai, 2010, Chivandikwa and Muwonwa, 2013). Boal (1979) like Brecht was also interested in the idea of breaking the 'fourth wall' in theatre. That is challenging the audience's passive role and proposed/prescribed a transitory pedagogy that would see a spectator becoming a *spect-actor*. For me, breaking the wall refers primarily to the disruption of audience-spectator dichotomy. This possibility is inculcated within the 3rd stage which I mentioned in passing earlier.

This stage has three degrees; simultaneous dramaturgy, image theatre and forum theatre. All three are theatrical forms through which a spectator transforms into a spect-actor. I made use of image theatre and forum theatre[29].

In this research, which engaged sex workers whose bodies are primary resource of their existentiality, or in some way, a 'vernacular language' (Loots, 2018), the significance of Boal's work is apparent. I sought to learn how these bodies negotiate or break the multiple walls of prejudice and discrimination which they carry on their backs. Also, to gain insights into the lived experiences of sex workers through bodily expressions; a way of reflecting on and gaining insights on experiences that perhaps would otherwise have remained unexplored. Boal himself has said, "let us be theatre and use the language of theatre – use our thinking to make images, sounds, words, poetry. This language makes learning easier. (Boal, 1996:50).

4.3 Applied Theatre in Zimbabwe

Applied Theatre practice generally, and theatre for social change[30] in particular, holds significant space in Zimbabwe's performance culture. It is such a rich tradition, both in theory and practice that it qualifies to be 'mainstream' in the Zimbabwean context. As this section unfolds, I will reveal how and why western traditional theatre which would be considered mainstream in most countries, more or less occupies the periphery in the current Zimbabwean theatrical dispensation.

Several researchers and practitioners from the country were and continue to be instrumental in the growth and theorisation of AT in Southern Africa such that Christopher Odhiambo (2004) has specifically singled out the Applied Theatre movement in Zimbabwe as the most vibrant even when compared to other countries in Africa. The roots of this vibrant Applied Theatre tradition can be located in various places.

If AT is "primarily concerned with developing new possibilities for everyday living rather than separating theatre-going from other aspects of life" (Nicholson, 2011:4) and happens anywhere with the spectator and performer renegotiating and redefining their roles as the performance progresses (Okagbue, 2013:4), then AT in Zimbabwe is as with other African countries etched

29 Image theatre and forum theatre are explained in the forthcoming chapters. To understand simultaneous dramaturgy, see (Boal, 1979: 140).

30 This broadly describes theatre which uses popular forms to engage developmental issues with community etc

mainly in the pre-colonial indigenous performance forms. This would include storytelling activities, dance drama, song, rituals like *biras* (traditional religious ceremonies), funerals, weddings among other ceremonies. Although these were suppressed upon the arrival of the missionaries and British invasion and subsequent colonial rule, there was a reincarnation of indigenous performances in the liberation war camps in Zambia and Mozambique, as well as *Pungwe's* (all night rallies) in Zimbabwe (Chifunyise, 1990, Odhiambo, 2004, McLaren, 2013).

A *Pungwe* was an all-night activity, often set in the bush with open fires amidst traditional dance, song, chants, slogans and poetry, which grew in popularity during the *Chimurenga* (war of liberation 1966 - 1979) (Chinyowa, 2012). The performances here served the purpose of mobilising the people, conscientising and communicating the Chimurenga message. As Stephen Chifunyise articulates, "the dynamic use of diverse and popular forms of indigenous performing arts …enabled the combatants to mobilise the peasants to articulate their opposition to white settler minority regime and consolidate the peasants' solidarity with the liberation struggle" (1990:1).

In the guerrilla camps, the performances were morale builders that spurred the freedom fighters on during the armed struggle. This performance form was some kind of a return to the pre-colonial ritual where people sang and danced for and with the warriors to encourage them as well as celebrate them upon return from the battlefield. A number of traditional dances that were designated as 'war dances' have been documented, among them being the *Kiduo* war dance of Tanzania (Kapingu, 2009), *Mbende/Jerusarema* of Zimbabwe (Mapira and Hood, 2018, Mataga, 2008, Asante, 1985) and *Indlamu* which was practiced by the Ndebele's in Zimbabwe and the Zulu's in South Africa (Saldanha, 2012).

Fetching, reviving, and renewing indigenous performing art forms which had been suppressed by colonisation reflected a bigger function of *Pungwe* performances. That of resistance. They formed a major part of the liberation discourse because as McLaren (2013) notes, the armed struggle was also a battle for cultural revitalisation and expression. The performativity of it all (Butler, 2003); the dramatisation of the liberation struggle, infused with song and dance that the villagers and freedom fighters engaged in gave birth to a theatre movement – *Pungwe* theatre. This was a 'people's theatre' according to Ross Kidd (1984).

When Independence was gained in 1980, the Zimbabwe Patriotic Front (ZANU PF) government sought to mainstream an indigenous theatre movement as a way of asserting independence (McLaren, 1993). Reverting to indigenous performance was also an effort to decolonise western performance forms that had taken precedence as the preferable theatre. When missionaries arrived in Zimbabwe to save heathen souls, they demonised existing performance forms and adopted a cultural policy that "anglicised cultural production with a slavish adherence to the Western dramatic canon" (Ravengai, 2018:15). Further, the missionaries appropriated theatre as a medium through which to evangelise the gospel of Christ. This emerged to be an effective mode of information dissemination and socio-cultural 'transformation' as most natives embraced Christianity (of one denomination or another) got baptised and 'repented' from the 'sin' of their being[31]. As undesirable as this colonial encounter was, some of its elements were incorporated into Zimbabwe's current AT practice.

As part of its decolonisation project, the ZANU PF government also embarked on a project of institutionalised resistance. They targeted the University of Zimbabwe as a possible site for transformation because the colonial education and missionary system had not only suppressed indigenous performance, it had also "alienated 'educated people' from the traditional performing arts" (McLaren, 1993:38). Consequently, when drama was introduced at the University, most students were unwilling to participate in traditional song and dance, especially *mbira*[32] playing and drumming citing that it was unchristian and uncivilised (McLaren, 1993). This unease started peeling off over the years although the prejudice surrounding traditional performance is still widespread even today amongst ordinary Zimbabweans. While in Primary school, my parents denied me the opportunity of joining the traditional dance group on the basis that it was against our Christian principles. To my joy, I would 'live my dream' only years later, at the University of Zimbabwe as a core 1st year course. Thus, the university through the drama department played an active role in instilling Pan Africanist principles.

31 I mentioned in Chapter 2 how Zimbabwe is a predominantly Christian country.

32 This is a traditional instrument (thumb piano) that is often used summon ancestral spirits.

Further, the department devised modules that involved students engaging with communities as a way of "fostering a symbiotic relationship with the community and eschewing the elitism of the 'ivory tower' isolation" McLaren (1993:38). They had joined the university travelling theatre movement which were already in motion at institutions like Malawi University and the National University of Lesotho (Mda, 1990a, Kerr, 1982). Later on, according to (McLaren, 1993) who was on the forefront of developing drama at the UZ, they would incorporate theorists like Bertolt Brecht, Paulo Freire and Augusto Boal into the modules for students to keep abreast with global avante -garde trends.

To date, the University of Zimbabwe remains a hub of Applied theatre research and practice. Many scholars and practitioners (Chinyowa, 2009, Chivandikwa and Muwonwa, 2013, Ravengai, 2011, Seda and Chivandikwa, 2016) and myself included are products of the institution. It is without doubt that the department contributed immensely to the formation, growth and 'mainstreaming' of the genre in Zimbabwe.

A Theatrical Turn?

Post - independence, a 'people's theatre' founded in the various spaces discussed above, continued to precipitate the theatrical scene in Zimbabwe. A multivalent theatre to be precise, albeit hinged on traditional popular forms that transcended epochs. Among such expressions is the *kongonya* dance which was founded and nurtured in *Pungwe* Theatre but remains a common feature in contemporary Zimbabwean Applied theatre, particularly Protest political theatre (Ravengai, 2010, Ravengai, 2018, Sibanda, 2019, Chiyindiko, 2011). This is a form of theatre that directs its efforts towards the subversion of an existing dominant ideology (Chikonzo, 2017:60). Although the government had been major allies of this theatre form before and just after attaining independence from the British colonial rule, they occupied the polar position by the turn of the millennium.

The ZANU PF administration led by the late Robert Mugabe became a target of theatrical resistance as they grew increasingly unpopular with the masses for plunging the country into an abyss of economic and political turmoil. Armed with the tools to use theatre to challenge the status quo, this development set abuzz a protest political theatre movement across Zimbabwe, which was mostly funded by Non -governmental organisations. In response the government

imposed heavy censorship policies on all media including the theatre and continued to fund that which promoted their ideals (Odhiambo, 2004, Chiyindiko, 2011, Ravengai, 2018). A re-appropriation of the colonial strategy used by the British.

Today, in Zimbabwe one can find theatre being used to subvert the government on one end and utilised on the other by the same government to resist the regime change agenda which they strategically associate with the West. Zanu PF has co-opted Protest theatre as a mnemonic. To quote Samuel Ravengai, (2018:164) "political theatre now is one of the mediums which generates public imagery that challenges or maintains the ZANU PF version of national memory". It is a site for both regime loyalty and rebellion (Zenenga, 2017). Regardless, Political Protest theatre (Chikonzo, 2017, Chiyindiko, 2011) has not bowed down to the heavy state control and torture of practitioners.[33] Perhaps this answers why names like hit and run theatre (Zenenga, 2010) and panic theatre (Wrolson, 2009) are associated with this brand of Protest Political theatre.

Around the same time that the Protest Political theatre movement was booming, foreign funded non-governmental organisations were set up to amplify the people's displeasure with the government for not delivering. Focal areas for these organisations were governance, democracy, constitutionalism, service delivery and other topical aspects within the human rights discourse (Chiyindiko, 2011). Numerous practitioners began to work with these organisations and the themes of interest reflected the priorities and agendas of the latter. Another turn was witnessed where anything that secures funding from the donors like HIV and human rights took precedence and this was generally referred to as theatre for development (McLaren, 2013, Chiyindiko, 2011).

Today, the form Theatre for development (TfD) dominates Zimbabwe's theatrical firmament as a popular form. It may be important to note that TfD, the global form (Prentki, 2015), evolved into what Chinyowa (2009:335) describes today as a "people centred participatory paradigm characterised by process rather than product, partnership rather than patronage and diversity

33 Several practitioners have been harassed, detained, and tortured for staging plays that are critical of the State (Chiyindiko 2011).

Also read https://artistsrights.iti-germany.de/zimbabwe-theatre-producer-and-actor-silvanos-mudzvova-arrested-for-controversial-play/.

instead of uniformity". Its evolution in Southern Africa can best be described as having been curvaceous. It emanated as an alternative voice around the colonial epoch, and arguably stole its way into the mainstream in the late 80s to early 90s. However, at the turn of the century it became hotly contested as a form that employs participation as "a mere cliché to impress funders with no real substance" (Young-Jahangeer, 2020:38). It went out of vogue as other forms like theatre for social change took precedence. It seems, however, that inquiries and revisions around participation and localised understanding of development, helped in the edification of the practice. It is now rising to popularity again, especially in Zimbabwe. It is the broad ambit within which Popular Participatory Theatre (PPT) is situated. Often times, it is used interchangeably.

Locating the Blind spots

Praise Zenenga (2010:14) has said that, "In Africa, critical historical moments often necessitate the birth of new theatrical forms and practices". The development of Applied theatre provided above also substantiates this. With every socio-political and economic shift, a theatrical turn has been catalysed. Socio-political and economic woes have shaped and determined which issues take prominence on the stage. However, there are issues which no matter how pressing they are, do not get attention in this vibrant TfD movement. Kelvin Chikonzo (2017:60) has asked us to question whether protest theatre, despite providing space for counter-hegemonic voices, is not exclusionary, paternalistic, and oppressive. Affirmative. This rich, vibrant theatre seems to fall short in terms of representing queer bodies and their narratives. I use queer here to denote all bodies whose being, and sexual behaviour does not correlate with heteronormative prescriptions.

I demonstrated in the previous chapter how Zimbabwe is largely homophobic and whorephobic. I also revealed how this position is predicated on ZANU PF's (especially Mugabe's) ideals and principles which predominantly inform a majority of Zimbabweans' moral compass. The general moral policy constructs Zimbabwean nationhood using a heteronormative lens. This places sex workers and LGBTIQ+ people outside this framed identity of '*vana vevhu'* (children of the soil). The concept of *vana vevhu* is tied to the liberation discourse in which Zimbabweans went into Chimurenga (the war of liberation) to fight for their land which had been seized by the British colonial regime. Zimbabwean belongingness therefore has since been attached to the

land (Magosvongwe, 2016). *Vana vevhu* is used as emblem of Zimbabwe's 'cultural identity' (Hall and Du Gay, 2006).

Unfortunately, it is monolithically constructed as and consequently used as a tool of exclusion[34]. Ironically, contemporary Theatre for Development in Zimbabwe which has largely been characterised by challenging ZANU-PF ruling ideologies and building critical citizenship (Chikonzo, 2017, Chiyindiko, 2011, Chinyowa, 2012) has scantily represented gender and sexuality issues, in particular sex work.

Applied theatre productions around pressing and controversial issues that agitate ZANU PF's memory such as the *Gukurahundi*[35] abound (Maedza, 2019, Ngwenya, 2017, Mpofu and Moyo, 2017, Rwafa, 2012). The above subject is a hotly contested and sensitive issue whose mere mention according to Urther Rwafa (2012) is to make a reference to a taboo subject matter in post-independent Zimbabwe. I question therefore why a theatre that is 'a voice in the teeth of power' (Zenenga, 2011) selectively mutes on sexual citizenship when other dangerous subjects concerning citizenship have been broached. Sexual citizenship here refers to the extension of citizenship rights and entitlements to excluded and marginalized minorities, including LGBTIQ citizens (Southerton et al., 2020). I am not equating *Gukurahundi* genocide to a fight for sexual citizenship here, I however am suggesting that the premise is fundamentally the same - exclusion. Is AT not further excluding those who are already excluded?

I point out these exclusionary politics with a full awareness that the discussion of gender, sex and sexualities in Zimbabwe is considered vulgar (Manyonganise, 2015). But there are a few practitioners who have dared this moral censure to explore sex and sexuality issues with youth (Chivandikwa and Muwonwa, 2013, Muwonwa, 2020). Fewer that have dealt directly with sex

34 The exclusion goes beyond sexual minorities. It also facilitates the exclusion of tribes other than the Shona. For example I have never heard the Ndebele equivalent of '*vana vevhu'. It* is not part of the public discourse, yet Ndebele people are part of Zimbabwean nationhood.

35 The word '*Gukurahundi*' meaning in Shona the early rains that clear away the dirt, invokes profound and bitter memories of the torture and murder of more than 20,000 people – mostly of Ndebele origin, in Matabeleland and parts of Midlands provinces of Zimbabwe. The killings were carried out between 1982 and 1987 by North Korean-trained Fifth Brigade that operated under the auspices of Robert Mugabe's new (ZANU PF) government (Rwafa 2012:313) under the guise of rooting out dissidents. These 'dissidents' were members of the Ndebele tribe aligned to the opposition party (ZAPU) at the time. This political party was under the leadership of Joshua Nkomo.

work (I revealed this in chapter 2). This is despite it being a topic of interest to most donor agencies and NGO's. The few productions (I can name two that I watched) that address sex work were done as 'edutainment' during a sexual reproductive health workshop. Both performances were agit-prop (Mda 1993: 50) productions. That is particular community theatre groups were commissioned to create and perform the play for us the workshop attendants. One had a post-performance discussion, the other was a 15-minute interlude during a series of power-point presentations were we hardly participated beyond an ovation.

This is another blindspot in Zimbabwean AT practice. The "overriding tendency to take theatre to the people, rather than making theatre with the people" (Chinyowa, 2012). This goes with most Zimbabwean TFD productions which Chiyindiko criticises as concentrating mainly on presenting an end product to docile audiences (2011:34).

Patsimeredu Edutainment Trust however has run one project in which they engaged sex workers in theatre workshops, where they equipped them with dramatic skills. Such efforts are commendable, yet one case study within a theatre culture that is prominent for voicing various displeasures of 'marginalised' communities and injustices perpetrated against them (Wrolson 2009; Ravengai 2011) can be hardly considered adequate. One could also argue that, in the context of sex work, it is also difficult because it is a criminalised issue. So is public dissent in Zimbabwe. It remains a priority area for Zimbabwean theatre regardless of the fact that ZANU-PF, as Innocent Mutero (2017) notes, is notorious for thwarting dissenting voices.

Evidently, sex work, like homosexuality, keeps falling within the cracks of Zimbabwean AT practice. Perhaps as an assertion of the popular sentiment or people's position that sex work is immoral and unZimbabwean. Therefore, I will not ask why. We are already reminded by Kerr (1995) and Mda (1993b) that people's theatre (self-guided) tends to reinforce stereotypes. How? Is the question. How can Zimbabwean AT practitioners and facilitators challenge selective intervention and the idea of a people's theatre that is Theatre for Development (TFD) (Kerr 1995; Mda 1993; Chivandikwa and Muwonwa 2013; Prentki 2015), that others 'Others'? How can they politically and professionally utilise their practice as a potential tool for sex worker advocacy?

4.4 A Popular Participatory Theatre Alternative

With the ultimate objective of bringing to light the various issues affecting a very marginalised but poorly represented community of sex workers in Zimbabwe, this study adopts Popular Participatory Theatre (PPT) as a paradigm of interest within the broader realm of AT. Popular participatory theatre (PPT), as the name suggests is an amalgamation of Popular theatre and participatory methods. The 'popular aspect' is conceived within Karin Barber's (1987) purview of African popular performance while the participatory element is conceived from Freire's (Freire, 1970) educational pedagogy. First, I will unpack Popular Theatre.

Loukie Levert and Opiyo Mumma (1997) describe African Popular theatre as one that utilises forms of artistic expression that a community identifies and finds most comfortable to express themselves in. Abdallah Mdoe (2002) too, states that, a theatre that is popular speaks to the common person in their language and idioms to deal with problems of direct relevance to their situation. He calls it 'a people's theatre'. This definition expands the idea of popular theatre beyond just artistic expression and directs us to other aspects like language, tradition and culture. It also ushers in the dimension of functionality and/ or intentionality - that the popular forms of expression are used to articulate the socio-political realities of a given people. Complementing or supporting the above definitions, Zakes Mda (1990b) states that "a truly popular theatre is the one where people initiate and develop theatrical explorations of their problems and so engage in a continuous process of self-education".

Most Popular Theatre scholars have identified indigenous games, dance, storytelling and folklore as the standard popular expressions (Chifunyise, 1990, Mda, 1993b, Mlama, 1991). This is regardless of the realisation made by Nehemiah Chivandikwa et al. (2018) that "traditional/indigenous games are yet to be appreciated as sites of critical engagement" in popular theatre. There is an overreliance, especially in Zimbabwean Applied theatre projects, on Boal's games and other Eurocentric games. PPT however deploys traditional games as one of its core activities (Young-Jahangeer, 2013, Sibanda, 2015, Malibo, 2008).

Moreover, it stretches this idea of popular beyond the above established markers to encompass multiple other expressions, and beyond the context that popular theatre was birthed in. Popular theatre arose (in the African context)[36] as a practitioner's search for a theatre language that is relevant to the struggles of the local people, post-independence (Mlama 2008). Not only that, it was also created to revive local artistic expressions which local people had been weaned off from by the colonialists on the pretext that it was pagan and uncivilized activity (Kamlongera 1989). The idea of 'popular' was therefore conceptualised as a counter discourse to Western theatrical expressions and ideals that according to Kidd (1980) perceived and conditioned locals to feel they have neither talent nor creativity.

It makes sense therefore that popular expressions were steeped in what was considered indigenous and often this is restricted to the pre-colonial era. Popular (indigenous) cultural expressions cannot be conceived only when relating to or drawn from the precolonial era. A dance like *gwara gwara* is as indigenous and South African as *Indlamu* is.[37] Popular expressions may be a hybrid of activities drawn from people's culture and popular culture.

Mary Jo Arnoldi has, however, argued that most scholars,

> …identify the emergence an African popular art with one setting and one period - the urban colonial and postcolonial world…and this risks too close an identification of African popular arts with one period and setting and denies them any history within the postcolonial era and within non-urban setting. (1987:2)

Barber (1987) however identifies the syncretism of local African and Western forms as a characteristic feature of African popular art, in both rural and urban settings. PPT as it is practiced today is informed by Barber's notion of African popular performance to include both people's and popular culture. Here, I am using Nunez's (quoted in Kidd 1980) distinction of people's culture as autonomous expression, values, customs of a people and popular culture as that which is built out of selective aspects of people's culture that reflect and articulates their interests, to inform my argument.

---

36 Popular theatre exists in other contexts. It however tends to be associated with the global south or communities with a strong performance tradition that is incorporated into everyday life.

37 Watch *Gwara gwara* here: https://youtu.be/H7uZHSYEVPM.

Watch *Indlamu* here: https://youtu.be/nExzW8NbaZY.

As an example, in my PPT study with Zimbabwean queer youth (Sibanda 2015), music, dance, poetry and writing were the participants' popular forms of expression. They also sang traditional Zimbabwean songs and dance, combined with modern ones. However, their aesthetic code was mostly inclined to Beyonce Knowles[38] music and dance. Even with regards to language, participants expressed themselves in both *Shona* and English. This revealed just how popular indigenous expressions are not a static construct. Sometimes they may (sadly) reflect "the dependency relations of the society in which it functions" (Kidd, 1980:292) and are not necessarily autonomous.

Zakes Mda assertion is helpful in summing up my argument succinctly. He writes that:

> African societies do not live in a cultural vacuum. It is not possible not to have culture, nor is it possible to simply take one culture off and put another on. Culture itself is dynamic, and in its evolution, it gathers new concepts in response to prevailing social circumstances. Throughout the African villages and urban areas people have their own modes of performance that are popular in nature. Using popular theatre is therefore not an attempt to look for new content in old forms, but new content in current popular forms - some of which have evolved or have been syncretised from old forms. (1989:67)

The Second P is for Participatory

Participation, Chinyowa (2015) argues, "belongs to an aesthetic category that has been used and/or abused in AT practice". PPT, aims to address this by distinguishing itself from the exhortatory examples often displayed in past manifestations of TfD (2020:38). In PPT, participation is upheld as an ethic in which the community is actively involved in the theatrical process, not partially but entirely. This participation variable is best articulated by Ross Kidd, (1984:264) when he defines PPT as a "means of bringing people together, building confidence and solidarity, stimulating discussion, exploring alternative options for action, and building a collective commitment to change; starting with people's urgent concerns and issues, it encourages reflections on these issues and possible strategies for change" (Kidd 1984: 264).

38 Beyonce is an African American RnB musician, popular with the youth across the world.

However, we also take heed of Mda's (1993) argument that for conscientisation (which is one of our major objectives in PPT) to occur there needs to be both optimal participation and optimal intervention. This means that although maximum participation of the community is plausible there may not be critical awareness without the input of a facilitator. At the same time, the facilitator's input must not be too peripheral nor intrusive. It must be optimal. Hence with PPT, the community devises the plays with the guidance of a facilitator and often these are not scripted or titled; they remain fluid and improvisational (Young-Jahangeer, 2020).

The theoretical premises of conscietisation and participatory elements referred to above, draw originally from Freire's (1970) critical pedagogy. Popular Participatory Theatre is thus a people-centred participatory paradigm (Chinyowa, 2009) "that combines African popular performance with Freirean problem-posing methodology to create a space to generate debate around socio-political issues" (Young-Jahangeer, 2013:1).

Freire's path resonates with PPT pedagogically and theoretically in many ways. First, popular participatory theatre is a problem posing methodology. To this end Young-Jahangeer has even called it a problem -posing theatre. Secondly the facilitator- cum- researcher (teacher) does not assume the role of the knower. Rather they co-create the play from the beginning to end with the community/ participants (learners) to shift the audience/learner's role from passive to critical engagement for critical consciousness. In Freire's terms this process, which he calls praxis, allows for co-learning in which one learns from the other and together, they co-investigate the world. Lastly, they are both pedagogies of the oppressed in society.

PPT was deployed in this study as praxis. A creative process where perceptions can be challenged and narratives on sex work are reconstructed, with Zimbabwean sex workers. Drama has been seen to possess this power to "enlarge our frames of reference and to emancipate us from rigid ways of thinking and perceiving" (O'Neill 1996 in Taylor 2006).

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter was dedicated to the discussion of Applied Theatre. In the first section I set out my aims for the chapter, followed by an overview of the concept of Applied theatre. Important debates and definitions were analysed including the subject of the African paradigm. This was quite relevant as it ushered in the AT overview, from the global to its localised versions. The

conversation ended with the discussion of PPT and how it resonates with the study which seeks to reconstruct narratives and challenge (mis) perceptions on sex work in Zimbabwe. How it was utilised to achieve this, will be the core objective of the next chapter.

If we allow ourselves to be guided too closely by theory, we will end up being blinded by it. My response to the tyranny of theory is to go to the story; go to the human story – Chimamanda Ngozi-Adichie 2021.

Chapter 5: The How

> We are people, just like you, who have faced everything in a life that any human being faces. …We want the feminist movement to stop punishing us for our strengths, stop rewarding us for our pain, stop gaining privilege on the back of our needs, and to **listen when we speak**[39]. We will continue to speak out about our rights, and **you need to hear us. If you deny our experience, you deny our existence** – Elena Jeffreys (quoted in NSWP, 2011)

5.0 Introduction

Elena Jeffreys, an Australian born sex worker and academic uttered the words above to an auditorium of feminists at the Feminist Futures conference in Melbourne, Australia 28-29 May 2011 on the panel, 'Why Feminism Matters'. While this may have been directed at feminists, multiple entities among them academics, religious sects, and human rights activists who in their work have marked sex workers as a target group and/or key population for intervention are too implicated in silencing and 'invisibilising' sex workers. In her essay, 'Whorephobia and The Truth About Sex Workers' (2014) she asks; "why do people who are not sex workers position themselves as experts on sex worker issues? Why are sex worker voices marginalised and questioned the moment we speak up? What is it about sex worker issues that makes people believe it is okay to talk about us, without us?

With this, she is not discouraging feminist representation or solidarity, she is questioning intent and methodology which often perpetuates what she terms 'whorephobia' (Jeffreys et al., 2011). She is repudiating a false kind of generosity (Freire, 1970) that is predicated on others' (in the context of her speech, feminists') self-interests. Most importantly, she is challenging the long tradition of tokenistic inclusion of sex workers which Weitzer (2009a) has identified as a major methodological loophole in sex work research. Her sentiments reiterate Capous Desyllas, (2010:772) assertion that, "throughout history, in society, and within academia, the aspirations of sex workers are often ignored, and their needs have been consistently defined and represented by non-sex workers". Sex workers (SW) are rarely involved in the design, implementation and evaluation of projects that concern them. Where they are engaged, it is either based on brief

39 Bold emphasis my own

interactions or compromised methods that amplify the researcher's voices and perspectives about them (Rubin, 1984, Weitzer, 2009a, Van der Meulen, 2011).

This is a symptom of what Linda Tuhiwai Smith's diagnoses as one of the dirtiest words in the vocabulary of indigenous peoples[40] in her seminal text, Decolonising Methodologies - research. She writes that:

> It galls us that Western researchers and intellectuals can assume to know all that it is possible to know of us, on the basis of their brief encounters with some of us. It appals us that the West can desire, extract and claim ownership of our ways of knowing, our imagery, the things we create and produce, and then simultaneously reject the people who created and developed those ideas and seek to deny them further opportunities to be creators. (2013b:1)

Akin to Jeffereys, Smith here challenges us to interrogate and undo some of the traditional research elements that usually turn out to be detrimental to those whom the research is intended for. She brings to fore the filthiness of research from the vantage point of those who are 'researched' not as a means of discouraging research but an invitation for us to acknowledge this dirtiness and beyond that, rethink or set a new research agenda that is situated within decolonisation politics of the 'indigenous peoples' focused strategically on the goal of their self-determination (Smith, 2013b:7). As dirty as research is, we are not as Amina Mama argues:

> In a position to deprive ourselves of the intellectual tools that can assist us in the pursuit of [gender] justice. The arena of the intellect has been used to suppress us. We cannot afford to ignore the importance of intellectual work especially in the 21st century where knowledge and information define power more than ever before…It is an arena that we must imbue with our own concerns, transform into places that serve our collective interests instead. (2001:63)

Smith therefore advocates for the voices and knowledge systems of indigenous communities (herein sex workers) to be considered and inform research that concerns them. Taking her cue, it is incumbent upon us as researchers engaged in research that focuses on sex workers to be wary of the power that we hold and its potential to dehumanise already marginalized peoples. Most of all, it calls for us to abandon the 'representing intellectual' syndrome, be more reflexive and invest in designing salubrious methods of research. These include researching with and not

40 According to Smith (1999:7) indigenous peoples, "is a term that internationalizes the experiences, the issues and the struggles of some of the world's colonized peoples. The final's'in' indigenous people has been argued for quite vigorously by indigenous activists because of the right of peoples to self-determination. It is also used as a way of recognizing that there are real differences between different indigenous peoples".

about or for people using methodologies and methods that allow the research subjects to articulate themselves, make sense of their experiences and interpret them without feeling extorted.

Drawing from these perspectives and a growing awareness of the colonial trauma that is embedded within research, it was imperative that I design a methodology that addresses or at least attempts to address, the above-mentioned loopholes. Specifically, for this research which seeks to locate and tell narratives of sex workers, whose voices have for long been swallowed by others. A research methodology is basically the how. How a research is conducted, the strategies, approaches, choices made, and tools used to collect, collate and analyse data. According to Sypros Langkos (2014), it outlines the research strategy, the research approach, the methods of data collection, and the selection of the sample, the research process, the type of data analysis and the ethical considerations.

In this chapter, I provide a detailed narration of the research journey undertaken by a group of 7 sex workers and myself in Harare, Zimbabwe.

5.1 The Research Design

How does one render the complex experiences of human behaviour, opinions and thought processes? How do you answer the why's and how's of human behaviour, opinion, and experience(s)? Moreso, sex workers who, as Jeffereys indicates, live with the trauma of being spoken for and denied space to articulate their experiences. These are the questions that guided me as I designed this study. A research design is a pre-requisite, because it is the "conceptual blueprint within which research is conducted" (Akhtar, 2016:17) or clearly defined structures within which the study is implemented.

I gravitated towards a qualitative research methodology. Bruce Berg (2004:3) suggests that qualitative research stems from the word quality, which he defines as the what, how, when, and where of a thing, its essence and ambience. It is the study of different aspects within their natural settings, by attempting to make sense or interpret phenomena in terms of the meaning people bring to them (Denzin and Lincoln, 2008). In other words, it enables a holistic inquiry into the core of human beings, their experiences and how they make sense of them. Quite ironically though, this research practice, associated with quality typically evokes bias, suspicion

and lack of rigor in the academic arena (Silverman, 2020, Denzin and Lincoln, 2008). It is not my intention, however, to delve much into the unhelpful qualitative – quantitative polemic which Uwe Flick (2018:4) calls the "dominance of quantitative over qualitative versus the superiority of qualitative over quantitative research". Like Wilson (1986), I believe that the approaches are complementary rather than competitive and one's choices around them should be based on the nature of the actual research problem at hand.

I therefore, adopted a qualitative approach because of its specific relevance to my study. First, qualitative research is an effective approach when studying social relations (Flick, 2018). Second, it is helpful in interpreting and documenting an entire phenomenon from an individual's viewpoint or frame of reference (Creswell, 1998). Third and most importantly, as elaborated by Cathy MacDonald (2012:34) qualitative research focuses on the whole of human experience, broader understanding and deeper insight into complex human behaviours. In order to achieve these objectives, qualitative research integrates multiple methods and techniques of observing, documenting, analysing and interpreting characteristics, patterns, attributes and meanings of human phenomena under study. Qualitative research is therefore a host to a series of approaches from which I used Participatory Action Research (PAR) and Ethnography.

5.2 Ethical Accountability

Research can be witchcraft (Smith, 2013b). Especially from the perspective of those occupying the margins. By witchcraft I mean that research can be manipulated into an extortionist endeavour in which one party (the researcher) exercises control and syphons data from the researched through undignified means. It is therefore incumbent upon researchers to prioritise ethical principles in any research, across the qualitative-quantitative divide.

As a participatory action research (PAR), this study posed some ethical issues. By its nature, PAR is very involving, and it challenges traditional norms of research and their ethical dimensions thereof. Informed consent, protection from harm, ownership of the research and the location of power, you name it.

"When the participants in action are also researchers, the boundaries between researchers and researched are blurred". Anjum Halai (2006:6), asks "who gives consent to whom? How is confidentiality of data and anonymity of participants ensured? How are issues of power and equity in participation addressed?" Here she illuminates the manifold ethical implications of PAR. Needless to say, PAR's ethical approach to research is treated with suspicion hence as highlighted by Zeynep Yanar et al. (2016) it is often, problematised by universities' research ethics committees

That the PAR inquiry directly engaged Zimbabwean sex workers, who are an already marginalised group posed more ethical dilemmas. The sensitivity required that I adopt stringent measures to ensure the safety of participants. It is this commitment that informed my work before, during and after the project. I was very deliberate about my choices and decisions in order to maintain a high ethical standard. The initial phase involved obtaining an ethical clearance from the University of KwaZulu-Natal (see annex 1). This process entailed an in-depth outline of the research in line with the principles and guidelines for conducting research in an ethically appropriate manner, back and forth questioning and clarifications for a full year.

In the field, an interactive ethical framework was utilised. An ethical framework is one that:

> encourages full and frank discussion, negotiation, and consent with the research group from the start with regard to the aims of the research, the potential benefits and risks to all research partners (including the academic researcher), the commitments (emotion, time, money) required by research partners, outputs, consent, anonymity, confidentiality, and data access and storage to bring the research to a fruitful conclusion. (https://www.sheffield.ac.uk/)

I began by explaining the project fully to participants and how the study was solely for academic purposes. The deliverables of either parties were detailed, and along with that I stipulated the possible risks and benefits associated with the research. I also emphasised the voluntary aspect and reiterated participants' right to discontinue from the project should they feel uncomfortable at any point. I also indicated that I was going to set up space for counselling should participants require so.

Issues of confidentiality and anonymity followed. This was a critical clause for discussion. Some participants indicated that they wanted to be identified by their actual names. Such requests come often in PAR research, yet this is considered unethical and potentially risky for participants. This leads Yanar et al. (2016) to claim that anonymity can be unjust, disempowering, and unnecessary, and can reduce pride.

Other participants preferred the use of pseudonyms. It did not make sense to me however that even those that did not want to reveal their actual identities were keen on taking pictures, audio and video recording. They granted their full consent for participation, as well as recording of the entire process, through signatures (templates are provided in Annexe 2). This conflicting stance presented an ethical dilemma. I resolved the matter by using pseudonyms of their choice for all participants except for Chihera and Munesu who insisted their real names be used. Conventionally what they refer to as their 'real names' would be considered pseudonyms. They renamed themselves because they felt their legal names did not correspond with their transgender identity. In this study however, those are their real names. With regards to audio and video recordings, I proceeded with capturing them. Albeit in some instances they would change their minds about video shoots. The recordings were used only for data analysis. These will be disposed of after five years as per the school's research protocol.

This was, however, not a once off ritual because in PAR, consent is not an event but a process (Halai, 2006:8). Moreover, PAR is underpinned by the ethical obligation of researching 'with' and not 'on' people (Yanar et al., 2016) which called for the principles of democracy and humanity to be upheld. These ethical obligations had to be observed through a constant process of negotiation throughout the journey. Finer details of this process are given in the subsequent chapter. In the next section, I delve into the crux of the how?

5.3 Sampling Design

It is not feasible for a researcher to access and collect data from an entire population that they are investigating in a study. That, according to Bobby Latham (2007) is an endeavour that most researchers do not have the time and/or money to undertake. In any case "a sample may be more accurate than the total study population and a badly identified population can provide less reliable information than a carefully obtained sample" (Bineham 2006:2). For this reason, non-

probability sampling where specific populations are recruited (Lopez and Whitehead, 2013) is the standard in qualitative research. In research parlance, this recruited section of the population is called a sample and the process of it, sampling. Essentially, we do sampling in order to select a sample of the population that is 'truly' representative of the said population (Latham, 2007, Mujere, 2016). As with all research, the selection of a truly representative sample is a critical component, and it was equally tantamount that I attempt a mirror representation of sex workers here because it forms part of my research problem and argument. I needed to achieve representativeness for the greater objective of capturing narratives of sex workers in Zimbabwe whose demographic representation is limited. Sex work, as this study will reveal, is not a preserve for cis-heterosexual women as is often projected. What better way to demonstrate that sex work is done by people of various genders and sexualities than my own sample?

Sampling Technique(s)

There is no guarantee that any sample will be precisely representative of a population under study. However, it is a possibility which according to William Cochran (in Latham, 2007:2) can be maximised through use of correct sampling methods. In an attempt to assemble a more accurate sample for my study I used multiple sampling methods. Initially, a convenience sample was selected through Chihera, whose biography I provide in the next section. Convenience sampling is said to be the most common form of qualitative sampling that occurs when people are invited to participate because they are conveniently (opportunistically) available with regard to access, location, time and willingness (Lopez and Whitehead, 2013:24). It is also known as accidental or haphazard sampling (Frey et al., 2000, MacNealy, 1999). I drafted a call which Chihera shared with her networks in person and across social media platforms. A total of 9 people registered interest and a meeting was set.

Of the nine people that arrived for the initial meeting, six did not meet my criteria. Although the call specified that the study required sex workers, three stated that they were not sex workers but 'in love with theatre', and the other three were trying their luck because they thought the project had monetary benefits[41]. It became necessary to use purposive sampling at this point. With purposive or judgmental sampling participants are those who have the required status or

41 Due to the high unemployment rate in Zimbabwe, most young people are surviving on workshops and projects that are donor funded.

experience or are known to possess special knowledge to provide the information researchers seek (Lopez and Whitehead 2013:125). In other words, a purposive sample is selected non-randomly based on particular characteristics (Frey et al 2000). In my context, I needed sex workers who were willing to tell stories with me through popular participatory theatre without remuneration. I then remained with four sex workers, one female, one male and two transwomen all in their early 20s. One of the participants, Que, then recruited two female sex workers; Nesto and Mariana. Later on, Ransa another transwoman sex worker, joined us at Chamomei's invitation, and Mebo joined post one of our performances in her neighbourhood. This method of relying on previously identified group members to identify others who may share the same characteristics when a group is already in place is called snowball sampling (Henry, 1990). Technically therefore, the study was a mixture of convenient, purposive and snowball sampling.

I will now introduce the participants:

Chihera: The Convener

Chihera also affectionately known as Queen B is a Zimbabwean transgender woman. According to her, her legal name is now obsolete. Chihera is derived from her totem. Queen B is a combination of the prefix Queen which represents feminine royalty and the first letter of her birth name, Brighton which is considered a male name in Zimbabwe. Her (self) naming itself gives a sneak preview of Chihera's politics as an individual. An unapologetic transgender woman who imbues her Zimbabwean identity with pride against a background where she is considered unZimbabwean because of her gender identity. She claims it without an inch of coyness. Chihera is also an ardent member of the Seventh Day Adventist Church, a denomination that is prominent for its strictly conservative doctrine. She fought relentlessly to claim space within the Dorcas Ministries, a women's arm within the Adventist ministry, but this led to her censure from her position as pathfinder director. Motivated by the acute paucity of transgender voices in Zimbabwe, she co-founded the Trans and Intersex Rising Zimbabwe (TIRZ). Her organisation has been at the forefront of a bold transgender activism and advocacy campaign in Zimbabwe. Chihera owes her tenacity and successes to her supportive grandmother and stepfather.

Munesu – The Research Assistant

I met Munesu fortuitously. He is a transgender man aged 20 from Harare Zimbabwe, working with TIRZ as a community advocate. Upon Chihera's call for transgender sex workers who wanted to participate in this study in one of their sessions at TIRZ, he decided to attend our first meeting regardless of the fact that he is not a sex worker. He was not the only person who was not a sex worker who came to our inception meeting, however he was the only one who insisted that he wanted to be part of the project as a volunteer and did not expect any transport money or lunch that was meant for the participants. Munesu's charisma and enthusiasm stole everyone, they wanted him as part of the team. He subsequently became my research assistant (with transport and lunch provided of course). An acting and events management enthusiast, Munesu is doing his O levels. He is of a strong Christian background, a Pastor's child specifically. Like Chihera, Munesu is still grappling with notions of religiosity and his gender identity and/or expression which is considered inconsistent with Christianity.

Que

I associate Que with the words pillar, mover and shaker. She was among the first group of people to come to the first meeting and the only female sex worker present. At the onset, Que opened the space up for healthy interaction with her jokes that are laced with sexual innuendos. She immediately assumed the role of the group facilitator who ensured that all of us in the space felt comfortable and at ease to share ourselves. It was Que who recruited the other female sex workers to the group. She describes herself as a very strong-willed personality who will not settle for less and indeed that is the energy she exudes. Que walked out of a financially healthy but abusive marriage which she was forced into at a very young age. Consequently, she is no longer interested in remarrying. She is a loving mother who draws her everyday motivation from her two children that she is raising single handedly. Although sex work is her major source of income, Que is also into cross border trading. She operates in the Avenues, marked the red-light district of Harare CBD.

Nesto

Nesto joined us three meetings later. Apart from being a sex worker, she also serves as an empowerment worker under the Centre for Sexual Health and HIV/AIDS Research Zimbabwe (CeSHHAR). Her role as an empowerment worker involves disseminating information, educating about sex worker health related issues. She speaks with the confidence of someone who indeed feels 'empowered' and is set to empower her colleagues. Confidence, focus and joviality are her striking qualities . Nesto has a contagious positive aura which helped us navigate a lot of group dynamics. Like Que, Nesto is a divorcee and a proud mother to her son who is now in High School. She operates across high- and low-density suburbs in multiple spaces around Harare.

Chamomei

She is a strikingly beautiful and dedicated young transwoman sex worker who joined the project at its onset. While embodying her transgender identity with pride, she performs masculinity as a way of detracting transphobes (people who hate and fear transgendered individuals). Chamomei has an easy-going personality and is quite candid with her feelings. She is a transgender rights activist, sex worker and student at a local college. She operates mostly online. This idea of a virtual red-light district will be explored fully in Chapter 7.

Mariana

Mariana was also a Que recruit. She is a female sex worker who has been doing sex work for over two decades in Mbare, Harare. Mbare is a high-density suburb inhabited by thousands of mostly poor households. Mariana is in her 60s and belongs to the group that is commonly referred to as '*mahure akudhara*' (sex workers of yester year). She however considers herself to be at the top of her game and claims with a chuckle that her clientele is made up mostly of young men that she sometimes has to turn away. Mariana also runs a vegetable stall selling vegetables alongside sex work to feed her children. She is also a two-time divorcee who bares full responsibility for the children. According to Mariana, age is just a number, and this informs her politics. She fit into the group, largely made up of youth between the ages of 20 – 30, without struggle.

Hailey

Hailey joined us on the first day of rehearsal. She loves to adorn herself with heavy make-up, short dresses and high-heeled shoes when in safe spaces. In fact, she would not rehearse until she had 'put her face on'. She has a deep relationship with her phone to the annoyance of some members of the group. However, her soft-spoken self always redeemed her. It also helped that Hailey was a good performer, this motivated the rest of the group to get into character and execute their roles more believably. Apart from sex work, Hailey is a hair and nail specialist who operates a mobile salon. She also volunteers with several non-governmental organisations, particularly those that are fighting for queer visibility.

Mebo

I first met Mebo while I was doing consultancy work in Hopley, a residential area in Harare. She is part of a local drama group, New Generation which is made up of 8 women who decided to use drama as a means of airing out their frustrations as well as raising awareness on various issues particularly domestic violence. Hopley is known for being a centre of the sex trade industry including child sexual exploitation that is driven mostly by poverty. Mebo introduced herself to me as a performer by day and a sex worker by night. I invited her to join us the second time the group and I performed in Hopley albeit in the later stages of the project. She is also a divorcee and a mother. Mebo is in her early 50s and says she has a lot of targets to meet before she can resign.

Spransa

Spransa became a part of the group by default. She had been invited by Tanaka to come and watch our penultimate rehearsal before our performance. Spransa is a very vibrant non-apologetic transgender sex worker affectionately known as Queen bitch. She prides herself in living her truth, being her full self in dress, conduct and behavior even in the face of rebuke and judgmental public glare. Spransa is a warm character who immediately adjusts and mingles with people. On the day she watched us in rehearsal, she volunteered to demonstrate for Hailey and Tanaka how they could execute their characters better. She was to join us again and we benefitted immensely from her input. It was too late to have her in the play, so I invited her to facilitate the post-performance discussions, which she accepted and efficiently executed. Spransa aspires to run a successful clothing line and a salon.

5.4 The Site(s)

That the world-wide web has become a ubiquitous phenomenon has become a widely acknowledged fact. In Africa, which is considerably still lagging behind technology wise, a majority of people have smart phone connectivity. As such cyberspace saturates literally every part of our lives. As such it can be leveraged for research. Christine Hine (2015:15) for one, claims that the cyberspace has become more "embedded, embodied, and everyday", a quality which she says demands us to have methodological agility. Annete Markham, a digital research theorist also reiterates that:

> It is not an exaggeration to say that the internet has transformed cultural practices around the world. This influences what counts as a human subject in sociological studies, complicates the legacies for how to gather or analyze material in qualitative research, and provides new sources for meaningful information about the situations we want to study. (2020:4)

There is now opportunity to collect accurate data of people's lives on the internet. Sometimes people even express or become truer versions of themselves in the cyberworld because it is a privilege that they are denied in the physical realm. In a study that I conducted with gay men who are denied space and freedom to identify as who they are in Zimbabwe (Sibanda, 2015) I found that the cyber world was the 'real' world for most of them while the physical realm became a stage for fictional performance that suited the national idea of being a Zimbabwean.

Taking a cue from this experience, and the realisation that "our living space has been transformed from physical space into a space shared by physical space and cyberspace" (Xu et al., 2006:121) the internet was a primary research site for this study. I conducted two interviews with male sex workers online. They were not keen on a physical encounter. Some of my post performance interviews with participants were also held online as I had returned to South Africa.

Geographically, the study was set in Harare, Zimbabwe. The city, previously named Salisbury, was set up in 1890 by the British Empire to establish an urban core of colonial capitalism and an industrial bourgeois town (Yoshikuni, 1991:134). Salisbury became a job-hunting ground that gave high wages resulting in an influx of migrant workers from rural parts of the interior and others from external locations like Nyasaland (modern day Malawi). Today, the city under the new name Harare, is the most populous city in Zimbabwe inhabited by 1,542, 813 people from

different parts of the country and beyond (Worldometer 2020). Harare literally translates to the one who does not sleep. The city that does not sleep also carries the legacy of being a hive of (sometimes lucrative) entrepreneurial activity. Even in the midst of a dark economic abyss that the country has plunged into (Tofa, 2020, Jones, 2010), Harare remains a neo-liberal capitalist capital.

The context provided here motivated me to study sex workers who operate in Harare. Besides the advantages of proximity, the likelihood of getting an appropriate sample in this bustling hub were higher than elsewhere. As a matter of consequence there is an amusing connection or paradox rather between those who literally do not sleep (often) and are undesired by a city that professes to be home for those that do not sleep – Harare, Central business district.

I also conducted a mini baseline study comprised of interviews and focus group discussions in Hopley which is located south of Harare. The aim was to get etic perceptions of sex work(ers) in Zimbabwe and Hopley was a suitable site because as Newsday describes it, it is:

> A shantytown that has mostly two-roomed houses, makeshift wooden and plastic cabins…where one meets the unemployed, who are trying to sell a thing or two to make a living, children who are out of school, sex workers — young and old — who rove and drift up and down night and day …where one can find sex for as cheap as 50 cents per session and that the settlement contributes a larger number of sex workers, who operate in the city centre and the Avenues in the capital (Newsday 2017: line 16).

5.5 *Hweva*[42] as Participatory Action Research

Pic 7. In rehearsal (Picture taken by Princess Sibanda full consent granted by the participants, 2019)

Hweva was a Popular Participatory Theatre project[43]. My aim in this section is to demonstrate how PPT is and was used in this study as Participatory Action Research (PAR). First a brief discussion on Participatory Action Research.

PAR, whose methods are designed to dehierarchise and resist the power of elites in determining research conduct and priorities (David, 2002) is located within the transformation and emancipatory paradigm. For this reason and others, PAR practice has over the years gained popularity and consequently burgeoned into a multiplicity of fields which convey different meanings and are to a certain extent contradictory (MacDonald, 2012). This is because every research endeavour is unique albeit sharing or being informed by a similar theoretical or conceptual rubric or having common characteristics and commitments. More specifically, Mary Brydon-Miller and Patricia Maguire (2009:81) concur that "each version of PAR reflects the culture, political and economic realities, and social issues of the time and place in which it was developed as well as the personal experiences of the individuals who led the movements in these locations".

42 This is the name that participants gave to the project. I will fully explain the concept of Hweva in Chapter 5.

43 The project is fully discussed in the next chapter.

In its various mutations, PAR is quite distinct from other qualitative research methodologies in that it recognises the need for those being studied to participate in the design and dissemination of any research that affects them (Vollman et al., 2004:129). Often, there is a commitment to "address the underlying causes of inequality while at the same time focusing on finding solutions to specific community concerns" (Williams and Brydon-Miller, 2004:245) hence its roots in the critical/emancipatory paradigm. This is a conglomerate of philosophies and theories that are aimed at emancipating and transforming communities through group action (Chilisa and Preece, 2005).

The transformation referred to here is twofold; that of the research participants quality of life but also knowledge production. Leslie-Ann Noel (2016:3) notes that the critical paradigm "recognises the historical imbalance in research and knowledge production that favours the 'elite' and disadvantages many others". The design therefore in transformative research is one in which "people from the periphery would be allowed equal opportunity in playing an active role in creating knowledge, research and design and not just be placed in a more passive role of receiving in the form of help or aid, knowledge that they have not played a role in creating" (ibid).

The description of PAR given above may easily be read as an attempt to extol the methodology; however, PAR as in with other methodologies has its pitfalls particularly where it concerns upholding the participation ethic. There are many ways to conceptualise participation and generally speaking, almost all research involves some form of *participation*. Buttressing this, Andrea Cornwall and Rachel Jewkes (1995:1668) observe that "while some conventional research projects involve limited interactions with people, others achieve a high level of in-depth participation at certain stages without being considered participatory". Conversely, in research which is dubbed participatory, people are often "**participated** [44] in a process which lies outside their ultimate control" (ibid 1669)**.** Suffice to say, participation may secrete or reinforce existing forms of oppression even when it is intended to liberate.

44 Bold emphasis my own

Bill Cooke and Uma Kothari remind us in their text, *Participation: The New Tyranny?* that there is a:

> naivety of assumptions about the authenticity of motivations and behavior in participatory processes, how the language of empowerment masks a real concern for managerialist effectiveness; the quasi-religious associations of participatory rhetoric and practice; and how an emphasis on the micro level of intervention can obscure, and indeed sustain, broader macro-level inequalities and injustice. (2001:14)

As argued, PAR can be complicit in this tyranny. There is, as Ferreday and Hodgson (2008) remark, a 'dark side' to participation. Just because PAR inveighs against more traditional models of research and promotes participation does not automatically mean that it is immune from the tyranny of participation. Participation which is the crux of PAR is political; it rests on a volcanic surface of power and control that should be engaged with. A typical PAR model is theoretically situated at both a collaborative and collegiate level of participation which is rarely realised in research (David 2002). According to Cornwall and Jewkes (1995: 1668), "Participatory research methods can be used not only to enable local people to seek their own solutions according to their priorities, but also to secure funding or to co-opt local people into the agendas of others".

In lieu of the above, it is uncritical to consider PAR **the** paragon of 'good' research and other methodologies as exploitative. Likewise, the complete dismissal of PAR as "biased, impressionistic and unreliable" (Cornwall and Jewkes 1995: 1667) by some critics is reverse 'naivety'. Of, course this is an extension of the longstanding qualitative-quantitative debate in which the former is perceived 'soft'. This criticism disguised as critique is, I believe, unhelpful to research. Every research approach has its own opportunities and pitfalls which we need to negotiate. Research is not static, there is always room to edify our approaches.

Anneliese (Singh et al., 2013:97) proffer a healthy PAR framework to guide ethical and empowering research *with* rather than *on* communities. Their framework is a four-step guide which I found particularly useful:

a) Initiation of research with participants as co-researchers

b) Collective identification of a research focus that focuses on positive social change

c) Collaborative data collection and analysis

d) Evaluation of research study's impact on positive social change.

Their conceptualisation of PAR succinctly sums up the core principles of PAR. That there are multiple realities that are socially constructed. In order for us to tap into these realities it is crucial that there be an interactive link between the researcher and the participants of research (Mertens, 2017). This interactive link is maintained in all phases of the research project.

These main principles are conversant with those of PPT. Popular participatory theatre, as discussed in the preceding chapter, "combines African Popular Performance with Freirean problem-posing methodology, to create a space to generate debate around socio-political issues" (Young-Jahangeer, 2013:1). At the spine of Freire's problem posing methodology is dialogic interaction, which is a significant variant in the PPT process. PPT is a people-centred paradigm in which participants get to collectively identify their areas of passion, collaborate in the process of creating and performing a play with the guidance of a facilitator.

Although a facilitator, sometimes called the practitioner (or in schools, in theatre) is someone who has the necessary education, background and artistic skills to lead a group that is often relatively unskilled in dramatic process" (Saxton and Prendergast, 2013:4), PPT is anti-hierarchical. It is characterised by partnership rather than patronage (Chinyowa, 2009). Participants, therefore, in the context of PPT literally refers to those participating in a theatrical project, no hierarchies implied. Both stakeholders collaborate in all phases of the project. Often, as was the case in *Hweva*, the designations are fluid, as roles of facilitation and participation are constantly shifting. As a facilitator, I participated, and participants also got to facilitate rehearsal sessions.

Above all else, PAR and PPT both engage (usually) those who are disadvantaged or marginalised in society. They are pedagogies of the oppressed. In this and many other ways, my methodological approach also aligns with my theoretical framework. A Nego-postcolonial feminist theory (which I propose in chapter 3) challenges the homogenous treatment of women in the Global South as mere victims and recognises that while they indeed are subjected to multiple levels of oppression, they have the agency to transform their reality. This Nego-postcolonial framework also emphasises the importance of marrying the academy and other

discourses outside of it in order not to perpetuate the 'representing intellectual syndrome'. Meanwhile, Decoloniality methodologically resists methods that operate as part of colonial matrices of power that prevent transformation (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013b:15).

In light of all discussed above, I consider PPT to be a form of PAR. A PAR model that is an innovative adaptation of methods drawn from conventional research which I attempted to use in new contexts, in new ways with sex workers.

Play(ing) as Research: A Popular Participatory Theatre Model

In my discussion of Popular Participatory Theatre (PPT) in the preceding chapter, I underscored how games are a crucial component of the form's DNA. Particularly indigenous childhood games. We play, in PPT. But our concept of play goes beyond just playing. PPT is a typical example of the "transformative power of play" (Gordon and Esbjörn-Hargens, 2007). Hence, I theorise here, PPT as play and play(ing) as research.

Gwen Gordon's essay, "What is Play? In Search of a Universal Definition" (2007) reveals the multiple paradoxes and inconsistencies associated with the term which makes a clear definition, a mammoth task (Sutton-Smith, 1997). Given that defining play, is not as easy and fun as play(ing) itself, I choose to evade a lengthy definitional discussion of the term. Play in this study refers to both a noun and a verb that denotes "a changing process that is creative, interactive and imaginative" (Armstrong, 1999). More elaboratively, I perceive play as "acting or imitating the part of a person or character, an exercise/activity for amusement or recreation or the action of a game" (Fox in Sussman, 2012:1).

While a single definition of play has proved difficult to come up with, its benefits abound in research. Play has been identified as an effective learning strategy that enhances physical, social, moral, creative abilities (Bergen, 2001). It creates "powerful learning opportunities across all areas of development and sets the foundation for the development of critical social and emotional knowledge and skills" (UNICEF 2018: 8). Karen Sussman (2012) links it to growth in memory, self-regulation, language, and symbol recognition.

However, these benefits are mostly articulated in the context of childhood development because play "is known as the child's work" (Ellison, 2012:16). There is extensive literature on play and its impact on childhood development that spans decades in research.

In contrast, play in the adult world is associated with purposelessness and unproductivity. Particularly within the neoliberal capitalist dispensation that places value on work, it is disregarded as sheer folly. The only context in which play is considered pivotal is post work, as rest. Even so, this concept of play assumes a different meaning. Often, adults who play are labelled childish and so do those whose careers are based on playing. This is because more often than not, play is constructed a parallel to work but never work in and by itself. If all work and no play make Jill/John dull humans, I wonder what happens to those whose work is play and play is work? I mean practitioners like myself who play for a living? Forever dull or forever full of fun?

The relegation of play(ing) to frivolity or "an activity that is fully absorbing, includes elements of uncertainty, involves a sense of illusion or exaggeration, but most importantly, exists outside of ordinary life" (Huizinga 1950 in Gordon, 2006:36) is the rationale upon which performance and consequently performance-based (oriented) or artistic research are treated with triviality. This is because their form is infused with, based on play or is (a) play. Mary Gergen and Kenneth Gergen (2012:11) express how their concept of 'performative social science' is usually considered, "foolish, nonsense, suspicious and possibly corrosive" practice that is "not really science at all". It has thus become common for performative or performance-oriented approaches to suffer critical bashing in academia on the pretext that they are a recusant to conventional methods of research.

There is an uneasiness and paranoia that besets traditional researchers when performance is embedded in research (or vice-versa) and, is research in itself. Indeed, there are, stark differences that exist between performance-based and other forms of scholarship which as Mark Fleishman (2012:29) observes, "open up new ways of thinking and new subjects of exploration that traditional textual scholarship does not or cannot gain purchase on". There is "a great deal of tension" in these 'border violations' of artistic research (Borgdorff, 2011:1). Perhaps it is this 'great deal of tension' that Baz Kershaw (2009:105) identifies as the 'paradigm shift' necessitated by placing creativity at the heart of research. What then are the possibilities that come with the border pedagogy which advocates play(ing) with adults in order to find answers to a serious research problem? Are play and adulthood as polarized as they appear to be?

In this study I play around the concept of playing and making a play (for research) to explore the narratives of Zimbabwean sex workers with Zimbabwean sex workers and in the process build solidarity / social capital. I explore this notion of 'playing and making a play for research through a Popular Participatory Theatre (hereafter PPT) model which has already been discussed in depth in Chapter 3.

Popular Participatory Theatre as a (Performative) Data Collection Method

It is my hope that I have sufficiently established how PPT is Participatory Action Research. In this section I detail how I used PPT to collect data.

Gamesercises

The incorporation of exercises in playmaking is common in theatre practice, globally and across genres. It is almost a norm in theatre that performers play games exercise before rehearsal to prepare their bodies physically and mentally for theatrical activity. As *An Actor Prepares* (Stanislavski, 2013) a host of theatre games and exercises are designed to develop skills for conventional performance: observation, listening, visualization, spatial skills, and vocal skills among other things.

In AT, games and exercises also serve a political purpose as part of the form. They are not merely precursors to the actual theatrical activity. As a process orientated form, AT infuses games and exercises into the form to be used not only by the actors (but as the boundary between the actor/spectator is deliberately blurred) for the spectators as well. Typically, in PPT, games and exercises are popular forms that constitute an important part of the theatre itself. Thus, they are a major and recurring component in most PPT led studies (Young-Jahangeer, 2009, Malibo, 2008, Sibanda, 2015, Chivandikwa et al., 2018).

The political function of games and exercises in AT is best articulated by Augusto Boal, who used games and exercises which he refers to 'gamesercises' and documented them as a vital component of his Theatre of the Oppressed (1979). Through gamesercises, which are the first stage of his transformative paradigm (knowing the body) (Boal, 1979:125), Boal believes that the body can begin to undo/transform the oppression that sits in it. He explains in his book dedicated solely to gamesercises that:

> The goal of the exercises is a better awareness of the body and its mechanisms, its atrophies and hyper-trophies, its capacities for recuperation, restructuring, reharmonisation. Each exercise is a 'physical reflection' on oneself. A monologue. An introversion. The games, on the other hand, deal with the expressivity of the body as emitter and receiver of messages. The games are a dialogue, they require an interlocutor. They are extroversion. (1992:48)

The complex dynamics which gamesercises are able to elucidate within participants provided a rich data gathering method that also assisted in achieving the political objectives of the study: learning about Zimbabwean sex workers realities from their own perspective and building solidarity / networks among sex workers in Harare.

Gamesercises can be used in multifarious ways as, relaxation techniques, icebreakers or physical preparations. I will not attempt to quantify the gamesercises because every rehearsal commenced with a set of these while some were introduced at certain intervals throughout the playmaking process. Most of the games we played were indigenous with a few adopted from Boal's arsenal of games (1992). Playing indigenous childhood games connects adults with their inner child. In this way, it also levels the playing field, which makes it important in PPT. All of us took turns to introduce and facilitate gamesercises sessions.

As we played, the function of exercises and games as tools for bodily knowledge and expressivity was revealed. This provided me with insights about participants' perception of self in relation to others, views and opinions about body politics as well as their characters and personalities.

Image Theatre

Image theatre is another crucial element in Boal's revolutionary politics. In Adam Perry's (2012) words, it is a silent revolution, a system of decolonisation. In image theatre, participants get to explore one or more themes of common interest to participants through sculpting an image with their bodies (Boal, 1979:135). Typically, this process follows three key stages wherein participants sculpt a**n actual image (**depiction of the status quo), **ideal image – (**reflection of the desired circumstances) and the **transitional image** which shows how it would be possible to shift from one reality to the other.

The form therefore requires one to use their body "as an expressive tool used to represent, non-verbally, a wide repertoire of feelings, ideas and attitudes" (Clark, 1998:8). Boal himself explains that:

> In the body's battle with the world, the senses suffer. And we start to feel very little of what we touch, to listen to very little of what we hear and to see very little of what we look at. We feel, listen and see according to our specialty; the body adapts itself to the job it has to do. (2005:49)

Thus, the body can be a reservoir of information that is relayed or inhibited thereof by the body itself. This drew me to the form. I adapted it into my PPT process model in order to comprehend personal and social problems that are faced by Zimbabwean sex workers as well as their proposed solutions to these through embodied language. We went through two image theatre sessions, all held in the first two rehearsal workshops. It is from the sessions that we developed our play.

After all, "showing stories, rather than telling stories, is a way for people to write themselves into the stories of others, as the details of people's storied images are not offered" (Perry 2012:108).

Interviews

Interviews are a widely used method of data collection in which a researcher and a participant engage in a conversation with a purpose (Denzin and Lincoln, 2008). The purpose being to access knowledge, perceptions, opinions and/or worldviews of particular individuals in relation to their (researcher) area of investigation. This deliberate process may be carried out in three distinct ways. An interviewer may decide to have a set of specific questions that they stick to throughout the conversation, and this is called **a structured interview**. According to Yan Zhang and Barbara Wildemuth (2009) this set of predefined questions in a structured interview would be asked in the same order for all respondents. Alternatively, the researcher may decide to be flexible with the interview process and base it on some form of roadmap or guiding template that directs how the conversation goes and not necessarily a set of questions. This is called **a semi-structured** style. The third approach is totally **unstructured**. Paul Nichols (1991:31) describes it as an informal interview that is not structured by a standard list of questions and fieldworkers using it are free to deal with the topics of interest in any order and to phrase their questions as they think best. It therefore relies entirely on the spontaneous generation of questions in the natural flow of an interaction (Patton, 2002).

In this study, I used all three interview styles where I deemed them most suitable. I conducted a total of 17 interviews before, during and after the theatre intervention. Five of these were structured, face to face interviews conducted before the PPT intervention in order to elicit people's perceptions about sex work(ers) in Zimbabwe as a means of establishing the status quo. Particularly, those in positions of power. I interviewed two pastors and two political leaders, and a traditional leader.

Two semi-structured interviews were also conducted with Beatrice Savadye and Margaret Mutsamvi, whose organisations are championing human rights in Zimbabwe. I also interviewed two male sex workers who could not participate in the PPT process inorder to get their perspectives. These were done virtually through Facebook messenger and WhatsApp. The rest of the interviews were held with my participants, a month after the field work process. These were unstructured and implemented one on one, virtually.

Focus Group Discussions

Alison Oatey (1999) describes focus group discussions (FGD'S) as a form of interview, only that in this case it is an entire group being interviewed at one go. Akin to other interviews discussed above, focus group discussions are an effective method of exploring people's inner feelings and attitudes. Does this suggest a method repetition? Certainly not, interviews and focus group discussions have a distinct edge. Focus groups, according to Rana Dilshad and Muhammad Latif (2013:191) "provide a more natural environment of individual interview because participants are influencing and influenced by others – just as they are in real life". Other schools of thought have noted this as a demerit, in that responses may reflect the opinions of the dominant respondents (Morgan, 1995, Wimmer and Dominick, 1997). Such group politics are indeed a possibility but manageable through strategic moderation.

My experience is that focus group discussions spark interesting ideas among participants and provide an environment that not only acknowledges but pulls into convergence multiple knowledges and experiences. For this reason, I used them as a complementary method. A total of seven focus group discussions were held during the field work process. Three of these were held with participants, two with community members of Hopley and two others with audience members.

Taking a cue from Bruce Berg's (2001:112) acknowledgement of how FGD's are an effective method to learn about the biographies and life structures of group participants, the first focus group was held on our first day of rehearsal. It served as the foundation or premise of our playmaking process. This first session took a different form as I introduced a game called 'hot seat' to trigger or prompt the process. I volunteered to take the hot seat first, spoke about myself and my PhD endeavour after which the entire group started asking me questions about me, my work and the particular project we were about to embark on. As it were, participants began the process of interrogating me and my work in relation to theirs and the cycle of hot seating and moderation rotated naturally forthwith. This rather spontaneous model of focus group discussion was very conversational and emerged to be highly desirable for this study which sought to establish sex workers' lived experiences, their emotions, feelings and thoughts and foster a considerably 'safe space' for these to be communicated. This opportunity in fgd's is noted by Dilshard and Latif (2013: 193) when they state that fgd's provide space for marginalised segments of society to expose their feelings about their needs and problems.

Post-Performance Discussions

Post-performance discussions are a common practice in Applied theatre practice more-so in Popular Participatory Theatre. These occur at the end of the performance to facilitate dialogue and debate between the audience members and performers. It is an interaction where the audience critically engages as spectators not mere receptacles of the performance. Performers on the other hand get to reflect, dig deeper into themselves and their narratives. Often, it is an opportunity to speak their mind out or talk back to power in cases where the audience members are people in positions of power. In the context of my study where sex workers performed to an audience of other sex workers and sex worker activists, post-performance discussions provided me with the opportunity to gather data on their perceptions about sex work and what they thought of/about the issues presented in the play.

5.6 Modified Ethnography

It has been my experience and observation that ethnography is inevitable when using Popular Participatory Theatre. In any case ethnography is "promiscuous, it attaches itself to and incorporates a vast variety of different research techniques and approaches" (Kozinets, 2010:42). As you interact with participants in rehearsal and outside, excavate issues of concern to them and get to know each other as human beings outside the researcher/participant labels, immersion happens. When a researcher immerses herself with the participants in their natural setting in order to understand better their culture, thoughts, opinions and attitudes, it becomes an ethnographic inquiry (Lofland, 2002, Berg, 2001, Flick, 2018). In short, ethnography is "concerned with learning about people, in contrast to studying people, through immersion in native populations" (Jones and Smith, 2017:98). This, according to Bruce (Berg, 2004) is the core principle that defines ethnography despite the terminological preferences and confused understanding that it suffers.

Other than that, the investigation by itself lends me into an ethnographic space. To understand sex worker's lived realities and telling their stories with them through popular theatre is to describe and interpret cultural behaviour. Harry Wolcott (1990:42) singles this as the utmost attribute of ethnography when he states that:

> Ethnography is not empathy; ethnography is not merely first person accounting or "Being There"; Ethnography is not newfound respect for another culture; ethnography is not a "day in the life"; ethnography is not role study and so on – although these may be among its ingredients…the purpose of ethnographic research is to describe and interpret cultural behaviour.

It is from this understanding that I consider my study to have been an ethnographic study albeit a modified one. I refer to it as modified because I conducted it differently from traditional ethnography. For example, I did not conduct an in-depth observation of participants in their *real-world* context for an extended period of time as demanded by traditional ethnography (Berg, 2001). I only experienced a deep familiarity with *portions* of sex workers lived realities. I did not for example use participants' various workspaces as the field nor did I observe them doing sex work. It is even difficult to describe a particular setting as a place where sex workers operate because they re-appropriate the same spaces (streets, homes, hotels etc) that every one of us

utilises into ‘offices’. Gavin Johnston (2012) calls this access to a smaller experience or slice of everyday reality, micro ethnography.

I also, as highlighted earlier extended my participation observation to the cyber space. This kind of ethnography comes in various names among them digital ethnography, virtual ethnography, cyber ethnography and netnography. By whatever name, Gary Bowler (2010:24) argues that:

> All ethnographies of online cultures and communities extend the traditional notions of field and ethnographic study, as well as ethnographic cultural analysis and representation, from the observation of co-located, face-to-face interactions to technologically mediated interactions in online networks and communities, and the culture (or cyberculture) shared between and among them.

Below I reveal how data was collected ethnographically and netnographically in this study.

5.7 Observation

Observation falls mainly under ethnographic methods of research. It is the process “of learning through exposure to or involvement in the day-to-day or routine activities of participants in the researcher setting” (Schensul et al., 1999:91). This process unfolds in various ways and Barbara Kawulich (2012) identifies two major types that are direct observation and participant observation. With participant observation, researchers get into the setting under study as both observer and participant while with direct observation they observe without interacting with the objects or people under study in the setting (ibid: 6). With both, a researcher may either be an overt or covert observer. I used participant observation and made the participants aware that I would be observing them and that the observations were solely for research purposes. I was an overt observer. Why observation though?

I used participant observation mainly as a data gathering method. Observations were made personally in the rehearsal space and our hanging out spots. In the rehearsal space for example, I observed participants’ verbal and non-verbal expressions of feelings about themselves and each other, how they interact with each other, their reactions and their thought patterns. Hanging out was a default occurrence that grew into ritual. It all began when Munesu requested that we meet outside the rehearsal space because he had something confidential to share with me. The experience was quite insightful, it allowed me to access him as a human being than a mere

research assistant. We then began meeting up as a group during weekends for theatre shows, workshops and sometimes simple conversation. Hanging out gave me access to the participants' "backstage culture" (De Munck and Sobo, 1998:43) while allowing them into mine as well. Russell Bernard (1994) conceptualises 'hanging out' as a core process of gaining trust and establishing rapport with participants.

Participant observation was also done virtually. I observed participants' interactions in our WhatsApp group and their statuses and stories on both WhatsApp and Facebook during and after the project. On these platforms, people get to post thoughts or moods either in words, audio or images. Often these give you access into their inner feelings that would otherwise be masked during interviews or focus group discussions. It is possible for participants to perform edited versions of themselves and altered narratives or experiences in-order to sound appropriate or politically correct. More so in a PPT study like mine because it involves performance in the conventional sense. I therefore used participant observation as a validity tool too. This function has also been noted by Kawulich (2012:8) when she states that participant observation allows researchers to:

> …check definitions of terms that participants use in interviews, observe events that informants may be unable or unwilling to share when doing so would be impolitic, impolite, or insensitive, and observe situations informants have described in interviews, thereby making them aware of distortions or inaccuracies in descriptions provided by those informants

The method was also extended to audience members who watched the performances. I was looking out for their unsolicited verbal and non-verbal reactions during the play.

5.8 Journaling

I consider journal writing to be almost inevitable in my work as an artist and academic. To borrow Valerie Janesick (1999:4) journal writing is a way of getting feedback from myself and in so doing, it enables me to experience in a full and open-ended way, the movement of my life as a whole and the meaning that follows from reflecting that movement. I therefore kept a journal in which I documented my thoughts, feelings and opinions about the research process throughout the journey. The process is both a self-reflexive exercise and a reservoir of data collected in the field. However, I also took heed of Bilha Bashan and Rachel Holsblat's

(2017:12) advice that journals are an important tool for understanding what happens in the field because often participants can perform in the public glare and then express their actual feelings in writing. Munesu, the research assistant and all of the participants were provided with a journal on the first day of rehearsal. If participants also keep a journal, it offers a way to triangulate data and pursue interpretations in a dialogical manner (Janesick, 1999:11). However, this writing was not mandatory. These journals were then collected at the end of our PPT project.

5.9 Data Analysis

Given that I used a participatory action research methodology and to a lesser extent ethnography, I was both a participant and a researcher. This made it difficult for me to observe and take notes in detail as the research unfolded. Even in instances where I could take notes for example during interviews, I preferred not to. Sometimes note taking distracts the flow of conversation and it may easily become a re-enactment of a court interrogation. I therefore relied heavily on pictures, audio and video recording. These became an essential part of my data analysis process along with written notes and pictures.

The data analysis process in qualitative research, "is not a technical exercise as in quantitative methods, but more of a dynamic, intuitive and creative process of inductive reasoning, thinking and theorizing" (Wong, 2008:15). I commenced the analysis with the transcription of multimedia materials. This included playing back audios and videos, pictorial data such as images and WhatsApp screenshots. Once everything was written down, I went through the process of systematically searching through the data for resemblances and contrasts in the themes that were emerging. These were then categorized through the old system of manual coding. That is using different highlighters to mark the different themes. Guided by transparency, validity, reliability, comparison and reflexivity, which are referred to as the 'good practices' of data analysis (Green and Thorogood, 2018) the final phase involved drawing meaning from this raw data in line with my research questions.

5.10 Concluding Remarks

The How, ends here. It is my hope that the explanations that I gave are adequate in presenting a clearer picture of how the research was conducted, what informed particular actions, choices and methodological decisions. I detailed where the data was collected, who I collected with, how I collected it, collated and analysed it. The challenges that beset the research process, have been reserved for the next chapter in which I give more intimate details that would otherwise look misplaced in a rather technical chapter.

Chapter 6: Behind the Scenes

Pic 8. Behind the scenes (Picture taken by Princess Sibanda full consent given by participants, 2019)

In the previous chapter I gave a detailed account of how data was collected, collated and analysed. However, while a necessary part of the writing up of the research, the conventions of methodology chapters usurp the full scope of human experience and interactions that actually occur when gathering 'data'. Established conventions in scientific research deliberately detach emotion or feelings from so-called reason, effectively polarizing them. When we use research terminology such as 'sample', for example the 'human' element is completely removed. That is deemed 'good research'. According to Nel Noddings (1996: 435) "in Western thought affect and emotion have been distrusted, denigrated or at least set aside in favour of reason". To feel, it seems, is to be subjective, uncritical, unrigorous, soft and biased. Undiscourse-like. For this reason, it is seldom that researchers acknowledge the affective dimensions of their work. I am convinced however that emotions play a powerful and important role in research. Colleen McLaughlin (2003: 67) has also said before that:

> If we look at the processes involved in research – looking and thinking, viewing the familiar differently, making judgements, suspending judgements, being creative, drawing conclusions, taking action and working with others – then we see how inter- and intra-personal these processes are and how connected to the processes of perception. We know that the processes of perception are deeply rooted in emotions about the self, about the external world and in cultural ways of seeing the world.

Feelings are discourse. To omit or hide them is to ebb significant portions away from both the researcher and the research itself. Johnson (1975:145) located in Berg (2001) reiterates that omission of the researcher's feelings about their research inevitably makes them "an iron-willed, steel-nerved, cunning Machiavellian manipulator of the symbolic tools of everyday discourse".

This chapter is a sequel to the otherwise more technical methodological chapter that precedes it. Particular attention is given to the various nuances, range of feelings, thoughts, and emotions that participants and I experienced and how these informed the research process and possibly its outcomes.

6.0 A False Start?

Hurry Up and Wait

I know we have never met before
And I know that this doesn't mean anything to you at all
I don't matter to you at all I am just a 'desperate' Zimbabwean student after all
But it's time we settled the score
I don't care if this turns into a war
I just have to stand tall
And let my heart pour

Please tell me? How long must I hold on?
How long will it take for you to raise your brow?
What do I have to do for you to open your door?
My feet and heart are sore
Please tell me just how I am supposed to grow?
When you clench my ambition with your claw?
How long will I wait before you open your door?

'Zimbabweans must go!'
I am sure you have caught wind of this call
South Africa doesn't want us to stay
We are 'criminals' that pollute her children
Suffocate her space, she can hardly breathe
So she is ready to make us pay

I might just be the one to pay the fee
If you don't set me free
Are you ever going to heed my call?
Or you have glued my ambition permanently to your wall?
If progress be your foe
Tell me now so I go

I could just call you several names
But I choose to label you hypocrite!
Good at othering the other
In the guise of protecting the other

I know we never met before
And I probably don't matter at all
I know not whether you are someone
Someones or something
But I do know that you exist as 'Ethics'
And your existence is the bane of my existence
Right now!

Set me free, so I write my piece
And I will definitely leave in peace!

In the context of what has been discussed above, this poem is a good place to begin the narrative. I penned it out of utter frustration, anger, and despondency, pending my long wait for an ethical clearance to conduct my fieldwork in Zimbabwe for my MA studies. This was amid a strong wave of xenophobic attacks that hit Durban in 2015[45]. I felt caught between a violent call to exit South Africa and a school that was taking its time to issue me with an ethical clearance, pushed on one end by a country that was desperate to spit me out and pulled on another by the school that values quality ethical research. Hurry up and wait! I did not know who to direct my anger and frustrations to hence my journal became my sole outlet.

My proposal had been passed without corrections and in good time too. The long wait for ethical clearance felt inconsiderate and inconveniencing. I was only cleared a year after defending my proposal and indeed I wrote 'my piece in peace'. Two years later, I found myself waiting again for a PhD ethical clearance. When the clearance arrived finally, it was not in good time to save me trouble. I had a false start.

The location of this study was initially Bindura, a small town in the province of Mashonaland Central, located in the Mazowe Valley about 88 km north-east of Harare, Zimbabwe. Bindura made for a relevant and appropriate site for the study because it is a hive of sex work activity. Prior engagements to mobilise sex workers were made and a starting date set with a local organization that is working with sex workers in that part of the country. This is because sex workers are a hard to reach community in Zimbabwe. I however received my clearance 10 months later than scheduled such that by the time I arrived in Bindura, Zimbabwe for the field

45 see https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-32249853

work, the Director of the organization I was going to work with had left the country. Efforts to gain access and coordinate remotely were futile. I was grounded.

6.1 The Actual Start

After my false start in the field, I headed back to Harare. I made numerous attempts to connect with other organisations that could give me access to sex workers. Mobilising the participants in their various working spaces by myself was going to be a mammoth task given that they run a rather conspicuous trade in harsh operating conditions that prevail in Zimbabwe. I therefore needed to work through an organisation that had already established rapport with sex workers. It was also important that I work with an organisation like ROOTS because they already have an existing psycho-social support facility for the various communities that they work with. Unfortunately, my efforts did not pay off. My requests were either ignored or declined. Despondency and fear creeped in. As I sat with my fears and hopelessness, unaware of what to do next, Chihera happened.

Chihera and I had first met in 2015 through a mutual friend. She had caught wind of the popular participatory theatre project I was doing with queer youth in Zimbabwe and wanted to be part of it. Unfortunately, we were nearing completion of the project at the time. We would then rub shoulders often as both of us are active in sexual reproductive, health and rights activism in Zimbabwe. When I left the country for my PhD, we kept contact albeit sporadically. Hence it was by the Universe's connivance that we bumped into each other that Tuesday morning in Harare. Totally overjoyed Chihera gracefully ran towards me in the hustle and bustle of Copacabana. Copacabana is one of the busiest taxi ranks in Harare, characterised by hyperactivity, high traffic, vendor activity and money laundering, perhaps the reason why it is also prominent for hooliganism. The space has especially been established as a disciplinary zone where those whose dress or corporeality is not consistent with heteronormative prescriptions of masculinity and femininity are accosted and harassed. Major targets are women dressed in mini-skirts and queer people, mostly transgender individuals[46].

46 https://uk.reuters.com/article/us-zimbabwe-women/jail-for-zimbabwe-men-who-publicly-stripped-woman-hoped-to-deter-sex-pests-trfn-idUSKBN0MN22M20150327.

It is by chance therefore that I met Chihera, a transwoman at Copacabana. The way she swung her body unapologetically towards me in a space that punishes queer bodies was revolutionary but risky. We perched by a small corner, and of course she expressed disappointment at the fact that I had not announced my return and had not thought of calling her in my moments of need. We then decided to meet up properly at a later date because the glances at Copacabana were unwelcoming. It was a brief encounter, but long enough to rejuvenate my hopes. She was willing to make use of her network and mobilise sex workers for me. "*Tazowana mukana wekushanda tese manje*" [Finally an opportunity for us to work together], she murmured as she got swallowed into Copacabana's thickets.

Chihera and I would then meet later and more other times to plan. It is through her rich network that I got access to the sex workers that I collaborated with in this study. I profiled these individuals in the previous chapter. The field work process was a three-month long endeavour that stretched from July to September 2019. It entailed a number of workshops, hanging out dates, and WhatsApp chats. The culmination of it all were two performances in September. In the forthcoming sections I provide the finer details of the process.

The First Date

We held our first meeting on the 9th of June 2019 at Theatre in The Park, an establishment owned and run by Daves Guzha and Rooftop Promotions. The theatre was created as an alternative performance space for community groups in post-independence Zimbabwe (Sibanda, 2019) and as such it holds symbolic political significance in the development of protest theatre in Zimbabwe. We chose Theatre in the Park mainly because of its geographical location. It is perched right in the Central Business District of Harare within the serene Harare gardens.

I came into the first meeting, with mixed emotions, mostly anxiety. It had beset my body for a month as I tried to mobilise participants after my false start. This would however change minutes into the meeting as young vibrant and enthusiastic faces showed up that fateful afternoon. Nine in total, came through. We commenced the session with a game that I will call '*ini…iwe …isu'* (Me, you, us), a rendition of a Zulu game that I learnt from the women at the Westville correctional Centre in Durban. It is a call and response game in which participants

stand in a circle and individuals take turns to introduce themselves. A rhythm is created with the aid of hand claps and finger clicks. The game goes like this:

Individual: *Ini* (me)

Group: *Iwe* (you)

Individual: *Ndini* (insert name e.g. Princess)

Group: *Ndiwe Princess* (you are Princess)

By the time we got to the third person, we were all giggles. The game is a fun way of opening up a workshop, getting to know each other's names and warming up the rehearsal space.

Post the game, space was opened for group members to introduce themselves beyond the name. I fully introduced myself first, gave an outline of the project that is; what motivated me to do it, what the objectives were, and how I envisioned it to go. Participants also followed suit. A considerable amount of time was spent on these introductions as well as addressing questions and clarifications pertaining the project. It is during this process that I realised that some of the participants were not sex workers. Bobby for example, is a theatre enthusiast who is interested in the uses of theatre to raise awareness around sexuality issues. While he is not a sex worker, he thought that he would fit the criteria by virtue of being a gay man who is into acting and modelling – a telling assumption. Munesu, also spelt out that he felt strongly that he belonged because he is a transgender man with vested interests in performance. This is regardless of Chihera's strict emphasis that the project was meant for sex workers.

The other participants (also queer) were honest to state that they had disregarded the target group directive because they needed something to occupy themselves and earn some money. While it was a bit discouraging to learn that almost half of the participants were not representative of my desired sample, I also understood why. Zimbabwe has for the past decade been reeling with hyperinflation, an ailing economy, and exponential rates of unemployment (Mukoka, 2020). As such most young people are resorting to the informal sector to make a living. For most queer youth however, this informal sector which has actually become Zimbabwe's mainstream, places them in the public glare which is risky. Civic society seems to be the only sector in which queer youth are finding relevance and earning a living as activists and volunteers. It is therefore

expected that whenever organisations like TIRZ invite people for a project, people see it as an opportunity to make money.

I also appreciated the level of honesty, but I had to let them go. It was a necessary but dreadful process. An attempt was made to communicate clearly and politely how impossible it would be for me to continue with non -sex workers for a project that sought to create a platform for sex workers to tell their stories. Que, Hailey, and Chamomei who were the actual sex workers suggested that instead of sending another call across social media, it would be best for them to bring in other of their colleagues. The session ended on this sombre moment, more so because a familial atmosphere had been established but unfortunately not serving the project.

(Re)Setting the Scene

Our second workshop followed on the 12th of June 2019. We took a few days to regroup. On this day we were joined by Nesto (Power) taking the number of participants to four. Munesu resurfaced and kindly requested to be part of the group. He even offered to cater for his own transport and lunch costs. I chose instead to take him in as a research assistant in replacement of Chihera who had missed the first rehearsal due to pressing commitments. I reoriented participants to the project scope and objectives and we did another round of introductions, for the benefit of new members. Afterwards, I gave out the consent forms for participation and video/audio recording. Before they printed their signatures, we went through the forms and I gave clarity where needed. We then collectively set up rules of engagement.

Our session officially began with warm-up exercises which we took turns to introduce. We then went into the hot seat game. With this game, an individual introduces themselves and they assume a 'hot seat' in which people ask them 'the hot questions'. This would become a very productive session, one that provided the bulk of the content for the play. It was characterised by a cocktail of emotions as people shared the core of their being. We agreed to set up a WhatsApp group for logistics purposes as we got into the rehearsal phase.

6.2 Project *Hweva*: The Creative Process

Hweva is a Shona term for the morning star, Venus which exudes its beauty a few hours before the sun's rise (Zimboriginal 2019). This star holds significance in Zimbabwean astronomy as a symbol of beauty and love. Nesto, one of the participants suggested *Hweva* for our project name. It was selected from a host of other names that all of us had suggested, through a free and fair voting system that was facilitated by Munesu. According to Nesto, *Hweva* was a befitting title for the project because it is the morning star that marks the end of their shift on the street and signifies hope for the next one. "*Ukangoona nyeredzi iyoyo woziva kuti zvavharana saka ndongoona zviribho kuti tizviti Hweva*" [The moment you get to see the morning star, you know it's time to pack for home, so I think Morning star will be a perfect name].

Brainstorming

The process of making our play was flexible but guided/informed by Popular Participatory Theatre as a form. PPT, as alluded to earlier is a practice in which participants participate fully, and throughout the process. In line with this thesis' objective to tell sex workers' stories from their own perspective, our play was made from the participants personal encounters as sex workers in Zimbabwe. This was a deliberate design aligned with the overall objective of using the theatre space as a platform for reconstructing narratives and shifting perceptions around sex workers. Brainstorming was our first port of call. We sat around a circle and in turns participants spoke about their life stories. Given the intensity and depth of the issues discussed, it was important that participants selected which parts of their story they wanted in the play. There were some issues that they were willing to share with the group but not include in the play.

The second stage involved us collating all the narratives and sequencing them into a coherent story. Dominant themes that emerged and were incorporated as narratives that needed to be told were as follows:

Internal Bullying and Harassment

At least every one of the participants expressed that they had encountered some form of bullying or harassment when they started working. Of all the stories, the group felt that Nesto and Chamomei's personal experiences vividly depict this ill. On her first day, Nesto was terrorized by an older woman who berated her, claimed that the entire street was hers and demanded 'rent' for the spot she was occupying. This was combined with Chamomei's story in which a female sex worker bashed and discriminated her the first day she attempted doing sex work. She was asked questions like; how do you do sex work when you do not have a vagina? Her responses fuelled the female sex worker's anger who then threatened Chamomei with calling the police on her for 'being a man trying to be a woman'.

Whorephobia

Violence from the external world also emerged to be a point of passion for the participants. Here we privileged Hailey's story. Hailey's incident was a case of whorephobia layered with transphobia. It happened that on one occasion she made a house call after which the client refused to pay. He then insisted on going to withdraw money at a local mall but upon arrival, he accused her of trying to lure her. Given the aversion most Zimbabweans have for transwoman; Hailey was harangued by a mob of men surrounding him. It would also happen that on the day we sat down to select our final scenarios Hailey and Chamomei were harassed on their way to rehearsal. They narrated that two men who were driving in the opposite direction muttered the words *'ngochani'* (faggot) to which Hailey responded, "*kwazvo*" loosely translating to of course! In fury and haste, the men took an immediate turn and pursued the two. Hailey managed to escape, Chamomei was caught and interrogated but left unscathed. We therefore felt the need to explore the double tragedy of being a sex worker and a transwoman in Zimbabwe through Hailey's story.

Health Risks

I highlighted earlier that health risks, especially HIV dominates sex work conversations in Zimbabwe. This recurring theme, I fear, forestalls the various nuances of sex work and for this reason, I sought to evade the topic in project *Hweva*. However, participants emphasised the need to include it in the play citing that health risks are a hazard they have to constantly grapple with.

Initially, we had settled for Nesto's ordeal, but she retracted during rehearsal. She felt that re-enacting her experience was reliving the moment and allowing trauma to revisit. A clause in the consent form allowed participants to disengage or discontinue with anything that made them uncomfortable or threatened their well-being. We then resorted to combining participants' experiences focusing mostly on the lack of knowledge and low risk perception on STI's among sex workers. They also wanted to tackle the levels of discrimination they face at the hands of health care providers.

Failed Marriages

Que and Nesto argued for the inclusion of their journey into sex work. Both are divorcees whose heartbreaks at the hands of abusive partners ushered them into selling sex. They expressed that a majority of their friends who are female sex workers are divorcees who were disappointed and left stranded by their husbands. The two felt that this narrative deserved space for interrogation in the play. Although we combined both their stories we used more of Que's. She got married at a very tender age and had a blissful wedding. "*Ndakatombobvisirwa ini ndikaita white wedding inotyisa*" [Lobola was actually paid for me and I had a big white wedding], she reminisced. The manner in which she says '*ndakatombobvisirwa ini"* highlights the complexities of sex work. Her statement and lived reality thereof go against the assumption that sex-workers are not and never have been part of conventional, mainstream or moral institutions such as marriage.

One year into the marriage, she narrates, the husband began to abuse her physically and emotionally. Eventually he neglected her, leaving her no choice but to seek divorce and find alternative means of survival. Yet another rebuttal to the (mis)conception that sex workers have no agency? An in-depth discussion on this subject has been reserved for Chapter 8.

The Alternative Narrative

Participants were keen to tell the not often told lighter moments they experience in their profession. They argued that sex work is not all gloom and did not want to do a play that is entirely characterised by a language of vulnerability and pain. As a group we decided to incorporate Que's story which we felt shed a different light to sex workers' experiences in the field. In summary, her ordeal unfolded like this:

A client hired her for a night from a local bar. Upon arrival at his residence, a one roomed house without a bed, were four other men who were drinking and smoking. She thought they were just friends who at some point would vacate or at the worst spectate. Alas, they wanted to take turns on her. Just as the men were stripping her naked, she asked to relieve herself just outside the room. The men were convinced she would come back because she only wore underwear. Que explains that she does not remember how her feet carried her so fast, but she definitely knows that she outran the drunken men that followed behind her as well as the dog she encountered in a park that she raced through. Her nakedness did not deter her. She found refuge at the next pub and a fellow sex worker helped her with clothes.

6.3 Workshopping the Play

Post the brainstorming session we began workshopping the play. The transition from brainstorming to improvisation was not a smooth one. Participants were stuck on discussing what the play should look like instead of testing out their ideas. Each one of them had an opinion which they felt needed to be incorporated. The initial stages were therefore tense and hectic. This is not unusual in Applied theatre. Saxton and Prendergast (2013) note that such group exercises tend to be talk-filled. The onus is on the facilitator to manage the complex dynamics and foster progress without of course stifling participants' voices. Under these circumstances I relied on my experience and critical social and political awareness. Michael Balfour identifies this as one of the two components that are essential in facilitation. He claims that:

> The potential of 'good' facilitation resides in two domains of interpersonal practice: the ability for a facilitator to draw on a social and aesthetic instinct within the practice. The social instinct of the facilitator incorporates different aspects of social engagement and awareness. An experienced facilitator, it could be argued, is someone who can pick up, identify, and work with all the various complexities that exist in a group in a way that is respectful, flexible and structured… The aesthetic instinct is related to the ability to identify and introduce appropriate creative and imaginative propositions into a group process. (2016:152)

I facilitated the first two improvisation workshops before I realised that the social instinct was so overwhelming that I neglected the aesthetic one. I was more inclined towards allowing participants to tell their personal stories without much interruption. This was a cause of concern

given my preference for a PPT that is as aesthetically appealing as it is loyal to participants' truths. It was my duty as a facilitator to intervene without claiming autonomy over their experiences. Saxton and Prendergast (2013:17) reveal to us that, "applied drama may seem to be about working with our own stories, but in fact we are crafting something new that exists beyond our individual stories?" The facilitator's aesthetic instinct indeed is required to foster the "imagination of participants, not just in encouraging wild fictions but drawing on existing experiences and combining these with new perspectives or different ways of expression" (Balfour, 2016: 153). However, managing the group politics in and outside the rehearsal space rendered me incapable of executing the aesthetic instinct, so I brought in a co-facilitator – Tafadzwa Bob Mutumbi. Mariana, an elderly female sex worker also joined us.

Enter Tafadzwa Bob Mutumbi: The Director

Pic 9. Tafadzwa Bob Mutumbi on stage (picture accessed on Mutumbi's facebook page)

Tafadzwa Bob Mutumbi a Zimbabwean theatre practitioner who is trained as an actor, dramaturge, and director. Locally, he has trained with Theory X media and Almasi Collaborative Arts which he currently serves for as a director[47]. As indicated earlier, my decision to incorporate Mutumbi was based mainly on the need to have a facilitator whose 'aesthetic instinct' is not compromised. Moreover, participants had just before we started the project, vocalised their keenness to pursue theatre and performance professionally. So, I felt Mutumbi would equal the task of orienting participants to a different and alternative theatrical aesthetic and experience. He was also a suitable co-facilitator because some of his work explores gender and sexuality issues in mainstream theatre which is a rarity in Zimbabwe. In 2019, he directed #BlackGodsMatter, by Sfundo Sosibo, a South African playwright, which deals with sexuality, identity and African spirituality.[48] I must also confess that I capitalised on a good friendship that spans a decade to secure his services for free. My student budget would not have managed to hire professional services of an accomplished practitioner as him.

Lastly, having Mutumbi, who has received by all standards a 'Western' training into an Applied Theatre project was an unlikely decision but deliberate pedagogical experiment. A director in mainstream theatre is considered the "master of all arts of the theatre…the core artist without his will, the kinetic, visual and auditory components of the theatre are incapable of proper union, and will for the most part remain juxtaposed rather than coalesced" (Staub 1973: 16). Contrarily, Popular Participatory Theatre works with a facilitator who submits to the process of dialogue and allows for participants to articulate their own worldviews even though "they possess the necessary education, background and artistic skills to lead a group that is often relatively unskilled in dramatic process" (Saxton and Prendergast, 2013:4).

47 In 2015, he was awarded a scholarship to go and study for a Masters degree in Physical Art at Del'Arte International School of Physical Theatre in the United States under the Almasi Walter Muparutsa Fellowship for Artistes of Excellence. Currently he is teaching physical theatre at AfriKera Dance Theatre school and Zimbabwe Theatre Academy and heavily involved in the Zimbabwean theatre space as a director.

48 https://www.almasiarts.org/2019-african-playwrights-conference/.

Action!

Mutumbi hit the ground running. He began his facilitation with physical exercises and games. It had always been our ritual to start off the day with gamesercises but Mutumbi's were more intense. The improvisation process commenced thereof and would stretch for three weeks. In each session participants were first given space to role-play according to how they felt about the given scenario. Mutumbi would then assist them with the characterisation to enhance the execution of their roles. He adopted a neutral directorial approach in which he incorporated some physical theatre techniques while maintaining the core of the story and participants' interpretations.

Pic 10. Improvisation session (Picture taken by Princess Sibanda full consent given by participants, 2019)

After the storyline was clearly established during the improvisation sessions, it was unanimously agreed by the group that we incorporate music and dance to our play. Participants suggested songs and dances that they deemed appropriate for the play and Mutumbi guided them through a workshop process. This was a tedious task as participants debated on which songs to include. Most participants wanted us to use songs that are a true reflection of who they really are as sex workers. Others felt that most of the songs that are associated with sex work are too vulgar. The

point of contention there was whether to sing songs that are truthful to the community or adopt neutral ones. There seems to be a sex worker aesthetic that some wanted to respect and remain loyal to, while others feared it too vulgar for consumption. This fear is not unfounded, I have observed that when a sex worker dies, the colleagues always honour the deceased with a particular song and dance aesthetic that almost always is received with apprehension. The songs are usually explicit compositions about sex which are accompanied by raunchy dance moves that involve mostly waist gyrations, rigorous shaking of the buttocks [49], all of which is considered vulgar and inappropriate in Zimbabwean society.

I felt it was important that the production was authentic in the representation of what was revealing itself to be a sex-worker culture in Zimbabwe. If to be a sex worker in itself is considered vulgar, then singing and dancing 'vulgar' was part of the truths we sought to tell. Many of the participants, however, were keen to use the platform to regain some moral authority and wanted to represent themselves in ways that did this. It was a point of tension and reflection for all. A moment that asks the question; who is the play for and what is the play for? Especially in a context like this where the play was for research, but also participatory. Who decides what story is told, and which ones do not? In our case a compromise was then reached after some lengthy deliberations. Participants decided on blending both the 'vulgar' and neutral songs and dances. We settled for a few songs drawn mostly from traditional and Christian influences:

i. Muroora

Muroora, tauya naye (We have brought the bride)

Muroora, tauya naye nemagumbeze (x 4) (We have brought the bride, with her blankets)

This song passes for a traditional marriage anthem in Zimbabwe. According to Wonder Maguraushe and Treda Mukuhlani (2014) this is one of the most popular bride welcoming songs that form part of Shona people's folk musical cultural performances. It is sung on the day that the bride is officially ushered into her husband's family by members of the family and invited community members. There is always drum beating, dances and commentaries that complement

49 Watch https://youtu.be/Kgim8EAtBQo.

the song. *Muroora* was the opening song in our play as Nesto the bride is walking into her husband's homestead.

ii. Pindai Mandiri Jeso

Pindai mandiri, Jeso	(Jesus come into me)
Mugare mumoyo manguu	(And settle in my heart)
Pindai mumba mangu jeso	(Jesus come into my household)
Mugare mairi	(And settle in it)
Pazvinoremaaa Jesooo	(When it gets tough Jesus)
Ndibvumbamireiwooo	(Do embrace me)

We adapted this song from the Methodist church hymnal. The original song is an invitation for God to enter one's life and fill it with His Presence. In our play we made use of the chorus only and altered bits of it into a lament in which the persona (Nesto) is crying for God's intervention in her marriage. She sings it when all hope has been lost and the struggles in her marriage seem insurmountable.

iii. Iyi Mbeu Iyi

Iyi mbeu iyi, iyi mbeu iyi , iyi mbeu (x 2)	(This seed, this seed, this seed)
Ngaichengetedzwe	(Must be protected)
Kuti dee	(If I give it away)
Ndakonzoresa	(I have caused havoc)
Kuti dee	(If I give it away)

This song happened to be the participants favourite. It is a call and response song, accompanied with a corresponding dance wherein one will be touching their 'seed'. Traditionally, this song is literally about farming. However, sex workers have subverted a farming song into a song that engages sex work and the pride of the sex worker. It may have been a farming song in which the seed was literal. The seed here refers to the private parts which are the major tools of trade for sex workers. A seed represents potential for growth, fertility, success and utmost care and maintenance go into the process of nurturing it into fruition. Participants revealed that they

usually sing this song mostly during workshops that are hosted by Non-governmental organisations to encourage healthy living among them. In the play, the sex workers perform the song while they sell sex on the streets.

iv. Tese Tirimahure

Tese Tirimahure	(All of us are whores)
Panyika pano	(On this Earth)
Hapana anoramba nyoro	(Noone can resist sex)

Tese Tirimahure is an epitome of what would be deemed profane and obscene within the Zimbabwean context. This was yet another song that the participants found a source of pride and joy in. Often it is backed up with drums, hand clapping and dances that mimic sexual intercourse. The song reinforced what they always shared in jest during rehearsal, that everyone is a 'whore' of some sort. The song is also popular with Dynamos' (a Zimbabwean football club) soccer fans, (https://youtu.be/RCB_mdEQI7A0). A popular Zimbabwean 'felebrity' (Facebook celebrity) and sex worker Chihera, also did a rendition of the song under the title 'chihure hachisekanwi' [prostitution is not something you scorn another for] https://youtu.be/PEFOwfifRUk.

v. Tatadzeiko/ Senzenina

Tatadzeiko, tatadzeiko,	(What have we done wrong?)
tatadzeikooo, tatadzei, tatadzeiko? X 5	(What have we done wrong?)
Senzenina, senzenina,	(What have we done wrong)
Senzenina, senzenina, senzenina?	(What have we done wrong?)
Sonenina, Sonenina, Sonenina,	(What sin have we committed?)
Sonenina, Sonenina	(What sin have we committed?).

While the origins of this song are unclear, it is mostly associated with South Africa's anti-apartheid activism. In Zimbabwe, the song was a rendition with a fusion of poetry by Albert Nyathi (1994) in response to South African political activist, Chris Hani's assassination (Herald

2016). Since then the song has been adapted in various contexts, especially minority groups to lament their ills in society. It marked the end of our play.

Cut!

Mutumbi said the final cut on the 20th of July 2019. The process was characterised by excitement, frustration, anxiety, and enthusiasm. Talk of clashes between Mutumbi and the participants or disagreements among themselves, add in moments of admirable work relations. His strict work ethic and directorial experiments did not always appeal to the participants but other times they marvelled it. This would be expressed during our end of day feedback session where everyone would express their feelings, thoughts, and opinions about the day's process. I also went through a range of emotions as the process demanded me to actively tap into my social facilitation role and negotiate the space while gathering data at the same time. The triple task of observing, participating and facilitating was both thrilling and draining. I enjoyed most of it, I endured parts of it. I expound further on this in the forthcoming sections.

Overall, it was a successful process.

6.4 Hanging Out

Although this study was mainly designed as a participatory action research in which sex workers and myself were going to create a popular participatory theatre play as a means of reconstructing narratives and shifting perceptions around sex work in Zimbabwe, it extended beyond that. As explained in the previous chapter, it morphed into an ethnographic inquiry. Participants and I established a relationship outside the rehearsal space. We 'hung out' in other spaces, often unplanned. For example, our initial date was at a local restaurant after Munesu had sent a message in the group to the effect that he was missing everyone. He asked to meet up with whoever was in town on the day. That weekend marked the beginning of other outings.

We would hang out in the park, TIRZ offices or just gallivant the streets of Harare together. On two occasions we watched theatre performances together. I found these moments to be refreshing and an opportunity for us to be acquainted with each other beyond the confines of the official research space. A formidable network was being created there. I also realised after our first date that our interactions were centered on participants' work, sometimes they got business

opportunities in those spaces hence a fertile ground to investigate experience as they lived it. There was room for some kind of "practice of observation grounded in participatory dialogue" (Ingold, 2008: 87).

'Hanging out' as part of research activity is not a new phenomenon. Several researchers have used this ethnographic concept (Simpson, 2017; Walmsley 2018). In her Doctoral dissertation entitled "More than simply hanging out: The nature of participant observation and research relationships" Julie Simpson (2007) conceptualises hanging out as interactions with participants in an uncontrived fashion as they go about their daily lives. Brendan Brown and Ruari-Santiago McBride (2015) commend this method as one that is most useful when seeking to negotiate access to potentially hard to reach participants living in politically sensitive environments.

However, 'hanging out' with sex-workers specifically presents some ethical issues. I again sought consent from the participants to capture these 'hanging out' moments outside rehearsal for research purposes.

6.5 Lights On!

The destabilisation of my field work plan which I explained fully in the opening of this chapter also affected my performance schedule. My multiple requests to certain organisations that work with sex workers to perform in their spaces where our major target groups could be easily located (sex workers and social workers) were futile. Mobilising an audience randomly was going to be difficult because sex workers are not easily accessible. Moreover, at the time our play got ready for performance, the political climate got tense. Gatherings were discouraged and people became reluctant to travel. I was not necessarily shaken by the unfortunate turn of events because the major objective of the study had been achieved. The ultimate goal for this study was for participants (sex workers) to engage critically with their various realities, reconstruct and shift perceptions about their lives, and beyond that forge networks among themselves through PPT. It was a play by sex workers mainly for sex workers. The process could have easily ended as a theatre for conscientisation (Mda, 1993b) where there is no audience.

However, it did not feel adequate for the participants to just end the project there. They wanted a set performance date with a few of their friends as part of the audience. Meanwhile, I wrote more emails to NGO's that could potentially host us for a performance.

We Can Do All Bad By Ourselves!

Pic 11. On stage, at Theatre in the Park (Picture taken by Princess Sibanda full consent given by participants, 2019)

Our first performance was held at Theatre in the Park (our rehearsal home). We performed in the theatre to an audience of a few friends among them sex workers. This may seem odd if we are to consider that we rehearsed in the garden and had an audience of not more than ten people. Let alone using a proscenium arch stage which resembles some form of fourth wall while doing Applied theatre. The decision was in the best interests of the participants. They were curious about the theatre and had long wished they would be given a chance to perform in one.

A post-performance discussion followed the performance. Some aspects of this session took the structure of Forum Theatre in which

> …the audience is invited to watch 'with a critical eye' the struggle between an oppressed protagonist and his or her antagonist. The scenario is played through once, uninterrupted, until it reaches some kind of catastrophe. The actors then begin to play the scenario a second time, stopping whenever an audience member wishes to improvise some alternative tactic that he or she feels may help the cause of the oppressed protagonist. (Dwyer*, 2004: 202)

The post-performance session facilitated a space for dialogue by allowing the spectators to become spec-actors (Boal (1979). We also made use of a joker, who according to Augusto Boal (1979) bears the same significance with the 'Joker' playing card which has more mobility than any of the other cards in the deck. (S)he plays different roles within varying contexts and combinations, including director, referee, and workshop leader. Munesu played the joker and both performers and the audience members found the process exciting as it was giggle filled. This is how we met Spransa, a gifted and exuberant actress. She was in the audience and decided to join the performers on stage citing that she wanted to show them how it is really done. She immediately became a part of us and would later be our co-facilitator/joker alongside Munesu.

Rehearsing A Revolution

Our second performance was at a hub that houses Chihera's organisation (TIRZ) and several other organisations. Initially, it was meant to be a rehearsal in preparation for a performance opportunity that had come through SAfAIDS. Chihera invited two of her colleagues to watch and give us feedback. They were our sort of 'critical friends'. Critical friends provide thoughtful and insightful feedback on the actions and engagement of practice (Samaras and Sell, 2013). One of the participants, Thery was unreachable on the day and her unavailability presented an opportunity for us to work with Mebo, a sex worker I had encountered a week before. I met her in Hopley while doing consultancy work for an organisation called, Economic Justice for Women Project, founded and headed by Margaret Mutsamvi. The organisation commissioned me to do a baseline survey on the various challenges faced by young women in assuming leadership roles in their community. Among the respondents was Mebo who indicated that she is a sex worker and is involved in coordinating activities for other sex workers in her community. It had been my plan then to secure a performance in Hopley, but the political climate was too hostile.

Our performance as indicated was just meant to be a rehearsal. It however ended up a performance not only for two of Chihera's colleagues, we drew attention to a group of women who were having a workshop on the premises. The unsolicited spectatorship generated into an interesting and healthy engagement. Some of the women who are sex workers would murmur words like, "*hahahah ihure ripi rakadzikama kudai*" [which whore is this relaxed]. One of them

actually interjected the play to demonstrate practically how she as a sex worker would have reacted in one of the scenes where Nesto was being bullied on her first day at work by Que. Participants would also pause the action and give explanations or justification of their characters' behaviour and actions. A forum theatre session ensued organically. I could not engage these women post this encounter for ethical reasons but their involvement was a revolutionary one. This would happen to be my favourite performance.

Catch One Teach One

Pic 13. Performing at SAfAIDS (Picture taken by Princess Sibanda full consent given by participants, 2019)

Our next stop was SAfAIDS, on the 26th of August 2019. My relationship with the organisation stretches nine years back to when they selected me to be an ambassador of sexual reproductive health for young people in Zimbabwe. SAfAIDS is an organisation that has been at the forefront of advancing SRHR rights of all people across the Sub-Saharan region, especially sexual minorities for over 20 years. Thus, sex workers form part of their target communities. In 2015, they supported my MA project with queer youth in Zimbabwe and they were the only organisation that granted us access out of the many I approached for a performance.

We performed to an audience of 15 Staff members, among them the top management. A heated and insightful post-performance discussion followed. The discussion was mostly centred on transgender sex workers' experiences and how they navigate the industry in 'homophobic' Zimbabwe. It was facilitated by Spransa who had joined us after our first performance.

The curtains came down after this performance.

6.6 No Stroll in The Park: Reflections

Retrospectively, *Hweva* was a practical rollercoaster. It was a mixture of fun and misery which all culminated into an exciting project. The project presented a lot of opportunities, most of which will be discussed in detail in the forthcoming chapter. It was also laden with challenges, some of which I hinted at as I unpacked the process. Onouma Thummapol et al. (2019) in their reflective paper note how methodological challenges of qualitative research involving people considered vulnerable are widely prevalent yet they remain largely invisible in the literature. In this section I outline some of the hurdles that were encountered in the field and the strategies employed to mitigate them for two reasons. First, documenting my experiences and limitations in the field as a researcher are a necessary and relevant reflective exercise. Illuminating these will also expose the practical pitfalls, psychological and cognitive demands of the qualitative research, which may be a useful resource for my future work and that of other researchers.

Project *Hweva* unravelled from a place of uncertainty. I already mentioned at the start of this chapter how the take off in the field was a false one. All attributable to the delay in accessing ethical clearance from the school. The research was beset by challenges beset right from the start and it was anticipated that more would be encountered along the way. Alas, a host of unexpected challenges also surfaced. All of these will be outlined here.

Time

Time management is a valuable tool for organising, planning, prioritising and completing any task successfully (Srikumar and Arun 2017). It makes or breaks a project. Time management was a major setback in our group. Throughout the process, we never started rehearsal at the scheduled time and as a full complement. Either there was a person or two missing or some trickling in towards the end of rehearsal. Others would still request for ample time to put on

makeup however late they were. It frustrated and discouraged me but even more the other participants. Munesu particularly, because he was consistently punctual. Our first attempt at remedying the situation was moving rehearsal time from 10.am to 2 p.m. with the hope that everyone would be catered for. The problem remained unresolved. Group members then suggested that we set a rule that attracts a penalty for late conduct. In as much as I believe in strict regulations as effective and efficient tools for progress, I failed to implement this in this particular context. I feared it would be too militant if not paternalistic.

As days went by with no resolution in sight, I reflected that I had never directly asked why it was difficult for some of the participants to be punctual. I decided to pursue this discussion in one of our end of day reflection sessions. I assured participants that it was an honest conversation in which anything they said would not be used against them in anyway prior to the meeting. Through this honest engagement I realised that participants had conflicting schedules. For example, female sex workers would work throughout the night, mostly in locations that are far from their homes. This made it difficult for them to function during the day, let alone make it for the morning rehearsal. Transwomen on the other hand often worked during the day, or round the clock. With these realisations I was even grateful that they at least made some time for the project. The negotiated way forward was to have a fluid rehearsal time. I encouraged effective communication in our WhatsApp group every morning so that we all adjust our times accordingly. That is how we proceeded thereafter.

Phone Distractions

As part of our rules of engagement, we prohibited the use of phones during rehearsal. This was a group consensus which was hardly adhered to. One of the most heated disagreements among participant erupted over a phone. A particular participant had stepped out of the rehearsal to answer a call while we worked on their scene. The other performers felt disrespected and I too got frustrated. For a people that already had time constraints, phone interruptions were an unnecessary hindrance. However, I was also aware that sex workers, especially transwomen who trade mainly online relied on their phones for survival. This presented me with a huge dilemma. On one end I needed to restore some semblance of order, on the other understand and exercise some lenience. In that instance I began to question my facilitation skills. As a drama tutor I have a no-nonsense reputation among students but that somehow does not extend into my

PPT practice. I guess this is so because I fear crossing the line between being stern and instilling fear or simply being insensitive to their situations. All of these would affect the levels of trust.

The problem was however resolved by Mutumbi (my co-facilitator) when he joined us. Phone interruptions were the first thing he raised in our reflection session. Without sanitizing it, he spelt out that it annoyed him. He followed his statement with a talk about discipline as an essential part of theatre training which most of the participants had expressed interest in pursuing. In between time, participants were also given 5-minute intervals for phone use during rehearsal. Outside that time frame it was strictly prohibited. Henceforth phone interruptions became minimal. Mutumbi's directorial background probably allowed him to manage the balance between empathy and strictness effectively. I rarely expressed my annoyance in the field except in my journal. It has always been difficult for me and perhaps for most ethnographers and PAR practitioners too. This was a learning curve for me.

Political Unrest

I mentioned that my time in the field (June – August 2019) was marked by political strife in Zimbabwe which was recurring exactly a year later. When we started, there were speculations of nationwide protests akin to the ones that had erupted post the general elections of 31 July 2018. This was a violent protest in which soldiers fired live ammunition to unarmed citizens leading a loss of six lives (Mungwari 2019; Tofa, 2020). We however worked without any form of distraction for a while albeit in fear.

Tension began to grow as we approached the end of our rehearsal workshops. The citizens' movement planned a peaceful march nationwide in which they called for all citizens to participate in as a way of holding the government to account for poor governance. The government retaliated with a clampdown and stringent movement restrictions. Gatherings such as ours were prohibited for a moment. Owing to such volatile circumstances our project schedule was disturbed. At a personal level, the period was emotionally taxing. It was double the fear and trauma for participants who face societal clampdowns every day.

Resource Constraints

The multiple challenges detailed above stretched our process beyond its timeline. The longer it took the more expensive it became. Need I state that it was already expensive to conduct this research in an afflicted economy like Zimbabwe. The 'Bond notes' that were introduced by the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe in late 2016 as a local surrogate currency equivalent to the US dollar (Southall, 2017) have been hyper-inflating at an incalculable rate. It was possible to get into town for a specific amount and pay double the price upon return. For this reason, participants requested US dollars for their transport and refreshments allowance. I also gave them a token of gratitude at the end. Despite it having been an unremunerated project, the transport and food allowances suffocated my research funds which I had to convert to US dollars. Before we even finished the project, I had already exhausted my budget. I was fortunate to get consultancy work in between days to mobilise funds that would cushion us financially to the end of the project.

Post the project, we got invited to perform at Rooftop's Women, Wine and Words[50] festival which was going to be held in October (2019) with a major focus on gender and sexuality. Peter Churu, the then project coordinator who had watched our first performance extended this invite on condition that we rework the play into a 'well-made' play. Participants were keen, and so was Mutumbi but funds would not permit. This limited us from reaching a wider audience.

Covid – 19

It was part of our plan with Mutumbi to resuscitate the play for the theatre in June (2020). This was per participants' request which had come in December while I was on holiday. Together we had watched a show at the Jason Mphepho Little Theatre by female inmates from Chikurubi Maximum Prison[51]. The show was facilitated by Chiedza Chinhanu, a fellow Applied theatre practitioner and friend as part of her PhD studies. Having these women tell and own their stories with so much confidence on a grand theatre with a random audience inspired Hweva participants to do the same. Their argument was that, if prison inmates were not hurled insults at, then a paying audience would probably be kinder to them too. I was also inspired by Chinhanu's

50 https://www.newzimbabwe.com/theatre-in-the-park-hosts-biggest-pan-african-women-wine-and-words-festival/

51 Chikurubi Maximum Security Prison (CMSP) is the largest prison and correctional facility in Zimbabwe which is located about 15 kilometers away from Harare.

decision to take this production outside the prison where it usually happens. It seemed a noble idea to take *Hweva* to the world after working internally[52] during the first phase. However, the outbreak of a severe acute respiratory syndrome coronavirus 2 infection which started in Wuhan, Hubei Province, China, and spread across the globe would not allow for the project's continuation. The virus shut the world down in what is commonly called a lockdown. As I write, lockdown regulations have not been eased for international travel. This has had its own psychological effects on me as an international PhD student. I end this section with one of my journal entries:

#Dear Diary

It is 13.00 hours. I woke up ten minutes ago and I am already on my second cup of coffee. Trying to sip in my anxieties about both the coffee and the world. You obviously know why the world is making me anxious right now, but coffee? Well I am honestly worrying because if I run out, which is soon, what will become of my nomadic mind? At the rate at which I am having coffee, (which is every now and then because it seems to somehow distract the heaviness that resides within me) it will soon be out. I am tired – of thinking – of sleeping – of eating and googling, yet that is all I want and feel like doing. My PhD thesis however seems not to care. It is lurking in the background asking me questions like; when will you be done with me? You promised that this year you will be going one paragraph a day, will you not be attempting a sentence at least? Yes! I will not because I cannot! I would definitely capitalise on this uninterrupted time alone to pace up because I have been praying for a writing retreat for a while. Call me ungrateful but each time I scroll my Facebook page, I just give up. I am reminded that this is not a writing retreat but a war that we have to fight in stillness with stillness. So, I am trying to be still right now in my little corner somewhere in Durban, listening to Gemma Griffiths' 'Titungamirei'. But how does one remain still, when Covid-19 has invaded (their) home and in its advent claimed a life already? How does one remain still when Covid-19 has invaded their home and home is not ready? My mind keeps wandering and wondering. My heart aches. I am scared for my family more than I am for myself. Mother especially. I was hoping I would write another paragraph where I locate the silver lining in my dark cloud, but it is

52 I consider NGO's as part of the internal because they are allies.

not there (yet) and I am not ready to lie. I am however an individual of stubborn faith and hope. So, I believe there are better days ahead. Peace! Be still! - P. Sibanda.

6.7 The End

Pic 13. The end (Picture taken by Princess Sibanda full consent given by participants, 2019)

A Popular Participatory theatre process is quite hard to render in scientific research language if one is to capture its nuances aptly. It was my objective to describe Project *Hweva* in detail and how we meandered through from start to finish. I explained the creative process and how we arrived at certain decisions. I also attempted to capture the feelings, thoughts and opinions that we had and how that shaped up the playmaking process. Beyond that, I gave a candid account of the uncertainties and various other challenges that I encountered in the field and what practical strategies were employed to try and address them. In that regard, this chapter served as an extension of the methodology chapter.

Chapter 7: Hweva - A Popular 'Prostitute' Theatre?

7.0 Introduction

In the previous chapters, I set out the scene for the research. How it began, what motivated its beginnings and why it was necessary to even carry it out? A review of the literature that exists on the subject of sex work was also given along with an overview of the context within which sex workers operate. The chapters also illuminated my frames of engagement; from whence do I theorise sex work(ers)? I then proceeded with an in-depth explanation of the data gathering process detailing the journey step by step. Finer details of the popular participatory theatre process from its inception right to the end were then provided. In some sense therefore, the preceding 5 chapters were a build up to this finale wherein I present and analyse the findings of the study.

I set out in this thesis to probe the multiple accounts of sex workers in Zimbabwe from the perspective of sex workers themselves using Popular Participatory Theatre. As part of my core objectives, I sought to decipher the applicability, efficacy, and appropriateness of using PPT as a platform for sex workers to tell their stories. As such, my findings are divided into two parts: form and content. In this chapter I focus on the form of Popular Participatory Theatre (PPT).

7.1 Prostitution And/As Performance

Language matters. Moreso, in conversations that pertain to social justice and equality. Kate Lister (2017) actually recognises language as an important 'battleground' in the fight for social equality. This means that in a dissertation such as this one, language is of paramount importance. I did underscore this earlier on in Chapter 2 but I ought to emphasise it here again. I noted there that the term of choice in this dissertation will be sex work(ers) and that other words like prostitute may be used only to highlight a point. My use of the term prostitute in this chapter is therefore a deliberate political decision. One that I hope will invoke the political potency of this word which is identified by Carol Leigh who invented the term sex work.

With that explained, I shall now get into the thrust of this chapter. A major realisation made during project *Hweva* is that "even if we don't make theatre, we are theatre" (Boal, 1996). There is an under acknowledged and under-theorized nexus between prostitution and performance. Throughout this research, the intersections and overlays between prostitution and performance kept revealing themselves. In this section, I unpack these synergies as part of the results emanating from the study.

Funeral Performances: "A Rare Moment of Political Electricity"

> *Hure haritodi kusekererwa mai mwana. Kana ndiriseni handitosekereri zvachose, last week chaiyo vakauya vakakonzera nyonga nyonga vachitamba nekuactor zvinyadzi parufu repaseri apo, hure hunhu chaihwo harina*" [Never entertain a whore my friend. I never tolerate whores, at all. Just last week, they caused commotion at a funeral in the neighbourhood by singing and acting vulgar stuff]. (Mumanyi, 2019)

The sentiments above were echoed by Beauty Mumanyi, one of the community members that I interviewed as I sought to get the prevailing opinions, attitudes, and perceptions of sex work(ers). While she was referring to a specific incident in her neighbourhood, the presence of sex workers at funerals of sex workers is popular, just as common as it is for people in other professions to attend colleagues' funerals. The exception is that sex work is barely understood or accepted as a profession. It is perceived despicable behaviour rather, and for that reason condemned as is expressed by Mumanyi. When I asked *Hweva* participants about the nature of these performances their responses were to the effect that "*iculture yemahure*" [it is a whore culture] (Focus group discussion, 2019). This they said with a scoff that suggested a sense of pride and triumph for being visible in spaces that often erase them. A subversive sting, if you may. Chihera (2019) added that it is also a common practice among LGBTIQ+ people:

> …that is how we celebrate and send away the life we cherished. Most of us are in forced closets so through these performances we will be reminding the family who the deceased was and that the person was special to us not them.

This spurred me onto a deeper investigation about this 'theatrical activity'. The revelation was that this practice is wide-spread in Zimbabwe and other African countries[53]. Typically, the performance is a role play that is decorated with drum beating hand clapping, song and dance. Costume and make-up are also significant, not just for spectacle but as popular aspects of prostitute culture. Its correlations with Popular Participatory Theatre are too visible to ignore. In one of the videos that I watched, a sex worker's body lay in state at a busy shopping centre outside a beerhall before proceeding to its final resting place (Nehanda Tv, 2017)[54]. Condoms were blown all over to colour the send-off. It was such a full-on scenographical site-specific performance:

Pic 14. A colourful send-off (Picture accessed from gistmania.com, 2019)

I also consider this popular 'prostitute' performance culture/movement to be a 'rare moment of political electricity' that James Scott refers to in "*Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*" (1990). He suggests that "the notion of hidden transcript helps us understand these rare moments of political electricity when, often for the first time in memory the hidden transcript is spoken directly and publicly in the teeth of power" (Scott, 1990:xiii). Prostitute

53 See (https://youtu.be/nZ0oJEvE4Dk; https://youtu.be/gd8cAAUG2Cw).

54 https://nehandatv.com/2017/03/11/bizarre-prostitutes-funeral-service-beerhall-harare-video/.

performances spark a political current almost similar to that of *Pungwe* Theatre[55] which were risky, in your face performances (Chifunyise, 1990). Needless to say, they subvert the Zimbabwean theatre discourse much in the same way Pungwe theatre "subverted European aesthetic hegemony in Africa" (Viriri, 2013:13)

No wonder there are various discussions around the 'immorality' and disrespect such performances imbue from a cultural and Christian perspective. This came out strongly in the responses to some videos of sex worker funeral performances that I reviewed on YouTube:

> What a bad sendoff *kana kudenga haiende uyo* [they will not see heaven] – Robson Augustin
>
> *Shoko raMwari harisati raparidzwa* [God's word is yet preached and received] that's worse than Sodom and Gomorrah - Jude Mashamba
>
> *Kwahi pakupedzisira zvichanzi endai kwamaiitira mabasa erima* [It is said that in the last days, you will be asked to go where you did your evil deeds] – Young Shumbet
>
> Things have changed a lot these days funerals *hazvichatyisa* [it's no longer bizarre] no longer respect for the dead – Sithabile Nyathi
>
> The truth is that when a woman is deeply into prostitution and all the vices that come with it, there is also a deep, powerful level of insanity which takes hold of her. Alcohol has a grip and hold on a woman, a woman who drinks alcohol will never be sexually pure, she will always be sexually available and weak morally – Sansole Chikanga Munya. (Nehanda Tv, 2017).

That the public are appalled by such performances and yet sex workers still do it, indicates a culture of bravery and defiance. This situates Popular 'Prostitute' Theatre movement, within the same frame as Protest Theatre as it is articulated by Sara Freeman. She defines Protest theatre as a form that "emphasises the theatrical representation of marginalised groups within the larger goal of advancing progressive analysis concerned with social justice problems and the possibility of change" (Freeman, 2006:370). One might argue from this definition that Protest Theatre is a form that is usually used by actors in representation of marginalised groups whereas in this case it is the marginalised (sex workers) who are representing themselves. My position is that it remains Protest theatre regardless. Given its 'protest' intentions.

55 Pungwe theatre which I discussed in detail in Chapter 4, refers to the performance culture in the guerrilla camps during Zimbabwe's *Chimurenga* War of liberation. The performances built the morale in the camps among several other functions

Outside its functional elements, I also noted that constantly these performances straddle between art and actuality, resembling in many ways the African performance aesthetic (Okagbue, 2013). It is the very embodiment of what McLaren (2013:6) states, that "art articulates as something distinct from actuality but only temporarily and with fragility…especially in the case of ritual where the performed act and the real thing are difficult to distance from each other".

Prostitution as Performance

Pic 15. Prostitution as performance (Picture taken by Princess Sibanda full consent given by participants, 2019)

The idea/concept of prostitution as performance in and of itself was also illuminated in this study. Of course, the idea is not completely a new one to me, nor the academy. The presentation or performance of the sexualised self is well theorised by Butler in her articulation of Gender Troubles (2003) and Bodies That Matter. However, it emanated in this study in more interesting and intricate ways than I had imagined. In particular my understanding of sex work as performance through the lens of an African paradigm. The African paradigm which I discussed earlier in Chapter 4, emphasises the interconnectedness of performance and reality (Kamlongera, 1989, McLaren, 2013). Sex work tends to embody this perfectly.

In the real-life moment where a sex worker is soliciting clients or customers, they also tap into the performative carefully honing their performance skills to appeal to their target audience – the (particular) client/s. Their job is to play a role. Once the job is done, they step out of it and take

on other roles such as parent, child. So do we all step into multiple roles as we go through the script of life. Clarke Baim et al (2002:20) state that "a person's role should not be seen as fixed, but rather as dynamic and evolving functions of a central self that can consciously choose what role to play and how to play it". However, when that role is potentially damaging to the self – and to the sense of self, the consciousness of it as a role is significant. For it is in this consciousness that there is a degree of protection, working 'one step removed' (Baim et al 2002:20) from the harshness of reality.

As I further analysed sex work as performance, in particular the initial performance, it seemed to me that it is a crucial component in sex work. It was an area of interest to the participants too that it dominated in our play. It is like a code of conduct which every sex worker has to abide by in order to negotiate and navigate the politics of sex work better. It is the edge that makes them more appealing which ultimately maximises their business. I will term this code of conduct a 'prostitute aesthetic' and our opening scene in the play touches on the fringes of just that.

The scene begins with Que (a senior sex worker) arriving at her workstation to find it occupied by Nesto (a novice). Nesto is trying hard to lure attention from the cars that are passing by. Que walks up to Nesto, looks closely at her in a condescending manner and the following conversation ensues:

> **Que**: *Saka urikuti uchatotengwa here ipapa? I jojeti here iyo yawakapfeka, (scoffs) mukore uno?* [So you are expecting to be bought? Is that Georgette[56] you are wearing in this day and age]
>
> **Nesto**: *Ko?* [why not?]
>
> **Que**: *Hede seka hako iwe. Shamwari munonzi muHarare muno, hapana anotenga zvakadai. Uchiita kunge mbuya wakangoti dzii kudai. Chinzwa manje pano panoti inini. Street rese iri nderangu, handidi zvireshe zvevanhu munomu munotidzingira mhene. Kana wada zvepano wotoita zvandinoda wanzwa, chienda unomira nepapo, woita semunhu arikuda kutengwa*. [My friend this is Harare, nobody buys filth. You look like an old granny, and you are just standing like a statue. This street is mine, I don't need stupid people here. You are the ones that turn away clients. If you really want to sell here, then you would have to do what I want. Now, go stand there and behave like someone who wants to be bought]

56 This is a fabric type which in this context is used to denote old fashioned clothing.

Nesto is being reminded here that sex work is more than just standing on the street. There is a performance one needs to put on in order to lure clients - the 'prostitute aesthetic' that I refer to here. 'Behaving like someone who wants to be bought' refers to embodied performance.

These bodily texts include swinging and swaying in choreographed movement by the street corner or strategic places in local drinking establishments like night clubs. For those that operate mainly online transwomen and cis-heterosexual male sex workers, the same would happen in the cyberspace. Often with a spice of digital special effects. The sex worker acts and the client spectates. If they like the performance, then further engagement is negotiated. Much like the Kabuki theatre of Japan where the performers used the stage "as an advertisement for their sexual talents and physical charms" (Birk, 2006:12).

And…action!

Although I did not observe the participants at work, the stories they shared about the encounter/s or ultimate performance reveal further the correlations between sex work and the African paradigm. What starts as a show by a sex worker spectated by a 'john' or 'johns' in a particular space shifts as their relationship /engagement or transaction is explored further. As their interaction develops the 'John' becomes the performer and the roles interchange constantly. The space(s) wherein these interactions happen are not always fixed. A performance can happen "whenever the spectator encounters and engages with the performer and the two automatically define, and continually redefine the enveloping space of their meeting throughout the duration of the performance" (Okagbue, 2013:2).

The space in which they engage with each other is fluid, it could be a car, a room or a public space. Albeit the bodies of either sex workers or their clients can also extend themselves into a stage or sites of performance. In that sense 'space' in sex work becomes a liminal concept that is "an intangible, elusive and obscure space often beyond normal social and cultural constraints" (Preston-Whyte, 2004:350). This spatial dynamic lends this sex worker performance into the domain of Applied theatre both as it conceptualised in the West and from an African paradigmatic perspective.

Typically, sex is expected to happen in the private, often in designated spaces like the bedroom in beds. In a context like Zimbabwe which is dominated by Christianity, and I guess many other countries in the world, only married couples are considered qualified to engage sexually. Yet we see all these sexual conventions being subverted in sex work. Sex as with Applied Theatre is taken away from its designated spaces to almost 'anywhere' where it is most relevant (Young-Jahangeer, 2020). The actors according to convention, not so qualified akin to most Applied theatre forms that work with communities who are not necessarily trained in theatre. This whole sex worker experience complexifies performance in much the same way that the African paradigm does. It reveals the synchroneity and synergy of performance and real life.

7.2 The Spectacular…

The prostitute aesthetic is not just limited to the choreographies of embodied performances, it also includes visual elements. Spectacle. Nesto in the scene referred to above, neither *behaves* nor *looks* like someone that wants to be bought, according to Que. Que despises her for wearing old fashioned clothing and shoes. Contrarily, Chamomei the transgender sex worker embodies this exceptionally when she gets onto the stage in the second scene. She channels the erotica so well with her body. As she goes about her business, she is constantly playing with her wig and replenishing her make up every now and then. There is a small bag around her waist which interestingly enhances her waist gyrations and the performance as a whole. Everything culminates into an enticing show that her scene grabbed the attention of the audience members during our performance for SAfAIDS. An audience member jokingly retorted that, 'I would definitely buy that'.

Thus, the aesthetic includes costume, makeup and props and these are common visual elements of performance (Osborne 2015). The visual elements/ 'prostitute aesthetic' were a recurrent theme in my interactions with sex workers as well as the play. I would even argue, they are a performance in themselves. In our first rehearsal, Hailey asked if they could put on "*costume yekubasa*" [work costume] instead of the 'comfortable' neutral black clothing and bare feet that I had recommended:

> *Ini ndendichinyatsoda kupfeka maheels newig yangu, ndoti kamakeup kuti ndinyatsopinda mucharacter. Wakarionepi hure risina make-up iwe.* [I actually want my heels, wig and make-up

> to really get into character. Have you ever seen a whore without make-up?] (Focus group discussion, 2019).

Before the start of each rehearsal, she would make it a point to get into role (no matter how long it took) and reveal the full look to the rest of the cast. This ritual demonstrated "the symbiotic relationship between the performer and her costume that exists when the costume is used as an extension of the body instead of a separate element".

As I reflect, I also recall how on the day that we performed at SAfAIDS offices, participants went all out. "*Ko unogona kungonhongwa nemhene ka ikoko hazvizivikanwe sha*" [you could get hired by a client there, you never know friend] joked Que as I complimented her outfit and new hairdo. Susan too, had a new hairdo and spectacles on. Hailey took her time applying her make-up as usual before we got onto the stage. Nesto had a new weave decorated with a tinge of red on the corner, red blouses, red jewellery and red shoes. All three female sex workers in fact had red shoes. Post the performance we discussed the significance of visual aesthetics in one of our focus group discussions. Participants indicated that '*red ndocolour yedu yebasa*' [red is our colour].

I had to interrogate why because I had indeed grown up to the knowledge that red is associated with sex workers. Red lipstick especially. Not to mention that the geographies of sex work are referred to as red light districts. Participants responded that red is their colour because it is bright and catchy and associated with intimacy.

Pic 16. The 'prostitute aesthetic' (Picture taken by Princess Sibanda full consent given by participants, 2019)

Thus, the 'prostitute aesthetic' is as vital to sex workers. Participants even revealed how their first day at work was unpleasant because they were not conversant with the sex worker aesthetic (focus group discussion, 2019). The aesthetic is as important to sex work performance in the same ways that spectacle is to, mostly, western forms of theatre. Spectacle is a major component. Meanwhile, the performativity around costuming and make-up as well as the embodied performances staged to lure clients all strongly resemble the features of the African paradigm. When the sex worker adorns herself with make-up and costume or showcases her erotic choreography in the realm of reality, s/he is also putting up an artistic performance. Hence s/he straddles between reality and performance in that very moment.

7.3 *Hweva* A Popular 'Prostitute' Theatre? An Evaluation

Project *Hweva* was a popular participatory theatre project, in which I aimed to reveal the often-hidden stories of sex workers, with Zimbabwean sex workers. As a people-centred participatory paradigm, PPT is characterised mostly by process rather than product (Chinyowa, 2009:335). Of course, I have argued that product is equally important especially when the core objective is to use PPT in the service of community change. However, in a project like *Hweva*, where the main aim was to get an insight on sex workers stories from their own perspective, the process was the focus. The process consisted of play-creating, role-play, image theatre, games and exercises, journal writing, performances and post-performance discussions.

My objective was threefold: First to ascertain whether PPT, as an applied theatre form, was able to facilitate a more complex understanding of sex worker politics amongst sex workers and myself as researcher. Second, to find out if this form is able to effect personal impacts such as boosting confidence, self-esteem and promote psychological well-being. Although sex-workers 'perform' confidence it does not always equate to self-belief. Third, I wanted to know whether PPT could generate a sense of the communal, of social consciousness or '*uBuntu*' through the establishment of networks and friendships. The answer is yes and no.

7.3.1 PPT as A Third Space

It is not often that you find popular participatory theatre conceptualised within the frames of Third Space theorization. Yet the process of doing PPT with sex workers in Zimbabwe establishes the nexus between the two. Third Space was originally framed by Homi Bhabha (1994) as an in-between site or subject position that deconstructs hegemonic practices. As with most theories, it has been challenged, edified, and reified from multi-disciplinary angles. I make use of both Bhabha's thinking and other appropriations of his work, to demonstrate how the PPT project *Hweva*, can be considered to have been a Third Space. Stephen Abraham (2020) has said that Third Space sits at an intersection of both place and mind. This means it can be both a physical and ideological location. Project *Hweva* was a Third Space at both these levels. In the physical sense, Project *Hweva* was a Third Space in which sex workers, particularly transwomen occupied to fully express themselves outside the judgmental glare of the sex work industry[57] in general and society at large. Richard Bustin (2011:55) has defined Third Space as one that is occupied by 'out of place people' "those whose viewpoints, ideas and voices are often ignored or forgotten about but who are very much part of any urban space". Sex workers as a group belong to this category.

Hailey pictured below, lived her desire of wearing make-up, wig, and heels only within the rehearsal space or private spaces of work. Outside of this space, her 'costume' attracts transphobic violence. She considers it a non-starter given her experiences of being harassed on the streets even when she is wearing perceived 'normal' clothing that corresponds with her assigned gender. Just her body and its behaviour are an "eyesore", and I sensed this aversion whenever I walked with her and Chamomei either to or from rehearsal.

This also extends to the sex work community itself. Hailey says she is even scared to dress up for the job because transphobia is also rife in the sex work community. Chamomei reiterated in a focus group discussion (2019) that this is a sore reality for trans- sex workers. She recounted an episode in which she and her friend were accosted by a group of female sex workers at a night club in town. They dragged them to the lavatory, confiscated their wigs and forced them to wash their faces in the toilet. This is the incident that inspired our second scene in the play.

57 I mentioned in the previous chapter how sex workers discriminate among each other across racial, class and gender lines.

Even the so-called 'gay friendly' establishments are not safe for trans-people either (this will be fully unpacked in the next chapter). For this and other reasons most transgender women sex workers prefer online logistics. The streets, brothels and night clubs are precarious that only a courageous few operate there.

Given this background, the PPT rehearsal space was the 'third space' in which Hailey expressed herself with no shame or judgement. By extension, her gender can be considered a 'third space' too within which her fuller self finds home and her personal dress preferences find expression. There are also interesting correlations here between Hailey's gender as a 'Third Space' and the theorization of transgender identities as the 'third gender'[58] (Murray, 2013, Self, 2016). The first obvious attachments being the 'third aspect' which is emblematic of other possible transitions that disrupt dualisms/binaries/dimorphism or hegemony. But also, liminality. The 'Third Space' gender categories as Gilbert Herdt (2020:1) argues, are not present at all times and places.

Pic 17. Hailey in action during the SAfAIDS performance

58 It is important to note that the third-gender concept is a highly contested one (see Callander et al 2021). With that awareness, I use it here to denote gender identities that do not fit into the established binaries of male and female such as intersex ad transgender people

Ideologically, *Hweva* sought to disrupt the prevailing opinions of sex work(ers). Considering the setting Zimbabwe, co-creating, and performing the play with sex workers themselves was a political project. Staging an intervention as means of challenging symbols of culture and society that have been located as fixed, is also part of Third Space theorising (Simba and Davids 2020:2). In Chapters 1 and 2, I revealed how sex work scholarship and activism is predominantly characterised by a polarised binary system which perceives sex work as either victimhood or empowerment. Many scholars have also cited this as a cause for concern and recommended us to enlarge our frames of engagement beyond this dichotomous thinking (Yingwana, 2017, Weitzer, 2009a, Mgbako, 2016, Richter, 2013, Capous Desyllas, 2010). *Hweva* was a platform within which the narratives in-between, multiple realities and truths of Zimbabwean sex workers were gathered.

7.4 PPT As a Decolonial Theatre

I also consider our PPT project to have been a decolonial theatre. This was achieved first by going beyond the dichotomous framing of sex work and exploring other stories in between. This has been alluded to above as 'third space', and it also central in decolonial thinking. This is how? Polarised dualisms, (particularly in gender and sexualities) have their roots in colonialism and coloniality (Tamale, 2011). Undoing them is decolonial action (Tamale, 2020, Lugones, 2016). Particularly as it engaged transwomen who disrupt heteronormativity.

Second, sex workers stories I demonstrated, have long been told by others – with the bias of others. In my view this constitutes a kind of epistemicide, where a people are dispossessed from the ownership of their stories, ideas and knowledges (Hall and Tandon, 2017:11). Epistemicides, are part of the invisible tentacles of colonialism and coloniality that we experience as an internalized discourse of power and submission (Tamale, 2020:18). *Hweva* provided a platform for the sex workers themselves to decolonize the existing knowledges about themselves through telling their own stories through popular participatory theatre. Praxis, or participatory based methodologies, I believe are successful strategies in acknowledging excluded peoples and their knowledge.

7.5 *Kutamba*: PPT as a Functional Playground

Kutamba, is a Shona noun for playing games. Play(ing) and playfulness is part and parcel of PPT as a form (Young-Jahangeer, 2020). It was also a major aspect to our PPT process. Through a wide range of activities such as games, song and dance, exercises, and image theatre we played as we made the play. As a playful endeavour, PPT to a larger extent appealed to the participants and at the same time presented a mine field of data on the lived experiences of sex workers. In this regard PPT was a perfect example of how as a paradigm it is primarily fun-filled but also functional in principle. Katherine Low has argued that "Yes Applied Theatre can be used as an application or with an interventionist or instrumental bent, however it works best when it is about play, being playful and creatively collaborating" (Chatikobo and Low, 2015:381).


Pic 18 & 19. Depictions of 'Kutamba' (Picture taken by Princess Sibanda full consent given by participants, 2019)

The host of games that we played were an assortment of traditional children's games, theatre games while others were appropriated. The activities opened up the space to many possibilities. The foremost of these being the idea of bringing together participants from different walks of life. From the very first game, '*ini…iwe …isu'* (explained in Chapter 5), we engaged and laughed as we built rapport. Even as I compare the choices made in playing '*sarura wako'* (choose your one) the first time we introduced it and the second time we played it towards the end, I observed some notable differences. Initially people would *sarura* [choose] their long-term friend, but later on this friendship circle had reshuffled in the rehearsal space. New friends were

made. Thus, in our playful moments we gradually shifted from being strangers to friendship and the researcher/researched dichotomy was disturbed.

Trust, which is also a much-needed ingredient in PPT and performance in general was also interrogated through play. The *Blindfold* game is one such game that tested the participants' levels of trust for each other. With the blindfold game, participants are divided into pairs, in each pair one person is blindfolded and must be guided by the other. Their feelings about this game were as follows:

> *Pekutanga ndandisiri kunyatsotruster munhu [At first, I was not trusting my guide, I just felt like (mumbles)… I cannot explain it, but I just felt useless when I was the blind one* – Chamomei
>
> *Personally, I couldn't trust the person who was guiding me, ndandinekafeeling kekuti koakazondidonhedza oti sha yanga iri mistake* [I had this feeling that my guide would just let go and claim it as a mistake] – Munesu
>
> *Ndaninekafeeling kekuti shasha inogona kunditsokodzera. Ndozvatinotoita muchibasa kwedu unoziva, onongoenda* [I had a feeling that this person would mess me up. This is exactly what happens in our job] sometimes you don't even trust yourself – Que
>
> *I felt like I am in another world yekuti its not me it's something else which is happening and then trust yaitoripo nekuti hapana hure iri haraizondobonderesa* [I trusted that this whore would never bump me into something] – Hailey. (Feedback session 2019).

As they drew parallels between their feelings about the game and real-life experiences, indications were that there is a significant level of distrust among sex workers. However, others like Hailey operate from a place of relative trust, but chose to be flippant in her articulation of it.

We also began to *see* each other. Literally and metaphorically. I saw participants as human beings outside of what they do and vice-versa. That we all played in the round where we could literally see each other allowed for a free and open space of engagement. A game like 'disentanglement' in which participants have to disentangle themselves from a hand puzzle, fostered collaborative inquiry. Their first attempt failed and Munesu (2019) attributed it to poor listening skills:

> "*Haa apa zvaramba kubuda because munhu wese angachida kunzwikwa apa tichiraura tese kaone. Plus, munhu anga achingoda kuona kuti iye maoko ake angazvisunungure sei'* [We failed

because everyone wanted to be heard yet we were talking over each other. Plus, every individual was trying to figure out how to free their own hands].

There was need for active listening, dialogue, and participation for 'liberation' to be realised. This was also the case with the image theatre exercises which they sculpted in trios. For them to tell their story, they needed to cooperate and dialogue.

7.6 The Shortfalls

In spite of the interesting dynamics and data gathering opportunities presented by PPT, it had its own shortfalls. These pertain to the form itself and the model I deployed in particular. As a scholar/practitioner I believe that exposing the shortcomings of our practice is a necessary critique. Especially as we are being asked to rethink Applied Theatre in the 21st century, it is important to critique the transformational rhetoric.

Allergic to Process, Addicted to Product?

With all its benefits, process-oriented methodologies can be difficult to implement with sex workers in Zimbabwe. While they enjoy the process, it is not aways tenable for them. As I revealed in Chapter 5, it was difficult to have all the participants in rehearsal at all times. Nesto, Que and Thery worked throughout the night, after which they would spend considerable time commuting home from their workstations. They had to sacrifice their resting time to make it for rehearsal, and sometimes they did not make it on time. Transgender participants on the other hand operated mostly during the day. Outside these schedules, they were on a general 24-hour call. If a client called, they would respond. As a process-oriented form, my observations were that PPT may not be the most appropriate form with which to engage sex workers. It distracts their pattern of work and general well-being. In our rehearsal feedback session, Thery (2019) explained that "*basa redu rinoda kuzorora nekunyatsodya. Nekuti panoshandwa* especially *mashort time*" [our job requires some rest and proper eating because we really work hard, especially with short time sessions].

This is not to say it is impossible though. With the possibilities in sight, a good budget can easily turn the tides around. That is if you can pay the participants equivalent to their earnings. I am not too convinced however that such dynamics will not trap PPT into the donor-funding debacle that surrounds TfD. I briefly discussed in Chapter 4 how theatre for development has

become a preferred tool for information dissemination by various players across sectors. Among them the State and non-governmental organisations. These players often dictate what issues TfD practitioners should focus on. This means the TfD work is captured by the budget.

So, I am weary of how the funding dynamics may compromise PPT. It is possible that of course both agendas can align, but what are the odds? The transformation and change rhetoric often perpetuates an impact and value agenda which may usurp that of the participants. This I fear, takes away the political potency of popular participatory theatre.

On my end, the unstable schedule made me anxious. I was always scared of a possibility where they would not pitch. I feared reliving the nightmare of having to locate participants from a hard to reach community such as that of sex workers in Zimbabwe. Our time in the field also dragged because so little was done in the little time we had in rehearsal. Such dynamics can be physically and emotionally depleting for a researcher. For example, I would come to rehearsal in the morning and participants would only arrive at 2pm for various reasons, mostly beyond their control. Other times I would delay and find them waiting for me. They were not always the most patient either. If there is anywhere where the old adage, 'time is money' is relevant, it is with the sex workers.

Besides time constraints, I also observed that the participants were far more excited about the performance. Perhaps it goes with what Que said about how she operates. "*Hakuna romance mubasa shamwari, ibhora mberi"* [there is no romance in this job my friend, the ball has to move forward]. The romance she was referring to here is foreplay just before the sexual encounter. In her operations, she does not indulge in the process of romance as part of her sexual service. Other female sex workers concurred with her, citing that romance is time consuming and labour intensive, so they focus on the 'real deal'.

This is not the case with all forms of sex work though, some, especially those practiced in 'invisible sites of the sex work industry' (Larin, 2020) are usually process based. For example, massage parlours who offer 'happy ending'. Happy ending being a euphemism for sex.

Facilitation Minefields

Although I consider myself an experienced facilitator, my skills were put to test in the implementation of Project *Hweva*. I faced unique challenges in the field such as time

management and divided attention. As I reflect on the journey, I struggled to balance between setting democratic principles and establishing a firm work ethic. Yet, I knew how maximum participation without a fair share of facilitation guidance would not yield desired intervention (Mda, 1993b). I succumbed to the emotional demands of this role. Much to the point where Munesu, the assistant researcher complained that I was too lenient. The lenience which I interpret as gentleness in this context, may have, to an extent, worked for me but it is worth reflecting upon as a lesson point for future projects.

I have also read from other practitioners' vignettes how challenging facilitation can be. Ackroyd and Pilkington (2007) for example allude to this pedagogic tension between purpose/intended outcome and desire to give free reign to participants, as one of the 'minefields' of A.T. Political correctness tends here to impact on honest interactions. While I got disappointed and angry with some participants for poor communication or picking up a phone call without excusing themselves from the stage, I always bit my tongue. I felt I needed to be grateful that they had at least made it to rehearsal given their hectic schedules. Moreover, I feared perpetuating violence on people who already experience it in their lives every day. This is a common dilemma in Applied Theatre. Sheila Preston (2013:230) notes how in her interviews with multiple experienced practitioners they shared with her, "*backstage* personas, their feelings and honesty about their work and practice, which inevitably differed from the personae that they presented *frontstage* whilst working".

Are these performances of feeling in the space not defeatist? How can a transformational pedagogy unravel from a place of dishonesty? Does that not constitute deception, which is an ethical red flag? Do we not, in our quest to relinguish power, patronize participants? Perhaps even, we should interrogate the discomfort that enable the performances of feeling from the practitioner's perspective. In my case, like I said, it was fear. Fear of losing participants, fear of adding salt to their wounds. Are there ways in which practitioners/researchers can express their actual feelings without feeling like they are offending participants and vice-versa? How can these dilemmatic spaces be navigated?

In my case, I had a co-facilitator, Mutumbi who came in with a different approach. He was quite strict, sometimes authoritarian. Mutumbi managed to reprimand lateness or poor work ethic without any fear or hesitancy. I had to establish a new facilitation role between him and the

participants. Together we found a third space where we balanced the nuances of facilitation from our different approaches. I do not suppose however that this could be a feasible alternative for every project.

Journaling (a) Failure

Journaling is among the several methods that were employed for data gathering in this research. It however emerged to be a dismal failure. I had hoped that through journaling participants would write down their feelings, opinions, and reflections about the process. Especially those that they would have been unable to express in person. However, none of the participants used the journals that were provided to them at the beginning of the project. Only Munesu, the research assistant, documented his experiences. I did not question them on their decision not to write because it was voluntary.

My experiences are that journaling may not be effective when working with sex workers. Based on my interactions with participants and general observations, the major reason for the journaling failure was time. Journaling can be very time consuming especially after work and rehearsal. It is also a possibility that participants did not have the confidence to write among other reasons I could not establish. While journals are ideal for getting some personal insight, sex workers are best engaged with vocal/oral methods such as interview and focus group discussions.

7.7 Conclusion

In this chapter I presented the findings on the form PPT. I also analysed them simultaneously. With the provision of examples from Project *Hweva* I discussed the extent to which PPT can be used as a Popular Prostitute Theatre. That is, the opportunities it presents for sex workers as both a platform for them to tell their stories and an advocacy tool. In the latter part of the chapter, I outlined the shortcomings of PPT as a form, according to my experiences in the field. Now I shall engage the findings on content in the subsequent chapter.

Chapter 8: Re-Writing & Re-Storying Sex Work in Zimbabwe

> I have always felt that it is difficult to engage proper with a place or a person without engaging with all of the stories about the person and that place – Chimamanda Ngozi-Adichie
>
> Until lions have their own historians, tales of hunting will always glorify the hunter – African Proverb

8.0 Introduction

To repudiate a single story, is not to refuse its validity. It is to simply challenge us to stretch our frames of engagement beyond the narrative that masquerades as the full and only story about a place and its people. It is to acknowledge that without engaging with the beholders of these stories, it is never a complete story. Scorgie et al. (2011:22), have too argued that information gathered directly from sex workers provides the most accurate and reliable account of the daily realities of their lives. I did not seek in this study to nullify the dominant narratives around sex work in Zimbabwe, but rather my intention was to investigate from the perspective of the sex workers themselves what their experiences in sex work are and how they make sense of these experiences using Popular Participatory Theatre. Herewith is the story, told in 2 sections.

8.1 We Don't Need New Names

I thought I would start by the naming dilemma. Naming those who sell sexual services is something I struggled with at the commencement of the dissertation. "What do I call the subjects of this research in this introduction when among other key objectives, I seek to establish what they want or prefer to be called", I wrote. I tentatively settled for the term sex worker which I privileged as a politically correct term. Five chapters later, evidence gathered suggested that those who sell sexual services in Zimbabwe have a contentious relationship with the term sex worker.

To a larger extent, the term has not been fully embraced. It remains a borrowed term. More of a robe that they put on as and when the space demands. In the three months that I was in the field, participants only ever referred to themselves as sex workers in formal set ups. For example, our first meeting and the SAfAIDS post-performance discussion. When I asked them what they

preferred to be called, they did lean towards 'sex work'. There was clearly an acknowledgement of the term's affirmations since it accurately describes what they do. But the term does not describe who they are. As Mariana (June, 2019) said, "*kubasa hazvisizvo zvandiri*" its work, not who I am. It is not an identity. This is an interesting statement in light of the embodied and performative nature of sex work which was explicit during this research.

However, despite this formal desire to be called sex workers in formal settings, throughout the process and even in the play itself, participants used the term *mahure* [whores] when referring to themselves and each other. They used the term on each other so casually, laced with some humour even that it was clear that this terminology is what came naturally to their tongues. No offense was registered at all. Besides *mahure,* female sex workers would on occasion call each other *masister* [sister] or *vasikana vebasa* [girls at work]. On the politics of naming, Nesto explained that:

> *Zvinhu zvacho zviritricky sha. Word rekuti hure hariite wangu coz rine kamwe kathat karinako so kekudzikisira. Kana uchizvishandisira or muripahushamwari zvinoita kwete mumwewo munhu, unotukwa ukapfidza. Sex worker iribho, kunzi mushandi we pabonde kuribho. Even kuti masisters, ndoword ririkunyanya kushandiswa stereki. Mukutaura vanhu vanoti havo hure asi pavanosvika havamboti hesi hure vanototi hesi masister* [It's tricky my friend. The word, whore is derogatory. Its only okay when you are using it on yourself or among friends. Not for a stranger to just call us a whore, you will be humiliated. Sex worker is okay, even 'sisters' that's the most popular word at the moment. Even though people refer to us as whores, when they come to us, they won't say hie there whore, they say hie there masister. (Interview, 2019)

What is evident in this narrative is that *mahure* although being the popular phrase among sex workers, is unsettling to most sex workers when used by 'outsiders'. Immunity was extended to me on the few occasions that I used the term, either when reiterating points or questioning further what they would have said. I guess this is because I was an insider in as much as I was an outsider. Often times, they would refer to all of us collectively as *mahure* myself and Munesu the research assistant included. In that moment, I guess we were all *mahure*.

It is however, inadequate to conclude that the use and acceptability of the term *mahure* or whore among themselves is reappropriated to challenge the power of the word. It cannot simply be interpreted as reappropriation. Sometimes it is a matter of shameful internalisation which becomes starkly realised when 'others' say it than it is a deliberate political decision. Much akin

to the 'N' word in America and by extension Africa which is so "vile that it has been truncated to a single letter 'N', i.e. the N-word" (Holt, 2018:1) yet acceptable in certain quarters among people of colour themselves. Jabari Asim (2008) captures this debate in his book, "*The N Word: Who Can Say It, Who Shouldn't, And Why".* Similarly, given what Nesto says, there are possibilities that the acceptance and usage of term is performative and may just be based on society's way of perceiving than sex workers' sense of being. In that sense, *mahure* could also be read as an internalisation.

Nesto's account also limns the fluidity of terminology in sex work. It is not necessarily coherent or stable construction. It is constantly shifting, often defined by who is saying it, and where. I found that although the term *hure* is derived from whore, its meanings stretch beyond that. Anita Bernstein (2017: 231) in her essay '*Working Sex Words*' observes that "words do change meaning over time." Hence, *'hure*' or '*mahure*' may as well be its own term now. Not a translation but a Shona word in its own right.

In Zimbabwe for example, the term *hure* is generally used as sexist derogatory slur, referring to women who operate outside the narrow prescriptions of a 'good' woman (Hungwe, 2006). Unmarried women, single mothers, or any woman exhibiting levels of confidence and independence such as female artists, politicians, and feminist identifying individuals are among groups of people that often get called *mahure* by men (McFadden, 2003). In this context the term is being used outside the references of actual sex workers. It is used as a punch word to legitimise hegemonic dominance of toxic masculinity in Zimbabwe.

8.3 Reconstructing Narratives and Challenging Perceptions

> *Hure handidi kuriona, ndikanzi sarudza ngochani nehure apa, ndosarudza ngochani. Avo vanenge vachidanana havo zvasiyana nehure rinotengesera chero munhu. Ndokunonhombora varume vedu zvirwere, wotoigirwa chirwere wakagara mai mwana. Ngavasungwe*! [I don't want to see a whore. If I am asked to choose, I will go for a homosexual. At least those ones are two adults who are in love, not a whore who sells herself to everyone. That is where our husbands get diseases and infect innocent wives at home. They must be arrested] (Mai Joy, 2019)

> I live by the principles of the bible. *Munhu anofana kuvhurira murume wake gumbo, njiva inemurume one wani. Kukundwa neshiri* [A person is supposed to open legs only for their husband. Even doves are faithful to one partner, why should one be outdone by a bird]. (Chamunorwa, 2019)

> *Zvinoitwa nevanhu vakarova maticha nerekeni. Ungatoti ndine basa urihure. Kupemha kurinane. Mahure* will be the death of us all. *Zvirwere zvega zvega* [People who sell sex are not educated. For a person to actually call whoring work is insane. Begging is better. Whores will be the death of us. They are full of disease]. (Majachu, 2019)

> *Varume vese vagara vanorara nevakadzi vakawanda. Zvinovatuma ndozvavainazvo, haisi mhosva yavo, kana mbudzi ukaenda nadzo kumafuro unogona kusadzoka nawo magotora. Vakadzi kuzvitisa chaiko* [All men are promiscuous. Their genetic make-up is to blame. It is not their fault, even goats do that. If you go with them to the grazing lands, chances are you will not return with the buck]. (Mbuya Mpandasekwa, 2019)

There are numerous misconceptions about sex work(ers) that masquerade as facts in Zimbabwe. Sentiments expressed above by members of the public that I interviewed in Harare, reveal in summary what the majority of Zimbabweans think about sex work(ers). They assume that sex workers are illiterate, immoral women who dole out diseases to innocent men. In this section, I analyse these perceptions against the empirical data that I gathered.

Gender (Mis)Truths

A sex worker in Zimbabwean memory and understanding, is a cis-gender heterosexual woman. This is one of the most pervasive misconceptions about sex workers. Demographics of sex work in Zimbabwe, on the ground, indicate that sex work is a gender agnostic trade. Over the years the proliferation of homo and heterosexual male and transgender women sex workers has become more publicly apparent, however according to the male sex workers I interviewed (June - August 2019) they have in reality always been there. They just do not attract the same kind of attention that women do.

This I argue rests on the patriarchal notions and the illegality of homosexuality in the country. According to Zimbabwe's heteronormative frames of perceiving, male sex workers fall short of the masculine ideal. Gender is predominantly thought of in binary terms of male versus female (Butler, 2003). Attached to it are behavioural prescriptions which male sex workers fall short of. For example, within heteronormative ideals in Zimbabwe, it is considered 'unmanly' for a man to sell sex and taboo for a woman to buy it. It is worse when they sell it to other men because gay men are already considered to be a threat to masculinity (Sibanda, 2015, Epprecht, 2004). That they sell the sex, is like a 'double offense'. To this effect, Eileen Yuk-ha Tsang et al. (2019:1) have said that "male sex workers are marginalized in most societies due to intersectional stigma between prostitution and homosexuality."

A similar fate befalls transgender women sex workers. Generally, the idea of transgender people - those whose gender identity and/or gender expression is incongruent with the sex they were assigned at birth, is still alien to most Zimbabweans. Gender identity is conflated with sexual orientation and is locked into the binary: a gay man is a man who aspires to be a woman; a transwoman is considered a hyper-homosexual. Gay men and transwomen are consequently bundled up as undesirable men who are undermining the concept of a 'real African man'.

Overall male sex workers, regardless of who they sell sex to, are implicated in the undermining of patriarchy. There is therefore a fear of being shamed and judged among men who sell sex. This would explain why most of them operate discretely. This does not however suggest that male sex workers are not there. A proliferation of male sex workers has been reported in major cities like Harare and Bulawayo (Tsang et al., 2019, Qiao et al., 2019a).

When the dominant image of a sex worker is a woman, the reverse is another misconception: That clients are always cis-gender heterosexual men. This is aptly demonstrated by the generic term for sex work clients – *Johns* (Holt and Blevins, 2007). Yet the term *Johns*, does not represent the heterogeneity of sex work clients. The clientele may indeed constitute men mostly, but not solely nor entirely. Munesu (2019), indicated that although he has never heard of a transman sex worker, transmen do buy sexual services from female sex workers. Participants themselves indicated that they cater to all people. Perhaps this explains why they refer to clients as *mhene*, a gender neutral Shona term for the one with money:

> *Inini hangu ndoita tora mari united. Mari yako chete. Dzinotouya mhene malesbian, asi dzimwe nguva vanotumira mafesi kutamba front. Kana kuti mafesi anotitora tiri two pano, oona tichiita yototipa mari* [I am here for money. It is really about your money. Lesbian clients do come but sometimes they send men to get us. Sometimes a male client will pay two sex workers just to watch them make out (Nesto, June 2019)

The idea that lesbian clients send men to get sex workers for them is related to the idea that I alluded to earlier. That it is taboo for women to buy sex. More so buying it from other women. This is corroborated by Mariana (July, 2019) when she indicated that although they have all kinds of people soliciting their services, there is a lot of stigma associated with serving clients who fall outside the norm. *Inini hangu chido chekutora mari chiripo, but ndotya kukechwa nemunhukadzi*. *Mamwe masister anozotii*? [I would love to make money out of everyone, but I fear serving another woman. What will the other sex workers say], she echoed. Given that transmen are imputed the identity of a hyper-masculine lesbian, it is possible they are hurled up into the general category of female clients.

There is therefore myopia around the convoluted gender dynamics of sex work in Zimbabwe.

The '*Jezebel*' Narrative

Impurity and immorality have often been laid (not so gently) at the feet of women. This I shall call by its name – sexism and feminists have documented well its many insidious forms (hooks, 2000, Dangarembga, 2020). We have read over centuries, biblical accounts that designate Eve, as a temptress or the "archetypal *femme fatale*" (Edwards, 2010:35) and texts like *Macbeth* where three witches awaken sleeping ambition and Lady Macbeth cunningly stokes the fire

which leads to her husband's downfall (Shakespeare, 2001). Elizabeth Reis (1999), captures vividly this portrayal of women in her book, *Damned Women: Sinners and Witches in Puritan England.* In Africa, and Zimbabwe specifically, women are known to be the face of witchcraft which still has legitimacy in contemporary Zimbabwean society (Ogbomo, 2005, Masowa, 2017).

Sometimes the witchcraft is a metaphor for any behaviour that causes suffering to the other. In Zimbabwe sex work is situated within that category. Media and literary representations are fraught with the suggestion that female sex workers are the filth that pollute the well-being of innocent men[59]. In focus group discussions and interviews (carried between 2019 and 2020), female respondents would also constantly refer to sex workers as 'those whores' and the clients, 'our men'. Even memes and jokes that circulate social circles perpetuate the idea. Analysing a pool of this content in Zimbabwe, Angeline Masowa (2017) notes how humour too is used to reinforce the image of women as immoral and malicious sources of men's problems. "*Vakadzi neroad same same. Kuwanda kwemacurves avo ndiko kuwandawo kwenjodzi yavanayo* [women are like roads. The more the curves, the more dangerous they are] (2017:236) is cited as an example.

I also conducted a google scholar search with the key words, Zimbabwean sex workers. It ushered me to numerous articles whose common thematic area was female sex workers and HIV. Directly and otherwise, female sex workers are implicated as the vectors of disease while men are portrayed as victims to their desire. It is no wonder previous anti-prostitution laws and regulations in Zimbabwe targeted one gender.

Women in the Avenues area, which is considered the red-light district of Harare, would get rounded up and arrested at the police officer's (often a man) discretion they looked like a sex worker (Tandi, 2012, McClintock, 1992). "Today the 18th of April 2018, Zimbabwe's Independence Day, I got arrested at 4 p.m. and got charged with loitering for purposes of prostitution while chilling in my neighbourhood. The humiliation! It's not yet *Uhuru*" [freedom], lamented Beatrice Savadye, a human rights defender (Facebook post, 2018). Her crime was that she was a single woman walking around alone without a man. Indeed, as Patricia Collins (2002)

59 See Chapter 2

mentions, among three other stereotypical configurations of black women, that the hypersexual Jezebel image is used to control and justify sexual assault of black women. These vestiges of colonialism cascade into the present and they are policed after independence by 'an independent' police force. Tamale (2020:246) reiterates that othering is being used in a democratic dispensation to enact difference and justify existing power inequalities.

Every sex worker by virtue of being one, is automatically a bad or evil woman -*Vakadzi vasina hunhu* [women without morals]. The status of an ideal woman, or 'good' African female is something that women must labour for through virginity, chastity, motherhood, moral fortitude and obedience. Repression of sexual feeling is the ultimate attribute of this 'virtuous' woman (Manyonganise, 2017:154).

The good versus bad woman dichotomy is also evoked here. Binary construction of the good versus the bad woman is synonymous with colonial psychopathology, where the coloniser postures as a morally superior being in juxtaposition to the barbaric and morally abject colonised subject (Fanon, 1961). In colonial history, the black female body as exemplified by Sara Baartman (Hottentot Venus), carried the legacy of racial and sexual alterity (Gordon-Chipembere, 2011). In this sense, a female sex worker in Zimbabwe can be read as a modern day 'Hottentot Venus' as grotesque images of black womanhood linger on her body. She is black and considered an aberration in the public imaginary. The coloniality of gender (Lugones, 2016, Tamale, 2020), or Postcolonial hauntologies as it were (Coly, 2019) are epitomised here.

In the Zimbabwean context, religion, especially Christianity is implicated in perpetuating these hauntologies. For example, the Eve archetype is very enduring in the country, and I argue it to be a form of colonial logic founded in and living through Christianity. African tradition too, with or without colonial influence rides on the bad versus good woman trajectory. Importance is placed on the centre of familyhood,that is the mother or wife as opposed to the non-married woman who has practically no role in society (Mbiti, 1988:69). Based on these Afro-colonial patriarchal cultural texts, women like sex workers who subvert women's established roles as bearers and reproducers of cultural tradition have suffered a heavy backlash in Zimbabwe. They are considered too much, yet not enough. Their sexual expression makes them lack the necessary requirements to fit the heavily gendered moral radar within Zimbabwe's postcolonial nationalist rhetoric. Female sex workers in this regard, resemble the paradox of excess and lack

that Deborah McDowell brings to our attention. She argues that within the dominant cultural imaginary, black female bodies keep missing the mark, they embody both lack and excess (and excess as lack) (In Alexandre, 2012:89).

Eventually, the narrative of the bad woman, and sex workers being the prototype of this bad woman all tally up to "a gender problem" (Adichie, 2014). The 'gender problem' is a term coined by Chimamanda Ngozi-Adichie (2014:5) to highlight how "gender as it functions today is a grave injustice".

The Tale of the Poor Illiterate Prostitute

Yet another dominant perception held about sex workers is that they are poor illiterate *women*. Such language is used often in Zimbabwe to denigrate women who are considered to be making immoral choices in general. Quite often you hear statements like, "*anozvara seasina kudzidza*" [she pops children like an uneducated person]. The implication being, educated people make informed decisions for example using contraceptives while 'bad choices' equate to a lack of education. Under similar pretexts, a woman who resorts to selling sexual services does not have an active reasoning capacity. I have already debunked this assumption that sex work is a female preserve so I will focus on the idea that sex workers are poor and illiterate people.

It is certainly true that in Zimbabwe (and this is borne out of my research) most sex workers are not financially stable and have entered sex work due to economic stressors (Mgbako, 2016, Chirimumimba, 2018, Richter et al., 2013) but poverty does not equate to lack of education. Poverty and literacy do have a causal effect on each other but in Zimbabwe the narrative reads slightly differently. It is one of the countries where the relationship between poverty and illiteracy is not a seamless one. We are rated among the poorest countries, (Tofa, 2020) but also rated among the most literate. In a survey conducted by macrotrends (2020) on Zimbabwe's literacy rate (1982 – 2020), literacy has grown to 88.69%, claiming second position in Africa despite the corresponding massive economic decline.

The illiteracy claim does not corroborate the reality of most Zimbabwean sex workers. In fact, a majority are more than literate, that is ability to just read and write, they are considerably educated. Like a majority of other people in Zimbabwe, they are predominantly poor but educated too. This also goes to show how sex workers represent the general population rather

than a specific demographic within it. All of the participants engaged in Project *Hweva,* held at least an Ordinary level certificate.[60] Moreover, current trends reveal a high rate of sex work among university students (Thobejane et al., 2017, Mampane, 2018). Sex work has too, become an alternative employment for some graduates due to the high unemployment rate.

In an interview, Maluve* (2019) a male sex worker indicated that, he resorted to sex work after two years of looking for employment. "*Tinotoshandisa madegree iwawo kugadzira mari. Inini ndotorova ma30 kana 50 chakadaro USA per session, ndirihure rakadzidza wee. Handina kudzidza kuti yangu iyi ishandire mahara"* [I use the knowledge derived from my degree to make money. I charge 30 or 50 something USD per session because I am a learned whore. I did not go to school so that I can work for free]. Two other male sex workers also stated in an interview on Issues/Panenyaya (2020) that they are charging as much as 50 USD per transaction and the money goes towards their university fees, and that of their siblings.

This challenges the preconceived notions of sex workers as poor illiterate women. Consequently, another gender problem emerges out of this. That of gender disparity and the omnipresence of patriarchal power. There is a huge discrepancy between what male sex workers and female sex workers charge. Although some high-end female sex workers can charge top dollar, the vast majority of female sex workers indicated that the most they charge for short time is 5 - 10 USD against the 30 – 50 USD that male sex workers charge. In other instances, it has been documented that some female sex workers sell sex for as little as 50 cents. This could be explained by what Lawrence Phiri, the Director of Rainbow Zimbabwe Community, a sex worker organisation said in an interview that:

> Male sex work is something that is new and exciting to a lot of people, so most clients want to experience what it feels like being with a male sex worker. That's why you see male sex workers charge a lot of money. Plus, it comes in different forms, women tend to pay more sometimes, they give them more money or shower them with more gifts than female sex workers. (June, 2020)

We see here how women participate in the patriarchy that subjugates them. We see here why Tamale (2020) concludes that sex and sexuality, particularly with regards the female gender has for long been used as the centre of our subordinate status.

60 This is the basic level of education in Zimbabwe.

8.4 *Ubuntu* and Sex Work

It is far easier to assume that every sex worker does not have *hunhu/ubuntu* by virtue of being a sex worker. This way, the world makes more sense as our moral judgements become justified. However, there are as Chimamanda Ngozie Adichie (2010), in her Ted Talk reveals to us, dangers to a single story. Indeed, it is clear from this research that one's sexual behaviour cannot be used as a whole identity marker of *hunhu/ubuntu* or any other moral yardstick. To the contrary, in my observations and experiences in the field with sex workers I witnessed numerous examples of *ubuntu*, which I will engage below. I highlight the '*ubuntuness*' of (female) sex workers to redirect us to other stories and possibilities.

Ubuntu is both as an ideology and a philosophy and has been described as "a multidimensional concept representing a core value of African ontologies: respect for all humans, human dignity, sharing, obedience, humility, solidarity, caring, hospitality, interdependence, and communalism" (Sambala et al., 2020:2). In executing their duties, sex workers do espouse one or more of these attributes. One could argue that, the sex industry is hinged on the concept of sharing and hospitality.

Let me turn to the principle trait. An individual with *hunhu/ubuntu* exhibits humaneness as a foremost trait (Manyonganise, 2015). Humaneness, care and nurture were the major motivations for all four female sex workers in Project *Hweva* and those I interviewed in Hopley to start sex work. The mother's instinct to fend for their children specifically. All of them are divorcees and support their children single handed[61]. Mariana (2019) vociferously stated that:

> *Hakuna mai vanoda kuona mwana wavo achigunduruka asina chaisa mudumbu. Hapana. Ugotorara kuridza ngonono vana vachirira matumbu? Kunyepa chaiko. Iwe wakagarira stonyeni, inopfimbikwa for the why? Imango mbishi here?* [No mother would love to see her children mope around without putting anything in their stomach. None. To actually sleep and snore while children's tummies are rumbling? That's a lie. While you sit on your vagina, storing it for the why? (sic) Is it a raw mango?]

61 In their study by Sarah Horell and Pramila Krishnan (2008) found that there is a high incidence of female headed families across the world and Africa in particular and a high proportion of them suffer poverty. Mothers, as economically impoverished than fathers are, carry the burden of raising children alone.

Here Mariana equates a vagina to a fruit that is ripe and ready for consumption. Hence, according to her it should be used for income purposes. Only a raw fruit should be stored in a container until it ripens. Another thing is that female sex workers make effort to protect their children from the politics of their work. This is often unacknowledged when people criticise female sex workers as people who expose children to obscenity. That was my assumption too. However, discussion revealed that they do take the necessary precautions to shelter their children from the harsh realities of their lives:

> *Inini vana vangu vanogara nevebareki vangu. Handitodi kuti vazive.* [My children stay with my mother. I never want them to know] – (Que, 2019)
>
> *Vana vangu vanotongoziva kuti mama vanotengesa musika wavo. Handitounzi munhu pamba zvachose. Ndikangoshanda Shanda vakapedza chikoro chete ndotozorora vondichengetawo* [my children know that their mother is a vegetable vendor. I don't bring clients home at all. My plan is to work hard enough till they finish school] – Mariana, 2019)
>
> *Mwana wangu atoform 3. And hapana musi wandakambovarairwa. Ndinotomutuma kumashops, Munhu opinda, kana kutaimira avata. Otherwise ndosaka tichishandira kwakasiyana nekwatinogara.* [My child is now in form 3 and I am quite cautious. I would rather send them to the shops, while the client gets in or wait until my child has gone to sleep] – (Nesto, 2019)

It also came to my attention that although "*mari yako ndoinotaura*" [your money talks] is most sex workers mantra, usually female sex workers do not accept underage clients as a principle. "*Tunouya tuvana tumaborder twepaPrince Edward apa tuchida kunyenga*. *Vamwe havo vanogona kuti mari yako chete but ha vakawanda vedu hatibate* [Little boys who are borders at Prince Edward High School do approach us for sex. Some don't mind but most of us don't touch], echoed Que (2019).

All the above are exhibits of *ubuntu*. A challenge to the singular narrative that sex workers are devoid of humanness and empathy. If anything, my findings consider a large section of male clients as being '*ubuntuless*'. A number of male clients have often been implicated in soliciting minors in a phenomenon usually referred to as 'child prostitution'[62] (Mabvurira et al., 2017, Musvipwa, 2015). In an interview on Issues/*Panenyaya* a self -identified client confirmed that

62 My definition of sex worker excludes children under the age of 18. When sex involves a minor, it becomes sexual abuse, or rape.

he prefers child 'prostitutes' (ZTN, 2020) demonstrating that paedophiles constitute a clear sector of this market.

When we take *Ubuntu* outside its usual conceptualisations, sex work still sits well within the *Ubuntu* framing. Taking for instance Precious Simba's (2021) advancement of *Ubuntu* as a framework of encounter. She in her writing gives an account of two strangers who meet and, in their encounter tap into roles of mother and son because of their totems. Even though there are chances of them never meeting again, as with a sex worker and their client, the roles they tap into, in that moment are precepts of *Ubuntu*. Thus, she advances that *Ubuntu* is "a social framework of encounter employed to navigate the interface with the *other* whose praxis involves the creation of a social structure that permits the currency of power between the bodies in the interface; the goal being to create a plane for the establishment of relationship – *ukama/ubuhlobo"* (Simba, 2021:36).

8.5 *"Mahure"*: An Embodiment of Agency (Too)

I highlighted in Chapter 2 that most 'liberal minded' individuals and the conservative alike, converge on the idea that sex workers are powerless victims in need of saving. This seems to be a 'popular framing' with which sex workers are read and represented in Zimbabwe (Scorgie et al., 2011, Qiao et al., 2019b, Chirimumimba, 2018, Tandi, 2012), despite resounding calls to challenge the 'suffering third world prostitute' narrative (Mgbako, 2016, Yingwana, 2018). In our search for more nuanced engagements with the phenomenon however, we should not fabricate narratives. That is pulling the other side of the rug for the sake of indulging deconstructionist politics at the expense of lived realities. If subalternity is the prevailing condition, then let the story be told as such. I doubt however that a single story would adequately represent any given people. This thesis seeks to highlight deliberately the complexity of – in this case- sex-work in Africa (Zimbabwe), two concepts that have been consistently globally over-determined.

Empirical data from this research confirms that agency is not only a possibility but a core attribute of sex workers in Zimbabwe. I apply Nicki Cole's (2019) definition where agency refers to the thoughts and actions of a people that express their individual power. In their various shades, Zimbabwean sex workers showed and shared plenty stories of resistance, subversion and resilience which will be told below.

Sex Work as Defiant Labour

My interactions with sex workers in Zimbabwe in the field revealed that being a sex worker in whorephobic Zimbabwe is an act of defiance. It is agentic action. As Tee (July, 2019) would say; *isusu takafa kare wangu, vaitivharira zvavo but tadzoka taivavharirawo pakati pemakumbo* [we died already my friend, they would jail us but upon return we would also envelope them in between our legs]. This was in reference to their relentless fight against unwarranted arrests that were authorised by Robert Mugabe the former president of Zimbabwe at the height of Operation *Murambatsvina* [Refuse Dirt]. This was discussed in Chapter 2.

Although, non-governmental organisations and other stakeholders led the protests that saw the easing of the law, sex workers were not mere spectators. They were active agents of their course and cause. A taste of Uhuru came as a result (revert to Chapter 2). Arrests still happen but on rare occasions. For that reason, sex workers in Zimbabwe confer themselves the liberation war heroes' status akin to how the State honours those who fought in Chimurenga war of liberation. Hence, "*Chibasa ichi takachirwira*" [we fought for this job], or "we died for this job" are among the common phrases used especially by older sex workers in Zimbabwe. They also became catch phrases in our play. While sex workers use these statements to refer to their personal struggle for space in the metropolis, they are derived from the ZANUPF political mantra 'we died for this country'.

This popular appropriation both celebrates their own 'liberation movement' or "*Chimurenga*" while 'mocking' the ZANU PF government which uses this as both a memory mnemonic and a tool for holding on to power. The language of the oppressor (the State) is employed here to express the victory of the oppressed (sex workers). They turned the societal filth status into heroism by subverting "the various technologies of segregation, apartheid and quarantine" (Nyong'o, 2012:42) which is a decolonial strategy of popular resistance.

More interesting is that, as they appropriate their struggles to operate freely in Zimbabwe to *Chimurenga*, sex workers force their narratives into the broader narrative of nationhood. Hence, the title of this dissertation, "*Screw You! This Flag Is Theirs Too*[63]*…*" Indeed, their fight against arrests and Mugabeism[64] generally should be theorised within the broader conceptualisations of '*Zvimurenga*' (culmination of the 1st, 2nd of 3rd Chimurenga). Particularly, the Third Chimurenga which is marked by the contentious land reform project by the ZANU PF government post 2000 (Gonye and Jabulani, 2012, Helliker et al., 2021). Although there is a resounding 'violent and anti-humane' sentiment around the Third Chimurenga (Holtzclaw, 2004, Mararike, 2018), its actual intentions were to promote cultural nationalism and give the land back to the black majority in Zimbabwe (Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Willems, 2009). Hence decolonial in nature. Yet as I have established, the same government launched an operation to sweep sex workers who are also Zimbabweans out of the streets. It is in this context that I consider sex workers' successful fight against unwarranted arrests as agentic. It is also appropriate that they appropriate the struggle to the *Chimurenga* war of liberation. Only they are fighting theirs against a neo-colonial establishment.

Performing Taboo as Agency

As with most African countries, sex and sexuality is a taboo topic in Zimbabwe. Discussions of such a nature are only permissible as part of particular cultural (and private) events like 'kitchen parties' where a bride to be goes through practical crash course with female friends and family on how to please her husband to be. In the past, and even today in societies that still uphold Shona cultural tradition, it would be *munhanga* (girls' sleeping room) where elderly women would tutor young girls on how to please men in bed. Outside these contexts, anyone who openly shows interest invokes sexual anxiety and paranoia.

Sex workers, particularly street based ones, defy the disciplinary processes through displays of the private in public. Their repeated performances of the taboo in the public spaces, I argue can be considered acts of socio-political resistance. As Boal (2000) would say, "if we do not trespass

63 #This Flag is a movement that was started by Pastor Evan Mawarire in lament of the dire economic and political situation in Zimbabwe - see Mawere (2020) The Politics and Symbolism of the #ThisFlag in Zimbabwe.

64 This is "a summation of a constellation of political behaviour, political ideas, utterances, rhetoric and actions that have crystalised around Mugabe's life" Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009: 139).

(not necessarily violently), if we do not go beyond our cultural norms, our state of oppression, the limits imposed on us, even the law itself (which should be transformed) – if we do not trespass in this we can never be free". This praxis of trespassing is also the decolonial work that Tamale says Africa should move towards. The work of decolonising and decolonial rethinking, she argues, "must entail much more than band-aid approaches for such complex wounds" (2020:18).

Furthermore, consenting to and implementing project *Hweva,* a play project with me, was also a bold decision. Especially if we consider that anxieties around sex in Zimbabwe infiltrate the theatre space (see chapter 2 and Ravengai 2019). Our play, which replicated the lived realities of selling sex and performed by Zimbabwean sex workers themselves limns agency.

During the process of making itself, participants would challenge some of the facilitators' directives on stage. "*Hakuna hure rinodaro*" [no whore behaves likes that] they would often say to mean that our recommendation was out of character. They were expressive. In one incidence, I suggested that Que comes onto the stage with a beer in hand, staggering before she attacks Nesto and Chamomei. She responded:

> *Dai raririscene remubhawa taita zvebhodhoro racho. Hatiende paroad nedoro isu. Doro rinokonzeresa sha remember you have to be clean, kunofana kunge kwakachena uku. Pauchamhanya kunoita weti kana tsvina nguva yekuzonogeza unoiwana kupi*? [Had the scene been set in the bar we would have used the bottle as a prop. We don't take alcohol to the street. Alcohol causes trouble remember it must be clean there. Imagine leaving your workstation to look for a toilet to pee or do poop, when then will you get the time to go bath?]

In my reflections, it dawned on me that while some of our recommendations (myself and Mutumbi) in the devising process were aimed at adding aesthetic appeal to the play, they were also based in a stereotypical understanding of sex-work and sex-workers. A bottle of alcohol in the hands of a woman for example feeds the metaphoric image of a *hure* (whether or not they sell sex).

Another typical example of participants' agency during the rehearsal process was their refusal to blow condoms as they narrated their stories in the final scene. "*Zvimwe zvacho uneuchiona kuti zvakadhakwa sezvemacondom kungofuridza chete*?" [Some of these things you can actually see that they are drunk (pointless), for example blowing condoms just for the sake of it?], exclaimed

Nesto in our feedback session. Of course, it was not just a matter of blowing. Mutumbi was playing with the concept at a metaphorical level. I suppose silly also meant more than just absurd and foolish. It could just have been a dismissal based on how using the 'props' that they use as actual props everyday could have been too close to reality.

The sex workers therefore took charge of their story and how it unfolded. Whenever an idea did not sell with them, they fully utilised the post rehearsal reflective session to express themselves. They made sure that I and Mutumbi's artistic vision did not interfere with the telling of that story. This demonstrates that sex workers are indeed experts on what will work best for them as Capous Desyllas (2010:16) avers. Mutumbi himself acknowledged in an interview that:

> For me the most satisfying or rather challenging, interesting and exciting experience was that discovery of my own space, in the space itself. At first, I was like, I am going to bring what I know, in terms of professional theatre, professional theatre aesthetics and ways of storytelling. I am gonna bring I am gonna teach this group, I am gonna impart my skills on them. But as time went on it changed, my role changed, I realised that it wasn't serving the purpose because these people are not interested in going deep into the theatrical world. Yes, they are interested in storytelling, just wanting to play and being in the space, sharing stories with each other and the oneness that is made available in the PPT space. But talking about aesthetics, the technical stuff and the theatre language, it really did not interest them. So, I specifically had to adapt. I had to change that role of being a teacher and director into that of the ultimate collaborator. (October, 2020)

What this reflection shows, is the power of the so-called marginals in centering their experiences and preferences in the face of power. Participants' refusal to go with the director's notes and forcing him to adapt and consider their voices describes agency and autonomy. It also answers Spivak's (1988) question, can the subaltern speak? The 'subaltern can speak', the subaltern can be heard. (Spivak, 1988).

I Say What I Like: Language as Agency?

> Nesto: *Short time kana kuti toita zvenight* [Short time[65] or do we do night]
>
> Chamomei: *Hede imi sisi ndikwanirei manzwa. Ndatouyawo kuzotsvaga mari* [*scoffs* sister you need to mentally check yourself for me, you hear me? I am also here to look for money]
>
> Nesto: *Kuzotsvaga mari*? *Sei*? [Look for money? How?]
>
> Chamomei: *Imi munoitsvaga sei*? [How you do you look for money?]
>
> Nesto: *Chaizvo ka, nembutu yangu iyi* [Properly duh, with my pussy]
>
> Chamomei: *Kana neniwo ndotsvaga nemhata yangu* [I also use my anus] (Hweva, 2019)

Workshopping a play with sex-workers about sex-work necessarily involved the prolific use of what is considered vulgar language. The word '*mhata*'[anus] for example is part of a host of words and phrases that are considered totally socially unacceptable amongst the Shona and yet are used quite freely among this group. I have to confess that I, with my cultural background, even cringed at the mention of the word. Other times the participants used slang and metaphoric language like *mbutu* (vagina), *sinhi* (literally translates as 'thing'), *kudhandwa* (being hammered/smashed sexually), *kukwirwa* (being fucked), *kutunda* (ejaculating). These I also found hard to hear in rehearsal or outside when we hung out. That I had to include it the thesis and retype it even, has felt quite shocking to me. I even contemplated omitting the section completely. This is because such words are "considered unspeakable words and expressions such that it is not expected that they will be uttered by a 'normal' person among the Shona speaking people" (Kadenge and Mavunga, 2016:225).

The idea therefore of being associated with a play in which obscenities were being churned out unflinchingly did not sit well with me. It was unsettling to the extent that at some point I recommended 'toning down' it down in the play. Responding to my request, Chamomei (July 2019) retorted that,

> *pamushika shika*[66] *panotoda zvejende shamwari. Ndikati ndoshandisa shure yangu mocomplainer futi hahahah. Munhu uyu akundidhereraka ndotofana kuzvimirira, the streets are ugly iwe* [the

65 This refers to short sessions of sex work, usually lasting between 5 – 10 minutes.

> streets require you to have balls my friend. If I say I use my back, you will complain again (*laughs*). This person is sizing me, I must stand up for myself the streets are ugly you!]

They resisted toning down. Vulgarity it seemed, is a sex work aesthetic that they would not let go of. Obscene words make up a significant portion in the vocabulary of sex workers generally. But they are not just words. As Hailey (July, 2019) would say, "*basa rese rinelanguage rayo*" [every job has its language]. Obscenities that sex workers use usually describe the sexual act or organs that participate in the act. Mariana (August, 2019) also explained that:

> *Pane kathat pamawords atoshandisa. Iwo maclients anotoshandisa mawords iwawo. Munhu anototi imarii kusvira and varume vakawanda vanobva vanzwa kuti ndiribaba kana vachishandisa word iroro. Imboudza murume kuti haa unisvira shamwari uone kufara kwanoita. kushandisirwa those words*" [there is an 'it factor' with these words that we use. Clients themselves use those words. A person will say for example, how much is a fuck?, when they come to us. Most men feel like they are real men when they tell us that. Try telling a man that you fuck very well and see how much those words will make them happy]

What Mariana brings to fore here is the fact that obscenities serve specific functions in the sex work industry. It is also interesting that while using obscenities are associated with disrespect in the Shona tradition they, in this context amount to a respect, of sorts. Words that could easily be used to wound the masculine ego are used within the sex workspace to massage the same egos. They translate to masculine prowess when they are employed. Maluve (June, 2021) a male sex worker confirmed that the effect is the same with their female sex workers. Hence obscenities are linguistic devices that build onto the erotic imagination. But this is not all. Maxwell Kadenge and George Mavunga (2016) note in a study on Zimbabwean sex workers that obscene words are used for purposes of disguising what the sex-workers might be talking about from their Shona-speaking clients, in order to build solidarity amongst themselves, to pour scorn on, or commend fellow prostitutes and to attract clients.

The realisation that what I considered 'vulgar' was a significant part of the sex work culture outweighed my disregard for the words. Who was I, as a non-sex worker researcher to censor

---

66 This word can loosely be translated into 'streets', the word is colloquially used by vendors and commuter operators to refer to the undesignated spaces that they operate in such as the pavements in the CBD. When one is working in these spaces they are always on the look- out because police can pounce on them anytime. Sex workers consider the streets their *mshika shika* as no designated place has ever been afforded to them.

sex workers reality, when the main thrust of this research was to unearth sex workers' lived realities? The role of language, as (Wa Thiong'o, 1992) warns, cannot be understated when trying to understand a given culture. It was their story to tell, hence, I came to respect their need to use the words in spite of my discomfort.

While the language issue clearly unsettled me, it also forced me to critically engage with my aversion, anxieties and discomforts with the terminology. This opened up space for (un)learning. What causes the anxiety with words, whose English equivalent is embraced positively? I asked myself as I reflected on my years of being a sexual reproductive health and rights ambassador and recalled that as part of my everyday work, I used words like vagina, penis, sex etc during workshops. I uttered them without fear or hesitancy and I was actively calling for the dymsytification of these terms. Coloniality of language perhaps? Or this is the "fatalistic logic of the unassailable position of English" that Chinua Achebe (in wa Thiong'o, 1985:109) refers to. Conservatism of African societies is somehow attributed to Christianity (in part), patriarchy or some kind of colonial import of values. The use of 'these' words defies societal expectations around what African women should say. In this way it is defiant, and its defiance is political.

It is in this context that I argue sex workers lexicon to be agentic political action. Decolonial action to be specific.

Section 2: Sex Worker's Plights

Selling sex in regulated or policed environments like Zimbabwe poses many challenges to sex workers. These challenges differ according to who is selling the sex and where, but most of them intersect to varying degrees. In this final section of my analysis I discuss some of these common challenges according to the empirical evidence gathered during my field work. I present these according to how pressing the challenges are according to the participants.

8.6. "The Ideal Whore": Hierarchies of Acceptance in Sex Work

The notion of the 'ideal whore' in Zimbabwe leans heavily on normative ideas around beauty and attractiveness as defined by western constructions of beauty sold through pop-culture and advertising (Bordo, 2004). A western beauty ideal is premised on fair-skinned, straight-haired, youthful, thin, toned, able-bodied and physically 'good looking' women (Akinro and Mbunyuza-Memani, 2019). Blackness, voluptuousness, and disability among other elements do not fit within the scope of beauty that Zimbabwe has assimilated and particularly not when dealing with fantasy, which is the domain of the sex-worker. Being a big dark-skinned woman myself I am well aware of the widespread '*kufuta*' ['fat'] and '*kusviba*' stigma and prejudice. Despite global perceptions that African culture is more accepting of the 'over-weight woman', globalization has had a clear impact over the decades. While growing up, it was quite unusual for me to pass by a group of children or male adults without them singing the popular '*dhafu dhunda rapedza rofu ramama'* song [the fat one has finished mother's loaf of bread]. Even now I constantly get asked: "*urikusimbira kuendepi nhai, uchakurumidza kuchembera woshaya anokuroora*" translated as 'at what point do you intend to stop gaining weight, you will age fast and no one will want to marry you'.

There is however a resounding movement of dissenting voices that contest this 'coloniality of being' (Quijano, 2007). Emphasis is placed on decolonising and reverting to the historic ideas around beauty in African culture. Mainstream media too, is beginning to challenge linear readings of beauty and paving way for more representations that consider the diverse body sizes, skin tones and hair types that are common among African women (Akinro and Mbunyuza-Memani, 2019, McKay et al., 2018). Regardless, the western hegemonic norms of beauty are

still pervasive. Moreso in the sex work industry in Zimbabwe and this has a direct correlation with financial freedom. The farther you are from the 'ideal image' the less appealing or lucrative you are as a sex worker. Hence findings reveal that a high percentage of sex workers use wigs and lighten their skin to perform the hyper-feminine who is perceived to be the epitome of beauty. Examples of how this phenomenon manifests are presented below.

The Colour Problem

My research revealed that light skinned sex workers get more clients compared to dark skinned ones and therefore have a greater chance of economic survival. According to Hailey (2019) a dark-skinned transwoman sex worker, "*vanhu vanofunga kuti kutsvuka ndokunaka,* they don't know *munakire unoita tsubvu ndoziva kuti ndonaka*" [people think that being light is the ultimate beauty, they don't know how the chocolate berry fruit, I know I taste nice]. Despite her performative confidence, I also observed apparent self-esteem issues with her. She was rather timid and not as expressive unless she is made up and as mentioned in the previous chapter, make-up was her rehearsal ritual.

Hailey's sentiments reveal the general pressures and prejudices of being dark-skinned sex workers in Zimbabwe. Consequently, most sex workers have succumbed to the pressure and resorted to transforming themselves either with makeup or bleach. They use skin lightening creams like 'Movate' and 'Epiderm' to alter the skin tone and achieve the prestige complexion. Back in the day, according to Tee (August, 2019) who has been in the industry for decades now, sex workers used to bleach with creams like 'Ambi fade cream'. It was so popular that we have a popular childhood game in Zimbabwe, '*sarura wako*' that gives reference to the product, *ambi*. We played this game as part of our PPT process. Thus, bleaching is a lingering concept among Zimbabwean sex workers that began decades ago.

Although bleaching is clearly problematic in its reaffirmation of white (colonial) perceptions of beauty, the bleaching undoubtedly seems to give sex workers an increased sense of beauty and confidence. This benefits them financially and enables them to do their work. Chamomei who admitted to bleaching (visibly so too) bubbles with confidence. It seems to have restored her sense of beauty and self generally. Discussing the relationship of skin bleaching and sexual

attraction in Jamaica, Charles (2011a:375) notes that "most male clients in 'massage parlours only request female sex workers who bleach their skin".

Generally, the skin lightening phenomenon is common among black women. Both cis-gender heterosexual and transgender women. This could be an exemplar of the 'brutality of beauty' practices on women that Sheila Jeffreys (2014:2) warns us about. I also learnt through my MA project (2015) that some gay men are into skin bleaching too. Most of my participants had bleached their skin, perhaps to carve a hyper-feminine self. Among sex workers too, cis- gender women, transgender women and 'effeminate' guys seem to be the ones invested in skin lightening. Male sex workers do not seem to have a colourism problem, judging from the ones I interacted with. In fact, it seems the darker you are the more appealing you are perceived to be. This is a continuation of the dominant stereotypical representation of black men, where tall, dark and handsome is the epitome of masculinity and physical agility (Hall, 2001).

The Hair Problem

All the participants in *Hweva* were obsessed with their wigs most of which resembled straight hair. Hence in the play, wigs were ever-recurring props. A symbol of global (north) beauty. Hailey for example would not walk onto the stage without wearing her wig, however late she came. As a hairdresser herself who specializes in making wigs, she would always flaunt in them during rehearsal. Much to the marvel of other participants who would then ask, "*iBrazilian here or Peruvian*" [Is this Brazilian or Peruvian hair?]. I sought to understand the fascination, significance and indeed the endurance of the straight hair wig, in an era that is finding increasing mainstream acceptance within diasporic and continental Africans of the black body in its natural state. Amongst the youth in Sub-Saharan Africa, black natural hair is becoming a common trend. This shift towards 'afro' hair has been documented (Alubafi et al 2020) and includes icons of beauty. The 2019 Miss World Zozibini Tunzi of South Africa who wore a box haircut to the finals and emerged a winner is a good example. And yet, this wave of change does not seem to be penetrating the sex-worker community. My curiosity peaked.

I recalled that once Que had sores on her head. She claimed they had been caused by tight braiding. When she removed the braids, she let her hair breathe in bush locks[67] which I complimented during rehearsal. She did not appreciate the comment and sulked for a while citing that the number of clients had declined since her hairstyle change. Yet she could not even put on a wig because she feared that the heat generated would make the sores more painful. Her experience made me understand how sex work is still atavistic to the colonial pedestalisation of straight hair. I analyse this in more detail below as the arguments converge.

For transwomen wigs and weaves assist in the negotiation of their womanhood as per the ideals of hyper-femininity. The straighter one's hair is the more feminine, beautiful, and attractive they are considered to be. Touching and flicking of this hair becomes part of the performance of the feminine, and the role of the archetypical sex worker that I refer to in Chapter 7. Dire consequences befall sex workers who cannot afford to maintain or buy straight hair. Mostly the prejudice from clients which in turn translates to low returns. Male sex workers were also exempt from this hair problem.

Postcolonial Hauntology or (Decolonial) Feminist Wit?

It is quite apparent how Zimbabwean sex workers' body politics play into the problematic performances of internalised racism. Their sense of beauty, similar to a majority of other Zimbabweans, is still constructed around straight hair and light skin tones which is a 'postcolonial hauntology' (Coly, 2019). It is a perfect example of how "black men and women become objects of desire and objects of envy and hatred based on their skin tone as well as hair texture" Farisi et al. (2019:120).

It would not defy logic to even allege that sex workers hair and skin 'choices', which also border on the notion of 'Il faut souffrir pour être belle' [you must suffer to be beautiful], project heightened coloniality. I recall here, Que's experience shared earlier. Her need to reclaim her clients took precedence over her desire to let the hair breathe after she had developed painful sores. Sometimes sex workers' hair decisions have less to do with them, but more to do with meeting the standards of beauty which appeal more to clients. Such performances of beauty tend

67 This when your hair is interlocked in its natural state. Sometimes people just refrain from combing or deliberately interlock it with beads. It is becoming common among black people as a political statement

to, in Carol Rifelj's words "require a good deal of effort and considerable discomfort" (Rifelj, 2008:237).

While it is easy to consider sex workers' performances of the hyper-feminine as a compilation of trauma from racism and the colonial encounter, perhaps even a lack of critical consciousness and engagement with the decolonial moment in which we exist, there is an anti-thesis to that. To consider hair and skin colour politics only in the context of colourism, racism and perpetuation of colonial hegemony obstructs us from other possibilities. It is a dangerous single story.

There is a space here to understand that sex workers operate, as mentioned previously in the realm of fantasy and more specifically the fantasy business. Their use of hegemonic understandings of beauty to capitalize on it could be read as business acumen. There are obvious uncomfortable contradictions here but if acquiring straight hair and light skin increases a female sex worker's economic value she is also 'screwing' the hegemonic system that places no value on the black female sex-worker as agentic or on her body as valuable. Within popular cultural theory we see how those who do not benefit from a system such as capitalism, collude with it but also subvert it (Fiske, 1992). Post-structuralism also understands this (marginalized identities coming in through the backdoor to the same show) as a way in which the subaltern can access power (agency) within their marginalised identity formations.

It is also a hard feminist choice that the female sex worker makes in that moment. She, in light of her subordinate status, employs hegemonic performances of beauty to maximise her potentials to elicit money from male circulation into her own pockets. Similarly, transwomen sex workers capitalise on the hegemony by bleaching, wearing, weaves, wigs and heels to make money in spaces that seek to erase them. That in my opinion, is decolonial, nego-feminist wit and strategising. They employ the tools of the oppressor as their 'hidden transcripts' of subversion.

Hence Mclintock exposes this negotiated feminist choices much more vividly when she argues that:

> In the symbolic triangle of deviant money, deviant sexuality, and deviant race, the so-called degenerate classes…prostitutes stand at the flash points of marriage and market, taking sex into the streets and money into the bedroom. Flagrantly and publicly demanding money for sexual services that men expect for free, prostitutes insist on exhibiting their sex work as having economic value…a prostitute who removes her body from the stock of male property, and claims

> it for her own, removes her body from the sphere of male law, which exists to negotiate the distribution and circulation between men of property and power. (McClintock, 1992:76 -82)

The Class Problem

This research was carried out with sex workers that operate in the Avenues, high density local pubs as well as online. Research revealed a definite hierarchy system among sex workers which have informed findings above. In addition to race and gender conformities, class was identified as a factor. This was most notably manifested in the spaces the women were allowed to occupy. These spaces were shown to determine the level of power, influence, or dominance that specific sex workers have over others. Sex workers in Hopley[68] for example bemoaned how other sex workers especially those in the Avenues despise them:

> *Probhuremu yatinayo ndeyedu isu semasex workers pachezvedu. Tisatomboenda kure. Isusu totengesa paFarai apa tinotonzi mahure edhora neivava vekumaavenues* [The problem is with us sex workers. Let's not even go far. Us the sex workers who work here at Farai we are called one-dollar whores by these ones who operate in the Avenues]

> *Kumaworkshops ndopaunoona kuti hatina kubatana. Munhu anokutarisa kubva kuzasi mai mwana. Isu hatisvisvine chirungu hedu asi chikapa havaroverani nesu masalad aya* [During the workshops that is when you see that we are not united. Someone looks at you from toe to head mother of child. We don't speak fluent English, but they don't gyrate in bed the way we do it these slay queens

When Mebo joined us after the Hopley performance the class dynamics alluded to above were visible. She projected this idea of class divisions and did not integrate easily. Not until she listened to the stories and experiences of other sex workers that operate in the Avenues. As revealed in the preceding chapter, the PPT process helped sex workers see each other and come together across class divisions. The other Hweva participants shared that they too occupy a subordinate position to the sex workers who work in private escort services and fancy clubs. It is not usual that those selling sex in such spaces are even called *mahure*, they are celebrated slay queens or blessees. If at all they are called such, they are said to be 'organized whores '*mahure akarongeka'* (Tatelicious, Facebook post, 2020). These sex workers can afford expensive clothing and skin products which aid them in projecting the ideal sex worker. Moreover, their

68 Hopley as I indicated earlier is one of the poorest suburbs in Harare and sex workers there charge as little as 50cents hence '*mahure edhora'*

spaces of work are not as heavily policed. Hence, the returns are bigger. This points to the more insidious aspect of the criminalization of the poor, which in a country where approximately 80% of the population live below the poverty datum line, is deeply problematic.

8.7 *Kutsikana Zvigunwe*: Internal Violence

The phrase *kutsikana zvigunwe* [stepping on each other's toes] was reiterated by participants during our rehearsal workshops. This phrase was used by them to describe their ordeals or expressing displeasure around how they were treated not only by others but more specifically from those within the sex-worker 'community'. This stood out as a powerful overarching concept. For this reason our play was predicated on it because the method of PPT was also designed to build networks and solidarity through the collaborative and creative process. Most apparent was how those sex workers at the locus of power use violence to maintain power and monopolise clientele. The struggles around colourism, hair and class contribute largely to this violence. However, ageism is a contributing factor too.

It was revealed to be quite common for older sex workers (both in terms of experience and age) to terrorise new and younger sex workers. Either they use *zvigunduru* [vagabonds] or threaten to use *mushonga* (witchcraft). On Mariana's first day of selling-sex in *Mbare* she was chastised: "*Kana pane anoti nyoo ngatsike apa, unokuenda kumwedzi kasingapere iwe kana ndada zvangu*" [If anyone of you dares let them step here, you will have endless periods if I decide on it]. In the play she re-enacts the episode using similar language to scare and harass younger sex workers.

Transgender sex workers too are perennial victims of internal violence as evidenced in scene four of the play. Based again on a true account, in this scene Chamomei is harassed by a female sex worker on the pretext that she is both stealing and chasing clients away. Her head is pushed into the toilet and her wig is confiscated. A direct fight ensues. The alterity of transbodies as undisciplined bodies follows them. Intersectional stigma renders them the unwanted bodies in sex work and society in general.

8.8 Political Violence

Violence against sex workers, in its multiple forms is a common ill across the globe (Weitzer, 2009b, Capous Desyllas, 2010, Mgbako, 2016). However, findings in this study revealed how culture – particularly African patriarchal (traditional) culture impacts on the nature of the violence directed towards sex workers in a Zimbabwean African context. It also showed how power is read and understood as political by the sex workers.

When we sat down to discuss the areas of passion that participants would love to engage in the play, internal violence was a common motif. Where it concerned external violence, their understanding and experiences of it rotated around overt physical violence and no other forms of violence.

Common references were made to the violent arrests at the hands of the State. I have repeatedly given reference to the wanton arrests of female sex workers in Zimbabwe. It seems more than impossible in the Zimbabwean context to understand sex work as an industry which could be supported and regulated by the state. The obsession seems to be with the idea of 'morality' in the face of clear evidence of the immorality and corruption of the leaders. However, we do know that it is an age-old trick from the African leaders' political script to turn against 'weaker' groups in society when they feel threatened (Mabvurira et al., 2012, Tamale, 2009). Their other concern was theft.

"*Pese panehure pane mbavha*". [Wherever there is a whore, there is a thief], stated Thery in one of our focus group discussions. Other sex workers nodded in agreement. Thieves pry on them too often. In the three months that we interacted, Que was robbed at least three times. On two of the occasions she was robbed while on duty on the streets by what they call '*zvigunduru*' [literally translates to vagrants]. They claim that *zvigunduru* target them usually towards dawn because they know that they would have made some money. Sometimes it is the clients that turn out to be thieves usually driving cars without number plates. "*Ivavo manje unobirwa sinhi zvese nemari"* [Those ones now will rob you of both your vagina and money] said Nesto (2019). Words that she said in humour yet unpacking the multi-layered nature of violence in sex work.

It is interesting that she theorises rape as a form of thievery. But indeed, rape is rife in Zimbabwe's sex work industry. Mgbako (2016) also highlights the fact in her book that analyses sex work in Africa. The common perception of course is that "a whore cannot be raped" (McClintock, 1992:76). When a sex worker raised the issue of rape in a focus group discussion in Hopley, a community leader in Hopley quizzed:

> *Konhai amaSibanda mwana wangu kana munhu azvishashika sedomasi rapamusika rikahi tofo tofo neada imhosva here? Pfambi inogorapwer seiko? Nyango shashika nyama paruvazhe imbwa dzikadla imhozva yaani?* [MaSibanda[69] my child, if someone parades themselves like a tomato at a market if it is prodded by whoever, is that a crime? How does a prostitute get raped? Even if you hang your meat to dry outside, if dogs eat, whose fault is it?]. (Mahlasera, 2019)

It would require another dissertation for me to unpack the prejudice (and to an extent ignorance) exhibited through his analogies. I cannot however ignore the violence of it. Both tomatoes and meat are common consumable products. How an individual who is up for public consumption gets raped defies the logic of many people in Zimbabwe. In much the same way that male rape is obfuscated. According to participants, every sex worker regardless of gender is at risk and these risks intersect with cultural logic. Male sex workers for example will often get raped by women often resulting in their sperm being harvested for ritual purposes (Tonde, 2019)[70]. Chamomei, a transwoman indicated that her first 'client' raped her. She had changed her mind upon seeing the client after an online invite, but he forced himself on her and then refused to pay.

Among female sex workers rape is prevalent and sadly normalized. Particularly, street based and those working in high density shopping centres such as *kwaAntony* in Hopley:

> *Kana mhene yakubhadhara inotofunga kuti yatenga body yako. Munhu anobhadhara short time but anenge akukunyengeratu oramba nemari. Nyangwe ukachema sei unotonzi hanti urihure. Ndatokunyara kutenga beche rinopindwa ne munhu wese wese kunge toireti.* [When a client pays they think they have purchased your body. A person will pay for short time but they will be wanting to keep having sex with you. Even if you cry they will say you are a whore. I have

69 This was in reference to me. My totem is Lion and I am therefore referred to as MaSibanda.

70 Although the sperms' exact use is not clear, it is associated with rituals for good luck, new life and regeneration. Others use it as facial cream or hair conditioner

(see https://www.pri.org/stories/2012-01-05/zimbabwes-female-rapists-accused-semen-harvesting-strike-again).

> actually given you respect by even paying for a vagina that is entered by all and sundry like a toilet] - (focus group discussion 2019)

The disrespect is palpable and is made acceptable by a culture which supports the hierarchisation of gender. In light of these hazards, sex workers have developed protective mechanisms. Having an 'office' which they bring clients to is one of them. Secondly, they make use of bras and pants that have small pockets in which they store money. They also arm themselves with objects like tiny scissors. "*Munhu ukandiitira mafunnies ndinokuboora jende straight*" [If you play games, I will perforate your balls straight] retorted Que as she fished one from her bra. I asked her if she had ever used it on anyone to which she said yes. She however did not perforate the client's balls with it. Instead, she used it to threaten a client who was about to dump her in the middle of nowhere when they had initially agreed that he would bring her back to her spot. He immediately honoured his promise.

Violence begetting violence? Yes, sex workers are not saints. Outside self-defence there are incidences where their relationships with thieves is not hostile but collaborative, as they conspire to steal from unsuspecting clients.

Water and Sanitation Crisis

Hygiene is of utmost importance in the sex work industry. Yet there is a water and wastewater systems crisis in Harare that the municipal body, The City of Harare has been grappling for the past decade (Ndunguru and Hoko, 2016, Hove and Tirimboi, 2011). Leading Muchaparara Musemwa (2010) to state that, what was once the Sunshine city has become a landscape of crisis and disease. From incessant cholera outbreaks to a series of typhoid infections, water and sanitation politics have had a grip on most Zimbaweans' quality of life. Need I say it is an ordinary sex worker's nightmare to sell sexual services in such dire situations.

On numerous occasions participants, especially female sex workers working in the Avenues came late for rehearsal because they had to fetch water from surrounding areas for their 'office'. This would be in preparation for the other shifts after long hours of the night. The office according to Que (2019) is a spacious room, divided by curtains in which a group of sex workers bring clients during their working hours. Thus, water is a staple yet scarce commodity. Similarly, their homes are not spared from the water problems as most high-density areas receive

little to no water, heightening the dearth of sanitation (Muzondi, 2014, Tanyanyiwa and Mutungamiri, 2011). Highly populated Hopley relies entirely on borehole water (of which there are a few) which is not easily accessible to its residents.

Realising this crisis, an organisation called CeSHAAR has opened shop in centres where sex workers can shower in and around the Harare Central Business District. Nesto, who makes use of this facility often commended the organisation for the space citing it is very helpful especially for workers like herself who stay far from the CBD where they work.

8.9 Health Challenges

It is to be expected that HIV among other sexually transmitted diseases would be rife among a people that sell sex on a daily basis and that those who sell it bear a disproportionate burden. However, to make it the biggest challenge among sex workers and the focal area of intervention in Zimbabwe as is suggested in literature (Busza et al., 2020, Cowan et al., 2017, Qiao et al., 2019b, Bhunu and Mushayabasa, 2012) is a notion that ought to be revisited. Findings revealed that the foremost health challenge faced by sex workers in Zimbabwe according to their own perceptions and experience is mental health. The multiple challenges that I discussed before this coupled with feelings of being unwanted, unseen, undesired and undesirable cause psychological wounds and trauma. Alterity can cause unimaginable psychological injuries, compromise the mental well-being of those that are considered 'other'. Further, the experience of being involved in a creative process in which they were encouraged to speak through their experience had immediate positive effects.

'Stress'

Zimbabwean sex workers did not necessarily mention the word mental health or cite it among the challenges that they are facing. However, they constantly mentioned the word 'stress'. "*Kuno kunopedza stress shem. Stress nehure hazvisiyane semagaro*" [This (rehearsal) space ends my stress for real. Stress and a *hure* are as inseparable as buttocks are] they would often say to denote how stress is a default state because of what they do first, and their experiences second.

When pressed further as to the nature of 'the stress', discussion revealed the vast extent of it and supported an understanding of why they would feel it to be their biggest health challenge.

Findings reveal that sex workers' stress manifests in multifarious ways. Mainly fear, abuse, anxiety, trauma, jealousy and worry which emanate from the need to fit in and look beautiful always, competition, poor working conditions, internal and external violence. Sex workers live in constant fear of being arrested, beaten or raped and carry in their bodies the traumas of having endured the violence in the past. The stress, therefore, ranges from relatively smaller ways like decisional dilemma to bigger things like post-traumatic stress disorder. Chamomei, for example, kept referring to stress about managing her lover and clients throughout the research process. "*musi wandichabatwa mai mwana ndidhindwa*" [the day that I will get caught I swear I will be beaten thorough] she would say. Yet on other days, she was stressing about the double jeopardy of being a transgender sex worker in Zimbabwe. Especially after the incident in which she and Hailey had been accosted by two strange men while on their way to rehearsal because '*tungochani*' [derogatory term for gay][71]

Participants also shared stories of having bad days at work as something that increases their stress levels too. Bad days may mean being arrested, stolen from, and raped or getting duped by clients. Or not meeting one's target financially. To this end, Mariana (July 2019) narrated that, "*stress inotombotirova wangu, ndosaka uchiona vamwe vedu vachigara vakarahowa nechamba, istress iyo iya*" [stress hits us my friend that is why you see some of us high on marijuana, that is caused by stress]. Stress as it were, is linked to addiction and addictive behaviours.

The magnitude of how constraints and experiences noted above, cut deeply on the psychological wellbeing of sex workers in Zimbabwe cannot be overlooked. The trauma that sits in their bodies cannot be understated in light of the multiple dehumanising experiences that these individuals encounter. Add to that, the general collective depression that is hitting Zimbabwe as a country. It is still a cause for concern that even with the visible elevated psychological strain, several interventions on sex workers glosses over mental health issues.

Even HIV which has been flagged as a major concern among sex workers for years in Zimbabwe (Busza et al., 2020, Cowan et al., 2017, Qiao et al., 2019b, Bhunu and Mushayabasa, 2012) is a major 'stressor'. There is a well-documented nexus between mental health and HIV (King,

71 I did say earlier that transwomen are largely considered hyper-feminine gay men in Zimbabwe.

1993, Millon and Shors, 2021) which demands for robust mental wellness programmes as part of a holistic HIV response. As Mariana stated:

> *…sometimes munhu unenge uchingodawo love nekuseka sezvatirikuita izvi nekungonzwikawo than kungotutirwa macondom. Vamwe vedu unotonzwa kuti akazvigonyesa mudzimba umu ashaya anongomutererawo stress dzake* [sometimes as a human being you will just be wanting love, laughter just as we are doing now and being heard too than being given hoards of condoms. Some of us you hear that they killed themselves in their homes because they would not have found someone to share their stress with]. (Focus group discussion, June 2019)

Let's Talk HIV (and other STDs)

It is not deliberate that I mention HIV last in the discussion of sex workers in Zimbabwe. Findings support my hypothesis that HIV is not necessarily the biggest and only challenge associated with sex workers in Zimbabwe or Africa broadly. Yet, it is unusual that you do a random google search or conversation about sex work(ers) and not have HIV and other sexually transmitted diseases emerge. Indeed, Africa was hard hit by the HIV pandemic but one of the participants, Que had this to say:

> *Pese pese unongonzwa HIV HIV, HIV irimudzimba umu shamwari. Hakuna vanhu vanoshandisa condom semahure sha. Kana ndiriseni utori mutemo, condom rako kana uchida kunyenga. Ndotogara neangu futi because munhu anokuigira rakaboka. Tinomapiwa gozha mahara futi nana Nesto ava mapeer educator, anopenya, anomaririra ese awada* [Everywhere it is just HIV, HIV is in people's homes. There is no one who uses condoms the way sex workers do. Especially with me, it is the rule of the thumb that no condom no sex. I actually carry mine because a client can bring you one that is torn or tampered with. We get them in bulk and for free from the likes of Nesto who are our peer educators. Those that glitter, those that are bumpy you name them

With these words, Que portrays how there is considerably high-risk perception and increased condom use among sex workers. She also reveals sex workers' agency in negotiating for safer sex in their transaction encounters with clients. This is usually understated in literature. Beyond that, Que is also challenging us to rethink interventions and stretch them beyond sex workers 'to the homes'. The homes refer to marriage institutions where couples do not usually use protection at all. I would like to think, her mention of 'the homes' is inclusive of clients.

Que's claims are corroborated by research across the continent. Peter Ghys et al. (2002:251) observed a substantial decline in prevalence of HIV infections and other STD's in their study of female sex workers in Abidjan, Cote D'voire. HIV decreased (from 89 to 32%), gonorrhoea (from 33 to 11%, genital ulcers (from 21 to 4%) and syphilis (from 21 to 2%). More recently, Achieng Tago et al. (2021) also reported a decrease in the HIV prevalence rate among female sex workers in Nairobi between the period (2008 – 2017). "HIV was 17.5% in 2008 – 2009, decreasing to 12.2 % in 2010 – 2011, 8.3% in 2012 – 2013, 7.3% in 2014-2015, and 4.8 % in 2016-2017" (Tago et al., 2021:317). Their findings also attribute the decline to increased condom use, particularly with regular partners and more frequent prior HIV testing. Looking at Zimbabwe specifically, it was one of the first countries to record convincing declines in HIV prevalence in Southern Africa, according to Simon Gregson et al (2010). The country has seen a substantial decline over the years, from 27.8 % in 1998 to 14.1% in 2016 (Muchedzi et al., 2021). The burden of HIV and other STD's has eased on the general population. More so, among female sex workers who have been the primary target of HIV intervention in Zimbabwe (Cowan et al., 2017, Stone et al., 2021, Chabata et al., 2021). There are massive gains that have come with the numerous HIV- centred NGO interventions targeted at sex workers.

My argument here is not meant to discourage work around HIV or STD's among sex workers in Zimbabwe. For a people that sell sex for a living, when sexual intercourse is considered the key driver of HIV infections, such interventions are necessary. I am arguing that the interventions need to be informed by what is happening on the ground. Focusing on female sex workers whose prevalence rate is evidently declining while leaving out other players is retrogressive. That also includes the larger population of male clients. Certainly, this female population which is said to have a disproportionate rate of HIV, engages in intercourse with other parties? What does this mean for the 'good' wives at home? This is why it becomes important to consider Que's recommendation that attention with regards HIV be redirected to clients, clients married partners 'at home'.

There is danger of exclusion when HIV responses are heteronormatively informed within an African context. Beyond heteronormativity, I found through this study that there is a violence and fear around women's emancipation and the existence of homosexuality in Africa that goes beyond to the point of blindness – even in the face of science people refuse to see. This

perpetuates the exclusion of non-normative persons from national health interventions in spaces like Zimbabwe. On this, Keletso Makofane et al. (2020:23) assert that "framing the HIV epidemic in sub-Saharan Africa as a generalized epidemic primarily affecting the *general population* has contributed to the exclusion of men who have sex with men from epidemic responses". This is why there is limited HIV incidence data for men who have sex with men (MSM) and transgender women, yet they are equally at risk (Sullivan et al., 2020). Male sex workers too, are neglected when it comes to public health conversations and interventions and according to Phiri (June, 2021), director of a male sex worker organisation in Zimbabwe, this is one of their biggest challenges.

This has also been documented in literature. In their article, *"In Zimbabwe There Is Nothing For Us": Sex Work And Vulnerability Of HIV Infection Among Male Sex Workers In Zimbabwe'.* Shan Qiao et al. (2019a:1124) note from their study that "male sex workers (MSWs) in Zimbabwe are a vulnerable sub-group at risk of violence, abuse, and HIV infection". Tsang et al. (2019) also deduced from their qualitative study on male sex workers in Zimbabwe that "male sex workers were excluded from national HIV prevention and treatment programs and had limited knowledge and many misconceptions about HIV".

There is therefore a necessity to spread the tentacles of HIV interventions for a multi-intersectional reach. But it is not just about spreading wide, it is also about making sure the interventions are holistic. For example, research has shown that men generally have a low health seeking behaviour. Stephen Pearson and Panganayi Makadzange (2008:361) attribute this to the "dominant gender norms of resilience and self-reliance, together with shyness and embarrassment". '*Bhuru rinoonekwa nemavanga aro'* [A bull is recognised by its wounds], 'men do not cry', 'men are strong', are among some of the phrases that to a larger extent inform or justify men's low health seeking behaviour. Especially as they are couched within our gender and cultural norms in Zimbabwe (Africa). An HIV response that does not engage fully with these socio-cultural and political dynamics may not see the change that it seeks to impart.

8.10 The Joys of Sex Work

The narrative told in this chapter largely reveals mostly the negative aspects of sex work. 'Stress' as they refer to it, is not always because sex work in itself is inherently stressful. It is the experiences of selling sex in a socio-political and economically volatile space that is contemporary Zimbabwe. Regardless, it would be an incomplete story to not give reference to the moments of joy that sex workers experience.

It seemed for *Hweva* participants that their major objective of fending for their children and sending them to school is being met. If the economic necessities that spurred them into sex work are met would that not be considered relatively fulfilling? *Kudhifura* [not getting anything] as they call it, is a possibility but rare one in sex work. I did explain earlier that the current economic climate in Zimbabwe is rewarding informal exploits ahead of formal employment. The Zimbabwean currency is hyper-inflated to the point where formal employment salaries have been eroded. For this reason, Jeremy Jones (2010) calls it the '*kukiya kiya'* economy. That is an economy characterised by as the Shona word translates to, "multiple forms of making do". It is in the same light that Mayu Hayakawa (2016) has called it an 'unconventional economy'.

A teacher for example is earning a current equivalent of US$35 per month (Mupauka, 2020) whereas a gold panner[72] is earning more. By providing sex service in foreign currency to those clients that have access to it, sex work can be considered a floating business under the present socio-economic circumstances. The prices and terms of engagement are determined by them not the government, so their earnings are not taxed nor do they have to bribe police as much. A female sex worker generally charging a normal short-time session between 3-5 US$ can meet a teacher's monthly salary in one night. Those charging higher like male sex workers earn even more.

Notwithstanding that they have daily or weekly *mukando* which is some form of informal savings club. Comparing sex work to other of their hustles, sex workers indicated that the former has been paying more than their other vendoring endeavours:

72 Gold panners are usually ordinary individuals who dig for gold and other precious minerals illegally. It is however a growing informal sector in Zimbabwe made up mostly of young people, without the necessary qualifications nor licences for that.

> *Ndotengesa hangu musika maskati but haa vana vacheche pamari yandobata nembutu yangu apa haitwe yekuhodha* [I do sell vegetables during the day but the money is very little compared to what I make through my vagina, and I don't need to purchase it for resale]
>
> *Ini nevana vangu kana ini handife nenzara as long as ndirimutano. Beche iri ilotto pachezvayo kana zvakabhadhara wangu* [My children and I will never die of hunger as long as I am fit. This vagina is a lotto in itself on a good day my friend]

The dividends are higher for those who charge higher like high-end female sex workers, male sex workers and transwomen. Sex work is not a hustle that makes average street-based sex workers rich, but it helps them sustain their livelihoods. Achievements that were mentioned by participants include the ability to put food out on the table, pay rent and other bills, send their children to school and buying furniture. Within the context of Zimbabwe, these are notable achievements. Que says she aims even higher and has set a target that by the end of her career she ought to have bought a residential stand and built a house for her family. According to her, this is something some sex workers have achieved. Zimbabwe has become a vendor economy, and sex work being vending of another type (Muzvidziwa, 1997) is thriving under the circumstances.

Although economic systems may vary from country to country, the "virtual collapse of the formal economy and consequent dominance of the informal economy" (Hayakawa, 2016:281) is not unique to Zimbabwe. Informal sectors dominate most African economies (Meagher, 2020, Mkandawire, 1986). Thus sex work in Zimbabwe and Africa at large manifests differently as the economies of Africa operate differently. Sex work is a part of the dominant economies. This is why it is important to not universalise sex workers issues because while sex workers in global north economies are fighting to be included on formal labour markets, those in Africa are already a part of the dominant economy. Looking at Zimbabwe specifically, sex work epitomises *kukiya kiya* and claims significant space within the 'unconventional' economic climate.

Participants also highlighted moments of total bliss when sex workers are paid for services other than sex. That includes dancing for a client or just keeping them company while on a business trip. This does not happen often for street-based sex workers but a few indicated that they have had such experiences before. "*Ndinekadhara kamurungu kanongoda kuona wakashama or*

kungobatana batana kotobhadhara", I have an elderly white man who just wants to see me naked or fondling and cuddling for a fee" (Que, 2019).

Other times the moments of joy have nothing to do with income. It has everything to do with sexual pleasure. In one of our focus group discussions, sex workers stated that sometimes their sexual encounters are so pleasurable that relationships get forged beyond that encounter. Participants revealed that it is a norm that clients get promoted to boyfriend status when a good sexual relationship is established. Nesto for instance recounted that her current boyfriend Mateo* a truck driver, approached her for a service without enough funds but promised to settle once he came back from his trip. Upon return he honoured his promise in surplus, and a consistent relationship was built therefrom. Sometimes strong romantic relationships can be nurtured in sex work to the point of marriage. It is not often though that sex workers agree to marriage because in Que's words, it is "a cage" that inhibits them from their economic exploits.

It is possible that most if not all these joys may have been disturbed or put on hold by the COVID-19 pandemic that hit the world months after I had finished my field work. As of last year (2020), participants have shared in our WhatsApp group, stories of how the implementation of lockdown, quarantine, isolation, social distancing, national lockdowns and restrictions of movement has affected their work. In Zimbabwe they implemented a 'hard lockdown' (Samutereko, 2021) which basically translates to a prohibition of affective touch and physical intimacy. Undisputedly, this 'new normal' or what Dabanji Banerjee et al. (2021:1) refer to as the 'touch hunger' shifts a number of socio-economic dynamics in sex work. "Covid *yavharisa musika*" [Covid has shut down the market], responded Nesto (August, 2020) on the WhatsApp group after I had checked on how they were doing. Being that as it may, I do not think that the pandemic can nullify the moments of bliss that I document in this research. Lockdowns, quarantines and social distancing will not last forever surely?

It also seems that as we 'settle' more into this 'new normal' (or are we?) sex workers are also finding ways and strategies to keep afloat. These include shifting the workspace and breaching lockdown regulations. When the country is open for business, they capitalise on that and save. Kudzai Nyabeze et al. (2021) also observe in their study that although lockdown measures have disrupted the livelihoods of female sex workers, they are showing resilience through exploring with online work, other entrepreneurial avenues as well as consistent breaches of the lockdown.

Indeed, a strategy like breaching lockdown cannot be condoned, it is risky for not only the sex workers but the general populace. However, sex work has always been a trade of trespassing geographical locations, the law, gender, cultural and religious norms, you name it. This possibly is the surviving formula of informal sectors in general, especially the illegal ones. That when those in formal sectors oblige to lockdowns, the informal one's ride on their trajectory of operating outside established parameters.

8.11 Sex Work: A Zimbabwean Feminist Blindspot

Apart from exploring the challenges, opportunities and other lived realities of sex workers in Zimbabwe, I was also interested in finding out African feminists' stance on sex work. Particularly, Zimbabwean feminists. Through this study it became clear that sex work is a dilemmatic space for most Zimbabwean feminists. It seems to support sex workers is to compromise the authenticity and validity of their Africanness or Zimbabweanness. If anything, it earns them the label whore too (Hungwe, 2006). African feminisms are founded on nationalist principles which fundamentally juxtapose with the idea of sex outside marriage. Let alone selling it.

Zimbabwean feminists are therefore hesitant, fearful, and unwilling to take the unpopular stance because they fear a backlash. Names like Talent Jumo, Beatrice Savadye and Winnet Shamuyarira are among the few feminists who have been vocal about sex workers rights in Zimbabwe. In spite of the rancor, shame and punishment associated with it they have and continue to work with sex workers in their fight for visibility. Without understating these efforts, it remains largely observable that sex work is still a Zimbabwean feminist blindspot. Research has also shown that this is true with other African feminist spaces (Yingwana, 2018, Mgbako, 2016, Richter, 2012), such that it provoked a response from (Yingwana, 2017) in her article, *"I'm not a feisty bitch, I'm a feminist!" Feminism in AWAKE! Women of Africa.*

If African feminisms are a "refusal of oppression, and a commitment to struggling for women's liberation from all forms of oppression - internal, external, psychological and emotional, socio-economic, political and philosophical" (Mama, 2001:59) or an "activist movement and a body of literature that underline the need for a positive transformation of society such that women are not

marginalized but are treated as full citizens in all spheres of life" (Mekgwe, 2007:12), do African women who are sex workers not form part of their agenda? Does the omission of sex workers from their frames of engagement not take away from the quintessence of African feminisms if its thrust is to "cast a critical eye on the processes of colonization and on post-coloniality with regards to writing, activism and theorizing around Africa" (Akin-Aina, 2011:77)?

Elsewhere, (Sibanda, forthcoming) I acknowledge and draw on my personal anxieties and fear around writing and commenting about queer sexualities (of which sex work is clearly a part of) that this work may be the toughest dilemma for African feminists. However, I also pose a question in that same article:

> What is the logic behind a revolutionary movement that succumbs to a 'culture of silence' and fear (of freedom) (Freire 1970) when they are the very tools used by the master to expunge the 'other' from existence? For how long do we remain silent about oppression in the name of maintaining 'dignity and respectability'?

A fight against patriarchy, coloniality and other forms of oppression surely should consider fighting against the dehumanisation of sex workers. There is space for that in the African feminist firmament. We need to, as Simba and Davids (2020) propose; occupy and cultivate third space thinking in African feminisms. Third space thinking they argue: "is an imagined 'beyond', a space where dual/contradictory/antagonistic elements find resonance and re-negotiate their boundaries" which affords us "an oppositional consciousness, a way of critiquing embedded hegemonies, it occupies a counterpoint and narrative of untold lives and identities (Simba and Davids, 2020:89). All of this; rethinking, reimagining and rebuilding and reworking our African feminist narrative is part of the decolonisation work that Tamale envisions for Afro-feminisms in her book, *Decolonisation and Afro-Feminism.*

8.12 Conclusion

In this chapter I analysed findings on content. Particular attention was given to those aspects of sex work that relate to the research problem and questions. That is the reconstruction of narratives and challenging perceptions held by the populace about sex work. First, I analysed the politics of naming, before exploring multiple dynamics of sex work in Zimbabwe that often evade the peripheral glance of the general populace. I also looked at the plights that befall sex

workers and how they navigate them in their day-to-day interactions with clients. I ended the chapter with a nod to the joys of sex work. It is not all gloom as is often paraded. There are moments of joy, freedom, liberty and fulfilment that are not given due recognition in literature and media accounts of sex work in Zimbabwe or generally Africa.

Chapter 9: The End

Pic 20. Hweva participants after our final performance

To criminalise something that is not criminal is immoral – Chimamanda Adichie Ngozi (2013)

9.0 Introducing the End

This will be a brief chapter. The end. An end to a beginning, I hope. Bharucha's words reverberate, "when the play ends what begins?" (2007:108).As a scholar- activist, I am particularly interested in 'what next'? What begins when the story has been told? My intentions were not only to fulfil my academic obligations. The title "Screw You! This Flag Is Theirs Too" is one that does not suggest so. Storytelling and theatre are the soft weapons with which we can detonate prejudice, hatred, violence, ostracism among other weapons of mass destruction. It is my hope that through *Hweva*, a popular participatory theatre intervention the potency of theatre was evidenced. Both as a platform for storytelling, especially for those who are denied the space and rewriting erroneous narratives.

"Are women [sex workers][73] voiceless or do we fail to look for their voices where we may find them, in the sites and forms which these voices are uttered? Leslie Ogundipe (2009:139) asks this pertinent question. This is the principle question that hovered as I embarked on this research. When knowledge is generated and disseminated by a people other than those living the experience, there are bound to be misconceptions. I demonstrated how sex work in Zimbabwe is one such area. Predetermined areas of interest are privileged at the expense of more holistic narratives of sex workers' realities. Using decoloniality and *nego*-postcolonial feminist insights, I endeavoured then to locate sex workers and with them co-create and perform a Popular Participatory Theatre (PPT) that tells their story from their own perspective. Notions of who generates knowledge and from where, are according to Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013a:13) central to the decolonial agenda of shifting the geography and biography of existing knowledges.

The aim in this chapter therefore is to reconcile the themes drawn from the sex workers' storytelling account in relation to the research focus. A three-month interaction with 8 sex workers in Harare may not be enough to render their voices representative of all sex workers in Zimbabwe. To do so would be too grand an oversimplification of the protean subject and complex multiple realities of sex work(ers) in Zimbabwe. Every sex worker has their own story, but their experiences intersect and in these intersections are commonalities. These commonalities were revealed in the process of creating work together and their revelation dispelled a number of misconceptions and different narratives were constructed thereof.

9.1 A Synopsis

Before I sum up the research, I thought it prudent to give a synopsis of this story of sex workers' stories. I told it in 9 chapters. This is clearly insufficient, to fully unpack the rich diverse and layered experiences of people who sell sex in Zimbabwe but a considerably adequate exploration of some of their realities outside what is predominantly churned out. In Chapter 1 I introduced the study. The task was to unpack the research problem and justify why it merited enquiry.

73 This is my own addition.

Chapter 2 provided an insight into sex work and how it is perceived globally and locally. A detailed context was attempted in which I depicted and analysed the perceptions, and treatment of sex workers. This was done from socio-political, cultural, and religious perspectives. I also gave an analysis of Zimbabwean media and the images it cultivates vis a vis sex work. I concluded the chapter with a brief overview of the sex work activist landscape in Zimbabwe, with a focus on the organisations that are championing sex worker rights in Zimbabwe.

The conceptual framework made up the third chapter. I hinged the study of two major theoretical concepts. That is Decoloniality and Postcolonial feminisms. A critical appreciation of the dense theoretical approaches unfolded within the context of sex work(ers). It was my task to demonstrate how both are crucial theoretical perspectives with which to understand sex work politics in Zimbabwe. Their strengths and limitations were also exposed.

A discussion on Applied Theatre followed. An overview of the genre, as it is practiced and theorised in Africa and Zimbabwe in particular was attempted. It felt important here, to bring into perspective the pivotal role that theatre in general and AT plays in Zimbabwe's socio-political and cultural fabric. This discussion revealed how applied theatre practitioners in Zimbabwe are not particularly interested in exploring sex work. Here I also unpacked the concept of Popular Participatory Theatre, the form that I used to challenge misconceptions and reconstruct narratives on sex work with Zimbabwean sex workers.

I then detailed the methodology. This is where my decisions and motivations around the sample, research site, methods and tools of research were explained. Participatory Action Research and Ethnography informed the inquiry. First, I outlined how PPT is a form of PAR. The ultimate mandate was to provide a concise account of how data was collected, collated, and analysed.

Chapter 6 was a sequel. I unpacked the actual PPT process. The finer details of the process that could not be detailed in the methodology were engaged. Emotions and feelings that accompanied us as co-investigators also formed a major part of the chapter.

Answers to the research questions were provided in Chapters, 7 and 8. I divided these into two, results on form and content, respectively. This was important for both the logical organisation of the thesis and conclusions arrived at.

The question now is, what newer perspectives did this study bring to light? Especially as it is acknowledged from the onset that sex work is among the most researched subjects yet under-researched too. What contributions if any were added to Applied theatre practice which is the primary discipline within which this study can be situated.

9.2 Sex Work is Queer! Key Findings

It was reiterated throughout the study that sex workers' bodies are a site of moral and political contestation in heteronormative Zimbabwe. Both the body and its performances render it ungovernable, undisciplined, and 'unZimbabwean'. Thus, for this body to dare to perform in spite of the several socio-political and cultural anxieties, is cultural subversion. Through these extended performances of self, sex workers rewrote and contested most of the established preconceived ideas about sex work(ers) in Zimbabwe, as well as discourses that inform knowledge production and interventions on sex work in Zimbabwe.

In the process, they (sex workers) also provide an answer to the question that Corina McKay (1999) asks in her essay entitled, "Is Sex Work Queer?" Yes, sex work is queer. This is the narrative that sex workers in Zimbabwe told through this participatory-led research. I use queer in this context to denote embodiments that thoroughly resist "the regimes of the normal" (Warner, 1993:7). Outside the obvious dynamic that sex work is considered 'abnormal' in Zimbabwe and Africa at large, there are other queer politics at play.

Sex work evidently pushes against or challenges the gender norms and heteronormative contours of the industry. It came out strongly that thinking of sex work only in terms of a female worker and a male client is not adequate. Sex workers come in various genders, and so do clients. When women are clients and men sell the sex, it is a queer transgression that unsettles the gendered performances of sex. Especially in contexts like Zimbabwe where the traditional patriarchal role of men being the solicitor is strongly entrenched. When the idea of a protagonist in the sexual performance is fluid, that queers the performance itself. Even when heterosexual sex workers constantly tap into queer performances of sex to appeal to a vast array of clientele to sustain business. They destabilise the idea of a fixed sexual identity in general, and sex work in particular.

It also emanated from the research that sex workers are not merely victims as is often alluded to. Zimbabwean sex workers are mostly portrayed as powerless victims who have no choice and are trapped merely by circumstance. Indeed, they shared episodes of harassment, powerlessness and weakness, but that is not a complete story. Sex workers also exhibit agency every day. Either as they sell sex, or not. They either overtly or in form of hidden transcripts resist the socio-political and economic hurdles they encounter on a daily basis. These narratives of triumph were not only postulated as possibilities, but they protruded into this study.

PPT: A Pedagogy of Love and Humanity

The form, popular participatory theatre (PPT) also formed a significant part of this study, not just a methodology, but a subject of inquiry in and by itself. In my use of it as a means to a particular end I also investigated its relevance, applicability, and efficacy as a platform for sex workers to tell their story from their own perspective. To a larger extent it appealed greatly to the sex workers as there is an established nexus or relationship between sex work as/and performance. It emerged to be a powerful way of telling the personal while remaining safely detached from that reality at the same time. In that world of play, sex workers performed their real-life experiences but still found comfort in the idea that it was all 'play' – the 'third space'. In that way, as I allude to in Chapter 8, PPT fits within the conceptualisations of 'safe space' for a people that often feel unsafe in their skin.

As a collaborative process, PPT facilitated a space where sex workers could network, share ideas and work tips as well as form friendships. This is in spite of the internal violence that participants highlighted to be a major problem in sex work. *Hweva* participants were able to see each other beyond their differences. Just as we witnessed them in the final scene of the play, uniting through shared experiences, this was transferred into real life. Throughout our rehearsal process, we played and hung out with each other, and those moments allowed them to tap into each other's experiences and that encounter became a space where friendships and networks were built. The intention to try and counter the competition among sex workers and build social networks and cohesion was made possible through PPT.

As a critical pedagogy that taps into people's realities and makes use of their knowledge systems and popular forms of expression, PPT becomes a pedagogy of radical love and humanity (hooks, 2003). The air of unfamiliarity that hung in the air when we began, was replaced by *ubuhlobo/ukama* [familial relationship] which (Simba, 2021) conceptualises as a critical component of *Ubuntu*. Most of the participants as we interact today on the WhatsApp group now refer to each other as *'wangu'* [mine][74]. In instances where assumptions dominated, exposure to one another and playing games with each other removed the blinkers and a new knowledge, an informed knowledge about the other reigned. A perfect example is how cis-gender heterosexual female sex workers were not aware of the existence of transgender sex workers at all. However, as we spent more time with each other, participants began to identify more commonalities among each other through the collaborative effort of performing of taboo or being taboo *together* in an environment like Zimbabwe.

In that process of acknowledging each other the homophobic/transphobic perceptions were also shifted. It is in this knowledge that I designate PPT to be a pedagogy of love and humanity. Much along the lines of what Freire (1970) refers to when he says, "as individuals or as peoples, by fighting for the restoration of [our] humanity [we] will be attempting the restoration of true generosity. And this fight, because of the purpose given it, will actually constitute an act of love".

9.3 Newer Insights?

It is difficult to designate a study of this nature into one specific discipline. Infact, the study does reveal that the deeper you go in any inquiry the more ideas converge, overlap and disciplines cease to make sense. It sits at the intersection of Decoloniality, sex work studies, Gender studies and Theatre studies and leaves trace in all of these mentioned designations, conceptually, empirically and methodologically. I guess this is its major highlight – the ability to bring all three aspects together and in the process shake the contours of perceiving performance, sex work and feminism in Africa.

74 When one uses this term, it is an acknowledgement that you are one of my own kind. This is often used among people who are close to each other, are there for each other and will always show up for each other.

Applied Theatre

A participatory-led research of *Hweva's* nature, sets precedence in Zimbabwe's theatre space. The vibrant field whose political potency is well documented (Chikonzo, 2017, Zenenga, 2011, Chiyindiko, 2011) is also consistent in its omissions of sex work. If the subject is engaged, sex worker's stories are told from a peripheral perspective, hardly conversant with their actual realities. Hence performing the taboo or bringing what are mainly deemed performances of the private onto the stage challenges this Zimbabwean theatre trajectory. Moreover, the study stretches our conceptualisations of performance, particularly the African paradigm (Kamlongera, 1989, Okagbue, 2013). Sex work or prostitute theatre may not necessarily be recognised as performance, but I argue here that it forms part of the rich and dynamic ritualistic performance culture.

More broadly the study underscores the significance of Applied Theatre in the 21st century. As more and more questions around Applied Theatre's relevance in a digital world are being flagged (Balfour, 2009, Thompson, 2009) the study reveals that Applied theatre still has a major role to play in society. Especially as a mouthpiece for dissenting voices. Albeit we need to find ways of incorporating digitality into the form as advised by Prentki (2015). We also need to keep reflecting and reimagining ways of engagement so that we do not remain stuck with concepts that do not resonate with the times. More so, be open to this form being the 'theatre of little changes' (Balfour, 2009) that it sometimes is and not burden it with bogus claims of social efficacy .

Sex Work(ers)

Sex work is already an issue of major interest and contestation across the globe. It is therefore an area that generates a lot of scholarship. This study builds onto the archives of sex work scholarship in a couple of ways. The major highlight being that it 'queers' conversations around sex work. It pushes us to think, engage more openly and be conversant with the dynamics of sex work beyond established forms of knowledge. For example, that sex work in Zimbabwe only involves the sale of sex by women to men. As vital as these narratives are, they obscure important aspects especially where it concerns health services, protection and key advocacy areas. The focus also obscures queer sex workers from the conversations all together. The

dynamics are not at all fixated on these gender dualisms. Sex work is queer in Africa, and we should we should think queerly about it (Laing et al., 2015).

In this way the study also contributes to the scarce scholarly output on sex work from Zimbabwe. It is an area that many Zimbabwean researchers hesitate to tread. The topics engaged pursue the public health agenda and hardly other facets of sex workers lives. That this research is conceived within a discipline other than medicine, law or sociology and taps into multiple realities of sex workers using theatre makes it a considerably fresh perspective.

African Feminisms

Theoretically the research demonstrated that although sex work is a taboo terrain for most African feminists, its dynamics align well with their tenets. African feminism is actually a critical theoretical framework with which to engage sex work. Concepts that are central to African feminisms are not naturally disparate constructs with sex work. In fact, the feminist choices made by sex workers in their business everyday reveal how sex work and African feminisms intersect an inform each other. They fit by force as Yingwana (2018) writes. As such, I conclude that African feminists ought to liberate themselves from the philosophical entrapment that considers sex work a European phenomenon that is undeserving of Afro-feminist inquiry. They ought to decolonise their frames of engagement with sex work(ers) in Africa.

Decoloniality

The decolonial thought as it colludes with nationalist principles in Africa is hardly used in the context of sex workers and other sexual minority groups that are considered taboo. This study however stretches the tentacles of Decoloniality towards the community of sex workers in Africa to challenge the multiple webs of coloniality that bind them and are the basis upon which they are considered unAfrican. It is demonstrated in the thesis that Decoloniality is a very crucial and useful theoretical lens to‘re-member the dismembered’ (Gatsheni- Ndlovu, 2015). Sex workers in Zimbabwe and African at large are as reviewed throughout this thesis, part of those that have been dis-membered. The process of re-membering as reiterated by Gatsheni Ndlovu, is synonymous with re-humanising, and this is among the core objectives of Decoloniality. There is need to decolonise homophobia and whorephobia in Zimbabwe.

9.4 How To Write About Sex Workers…

> Always use the word 'Africa' or 'Darkness' or 'Safari' in your title…Never have a picture of a well-adjusted African on the cover of your book, or in it, unless that African has won the Nobel Prize. An AK-47, prominent ribs, naked breasts: use these…In your text, treat Africa as if it were one country. It is hot and dusty with rolling grasslands and huge herds of animals and tall, thin people who are starving. Or it is hot and steamy with very short people who eat primates. Don't get bogged down with precise descriptions. Africa is big: fifty-four countries, 900 million people who are too busy starving and dying and warring and emigrating to read your book. The continent is full of deserts, jungles, highlands, savannahs and many other things, but your reader doesn't care about all that, so keep your descriptions romantic and evocative and unparticular. (Wainaina, 2019)

This marks the ending of an end. This story of sex workers' stories ends here. But I hope as it ends, something begins. Something along the lines of better and holistic research around sex workers. As in the epigraph above in which Binyavanga Wainaina (2019) engages satirically with the ascriptions of stereotypes and myths to Africa, I through this research am challenging the simplistic portrayals of sex work(ers). There is no one way to write about a people or a place. Sex workers in Zimbabwe and Africa at large cannot simply be written about as one thing; poor, female, uneducated and only in the context of disease. As argued in this research, that is not a complete story.

I have however told only a portion of the counter narrative. I am hoping therefore that as I close this chapter, the surface that I have scratched will poke the curiosity of other researchers to seek for a more nuanced understanding of all sex work(ers) in Zimbabwe. There is room for more multi-intersectional research on sex workers. For example, it would be worth finding out about sex workers with disabilities and what their lived experiences are in a world that is dominated by an ableist discourse. I also regret not having managed to access male sex workers, white Zimbabwean sex workers and the so-called elites of the sex industry. I mean the 'up-market' sex workers. It would be interesting to learn of their experiences.

Beyond research I hope that the various stakeholders who work with sex workers initiate interventions that are founded on situated knowledges and speak to the actual as well as pressing concerns of sex workers. Not what they think or perceive sex workers issues to be. These stakeholders include non-governmental organisations and individual activists. As an industry

that involves sexual intercourse which also happens to be the core driver of HIV, it would be expected that there is a level of risk in sex work, but sex workers are more than just a core group for HIV research and programming. In any case, HIV interventions that are not in tandem with the full dynamics of the industry are futile because other key aspects are omitted, and key players left out.

I also hope that as a part of scholar activism, this study facilitates an understanding of sex workers as fully human and sex work as a bonafide form of labour. My fervent hope is that sex worker-led organisations themselves carry and embody this trajectory more in their work. The predominant focus on HIV programming that is currently popular with them, in my view only perpetuates the idea that they are carriers of disease and other prejudices. In as much as more funding is dedicated towards HIV, I hope sex workers see more need to dismantle the narrative of sex workers as couriers of disease. Just as we decolonise the writing of Africa and its people in linear ways and colonialist perspectives, it is imperative that we do so in the context of sex workers. This work is just a prompt, there is no one else better poised to decentre the negative knowledges surrounding sex work and ill perceptions on sex workers than sex workers themselves.

African feminists alike. I hope that we do not continue to fold hands on sex work(er) issues because of how our own internal prejudices unsettle our perceived umbilical connections to Africanness or African nationhood. Contesting the lies told about the African gender and sex story looks like an area that is well aligned to Afro-feminist ideals. To those feminists engaging sex work(ers), challenging the gender dualisms in sex work seems like a possible focal point for Afro-feminist inquiry. As Sylvia Tamale (2020) reckons, a more inclusive Afro-feminism that challenges the colonial blinkers with which we view the world, in particular sexuality and gender, is fundamental for radical transformation.

Above all, I hope the conversations, debates and analysis given in this study allow all of us to begin to think more openly, critically and progressively about sex work. That way we can challenge erroneous perceptions and reconstruct narratives to open up space for tolerance, respect and acknowledgement of each other as full human beings regardless of our gender or sexuality. It shows from this study that in spite of the ignorance around sex-work and sexuality (which goes together with this inquiry) there is an existing and growing community in Zimbabwe

that is becoming bolder and increasingly gaining popular attention though social media and other platforms. One such platform being the PPT platform offered through this project. These small shifts, these negotiated spaces for dialogue should not be underestimated. Beliefs and prejudices can only be changed one person at a time.

In that vein I end with the words of Mary Laing et al (2015): “we need to think – that is, to think queerly – about the practices and politics of commercial sex work in order to explore fully the diverse embodiments and performances of contemporary sex work.”

REFERENCES

Abel, G. M. 2014. A Decade Of Decriminalization: Sex Work 'Down Under' But Not Underground. *Criminology & Criminal Justice,* 14**,** 580-592

Abraham, S. 2020. Crafting A Pedagogical Third Space In A Transnational Teacher Education Project. *Teaching And Teacher Education,* 97**,** 103207.

Ackroyd, J. 2007. Applied Theatre: An Exclusionary Discourse. *Applied Theatre Researcher,* 8**,** 1-11.

Ackroyd, J. & Pilkington, A. 2007. Keynote: "You're Not Allowed To Say That" Minefields And Political Correctness. *Caribbean Quarterly,* 53(1&2), 49-62

Acholonu, C. 1995. Motherism: The African Alternative To Feminism. *Owerri: Achisons Publication*.

Acholonu, C. (2002). "Motherism: The Afrocentric Alternative To Feminism." *Ishmael Reed's Konch Magazine,* March-April. Online: Http://Www.Ishmaelreedpub.Com/Catherineacholonu.Html.

Adam-Perry, J. 2012. A Silent Revolution:'Image Theatre'as A System Of Decolonisation. *Research In Drama Education: The Journal Of Applied Theatre And Performance,* 17**,** 103-119.

Adichie, C. N. 2014. *We Should All Be Feminists*. New York, Ny: Anchor Books.

Ahikire, J. 2014. African Feminism In Context: Reflections On The Legitimation Battles, Victories And Reversals. *Feminist Africa,* 19**,** 7-23.

Ahmed, A. 2011. Feminism, Power, And Sex Work In The Context Of Hiv/Aids: Consequences For Women's Health. *Harv. Jl & Gender,* 34**,** 225

Akin-Aina, S. 2011. Beyond An Epistemology Of Bread, Butter, Culture And Power: Mapping The African Feminist Movement. *Nokoko,* 2**,** 65-89.

Akinro, N. & Mbunyuza-Memani, L. 2019. Black Is Not Beautiful: Persistent Messages And The Globalization Of "White" Beauty In African Women's Magazines. *Journal Of International And Intercultural Communication,* 12**,** 308-324.

Akhtar, D. M. I. 2016. Research Design: Problem Formulation In Social Science. *International Journal Of Research (Ijr).* 1(11).

Alexandre, S. 2012. *The Properties Of Violence: Claims To Ownership In Representations Of Lynching*, Univ. Press Of Mississippi.

Armstrong, A. 1999. Teaching Creativity: An "Eee" Experiential Exercise. *Journal Of Management Education,* 23**,** 174-179.

Armstrong, L. 2020. Decriminalisation Of Sex Work In The Post-Truth Era? Strategic Storytelling In Neo-Abolitionist Accounts Of The New Zealand Model. *Criminology & Criminal Justice***,** 1748895820918898.

Arnoldi, M. J. 1987. Rethinking Defintions Of African Traditional And Popular Arts. *African Studies Review,* 30**,** 79-84.

Arnstein, S. R.(1969) 'A Ladder Of Citizen Participation', *Journal Of The American Planning Association*, 35: 4, 216 — 224

Asante, K. W. 1985. The Jerusarema Dance Of Zimbabwe. *Journal Of Black Studies,* 15**,** 381-403.

Asim, J. 2008. *The N Word: Who Can Say It, Who Shouldn't, And Why*, Hmh. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Baim, C. & Brookes, S. 2002. *Geese Theatre Handbook: Drama With Offenders And People At Risk*, Waterside Press.

Baldwin, A. 2009. Applied Theatre: Performing The Future. *Australasian Psychiatry,* 17**,** S133-S136.

Balfour, M. 2016. The Art Of Facilitation: Taint What You Do (It's The Way That You Do It). *Facilitation: Pedagogies, Practices, Resilience. London: Bloomsbury***,** 151-164.

Banerjee, D., Vasquez, V., Pecchio, M., Hegde, M. L., Ks Jagannatha, R. & Rao, T. S. 2021. Biopsychosocial Intersections Of Social/Affective Touch And Psychiatry: Implications Of 'Touch Hunger'during Covid-19. *International Journal Of Social Psychiatry***,** 0020764021997485.

Barber, K. 1987. Popular Arts In Africa. *African Studies Review,* 30**,** 1-78.

Barry, K. 1996. *The Prostitution Of Sexuality*, Nyu Press.

Basiliere, J. 2008. Political Is Personal: Scholarly Manifestations Of The Feminist Sex Wars. *Info: Ann Arbor, Mi: Mpublishing, University Of Michigan Library,* 22.

Bashan, B. & Holsblat, R. 2017. Reflective Journals As A Research Tool: The Case Of Student Teachers' Development Of Teamwork. *Cogent Education,* 4**,** 1374234.

Bbc News, 2015. South Africa Arrests Over Xenophobic Attacks In Durban. [Online] Available At: <Https://Www.Bbc.Com/News/World-Africa-32249853> [Accessed 15 March 2021].

Becket, S. (1954). *Waiting For Godot*. London: Faber And Faber.

Berg, B. L. 2001. Ethnographic Field Strategies. *Qualitative Research Methods For The Social Sciences***,** 133-177.

Berg, B. L. 2004. Methods For The Social Sciences. *Qualitative Research Methods For The Social Sciences. Boston: Pearson Education*.

Bergen, D. 2001. *Pretend Play And Young Children's Development*, Eric Clearinghouse On Elementary And Early Childhood Education.

Bernard, H. R. 1994. Research Methods In Anthropology: Qualitative And Quantitative Approaches. Thousand Oaks, Ca: Sage.

Bhabha, H. 1994. The Postcolonial And The Postmodern. *The Location Of Culture,* 172.

Bharucha, R. 2007. Envisioning Ethics Anew. *Performance Paradigm,* 3**,** 106-112.

Birk, S. K. 2006. Sex, Androgyny, Prostitution And The Development Of Onnagata Roles In Kabuki Theatre. 3537

Bineham, G. 2006. *Sampling In Research*. [Ebook] Education Centre, The Hillingdon Hospital., P.3. Available At: <Https://Www.Thh.Nhs.Uk/Documents/_Departments/Research/Infosheets/16_Sampling_Research.Pdf> [Accessed 16 December 2020].

Bird, P. 2013. The Harlot As Heroine Narrative Art And Social Presupposition. *Women In The Hebrew Bible: A Reader***,** 99.

Bhunu, C. & Mushayabasa, S. 2012. Prostitution And Drug (Alcohol) Misuse: The Menacing Combination. *Journal Of Biological Systems,* 20**,** 177-193.

Bloomer, F. & Pierson, C. 2018. *Reimagining Global Abortion Politics: A Social Justice Perspective*, Policy Press.

Boal, A. 1979. Theatre Of The Oppressed (London, Pluto). *Boal Theatre Of The Oppressed1979*.

Boal, A. 1992. Trans. Adrian Jackson. *Games For Actors And Non Actors* (1st Ed.). New York: Routledge.

Boal, A. 1996. Politics, Education And Change. *Drama, Culture And Empowerment,* 3**,** 47-52.

Boal, A. 2000. *Theater Of The Oppressed*, Pluto Press.

Bongmba, E. K. 2016. Homosexuality, Ubuntu, And Otherness In The African Church. *Journal Of Religion And Violence,* 4**,** 15-37.

Bordo, S. 2004. *Unbearable Weight: Feminism, Western Culture, And The Body*, Univ Of California Press.

Borgdorff, H. 2011. *The Production Of Knowledge In Artistic Research,* Routledge.

Bowler Jr, G. M. 2010. Netnography: A Method Specifically Designed To Study Cultures And Communities Online. *The Qualitative Report,* 15**,** 1270.

Brecht, B. 1964. *Brecht On Theatre: The Development Of An Aesthetic*, Macmillan.

Britanica Procon.Org. 2018. *Countries And Their Prostitution Policies*. [Online] Available At: <Https://Prostitution.Procon.Org/Countries-And-Their-Prostitution-Policies/> [Accessed 7 September 2019].

Bruce, B. & Berg, M. 2001. Qualitative Research Methods For The Social Sciences. *Long Beach: California State University*.

Brun, C. & Lund, R. 2010. Real-Time Research: Decolonising Research Practices–Or Just Another Spectacle Of Researcher–Practitioner Collaboration? *Development In Practice,* 20**,** 812-826

Brydon-Miller, M. & Maguire, P. 2009. Participatory Action Research: Contributions To The Development Of Practitioner Inquiry In Education. *Educational Action Research,* 17**,** 79-93.

Bunch, A. J. 2015. Epistemic Violence In The Process Of Othering: Real-World Applications And Moving Forward. *Scholarly Undergraduate Research Journal At Clark,* 1**,** 2.

Bustin, R. 2011. Third Space: Exploring The 'Lived Space' Of Cultural 'Others'. *Teaching Geography,* 36**,** 55-57.

Butler, J. 2003. Gender Trouble. *Continental Feminism Reader***,** 29-56.

Busza, J. 2006. Having The Rug Pulled From Under Your Feet: One Project's Experience Of The Us Policy Reversal On Sex Work. *Health Policy And Planning,* 21**,** 329-332

Busza, J., Mtetwa, S., Fearon, E., Hofisi, D., Mundawarara, T., Yekeye, R., Magure, T., Mugurungi, O. & Cowan, F. 2017. Good News For Sex Workers In Zimbabwe: How A Court Order Improved Safety In The Absence Of Decriminalization. *Journal Of The International Aids Society,* 20.

Busza, J., Phillips, A. N., Mushati, P., Chiyaka, T., Magutshwa, S., Musemburi, S. & Cowan, F. M. 2020. Understanding Early Uptake Of Prep By Female Sex Workers In Zimbabwe. *Aids Care***,** 1-7.

Callander, D., Newman, C. E., Holt, M., Rosenberg, S., Duncan, D. T., Pony, M., Timmins, L., Cornelisse, V., Duck-Chong, L. & Wang, B. 2021. The Complexities Of Categorizing Gender: A Hierarchical Clustering Analysis Of Data From The First Australian Trans And Gender Diverse Sexual Health Survey. *Transgender Health,* 6**,** 74-81.

Camminga, B. 2020. Disregard And Danger: Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie And The Voices Of Trans (And Cis) African Feminists. *The Sociological Review,* 68**,** 817-833.

Camminga, B., Camminga, & Chen. 2019. *Transgender Refugees And The Imagined South Africa*, Springer.

Capous Desyllas, M. 2010. Visions And Voices: An Arts-Based Qualitative Study Using Photovoice To Understand The Needs And Aspirations Of Diverse Women Working In The Sex Industry. *PhD Thesis*, Portland University.

Chabata, S. T., Hensen, B., Chiyaka, T., Mushati, P., Musemburi, S., Dirawo, J., Busza, J., Floyd, S., Birdthistle, I. & Hargreaves, J. R. 2021. The Impact Of The Dreams Partnership On Hiv Incidence Among Young Women Who Sell Sex In Two Zimbabwean Cities: Results Of A Non-Randomised Study. *Bmj Global Health,* 6**,** E003892.

Chakaipa, P. 1964. *Garandichauya*. 1st Ed. Salisbury: Longmans Of Rhodesia.

Channel 4 News (2017). Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie Interview. Youtube. Www.Youtube.Com/Watch?V=Kp1c7vxufzq&Feature=Youtu.Be (Accessed 13 October March 2018).

Charles, C. A. 2011. Skin Bleaching And The Prestige Complexion Of Sexual Attraction. *Sexuality & Culture,* 15**,** 375-390.

Charles, R. 2011b. Rahab: A Righteous Whore In James. *Neotestamentica,* 45**,** 206-220.

Chatikobo, M. & Low, K. 2015. Applied Theatre From A Southern African Perspective: A Dialogue. *Research In Drama Education: The Journal Of Applied Theatre And Performance,* 20**,** 381-390.
Chatterjee, S. 2016. What Does It Mean To Be A Postcolonial Feminist? The Artwork Of Mithu Sen. *Hypatia,* 31**,** 22-40.
Chifunyise, S. 1990. Trends In Zimbabwean Theatre Since 1980. *Journal Of Southern African Studies,* 16**,** 276-289.
Chigumadzi, P. (2017, March 17). 'Ain't I A Woman?' On The Irony Of Trans-Exclusion By Black And African Feminists. Afropunk. Https://Afropunk.Com/2017/03/Aint-I-A-Woman-On-The-Irony-Of-Trans-Exclusion-By-Black-And-African-Feminists/. Accessed 20 December 2020.
Chikonzo, K. 2017. Subaltern Voices/Interests In Contemporary Protest Theatre In Zimbabwe. *African Research & Documentation***,** 60-75.
Chilisa, B. & Preece, J. 2005. *Research Methods For Adult Educators In Africa*, Pearson South Africa.
Chinyowa, K. C. 2009. Emerging Paradigms For Applied Drama And Theatre Practice In African Contexts. *Ride: The Journal Of Applied Theatre And Performance,* 14**,** 329-346.
Chinyowa, K. C. 2012. Building Critical Citizenship Through Syncretic Theatre: A Zimbabwean Case Study. *Journal Of Peacebuilding & Development,* 7**,** 67-78.
Chinyowa, K. C. 2015. Participation As 'Repressive Myth': A Case Study Of The Interactive Themba Theatre Organisation In South Africa. *Research In Drama Education: The Journal Of Applied Theatre And Performance,* 20**,** 12-23.
Chipunza, P. 2013. 12 383 Sex Workers Register. *The Herald,* [Online] Available At: <Https://Www.Herald.Co.Zw/12-383-Sex-Workers-Register/> [Accessed 16 September 2018].
Chirimumimba, F. 2018. *Improving Relations Between Female Sex Workers And The General Public In Zimbabwe: An Action Research Project.* Masters Thesis. Durban University.
Chitando, A. 2011. *Narrating Gender And Danger In Selected Zimbabwe Woman's Writing On Hiv And Aids.* Thesis. Unisa.
Chivandikwa, N., Makumbirofa, R. & Muwati, I. 2018. Traditional Games And Child-Centred Development: Affirming Disabled And Female Bodies In Applied Theatre Projects In Zimbabwe. *South African Theatre Journal***,** 1-13.
Chivandikwa, N. & Muwonwa, N. 2013. Forum Theatre, Disability And Corporeality: A Project On Sexuality In Zimbabwe. *Platform (17510171),* 7.
Chiyindiko, T. C. 2011. *Healing And Reconciliation For Constitution Building In Zimbabwe Through Theatre: A Case Study Of Heal The Wounds And Waiting For Constitution.* Masters Dissertation, Witwatersrand University: Unpublished.
Chukwu-Okoronkwo, S. O. 2012. Alternative Theatre Paradigm: Democratising The Development Process In Africa. *Academic Research International,* 2**,** 690.
Clark, V. 1998. Boal In The Classroom: A Technique For Developing A Teen Theatre Project. Graduate Theses, Dissertations, & Professional Papers. University Of Montana.
Collins, P. H. 2002. *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, And The Politics Of Empowerment*, Routledge.
Collins, P. H. 2002. *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, And The Politics Of Empowerment,* Routledge.
Collins, S. 2010. The Complexity Of Identity: Appreciating Multiplicity And Intersectionality. *Culture-Infused Counselling***,** 247-258.
Coly, A. A. 2019. *Postcolonial Hauntologies: African Women's Discourses Of The Female Bod*, U Of Nebraska Press.
Cooke, B. & Kothari, U. 2001. *Participation: The New Tyranny?*, Zed Books.
Cornwall, A. & Jewkes, R. 1995. What Is Participatory Research? *Social Science & Medicine,* 41**,** 1667-1676.

Cowan, F. M., Davey, C. B., Fearon, E., Mushati, P., Dirawo, J., Cambiano, V., Mavedzenge, S. N., Hanisch, D., Wong-Gruenwald, R. & Chemhuru, M. 2017. The Hiv Care Cascade Among Female Sex Workers In Zimbabwe: Results Of A Population-Based Survey From The Sisters Antiretroviral Therapy Programme For Prevention Of Hiv, An Integrated Response (Sapph-Ire) Trial. *Jaids Journal Of Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndromes,* 74**,** 375-382.

Cowan, F. M., Chabata, S. T., Musemburi, S., Fearon, E., Davey, C., Ndori-Mharadze, T., Bansi-Matharu, L., Cambiano, V., Steen, R. & Busza, J. 2019. Strengthening The Scale-Up And Uptake Of Effective Interventions For Sex Workers For Population Impact In Zimbabwe. *Journal Of The International Aids Society,* 22**,** E25320.

Crankshaw, T. L., Chareka, S., Zambezi, P. & Poku, N. K. 2020. Young Sex Workers Are Different From Other Sex Workers": Determinants Of Sexual And Reproductive Health Vulnerabilities Amongst Young Women Who Sell Sex (16-24 Years) In Zimbabwe. *Social Science & Medicine***,** 113597.

Crenshaw, K. 1989. Demarginalizing The Intersection Of Race And Sex: A Black Feminist Critique Of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory And Antiracist Politics. *U. Chi. Legal F.***,** 139.

Crenshaw, K. W. (1991). Mapping The Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, And Violence Against Women Of Color. Stanford Law Review, 43, 1241–1299. Doi:10.2307/1229039

Crenshaw, K. W. 2017. *On Intersectionality: Essential Writings,* The New Press.

Creswell, J. 1998. Five Qualitative Traditions Of Inquiry. *Qualitative Inquiry And Research Design. Choosing Among Five Traditions***,** 47-72.

Creswell, J. W. (2013). *Qualitative Inquiry And Research Design Choosing Among Five Approaches* (3rd Ed). Thousand Oaks, Ca: Sage Publications.

Dangarembga, T. 2020. *Nervous Conditions,* Faber & Faber.

David, M. 2002. Problems Of Participation: The Limits Of Action Research. *International Journal Of Social Research Methodology,* 5**,** 11-17.

Davis, H. V. 2012. *Theatre As Intervention Tool In Hiv/Aids Education With Specific Reference To "Lucky, The Hero!".* Stellenbosch: Stellenbosch University.

Davis, A. D. 2015. Regulating Sex Work: Erotic Assimilationism, Erotic Exeptionalism, And The Challenge Of Intimate Labor. *Calif. L. Rev.,* 103**,** 1195.

Davis, K. 2008. Intersectionality As Buzzword: A Sociology Of Science Perspective On What Makes A Feminist Theory Successful. *Feminist Theory,* 9**,** 67-85.

De Munck, V. C. & Sobo, E. J. 1998. *Using Methods In The Field: A Practical Introduction And Casebook,* Rowman Altamira.

Denzin, N. K. & Lincoln, Y. S. 2008. *Strategies Of Qualitative Inquiry,* Sage.

Dilshad, R. M. & Latif, M. I. 2013. Focus Group Interview As A Tool For Qualitative Research: An Analysis. *Pakistan Journal Of Social Sciences (Pjss),* 33.

Dingake, O. B. K. 2018. The State Of Human Rights In Relation To Key Populations, Hiv And Sexual And Reproductive Health. *Reproductive Health Matters,* 26**,** 46-50.

Dwyer, P. 2004. Making Bodies Talk In Forum Theatre. *Research In Drama Education,* 9**,** 199-210.

Edwards, K. L. 2010. The Mother Of All Femmes Fatales: Eve As Temptress In Genesis 3. *The Femme Fatale: Images, Histories, Contexts.* Springer.

El, H. L. 2012. Retracing The Concept Of The Subaltern From Gramsci To Spivak: Historical Developments And New Applications. *African Journal Of History And Culture,* 4**,** 4-8.

Ellison, C. R. 2012. The Importance Of Play In Early Childhood Education. *Masters Thesis* The College Of Brockport.

Elmes, J., Skovdal, M., Nhongo, K., Ward, H., Campbell, C., Hallett, T. B., Nyamukapa, C., White, P. J. & Gregson, S. 2017. A Reconfiguration Of The Sex Trade: How Social And Structural Changes

In Eastern Zimbabwe Left Women Involved In Sex Work And Transactional Sex More Vulnerable. *Plos One,* 12**,** E0171916.
Epskamp, C. & Epskamp, K. 2006. *Theatre For Development: An Introduction To Context, Applications And Training*, Zed Books.
Epprecht, M. 2004. Hungochani. *The History Of A Dissident Sexuality In Southern Africa*, 21.
Erel, U. Saving And Reproducing The Nation: Struggles Around Right-Wing Politics Of Social Reproduction, Gender And Race In Austerity Europe. Women's Studies International Forum, 2018. Elsevier, 173-182.
Esslin, M. (1976). An Anatomy Of Drama. New York: Hill And Wang

H- Metro, 2018. 'Punish Those Pupils!'. [Online] P.1. Available At: <Https://Www.Hmetro.Co.Zw/Punish-Those-Pupils/> [Accessed 10 June 2020].

H- Metro, 2018. Manager Sent Me To Sex Work. [Online] Available At: <Http://Hmetro.Co.Zw/Manager-Sent-Me-To-Sex-Work/> [Accessed 9 September 2019].

H-Metro, 2017. Male Sex Workers On The Rise. [Online] Available At: <Http://Hmetro.Co.Zw/Male-Sex-Workers-On-The-Rise/> [Accessed 17 September 2018].

H-Metro, 2017. Prostitutes Offer Free Sex At Thief's Funeral. [Online] Available At: <Https://Www.Pazimbabwe.Com> [Accessed 6 January 2018].

H-Metro, 2018. Madzimai In Sex Work. [Online] Available At: <Http://Hmetro.Co.Zw/Madzimai-In-Sex-Work/> [Accessed 9 September 2019]

Fanon, F. 1961. Wretched Of The Earth, 2004. *Translated By Richard Philcox. New York: Grove*.
Fanon, F. 2007. *The Wretched Of The Earth*, Grove/Atlantic, Inc.
Farisi, A. B., Habibi, H. & Mariska, P. N. 2019. Cultural Identity Of Colonialism: Traumatic Effects Of Slavery And Racism. *Cultura Interpreta,* 9**,** 117-124.
Farley, M. 2004. "Bad For The Body, Bad For The Heart": Prostitution Harms Women Even If Legalized Or Decriminalized. *Violence Against Women,* 10**,** 1087-1125.
Fearon, E., Phillips, A., Mtetwa, S., Chabata, S. T., Mushati, P., Cambiano, V., Busza, J., Napierala, S., Hensen, B. & Baral, S. 2019. How Can Programs Better Support Female Sex Workers To Avoid Hiv Infection In Zimbabwe? A Prevention Cascade Analysis. *Journal Of Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndromes (1999),* 81**,** 24.
Ferguson, A. 1984. Sex War: The Debate Between Radical And Libertarian Feminists. *Signs: Journal Of Women In Culture And Society,* 10**,** 106-112.
Fischer, M. 2017. Trans Responses To Adichie: Challenging Cis Privilege In Popular Feminism. *Feminist Media Studies,* 17**,** 896-899.
Fiske, J. 1992. *Cultural Studies And The Culture Of Everyday Life*, New York: Routledge
Freeman, S. 2006. Towards A Genealogy And Taxonomy Of British Alternative Theatre. *Ntq-New Theatre Quarterly,* 22**,** 364-378.
Freebody, K., Balfour, M., Finneran, M. & Anderson, M. 2018. *Applied Theatre: Understanding Change*, Springer.
Ferreday, D. & Hodgson, V. 2008. The Tyranny Of Participation And Collaboration In Networked Learning. Proceedings Of The 6th International Conference On Networked Learning, 2008. 640-647.
Fleishman, M. 2012. The Difference Of Performance As Research. *Theatre Research International,* 37**,** 28-37.
Flick, U. 2018. *An Introduction To Qualitative Research*, Sage Publications Limited.
Flowers, P. 2018. *The Right-To-Life Movement, The Reagan Administration, And The Politics Of Abortion*, Springer.

Freebody, K., Balfour, M., Finneran, M. & Anderson, M. 2018. *Applied Theatre: Understanding Change*, Springer.
Freeman, S. 2006. Towards A Genealogy And Taxonomy Of British Alternative Theatre. *Ntq-New Theatre Quarterly*, 22**,** 364-378.
Freire, P. 1970. Pedagogy Of The Oppressed (Mb Ramos, Trans.). *New York: Continuum*, 2007.
Gesink, D. C., Sullivan, A. B., Miller, W. C. & Bernstein, K. T. 2011. Sexually Transmitted Disease Core Theory: Roles Of Person, Place, And Time. *American Journal Of Epidemiology*, 174**,** 81-89.
Frey, L., Botan, C. H. & Kreps, G. 2000. Investigating Communication. *Ny: Allyn & Bacon*.
Gandhi, L. 2019. *Postcolonial Theory: A Critical Introduction*, Columbia University Press.
Gerbner, G. 1998. Cultivation Analysis: An Overview. *Mass Communication And Society*, 1**,** 175-194.
Gergen, K. J. & Gergen, M. 2012. Therapeutic Communication From A Constructionist Standpoint. *Discursive Perspectives In Therapeutic Practice***,** 65-82.
Germond, P. & De Gruchy, S. 1997. *Aliens In The Household Of God: Homosexuality And Christian Faith In South Africa*, New Africa Books.
Gesink, D. C., Sullivan, A. B., Miller, W. C. & Bernstein, K. T. 2011. Sexually Transmitted Disease Core Theory: Roles Of Person, Place, And Time. *American Journal Of Epidemiology*, 174**,** 81-89.
Ghys, P. D., Diallo, M. O., Ettiègne-Traoré, V., Kalé, K., Tawil, O., Caraël, M., Traoré, M., Mah-Bi, G., De Cock, K. M. & Wiktor, S. Z. 2002. Increase In Condom Use And Decline In Hiv And Sexually Transmitted Diseases Among Female Sex Workers In Abidjan, Cote D'ivoire, 1991–1998. *Aids*, 16**,** 251-258.
Gibly, J. N. 2012. Safe Sex For Sale: Is Legalizing Sex Work The Answer To Sex Trafficking In The Netherlands? *International Journal Of Undergraduate Research And Creative Activities*, 4**,** 1-9.
Gichuna, S., Hassan, R., Sanders, T., Campbell, R., Mutonyi, M. & Mwangi, P. 2020. Access To Healthcare In A Time Of Covid-19: Sex Workers In Crisis In Nairobi, Kenya. *Global Public Health***,** 1-13.
Goffman, E. 2014. Stigma And Social Identity. *Understanding Deviance: Connecting Classical And Contemporary Perspectives***,** 256.
Gjaerum, R. G. 2013. Applied Theatre Research: Discourses In The Field. *European Scientific Journal*.
Gonye, J. & Jabulani, M. 2012. Choric Narratives Of The Chimurenga: Comrades Chinx And Manyika's Psalms Of The Zimbabwean Third Chimurenga (Land Reform Programme). *International Journal Of Asian Social Science*, 2**,** 88-101.
Gordon-Chipembere, N. 2011. *Representation And Black Womanhood: The Legacy Of Sarah Baartman*, Palgrave, Macmillan.
Gordon, G. & Esbjörn-Hargens, S. 2007. Are We Having Fun Yet? An Exploration Of The Transformative Power Of Play. *Journal Of Humanistic Psychology*, 47**,** 198-222.
Gordon, R. 2006. *The Purpose Of Playing: Modern Acting Theories In Perspective*, University Of Michigan Press.
Gqola, P. D. 2001. Ufanele Uqavile: Blackwomen, Feminisms And Postcoloniality In Africa. *Agenda*, 16**,** 11-22.
Gramsci, A. 1971. *Selections From The Prison Notebooks Of Antonio Gramsci*, New York, International Publishers.
Graça, M. (2016). Participatory Action Research With Sex Workers And An Outreach Team: A Co-Authored Case Study. 10.13140/Rg.2.1.3688.4080.
Green, J. & Thorogood, N. 2018. *Qualitative Methods For Health Research*, Sage.
Gwindingwe, G., Osunkunle, O. O. & Alfandika, L. 2020. When Art Is Captured, Culture Is Under Siege: Analysing Zimbabwe's Captured Media Space Through Song. *Communicatio***,** 1-19.
Haak, D. 2019. Re (De) Fining Prostitution And Sex Work: Conceptual Clarity For Legal Thinking. *Windsor Rev. Legal & Soc. Issues*, 40**,** 67.
Halai, A. 2006. Ethics In Qualitative Research: Issues And Challenges. *Edqual Working Paper*, 4.

Hall, R. E. 2001. The Ball Curve: Calculated Racism And The Stereotype Of African American Men. *Journal Of Black Studies,* 32**,** 104-119.
Hall, S. & Du Gay, P. 2006. *Questions Of Cultural Identity*, Crane Resource Centre
Hall, B. L. & Tandon, R. 2017. Decolonization Of Knowledge, Epistemicide, Participatory Research And Higher Education. *Research For All,* 1**,** 6-19.
Happer, C. & Philo, G. 2013. The Role Of The Media In The Construction Of Public Belief And Social Change. *Journal Of Social And Political Psychology,* 1**,** 321-336.
Harcourt, C. & Donovan, B. 2005. The Many Faces Of Sex Work. *Sexually Transmitted Infections,* 81**,** 201-206.
Hayakawa, M. 2016. Guided By Weak Conviction: Tentative Order And Morality Among Urban Dwellers In The Unconventional Economy Of 2008, Zimbabwe. *What Colonialism Ignored 'African Potentials' For Resolving Conflicts In Southern Africa***,** 273-308.
Hekma, G. & Duyvendak, J. W. 2011. Queer Netherlands: A Puzzling Example. *Sexualities,* 14**,** 625-631.
Helliker, K., Bhatasara, S. & Chiweshe, M. K. 2021. The Third Chimurenga: Party-State And War Veterans. *Fast Track Land Occupations In Zimbabwe.* Springer.
Henry, G. T. 1990. *Practical Sampling,* Sage.
Herdt, G. 2020. *Third Sex, Third Gender: Beyond Sexual Dimorphism In Culture And History,* Princeton University Press.
Hine, C. 2015. *Ethnography For The Internet: Embedded, Embodied And Everyday,* Bloomsbury Publishing.
Holt, L. F. 2018. Dropping The "N-Word": Examining How A Victim-Centered Approach Could Curtail The Use Of America's Most Opprobrious Term. *Journal Of Black Studies,* 49**,** 411-426.
Holt, T. J. & Blevins, K. R. 2007. Examining Sex Work From The Client's Perspective: Assessing Johns Using On-Line Data. *Deviant Behavior,* 28**,** 333-354.
Holtzclaw, H. N. 2004. *The Third Chimurenga? State Terror And State Organized Violence In Zimbabwe's Commercial Farming Communities,* Michigan State University.
hooks, b.1994. *teaching to transgress*. routledge
hooks, b. 2000. *feminism is for everybody: passionate politics*, pluto press.
hooks, b. 2003. *teaching community: a pedagogy of hope*, psychology press.
hooks, b. 2006. *outlaw culture: resisting representations*, routledge.
Horner, B., Young-Jahangeer, M. & Dhunpath, R. 2016. Performing Problems On The Pavement: An Innovative Approach To Architectural Education In Post-Apartheid South Africa. *Journal Of Architectural Education,* 70**,** 203-213.
Horrell, S. & Krishnan, P. 2007. Poverty And Productivity In Female-Headed Households In Zimbabwe. *The Journal Of Development Studies,* 43**,** 1351-1380.
Hove, M. & Tirimboi, A. 2011. Assessment Of Harare Water Service Delivery. *Journal Of Sustainable Development In Africa,* 13**,** 61-84.
Hubbard, P. 2013. *Cities And Sexualities,* Routledge.
Hudson-Weems, C. 2019. *Africana Womanism: Reclaiming Ourselves,* Routledge.
Hungwe, C. 2006. Putting Them In Their Place: "Respectable" And "Unrespectable" Women In Zimbabwean Gender Struggles. *Feminist Africa 6: Subaltern Sexualities,* 6**,** 33-47.
Hunt, J., Bristowe, K., Chidyamatare, S. & Harding, R. 2017. 'They Will Be Afraid To Touch You': Lgbti People And Sex Workers' Experiences Of Accessing Healthcare In Zimbabwe—An In-Depth Qualitative Study. *Bmj Global Health,* 2**,** E000168.
Huschke, S. & Coetzee, J. 2020. Sex Work And Condom Use In Soweto, South Africa: A Call For Community-Based Interventions With Clients. *Culture, Health & Sexuality,* 22**,** 1-15.
Ibrahim, S. (2012) Health-Related Theatre In Kenya With Special Focus On Non-Communicable Diseases And Their Risk Factors: A Review Of Existing Networks And Capacities. Steno Health Promotion Center. Nairobi

Interception Of Communications Act 6 Of 2007. 11:20.

Ingold, T. 2008. Anthropology Is Not Ethnography. Proceedings Of The British Academy, 2008. 69-92.
Isé, C., 2015. *Feminism (N.): Plural*. [Online] Woman Made Gallery. Available At: <Https://Womanmade.Org/Artwork/Feminism-Plural/#:~:Text=The%20guiding%20premise%20of%20%E2%80%9cfeminism,The%20very%20definition%20of%20patriarchy.> [Accessed 1 August 2019].

Iselin, K. 2016. What's The 'Nordic Model' Of Sex Work Regulation Everyone's Bangin' On About?. [Blog] *Pedestrian*, Available At: <Https://Www.Pedestrian.Tv/Sex-Dating/Whats-The-Nordic-Model-Of-Sex-Work-Regulation-Everyones-Bangin-On-About/> [Accessed 10 December 2019].

Iti Action Committee For Artists Rights. 2020. *Zimbabwe: Theatre Producer And Actor Silvanos Mudzvova Arrested For Controversial Play*. [Online] Available At: <Https://Artistsrights.Iti-Germany.De/Zimbabwe-Theatre-Producer-And-Actor-Silvanos-Mudzvova-Arrested-For-Controversial-Play/> [Accessed 16 October 2020].

Janesick, V. J. 1999. A Journal About Journal Writing As A Qualitative Research Technique: History, Issues, And Reflections. *Qualitative Inquiry,* 5**,** 505-524.
Jeffreys, E., Green, J. & Vega, C. 2011. Listen To Sex Workers: Support Decriminalisation And Anti-Discrimination Protections. *Interface,* 3**,** 271-287.
Jeffreys, E. 2014. *Whorephobia And The Truth About Sex Workers*. [Online] Right Now: Human Rights In Australia. Available At: <Http://Rightnow.Org.Au/Opinion-3/Whorephobia-And-The-Truth-About-Sex-Workers/> [Accessed 23 December 2020].

Jeffreys, S. 2014. *Beauty And Misogyny: Harmful Cultural Practices In The West*, Routledge.
Jerome, O. M. 2014. Rahab In The Book Of Joshua And Other Texts Of The Bible.
Johnston, G., 2012. *Doing Microethnography*. [Online] Anthrostrategist. Available At: <Https://Anthrostrategy.Net/2012/06/24/Doing-Microethnography/> [Accessed 23 December 2020].

Jonas, R. 2019. Who's Got The Power? A Practical Theological Reflection On The Power Relations In The" Blesser" Phenomenon Amoung Female Adolescence In South Africa. Masters Thesis. Stellenbosch University.
Jones, J. & Smith, J. 2017. Ethnography: Challenges And Opportunities. *Evidence-Based Nursing,* 20**,** 98-1000.
Jones, J. L. 2010. 'Nothing Is Straight In Zimbabwe': The Rise Of The Kukiya-Kiya Economy 2000–2008. *Journal Of Southern African Studies,* 36**,** 285-299.
Jozaghi, E. & Bird, L. 2020. Covid-19 And Sex Workers: Human Rights, The Struggle For Safety And Minimum Income. *Canadian Journal Of Public Health= Revue Canadienne De Sante Publique***,** 1.
Kaarsholm, P. 2006. Violence, Political Culture & Development In Africa. *Gale.* 54(4).
Kadenge, M. & Mavunga, G. 2016. Shona Slang Used By Zimbabwean Sex Workers Operating From Inner City Johannesburg, South Africa. *Journal Of Communication,* 7**,** 222-230.
Kamlongera, C. 1989. Theatre For Development In Africa With Case Studies From Malawi And Zambia. 3(1).
Kamwendo, L. M. & Manyeruke, C. 2017. Power Politics During And After Funerals Amidst The Shona Of Zimbabwe. *Journal Of Pan African Studies,* 10**,** 151-165.
Kapingu, R. P. 2009. *The Changing Functions And Characteristics Of African War Dances: A Case Study Of The Kiduo War Dance*. University Of Dar Es Salaam.
Kapodogo, A., Kudzai Chiweshe, M. & Muparamoto, N. 2019. Sex Work-Based Livelihoods In Post 2000 In Zimbabwe. *Africa Review,* 11**,** 137-151.
Kapur, R. 2000. Post-Colonial Economies Of Desire: Legal Representations Of The Sexual Subaltern. *Denv. Ul Rev.,* 78**,** 855.

Kawulich, B. 2012. Collecting Data Through Observation. *Doing Social Research: A Global Context***,** 150-160.
Kempadoo, K. & Doezema, J. 2018. *Global Sex Workers: Rights, Resistance, And Redefinition*, Routledge.
Kerr, D. 1982. An Experiment In Popular Theatre In Malaŵi: The University Travelling Theatre To Mbalachanda, July, 1981. *The Society Of Malawi Journal,* 35**,** 34-51.
Kerr, D. 1995. *African Popular Theatre: From Pre-Colonial Times To The Present Day*, Heinemann Educational Books.
Kershaw, B. 2009. Practice As Research Through Performance. *Practice-Led Research, Research-Led Practice In The Creative Arts***,** 104-125.
Kesby, M. 2000. Participatory Diagramming As A Means To Improve Communication About Sex In Rural Zimbabwe: A Pilot Study. *Social Science & Medicine,* 50**,** 1723-1741.
Kidd, R. 1980. Introduction: Folk Media, Popular Theatre And Conflicting Strategies For Social Change In The Third World
Kidd, R. 1984. *From People's Theatre For Revolution To Popular Theatre For Reconstruction: Diary Of A Zimbabwean Workshop. Ceso Verhandeling No. 33*, Eric.
Kimani, J., Adhiambo, J., Kasiba, R., Mwangi, P., Were, V., Mathenge, J., Macharia, P., Cholette, F., Moore, S. & Shaw, S. 2020. The Effects Of Covid-19 On The Health And Socio-Economic Security Of Sex Workers In Nairobi, Kenya: Emerging Intersections With Hiv. *Global Public Health***,** 1-10.
King, M. B. 1993. *Aids, Hiv And Mental Health*, Cup Archive.
Kingston, S. & Thomas, T. 2019. No Model In Practice: A 'Nordic Model'to Respond To Prostitution? *Crime, Law And Social Change,* 71**,** 423-439.
Kozinets, R. V. 2010. *Netnography: Doing Ethnographic Research Online*, Sage Publications.
Kumar, R. (2019). *Research Methodology: A Step By Step Guide For Beginners*. 5th Ed. London: Sage Publications.

Levert, L. & Mumma, O. 1997. *Drama And Theatre: Communication In Development; Experiences In Western Kenya*, Kenya Drama/Theatre Education Association.
Laing, M., Pilcher, K. & Smith, N. 2015. *Queer Sex Work*, Routledge.
Langkos, S. 2014. Research Methodology: Data Collection Method And Research Tools. *Derby, England: University Of Derby. Doi,* 10**,** 3023-1369.
Larin, T. 2020. (In) Visible Sites Of The Sex Industry: Massage Parlours And The Construction Of Space. *Contentious Cities.* Routledge.
Latham, B. 2007. Quantitative Research Methods. *Sampling: What Is It,* 8.
Leclerc-Madlala, S. 2004. Transactional Sex And The Pursuit Of Modernity. *Social Dynamics,* 29**,** 1-21.
Leddy, A. M., Mantsios, A., Davis, W., Muraleetharan, O., Shembilu, C., Mwampashi, A., Beckham, S. W., Galai, N., Likindikoki, S. & Mbwambo, J. 2020. Essential Elements Of A Community Empowerment Approach To Hiv Prevention Among Female Sex Workers Engaged In Project Shikamana In Iringa, Tanzania. *Culture, Health & Sexuality,* 22**,** 111-126.
Levert, L. & Mumma, O. 1997. *Drama And Theatre: Communication In Development; Experiences In Western Kenya*, Kenya Drama/Theatre Education Association.
Lister, K. 2017. Sex Workers Or Prostitutes? Why Words Matter. *Retrieved April,* 21**,** 2019.
Lofland, J. 2002. Analytic Ethnography. *The Qualitative Researcher's Companion***,** 137-170.
Lopez, V. & Whitehead, D. 2013. Sampling Data And Data Collection In Qualitative Research. *Nursing And Midwifery Research: Methods And Critical Appraisal For Evidence-Based Practice***,** 124-140.
Lugones, M. 2016. The Coloniality Of Gender. *The Palgrave Handbook Of Gender And Development.* Springer.

Mabasa, I. 1999. *Mapenzi*. 1st Ed. Harare: College Press.

Mabvurira, V., Chigevenga, R., Kambarami, F., Chavhi, R. & Nyoni, C. 2017. The Realities Of Children In Prostitution In Zimbabwe: A Case Of Beitbridge And Plumtree Border Towns. *Child Abuse Research In South Africa,* 18**,** 68-76.

Mabvurira, V., Motsi, P. D., Masuka, T. & Chigondo, E. 2012. "The Politics Of Sexual Identities In Zimbabwe: A Social Work Perspective". *International Journal Of Humanities And Social.* 3(13): 218-223

Macdonald, C. 2012. Understanding Participatory Action Research: A Qualitative Research Methodology Option. *The Canadian Journal Of Action Research,* 13**,** 34-50.

Macharia, P., Moore, S., Mathenge, J., Ndunda, E., Lazarus, L., Mckinnon, L. R. & Lorway, R. 2020. Sexual Health Among Kenyan Male Sex Workers In A Time Of Covid-19. *Health Education Journal***,** 0017896920950774.

Macnealy, M. S. 1999. *Strategies For Empirical Research In Writing*, Longman.

Maedza, P. 2019. 'Gukurahundi-A Moment Of Madness': Memory Rhetorics And Remembering In The Postcolony. *African Identities*, 17**,** 175-190.

Magosvongwe, R. 2016. Shona Philosophy Of Unhu/Hunhu And Its Onomastics In Selected Fictional Narratives. *Journal Of The African Literature Association,* 10**,** 158-175.

Magubane, Z. 2001. Which Bodies Matter? Feminism, Poststructuralism, Race, And The Curious Theoretical Odyssey Of The "Hottentot Venus". *Gender & Society,* 15**,** 816-834.

Makofane, K., Van Der Elst, E. M., Walimbwa, J., Nemande, S. & Baral, S. D. 2020. From General To Specific: Moving Past The General Population In The Hiv Response Across Sub-Saharan Africa. *Journal Of The International Aids Society,* 23**,** E25605.

Maldonado-Torres, N. 2011. Thinking Through The Decolonial Turn: Post-Continental Interventions In Theory, Philosophy, And Critique—An Introduction. *Transmodernity: Journal Of Peripheral Cultural Production Of The Luso-Hispanic World,* 1.

Malibo, R. K. 2008. *Using Popular Participatory Theatre As A Research Method To Expose The Relationship Between Hiv/Aids And Silence In Malealea Valley, Lesotho.*

Mama, A. 2001. Talking About Feminism In Africa. *Agenda: Empowering Women For Gender Equity***,** 16(50), 58-63.

Mampane, J. N. 2018. Exploring The "Blesser And Blessee" Phenomenon: Young Women, Transactional Sex, And Hiv In Rural South Africa. *Sage Open,* 8**,** 2158244018806343.

Manyonganise, M. 2015. Oppressive And Liberative: A Zimbabwean Woman's Reflections On Ubuntu. *Verbum Et Ecclesia,* 36**,** 1-7.

Manyonganise, M. 2017. Hiv-Positive Women 'Virgins': The Complexities Of Discourse On Issues Of Sex And Sexuality In Zimbabwe. *Research On Gender And Sexualities In Africa***,** 151.

Malibo, R. K. 2008. *Using Popular Participatory Theatre As A Research Method To Expose The Relationship Between Hiv/Aids And Silence In Malealea Valley, Lesotho.*

Mapira, N. & Hood, M. M. 2018. Performing Authenticity And Contesting Heritage In The Unesco-Inscribed Jerusarema/Mbende Dance Of Zimbabwe. *Lekesan: Interdisciplinary Journal Of Asia Pacific Arts,* 1**,** 1-11.

Mararike, M. 2018. Theoretical Locations Of Mugabeism, Land "Terrorism," And Third Chimurenga Neo-Coloniality Discourse In Zimbabwe: A Rejoinder Of A Revolutionary. *Journal Of Black Studies,* 49**,** 191-211.

Maregedze, B. 2019. Explain The Nature And Function Of Alien Spirits In The Shona\Ndebele Traditional Religion. [Blog] *Bulawayo 24 News,* Available At: <Https://Bulawayo24.Com/Index-Id-Opinion-Sc-Blogs-Byo-162164.Html> [Accessed 9 August 2019].

Maregedze, B. 2019. Explain The Nature And Function Of Alien Spirits In The Shona\Ndebele Traditional Religion. [Blog] *Bulawayo 24 News,* Available At: <Https://Bulawayo24.Com/Index-Id-Opinion-Sc-Blogs-Byo-162164.Html> [Accessed 9 August 2019].

Masakure, C. 2016. 'We Will Make Sure They Are Rehabilitated': Nation-Building And Social Engineering In Operation Clean-Up, Zimbabwe, 1983. *South African Historical Journal,* 68**,** 92-111.

Masowa, A. 2017. *Gender And Humour; Complexities Of Women's Image Politics In Shona Humourous Narratives.* Doctoral Thesis. University Of Cape Town.

Mataga, J. 2008. Beyond The Dance: A Look At Mbende (Jerusarema) Traditional Dance In Zimbabwe. *International Journal Of Intangible Heritage,* 3**,** 96-102.

Mawere, T. 2020. The Politics And Symbolism Of The# Thisflag In Zimbabwe. *The Strategic Review For Southern Africa,* 42.

Mazango, E. 2005. Media Games And Shifting Of Spaces For Political Communication In Zimbabwe. *Westminster Papers In Communication And Culture,* 2.

Mbiti, J. S. 1988. Flowers In The Garden: The Role Of Women In African Religion. *Cahiers Des Religions Africaines,* 22**,** 69-82.

Mbiti, J. S. 2015. *Introduction To African Religion,* Waveland Press.

Mboti, N. 2016. The Zimbabwean Film Industry. *African Communication Research* 7**,** 145–172.

Mccombs, M. 2007. Agenda-Setting. *The Blackwell Encyclopedia Of Sociology***,** 1-2.

Mcfadden, P. 2003. Sexual Pleasure As Feminist Choice. *Feminist Africa***,** 2, 50-60.

Mcfadden, P. (2016). *Professor Patricia Mcfadden On African Feminism. An Ideg Presentation.* [Video] Available At: Https://Youtu.Be/H00nv425aa [Accessed 11 Dec. 2019].

Mcintyre, J. Explainer: The Difference Between Being Transgender And Doing Drag. Conversation, 2018. Conversation Media Group.

Mckay, A., Moore, S. & Kubik, W. 2018. Western Beauty Pressures And Their Impact On Young University Women. *International Journal Of Gender And Women's Studies,* 6**,** 1-11.

Mckay, C. 1999. Is Sex Work Queer? *Social Alternatives,* 18**,** 48.

Mclaren, R. 1993. Developing Drama At The University Of Zimbabwe. *Zambezia,* 20**,** 35-52.

Mclaren, R. 2013. Broken Mirrors: Art And Actuality In Zimbabwean Theatre. *African Theatre In Performance: A Festschrift In Honour Of Martin Banham,* 35(5).

Mcclintock, A. 1992. Screwing The System: Sex Work, Race, And The Law. *Boundary 2,* 19**,** 70-95.

Mckay, A., Moore, S. & Kubik, W. 2018. Western Beauty Pressures And Their Impact On Young University Women. *International Journal Of Gender And Women's Studies,* 6**,** 1-11.

Mclaughlin, C. 2003. The Feeling Of Finding Out: The Role Of Emotions In Research. *Educational Action Research,* 11**,** 65-78.

Mcquail, D. 2005. Accountability Of Media To Society: Principles And Means. *Communication Theory And Research***,** 90-103.

Mda, Z. 1990a. Marotholi Travelling Theatre: Towards And Alternative Perspective Of Development. *Journal Of Southern African Studies,* 16**,** 352-358.

Mda, Z. 1993. *When People Play People: Development Communication Through Theatre,* Zed Books.

Mda, Z. K. 1990b. *The Utilization Of Theatre As A Medium For Development Communication: An Examination Of The Lesotho Experience.* University Of Cape Town.

Mdoe, A. Popular Theatre And Its Role In Participation For Social Development. Dialogue For Change: Popularizing Policy And Influencing Change Through Action Research, Advocacy And Creative Communication" Conference, Dar-Es-Salaam, 2002.

Mda, Z. 1993. *When People Play People: Development Communication Through Theatre,* Zed Books.

Meagher, K. 2020. Deciphering African Informal Economies. *The Informal Economy Revisited.* Routledge.
Mehraj, H. K., Bhat, A. N. & Mehraj, H. R. 2014. Impacts Of Media On Society: A Sociological Perspective. *International Journal Of Humanities And Social Science Invention,* 3**,** 56-64.
Mekgwe, P. 2007. Theorizing African Feminism (S). The 'Colonial'question. *Matatu,* 35**,** 165-174.
Mertens, D. M. 2017. Transformative Research: Personal And Societal. *International Journal For Transformative Research,* 4**,** 18-24.
Mgbako, C. & Smith, L. A. 2009. Sex Work And Human Rights In Africa. *Fordham Int'l Lj,* 33**,** 1178.
Mgbako, C. 2016. *To Live Freely In This World: Sex Worker Activism In Africa*, Nyu Press. Doi:10.18574/Nyu/9781479817566.001.0001
Mlama, P. M. 1991. *Culture And Development: The Popular Theatre Approach In Africa*, Nordiska Afrikainstitutet.
Millon, E. M. & Shors, T. J. 2021. How Mental Health Relates To Everyday Stress, Rumination, Trauma And Interoception In Women Living With Hiv: A Factor Analytic Study. *Learning And Motivation,* 73**,** 101680.
Mkandawire, T. 1986. The Informal Sector In The Labour Reserve Economies Of Southern Africa With Special Reference To Zimbabwe. *Africa Development/Afrique Et Développement,* 11**,** 61-81.
Mignolo, W. 2012. *Local Histories/Global Designs: Coloniality, Subaltern Knowledges, And Border Thinking*, Princeton University Press.
Mignolo, W. 2014. Further Thoughts On (De) Coloniality. *Postcoloniality-Decoloniality-Black Critique: Joints And Fissures, New York: Campus Verlag***,** 21-51.
Mignolo, W. D. 2009. Epistemic Disobedience, Independent Thought And Decolonial Freedom. *Theory, Culture & Society,* 26**,** 159-181.
Mikell, G. 1995. African Feminism: Toward A New Politics Of Representation. *Feminist Studies,* 21**,** 405-424.
Mikell, G. 1997. *African Feminism: The Politics Of Survival In Sub-Saharan Africa*, University Of Pennsylvania Press.
Millon, E. M. & Shors, T. J. 2021. How Mental Health Relates To Everyday Stress, Rumination, Trauma And Interoception In Women Living With Hiv: A Factor Analytic Study. *Learning And Motivation,* 73**,** 101680.
Mishra, R. K. 2013. Postcolonial Feminism: Looking Into Within-Beyond-To Difference. *International Journal Of English And Literature,* 4**,** 129-134.
Mkandawire, T. 1986. The Informal Sector In The Labour Reserve Economies Of Southern Africa With Special Reference To Zimbabwe. *Africa Development/Afrique Et Développement,* 11**,** 61-81.
Mlama, P. M. 1991. *Culture And Development: The Popular Theatre Approach In Africa*, Nordiska Afrikainstitutet.
Mohanty, C. T. 1996. „Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship And Colonial Discourses", U: Mongia, Padmini (Ur.): Postcolonial Theory. *A Reader***,** 172-197.
Moreno, M. A. & Koff, R. 2015. 11. Media Theories And The Facebook Influence Model. *The Psychology Of Social Networking Vol. 1*. Sciendo Migration.
Morgan, D. L. 1995. Why Things (Sometimes) Go Wrong In Focus Groups. *Qualitative Health Research,* 5**,** 516-523.
Mpofu, M. & Moyo, C. 2017. Theatre As Alternative Media In Zimbabwe: Selected Case Studies From Matabeleland. *Journal Of African Media Studies,* 9**,** 507-520.
Muchedzi, A., Mpofu, M., Mudzengerere, F. H., Bateganya, M., Mavimba, T., Satti, H., Dhliwayo, R., Zulu, T., Tapera, T. & Samushonga, T. 2021. High Hiv Positivity Rates Following Large-Scale Hiv Self-Testing Implementation In Zimbabwe, 2018–2020. *Frontiers In Public Health,* 9.
Muchena, E. 2013. Revisiting The Media Lawscape: A Context-Based Reappraisal Of The New Media Laws In Zimbabwe. *Journal Of Humanities And Social Science (Iosrjhss),* 17**,** 68-75.

Mudavanhu, J. 2010. *The Attitude Of The Methodist Church In Zimbabwe To Homosexuality: Towards A Socio-Sexological Theological Investigation.* University Of Birmingham.
Mujere, N. 2016. Sampling In Research. *Mixed Methods Research For Improved Scientific Study.* Igi Global.
Mukoka, S. 2020. Does Inflation Influence Unemployment In Zimbabwe? An Econometric Assessment. *International Journal Of Information, Business And Management,* 12**,** 156-165.
Mumanyi, B. 2019. *Interview.*

Mupauka, E. 2020. World Teachers Day: Zimbabwe Teachers Lament Poor Salaries. *Report Focus Forms,* [Online] Available At: <Https://Www.Reportfocusnews.Com/2020/10/05/World-Teachers-Day-Zimbabwe-Teachers-Lament-Poor-Salaries/> [Accessed 3 December 2020].

Murray, J. 2013. *One Flesh, Two Sexes, Three Genders?* University Of Pennsylvania Press.
Musemwa, M. 2010. From 'Sunshine City' To A Landscape Of Disaster: The Politics Of Water, Sanitation And Disease In Harare, Zimbabwe, 1980–2009. *Journal Of Developing Societies,* 26**,** 165-206.
Musvipwa, R. 2015. Child Prostitution In Zimbabwe. *Fair Planet Newsletter*.
Mutero, I. T. 2017. *Conflict Transformation Through Music And Dance: The Case Of Mkoba, In Gweru, Zimbabwe.*
Muwonwa, N. 2020. Sexual Subjectivity Among Young Female Students At A University In Zimbabwe. *Culture, Health & Sexuality***,** 1-11.
Muzondi, L. 2014. Urbanization And Service Delivery Planning: Analysis Of Water And Sanitation Management Systems In The City Of Harare, Zimbabwe. *Mediterranean Journal Of Social Sciences,* 5**,** 2905-2905.
Muzvidziwa, V. N. 1997. Prostitutes: Vendors Of Another Type. *Journal Of Social Development In Africa,* 12**,** 75-89.
Naffziger, A. 2011. There Seem To Be A Whole Lot Of Prostitutes In The Bible. Can You Tell Me Why And A Bit About Some Of Them?. [Blog] *Busted Halo,* Available At: <Https://Bustedhalo.Com/Questionbox/There-Seem-To-Be-A-Whole-Lot-Of-Prostitutes-In-The-Bible-Can-You-Tell-Me-Why-And-A-Bit-About-Some-Of-Them> [Accessed 8 July 2019].

Nagle, J. 1997. *Whores And Other Feminists,* Psychology Press.
Napierala, S., Chabata, S. T., Fearon, E., Davey, C., Hargreaves, J., Busza, J., Mushati, P., Mtetwa, S., Chiyaka, T. & Mugurungi, O. 2018. Engagement In Hiv Care Among Young Female Sex Workers In Zimbabwe. *Jaids Journal Of Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndromes,* 79**,** 358-366.
Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. J. & Willems, W. 2009. Making Sense Of Cultural Nationalism And The Politics Of Commemoration Under The Third Chimurenga In Zimbabwe. *Journal Of Southern African Studies,* 35**,** 945-965.
Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. J. 2013. *Coloniality Of Power In Postcolonial Africa,* African Books Collective.
Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. J. 2015. Decoloniality As The Future Of Africa. *History Compass,* 13**,** 485-496.
Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. J. 2018. *Epistemic Freedom In Africa: Deprovincialization And Decolonization,* Routledge.
Nehanda Radio. 2018. *Chisipite Senior School Forced To Apologise After Video Of Female Students Singing Obscenities Goes Viral*. [Online] Available At: <Https://Nehandaradio.Com/2018/06/08/Chisipite-Senior-School-Forced-To-Apologise-After-Video-Of-Female-Students-Singing-Obscenities-Goes-Viral/> [Accessed 5 June 2020]

Newsday, 2017. Hopley: The Epicentre Of Depravity. [Online] Available At: <Https://Www.Newsday.Co.Zw/2017/05/Hopley-Epicentre-Depravity/> [Accessed 18 December 2020].

Ndunguru, M. G. & Hoko, Z. 2016. Assessment Of Water Loss In Harare, Zimbabwe. *Journal Of Water, Sanitation And Hygiene For Development,* 6**,** 519-533.

Ndunguru, M. G. & Hoko, Z. 2016. Assessment Of Water Loss In Harare, Zimbabwe. *Journal Of Water, Sanitation And Hygiene For Development,* 6**,** 519-533.
Ngozi, C. 2010. *The Danger Of A Single Story*. [Video] Available At: <Https://Youtu.Be/D9ihs241zeg> [Accessed 19 April 2018].
Nfah-Abbenyi, J. M. 1997. *Gender In African Women's Writing: Identity, Sexuality, And Difference,* Indiana University Press.
Ngugi, E. N., Wilson, D., Sebstad, J., Plummer, F. A. & Moses, S. 1996. Focused Peer-Mediated Educational Programs Among Female Sex Workers To Reduce Sexually Transmitted Disease And Human Immunodeficiency Virus Transmission In Kenya And Zimbabwe. *Journal Of Infectious Diseases,* 174**,** S240-S247.
Ngwenya, D. 2017. *Healing The Wounds Of Gukurahundi In Zimbabwe: A Participatory Action Research Project*, Springer.
Nkealah, N. 2016. (West) African Feminisms And Their Challenges. *Journal Of Literary Studies,* 32**,** 61-74.
Nichols, P. 1991. *Social Survey Methods: A Fieldguide For Development Workers,* Oxfam.
Nicholson, H. 2011. Applied Drama/Theatre/Performance. *Key Concepts In Theatre/Drama Education.* Brill Sense.
Nicholson, H. 2014. *Applied Drama: The Gift Of Theatre*, Macmillan International Higher Education.
Noddings, N. 1996. Stories And Affect In Teacher Education. *Cambridge Journal Of Education,* 26**,** 435-447.
Nkealah, N. 2016. (West) African Feminisms And Their Challenges. *Journal Of Literary Studies,* 32**,** 61-74.
Nnaemeka, O. 2004. Nego-Feminism: Theorizing, Practicing, And Pruning Africa's Way. *Signs: Journal Of Women In Culture And Society,* 29**,** 357-385.
Noddings, N. 1996. Stories And Affect In Teacher Education. *Cambridge Journal Of Education,* 26**,** 435-447.
Noel, L.-A. Promoting An Emancipatory Research Paradigm In Design Education And Practice. Design Research Society 50th Anniversary Conference. Brighton, Uk, 2016. 27-30.
Nunn, G. 2015. Power Grab: Reclaiming Words Can Be Such A Bitch. *The Guardian,* 30.
Nwosu, O. 2019. Wisdom In Mournful Tunes: Exploring The Major Themes Of Igbo Oral Funeral Songs. *Journal Of Cultural Analysis And Social Change,* 4**,** 05.
Nyabeze, K., Jakaza, T. N., Chikoko, W., Mwapaura, K. & Zvokuomba, K. 2021. The Resilience Of Female Sex Workers In The Wake Of Covid-19 In Zimbabwe. *Journal Of Asian And African Studies***,** 00219096211013411.
Nyambi, O. 2015. Re-Framing The Prostitute Identity In Zimbabwe: An Approach To Virginia Phiri's Novel Highway Queen (2010). *Literator: Journal Of Literary Criticism, Comparative Linguistics And Literary Studies,* 36**,** 1-10.
Nyandoro, F. 2006. *Ndozviudza Aniko*. 1st Ed. Harare: Zph Publishers.
Nyanzi, S. 2013. Dismantling Reified African Culture Through Localised Homosexualities In Uganda. *Culture, Health & Sexuality,* 15**,** 952-967.
Nyong'o, T. 2012. Queer Africa And The Fantasy Of Virtual Participation. *Women's Studies Quarterly,* 40**,** 40-63.
Obiorah, M.J. (2014). Rahab In The Book Of Joshua And Other Texts Of The Bible. International Journal Of Humanities And Social Science. 19. 19-29. 10.9790/0837-19321929.

Oatey, A. 1999. The Strengths And Limitations Of Interviews As A Research Technique For Studying Television Viewers. *April Http://Www. Aber. Ac. Uk/Media/Students/Aeo9702. Html Consulted On*, 19**,** 2011.

Odhiambo, C. 2004. *Theatre For Development In Kenya: In Search Of An Effective Procedure And Methodology.* Stellenbosch: Stellenbosch University.

Ogbomo, O. W. 2005. Women, Power And Society In Pre-Colonial Africa. *Lagos Historical Review*, 5(1).

Ogundipe-Leslie, M. 1994. *Re-Creating Ourselves: African Women & Critical Transformations*, Africa World Press.

Okagbue, O. 2013. *African Theatres & Performances*, Routledge.

Onabolu, T. Undated. The Location Of Theory: On 'Nego-Feminism'. *Shado Magazine*.

Oripeloye, H. 2016. Aesthetics Of Funeral Performance In Ọka Akoko Ondo State, Nigeria. *Journal Of The Musical Arts In Africa*, 13**,** 17-29.

Osborne, N. 2015. Spectacular The Art Of Theatre Spectacle. [Blog] *Howlround Theatre Commons*, Available At: <Https://Howlround.Com/Spectacular> [Accessed 21 October 2019].

Östergren, P. 2004. Sexworkers Critique Of Swedish Prostitution Policy. *See Http://Www. Petraostergren. Com/Content/View/44/38*.

Outshoorn, J. 2012. Policy Change In Prostitution In The Netherlands: From Legalization To Strict Control. *Sexuality Research And Social Policy*, 9**,** 233-243.

Overall, C. 1992. What's Wrong With Prostitution? Evaluating Sex Work. *Signs: Journal Of Women In Culture And Society*, 17**,** 705-724.

Overs, C. 2002. Sex Workers: Part Of The Solution. An Analysis Of Hiv Prevention Programming To Prevent Hiv Transmission During Commercial Sex In Developing Countries. *Unpublished Report*.

Oyěwùmí, O. 1997. *The Invention Of Women: Making An African Sense Of Western Gender Discourses*, U Of Minnesota Press.

Ozkazanc-Pan, B. 2012. Postcolonial Feminist Research: Challenges And Complexities. *Equality, Diversity And Inclusion: An International Journal*, 31**,** 573.

Patton, M. Q. 2002. Two Decades Of Developments In Qualitative Inquiry: A Personal, Experiential Perspective. *Qualitative Social Work*, 1**,** 261-283.

Pearson, S. & Makadzange, P. 2008. Help-Seeking Behaviour For Sexual-Health Concerns: A Qualitative Study Of Men In Zimbabwe. *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, 10**,** 361-376.

Pereira, C. 2017. Feminists Organising—Strategy, Voice, Power. *Feminist Africa 22 Feminists Organising—Strategy, Voice, Power***,** 16.

Perry, Ja (2012) A Silent Revolution: 'Image Theatre' As A System Of Decolonisation, Research In Drama Education: *The Journal Of Applied Theatre And Performance*, 17:1, 103-119, Doi: 10.1080/13569783.2012.648991.

O'connor, P. & O'connor, B. (2009) Editorial, Ride: The Journal Of Applied Theatre And Performance Vol. 14, No. 4, November 2009, 471477

Pettifor, A. E., Beksinska, M. E. & Rees, H. V. 2000. High Knowledge And High Risk Behaviour: A Profile Of Hotel-Based Sex Workers In Inner-City Johannesburg. *African Journal Of Reproductive Health***,** 35-43.

Phiri, V. 2002. Desperate. Harare: Virginia Phiri (Self-Published).

Phiri, V. 2010. Highway Queen. Harare: Corals Services.

Prakash, G. 1994. Subaltern Studies As Postcolonial Criticism. *The American Historical Review,* 99**,** 1475-1490.
Prentki, T. 2015. *Applied Theatre: Development*, Bloomsbury Publishing.
Prentki, T. & Preston, S. 2013. Applied Thetre: An Introduction. *The Applied Theatre Reader.* Routledge.
Preston-Whyte, R. 2004. The Beach As A Liminal Space. *A Companion To Tourism***,** 349-359.
Preston, S. 2013. Managed Hearts? Emotional Labour And The Applied Theatre Facilitator In Urban Settings. *Research In Drama Education: The Journal Of Applied Theatre And Performance,* 18**,** 230-245.
Qiao, S., Tsang, E. Y.-H., Wilkinson, J. S., Lipeleke, F. & Li, X. 2019a. "In Zimbabwe There Is Nothing For Us": Sex Work And Vulnerability Of Hiv Infection Among Male Sex Workers In Zimbabwe. *Aids Care*.
Qiao, S., Yuk-Ha Tsang, E., Wilkinson, J. S., Lipeleke, F. & Li, X. 2019b. "In Zimbabwe There Is Nothing For Us": Sex Work And Vulnerability Of Hiv Infection Among Male Sex Workers In Zimbabwe. *Aids Care,* 31**,** 1124-1130.
Quijano, A. 2007. Coloniality And Modernity/Rationality. *Cultural Studies,* 21**,** 168-178.
Ravengai, S. 2010. Political Theatre, National Identity And Political Control: The Case Of Zimbabwe. *African Identities,* 8**,** 163-173.
Ravengai, S. 2011. *Subalternity And The Negotiation Of A Theatre Identity: Performing The Postcolony Alternative Zimbabwean Theatre.* University Of Cape Town.
Ravengai, S. 2018. Decolonising Theatre: Subverting The Western Dramaturgical Frame In Zimbabwean Theatre And Performance. *Critical Arts,* 32**,** 15-30.
Ravengai, S. 2020. Artistic Research In Africa With Specific Reference To South Africa And Zimbabwe: Formulating The Theory Of Afroscenology.
Raymond, J. G. 2004. Ten Reasons For Not Legalizing Prostitution And A Legal Response To The Demand For Prostitution. *Journal Of Trauma Practice,* 2**,** 315-332.
Reis, E. 1999. *Damned Women: Sinners And Witches In Puritan New England*, Cornell University Press.
Richter, M. 2012. Sex Work As A Test Case For African Feminism. *A Journal On African Women's Experiences*. 2(1), 62-69
Richter, M. 2013. Characteristics, Sexual Behaviour And Access To Health Care Services For Sex Workers In South Africa And Kenya. *Phd, Ghent University*.
Richter, M., Chersich, M., Temmerman, M. & Luchters, S. 2013. Characteristics, Sexual Behaviour And Risk Factors Of Female, Male And Transgender Sex Workers In South Africa. *South African Medical Journal,* 103**,** 246-251.
Rifelj, C. 2008. 'Il Faut Souffrir Pour Être Belle': Pain And Beauty In Prose Fiction. *Pleasure And Pain In Nineteenth-Century French Literature And Culture.* Masters' Thesis. Brill.
Roth, S. 2018. Introduction: Contemporary Counter-Movements In The Age Of Brexit And Trump. *Sociological Research Online,* 23**,** 496-506.
Rubin, G. 1984. Thinking Sex: Notes For A Radical Theory Of The Politics Of Sexuality. *Social Perspectives In Lesbian And Gay Studies; A Reader***,** 100-133.
Rubin, G. 1993. Misguided, Dangerous, And Wrong: An Analysis Of Antipornography Politics. *Bad Girls And Dirty Pictures: The Challenge To Reclaim Feminism***,** 18-40.
Rugoho, T. 2019. Experiences Of Disabled Commercial Sex Workers In Zimbabwe. *Diverse Voices Of Disabled Sexualities In The Global South.* Springer.
Rwafa, U. 2012. Representations Of Matabeleland And Midlands Disturbances Through The Documentary Film Gukurahundi: A Moment Of Madness (2007). *African Identities,* 10**,** 313-327.
Said, E. W. 1994. Identity, Authority, And Freedom: The Potentate And The Traveler. *Boundary 2,* 21**,** 1-18.
Saldanha, D. 2012. *Choreography Of Space: Fusing Architecture And Dance.*
Samaras, A. P. & Sell, C. 2013. Please Write: Using Critical Friend Letter Writing In Teacher Research. *Teacher Education Quarterly,* 40**,** 93-104.

Sambala, E. Z., Cooper, S. & Manderson, L. 2020. Ubuntu As A Framework For Ethical Decision Making In Africa: Responding To Epidemics. *Ethics & Behavior,* 30**,** 1-13.

Samkange, T. 2011. Prophet Magaya To Transform Bev's Life. *Newsday*, [Online] Available At: <Https://Www.Newsday.Co.Zw/2014/01/Prophet-Magaya-Transform-Bevs-Life/> [Accessed 17 September 2020].

Samutereko, E. Z. 2021. A Critical Analysis Of Social Distancing As A Policy To Combat The Spread Of Corona Virus In Zimbabwe. *Technium Social Sciences Journal,* 20**,** 782-790.

Saxton, J. & Prendergast, M. 2013. *Applied Drama: A Facilitators Handbook For Working In Community*, Intellect Books.

Scorgie, F., Nakato, D., Akoth, D. O., Netshivhambe, M., Chakuvinga, P., Nkomo, P., Abdalla, P., Sibanda, S. & Richter, M. 2011. I Expect To Be Abused And I Have Fear": Sex Workers' Experiences Of Human Rights Violations And Barriers To Accessing Healthcare In Four African Countries. *Cape Town: African Sex Worker Alliance*.

Schwab, K. 2016. *The Fourth Industrial Revolution: What It Means, How To Respond*. [Online] World Economic Forum. Available At: <Https://Www.Weforum.Org/Agenda/2016/01/The-Fourth-Industrial-Revolution-What-It-Means-And-How-To-Respond/> [Accessed 17 September 2020].

Schechner, R. 2010. *Between Theater And Anthropology*, University Of Pennsylvania Press.

Schensul, S. L., Schensul, J. J. & Lecompte, M. D. 1999. *Essential Ethnographic Methods: Observations, Interviews, And Questionnaires*, Rowman Altamira.

Scorgie, F., Nakato, D., Akoth, D. O., Netshivhambe, M., Chakuvinga, P., Nkomo, P., Abdalla, P., Sibanda, S. & Richter, M. 2011. I Expect To Be Abused And I Have Fear": Sex Workers' Experiences Of Human Rights Violations And Barriers To Accessing Healthcare In Four African Countries. *Cape Town: African Sex Worker Alliance*.

Scorgie, F., Vasey, K., Harper, E., Richter, M., Nare, P., Maseko, S. & Chersich, M. F. 2013b. Human Rights Abuses And Collective Resilience Among Sex Workers In Four African Countries: A Qualitative Study. *Globalization And Health,* 9**,** 33.

Scott, J. C. 1990. *Domination And The Arts Of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*, Yale University Press.

Schulz, K. A. 2017. Decolonizing Political Ecology: Ontology, Technology And'critical'enchantment. *Journal Of Political Ecology,* 24**,** 125-143.

Seda, O. & Chivandikwa, N. 2016. Civil Society, Religion And Applied Theatre In A Kairotic Moment–Preliminary Reflections On A Project On Political Violence And Torture In Zimbabwe, 2001–2002. *Commonwealth Youth And Development,* 14**,** 81-91.

Self, A. K. 2016. Adopting A Third Gender In The United States. *The Downtown Review,* 3**,** 8.

Scott, J. C. 1990. *Domination And The Arts Of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*, Yale University Press.

Self, A. K. 2016. Adopting A Third Gender In The United States. *The Downtown Review,* 3**,** 8.

Shakespeare, W. 2001. *The Tragedy Of Macbeth*, Classic Books Company.

Shaughnessy, N. 2012. *Applying Performance: Live Art, Socially Engaged Theatre And Affective Practice*, Palgrave Macmillan.

Shields, S. A. 2008. Intersectionality Of Social Identities: A Gender Perspective. *Sex Roles,* 59.

Shoko, T. 2012. Teaching African Traditional Religion At The University Of Zimbabwe. *African Traditions In The Study Of Religion In Africa: Emerging Trends, Indigenous Spirituality And The Interface With Other World Religions***,** 53-66.

Showden, C. R. 2016. Feminist Sex Wars. *The Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia Of Gender And Sexuality Studies***,** 1-3.

Sibanda, P. A. 2015. Performing Alternatives: Towards The Negotiating Space For Sexual Minorities In Zimbabwe. 4(9).

Sibanda, N. 2019. Conceptualizing Alternative Theater And Alternative Performance Space In Post-Independence Zimbabwe. *Sage Open,* 9(2). 2158244019846699.

Sibanda, P. A. Forthcoming. 'Not African Enough, Not Woman Enough!' An Interrogation Of The African Queer Female Narrative In Africa.
Silverman, D. 2020. *Qualitative Research*, Sage Publications Limited.
Simba, P. 2021. A Feminist Critique Of Ubuntu: Implications For Citizenship Education In Zimbabwe. Phd Thesis. Stellenbosch.
Simba, P. & Davids, N. 2020. Cultivating Third Space Thinking In ('African') Feminism Through The Works Of Nandipha Mntambo. *Agenda***,** 1-13.
Simpson, J. J. 2017. *Hanging Up And Hanging Out: A Qualitative Case Study Of College Men Imagineering A Short-Term Study Abroad Engineering Course In Spain.*
Sithole, T. 2014. *Achille Mbembe: Subject, Subjection, And Subjectivity.* University Of South Africa Pretoria.
Smith, L. 2015. Corrective Rape: The Homophobic Fallout Of Post-Apartheid South Africa. *The Telegraph*, [Online] Available At: <Https://Www.Telegraph.Co.Uk/Women/Womens-Life/11608361/Corrective-Rape-The-Homophobic-Fallout-Of-Post-Apartheid-South-Africa.Html> [Accessed 8 September 2020].

Soundproofilm, 2020. *Zimbabwe's Lady Of The Night*. [Video] Available At: <Https://Youtu.Be/7au6knosnvu> [Accessed 1 July 2020]

Southall, R. J. 2017. Bond Notes, Borrowing, And Heading For Bust: Zimbabwe's Persistent Crisis. *Canadian Journal Of African Studies/Revue Canadienne Des Études Africaines,* 51**,** 389-405.
Southerton, C., Marshall, D., Aggleton, P., Rasmussen, M. L. & Cover, R. 2020. Restricted Modes: Social Media, Content Classification And Lgbtq Sexual Citizenship. *New Media & Society***,** 1461444820904362.
Specialist Research Ethics Guidance Paper, 2020. *Ethical Considerations In Participatory Research / Participatory Action Research*. [Ebook] Sheffield: Sheffield University. Available At: <Https://Www.Sheffield.Ac.Uk/Polopoly_Fs/1.165644!/File/Sregp-Participatory-Action-Research.Pdf> [Accessed 18 December 2020].

Spivak, C. 1988. Can The Subaltern Speak?: Marxism And The Interpretation Of Culture, Urbana, University Of Illinois Press.
Srikumar, M. & Arun, K. Implementation Of Time Management, Issues And Challenges-An Empirical Study. *7th International Conference On Social Science Research For Sustaining Business & Economy In Global Market.*
Stella 2013. *Language Matters: Talking About Sex Work*. Available At: <Https://Www.Nswp.Org/Sites/Nswp.Org/Files/Stellainfosheetlanguagematters.Pdf> [Accessed 27 August 2018].

Stone, J., Mukandavire, C., Boily, M. C., Fraser, H., Mishra, S., Schwartz, S., Rao, A., Looker, K. J., Quaife, M. & Terris-Prestholt, F. 2021. Estimating The Contribution Of Key Populations Towards Hiv Transmission In South Africa. *Journal Of The International Aids Society,* 24(1): E25650.
Sullivan, P. S., Phaswana-Mafuya, N., Baral, S. D., Valencia, R., Zahn, R., Dominguez, K., Yah, C. S., Jones, J., Kgatitswe, L. B. & Mcnaghten, A. 2020. Hiv Prevalence And Incidence In A Cohort Of South African Men And Transgender Women Who Have Sex With Men: The Sibanye Methods For Prevention Packages Programme (Mp3) Project. *Journal Of The International Aids Society,* 23(6). E25591.
Sussman, K. 2012. The Importance Of Play In The Preschool Classroom. *Texas Child Care Quarterly,* 36**,** 9-16.
Sutton-Smith, B. 1997. The Ambiguity Of Play: Rhetorics Of Fate. *The Performance Studies Reader***,** 132-38.

Tago, A., Mckinnon, L. R., Wanjiru, T., Muriuki, F., Munyao, J., Gakii, G., Akolo, M., Kariri, A., Reed, N. & Shaw, S. Y. 2021. Declines In Hiv Prevalence In Female Sex Workers Accessing An Hiv Treatment And Prevention Programme In Nairobi, Kenya Over A 10-Year Period. *Aids*, 35(2) 317-324.

Takawira, W. & Helliker, K. 2018. Sex Work As A Livelihood Strategy In The Border Town Of Beitbridge. *The Political Economy Of Livelihoods In Contemporary Zimbabwe***,** 57-73.

Takawira, W. M. 2016. *Sex Work As A Livelihood Strategy In The Border Town Of Beitbridge, Zimbabwe.* Masters Thesis Rhodes University.

Tamale, S. 2006. African Feminism: How Should We Change? *Development,* 49**,** 38-41.

Tamale, S. 2009. A Human Rights Impact Assessment Of The Ugandan Anti-Homosexuality Bill 2009. *The Equal Rights Review*, 4**,** 49-57.

Tamale, S. 2011. *African Sexualities: A Reader*, Fahamu/Pambazuka.

Tamale, S. 2020. Decolonisation And Afro-Feminism. Ottawa: Daraja Press.

Tandi, T. 2012. A Case For The Decriminalisation Of Prostitution? A Critical Analysis Of The Women In Prostitution In Harare, Zimbabwe. Master's Thesis. University Of Zimbabwe.

Tanyanyiwa, V. I. & Mutungamiri, I. 2011. Residents Perception On Water And Sanitation Problems In Dzivaresekwa 1 High Density Suburb, Harare. *Journal Of Sustainable Development In Africa,* 13(4), 309-340.

Taylor, P. 2003. The Applied Theatre. Eric.

The Chronicle, 2020. Over 50% Of Prostitutes Are Hiv+. [Online] Available At: <Https://Www.Chronicle.Co.Zw/Over-50-Percent-Of-Prostitutes-Hiv/> [Accessed 9 September 2019].

The Herald, 2018. Ceshhar Opens Health Centre For Sex Workers. [Online] Available At: <Https://Www.Herald.Co.Zw/Ceshhar-Opens-Health-Centre-For-Sex-Workers/.> [Accessed 9 September 2019].

The Scavenger. (2011). *Why Feminists Should Listen To Sex Workers*. [Online] Available At: [Accessed 11 Dec. 2019].

The Standard, 2011. New Play Sinners? Skeletal. [Online] Available At: <Https://Www.Thestandard.Co.Zw/2011/06/27/New-Play-Sinners-Skeletal/> [Accessed 15 September 2018].

The Standard, 2017. Male Sex Worker Bares Soul. [Online] Available At: <Https://Www.Thestandard.Co.Zw/2017/08/20/Male-Sex-Worker-Bares-Soul/> [Accessed 2 April 2019].

The Sunday Mail, 2016. This Is Our Own Sin City. [Online] Available At: <Https://Www.Sundaymail.Co.Zw/This-Is-Our-Own-Sin-City/Amp> [Accessed 8 April 2018].

The Zimbabwean, 2011. "Sinners?" To Premier At Theatre In The Park. [Online] Available At: <Https://Www.Thezimbabwean.Co/2011/06/Sinners-To-Premiere-At-Theatre/> [Accessed 11 November 2018].

Thwaites, R. 2017. Making A Choice Or Taking A Stand? Choice Feminism, Political Engagement And The Contemporary Feminist Movement. *Feminist Theory,* 18**,** 55-68.

Thobejane, T. D., Mulaudzi, T. P. & Zitha, R. 2017. Factors Leading To "Blesser-Blessee" Relationships Amongst Female Students: The Case Of A Rural University In Thulamela Municipality, Limpopo Province, South Africa. *Gender And Behaviour,* 15**,** 8716-8731.

Thompson, J. 2009. *Performance Affects: Applied Theatre And The End Of Effect*, Springer.

Thummapol, O., Park, T., Jackson, M. & Barton, S. 2019. Methodological Challenges Faced In Doing Research With Vulnerable Women: Reflections From Fieldwork Experiences. *International Journal Of Qualitative Methods,* 18**,** 1609406919843022.

Tofa, M. 2020. The Rise And Demise Of The "New Dispensation" In Zimbabwe. *Gender, Protests And Political Change In Africa.* Springer.

Tsang, E. Y.-H., Qiao, S., Wilkinson, J. S., Fung, A. L.-C., Lipeleke, F. & Li, X. 2019. Multilayered Stigma And Vulnerabilities For Hiv Infection And Transmission: A Qualitative Study On Male Sex Workers In Zimbabwe. *American Journal Of Men's Health,* 13**,** 1557988318823883.

Tyagi, R. 2014. Understanding Postcolonial Feminism In Relation With Postcolonial And Feminist Theories. *International Journal Of Language And Linguistics,* 1**,** 45-50.

Tyler, K. A. & Johnson, K. A. 2006. Trading Sex: Voluntary Or Coerced? The Experiences Of Homeless Youth. *Journal Of Sex Research,* 43**,** 208-216.

Unaids, 2001. *Regional Workshop On Situation Analysis Of Sex Work In West And Central Africa*. [Online] Abidjan: Unaids Inter-Country Team For West And Central Africa. Available At: <Https://Www.Who.Int/Hiv/Topics/Vct/Sw_Toolkit/Workshop_On_Situation_Analysis_Sex_Work.Pdf> [Accessed 6 September 2019].

Unicef, 2018. *Learning Through Play: Strengthening Learning Through Play In Early Childhood Education Programmes.*. Unicef Programme Division.

United States Department Of State, 2018. *Zimbabwe 2018 International Religious Freedom Report*. [Online] Harare: United States Department Of State. Available At: <Https://Www.State.Gov/Wp-Content/Uploads/2019/05/Zimbabwe-2018-International-Religious-Freedom-Report.Pdf> [Accessed 15 September 2020].

Usaid. 2020. *Statement By Usaid Acting Administrator John Barsa On The Second Review Of The Implementation Of The Protecting Life In Global Health Assistance Policy*. [Online] Available At: <Https://Www.Usaid.Gov/News-Information/Press-Releases/Aug-18-2020-Usaid-Acting-Administrator-John-Barsa-Second-Review-Plgha> [Accessed 15 September 2020].

Van Der Meulen, E. 2011. Action Research With Sex Workers: Dismantling Barriers And Building Bridges. *Action Research,* 9**,** 370-384.

Vanwesenbeeck, I. 2001. Another Decade Of Social Scientific Work On Sex Work: A Review Of Research 1990–2000. *Annual Review Of Sex Research,* 12**,** 242-289.

Vanwesenbeeck, I. 2017. Sex Work Criminalization Is Barking Up The Wrong Tree. *Archives Of Sexual Behavior,* 46**,** 1631-1640.

Vidima, N., Tenga, R. & Richter, M., 2020. *#Sayhername: Sex Worker Deaths In South Africa - 2018-2019*. [Online] Cape Town: Sex Workers Education And Advocacy Taskforce. Available At: <Http://Www.Sweat.Org.Za/Wp-Content/Uploads/2020/02/Sweat-2020-Say-Her-Name_Final-Low-Res.Pdf> [Accessed 19 August 2020].

Vinter, V. E. L. 2017. You Call Me A Bitch Like It's A Bad Thing: A Study Into The Current Use And Semantic Properties Of The Noun Bitch.

Viriri, A. 2013. *" Seiko Musina Morari?": The Carnivalesque Modes Of The Pungwe Institution In Selected Shona Novels.* University Of South Africa.

Vollman, A. R., Anderson, E. T. & Mcfarlane, J. M. 2004. *Canadian Community As Partner: Theory And Practice In Nursing*, Lippincott Williams & Wilkins.

Wainaina, B. 2019. How To Write About Africa? Nairobi. Kwani Trust.

Walker, A. 1983. *Womanist,* Proquest Information And Learning.

Warner, M. 1993. *Fear Of A Queer Planet: Queer Politics And Social Theory*, University Of Minnesota Press.

Wasosa, W. 2011. Prostitution In Selected Colonial And Post-Colonial Shona Novels. *Journal Of African Studies And Development,* 3**,** 25-32.
Wa Thiong'o, N. 1985. The Language Of African Literature. *New Left Review,* 150, 109.
Wa Thiong'o, N. 1986. *The Language Of African Literature,* N.
Wa Thiong'o, N. 1992. *Decolonising The Mind: The Politics Of Language In African Literature*, East African Publishers.
Weitzer, R. 2005. Flawed Theory And Method In Studies Of Prostitution. *Violence Against Women,* 11**,** 934-949.
Weitzer, R. 2009. Sociology Of Sex Work. *Annual Review Of Sociology,* 35**,** 213-234.
Weitzer, R. 2009. *Sex For Sale: Prostitution, Pornography, And The Sex Industry,* Routledge.
Williams, B. T. & Brydon-Miller, M. 2004. Changing Directions: Participatory Action Research, Agency, And Representation. *Ethnography Unbound: From Theory Shock To Critical Praxis***,** 241-257.
Wilson, D. 2015. Hiv Programs For Sex Workers: Lessons And Challenges For Developing And Delivering Programs. *Plos Med,* 12**,** E1001808.
Wilson, T. P. 1986. Qualitative" Versus" Quantitative Methods In Social Research. *Bulletin Of Sociological Methodology/Bulletin De Méthodologie Sociologique,* 10**,** 25-51.
Wimmer, R. & Dominick, J. 1997. Mass Media Research: An Introduction..(Pp. 82-107). *New York, Ny: Wadsworth*.
Wolcott, H. F. 1990. Making A Study "More Ethnographic". *Journal Of Contemporary Ethnography,* 19**,** 44-72.
Wong, L. 2008. Data Analysis In Qualitative Research: A Brief Guide To Using Nvivo. *Malaysian Family Physician: The Official Journal Of The Academy Of Family Physicians Of Malaysia,* 3**,** 14.
Wrolson, J. L. 2009. *Re-Inventing Memory And Reforming Performances: A Genealogy Of Panic Theatre In Zimbabwe.* University Of Kansas.
Xu, G., Tao, L., Zhang, D. & Shi, Y. 2006. Dual Relations In Physical And Cyber Space. *Chinese Science Bulletin,* 51**,** 121-128.
Yanar, Z. M., Fazli, M., Rahman, J. & Farthing, R. 2016. Research Ethics Committees And Participatory Action Research With Young People: The Politics Of Voice. *Journal Of Empirical Research On Human Research Ethics,* 11**,** 122-128.
Yingwana, N. 2017. "I'm Not A Feisty Bitch, I'ma Feminist!" Feminism In Awake! Women Of Africa.
Yingwana, N. 2018. "We Fit In The Society By Force" Sex Work And Feminism In Africa. *Meridians,* 17(2): 279-295.
Yoshikuni, T. 1991. *Black Migrants In A White City: A History Of African Harare, 1890–1925.* Ph. D. Dissertation, University Of Zimbabwe.
Young-Jahangeer, M. 2009. Working From The Inside/Out: Participatory Popular Theatre In The Negotiation Of Discursive Power And Patriarchy In Female Prisons: The Example Of Westville Female Correctional Centre, Kwazulu-Natal, South Africa 2000–2004. *Howard College, University Of Kwazulu-Natal, South Africa*.
Young-Jahangeer, M. 2013. 'Less Than A Dog': Interrogating Theatre For Debate In Westville Female Correctional Centre, Durban South Africa. *Research In Drama Education: The Journal Of Applied Theatre And Performance,* 18**,** 200-203.
Young-Jahangeer, M. & Sibanda, P. 2018. "This Flag Is Mine Too": Negotiating Space For Transwomen In Zimbabwe Through Multimedia Approaches. *Agenda,* 32**,** 39-52.
Young-Jahangeer, M. 2020. Interplay: Tracing Personal And Political Transformation Through Popular Participatory Theatre In Westville Female Correctional Centre, Durban, South Africa. *Applied Theatre: Women And The Criminal Justice System***,** 37.
Zangger, C. 2010. The Right Way: Social Justice For Sex Workers. *International Journal Of Arts And Sciences,* 3**,** 562-575.

Zenenga, P. 2010. Hit-And-Run Theatre: The Rise Of A New Dramatic Form In Zimbabwe. *Theatre History Studies,* 30**,** 14-41.

Zenenga, P. 2011. A Voice In The Teeth Of Power: Popular Theatre Under The Censorship Radar In Zimbabwe (1998-2008). *Trends In Twenty-First-Century African Theatre And Performance.* Brill Rodopi.

Zenenga, P. 2017. Regime Loyalty And Rebellion: Re-Inventing The Colonial Censorship Nightmare In Zimbabwe. *Global Insights On Theatre Censorship.* Routledge.

Zimbabwe Independent, 2018. Being Gay In Zim: A Male Sex Worker Opens Up On Choice. [Online] Available At: <Https://Www.Theindependent.Co.Zw/2018/01/19/Gay-Zim-Male-Sex-Worker-Opens-Choice/> [Accessed 6 September 2019].

Zimboriginal (2019). Cultural Astronomy Of The Shona| Interpreting How The Moon, Stars, And Planets Are Perceived [Online] Available At: <Https://Zimboriginal.Com/2019/09/30/The-Moon-Stars-And-Planets/#Nhanda> [Accessed 19 June 2020].

Zhang, Y. & Wildemuth, B. M. 2009. Unstructured Interviews. *Applications Of Social Research Methods To Questions In Information And Library Science***,** 222-231.

Zull, J. E. 2002. *The Art Of Changing The Brain: Enriching Teaching By Exploring The Biology Of Learning*, Stylus Publishing, Llc.

Appendix 1

CONSENT FORM

Title of Research: Screw You! This Flag Is Theirs Too: Reconstructing Narratives and Challenging Perceptions with Zimbabwean Sex Workers.

This form gives you important information about the study. It describes the purpose of the study and the risks and possible benefits in participating in the study. Please take time to review this information carefully. You have the right to seek clarity from the researcher or register any queries or questions before you agree to take part. If you consent, you will substantiate that with a signature.

Research Description

Why is this study being done?
You are invited to participate in a research study conducted by Princess .A. Sibanda. The major objective of the study is to use PPT as a platform to get a real perspective of sex workers lives, and the issues affecting them from their own standpoint, and perhaps build advocacy around the issues to seek redress. This therefore involves me facilitating a popular participatory play, along with consenting sex workers in Masvingo, Bindura and Harare.

What am I being asked to do?
During this study you will be asked to answer questions about your experiences as a sex worker, be involved exclusively in the creative process of the play, performance and share your feelings and thoughts in a journal that will be provided. The project may take two months.

Will I be remunerated for my participation?
You will not receive any remuneration for your participation. However, the researcher will cater for transport and refreshments costs that will be incurred throughout the project.

Are there any risks to participation?
There are minimal risks to participating in this research which include questions that may be sensitive in nature and that may require some answers which may be deemed sensitive. I will endeavor to protect the identity of the participant should they not wish to be known or quoted by name in my research.

Voluntary Participation

Taking part in this research is entirely voluntary. You will not be penalized in any way should you choose not to participate, or disengage later. Your decision will not affect your relationship with the researcher.

- I understand that the project will entail my very personal life. If, however, I feel uncomfortable in any way during the interview session, focus group discussions and rehearsal workshops, I have the right to decline to answer any question or to end the interview.
- I understand that the purpose of this interview is for solely academic purpose. The findings will be published as a thesis,
- I understand that I will not be paid for participating.
- I understand that the researcher will not identify me by name in any reports using information obtained from this project, and that my confidentiality as a participant in this study will remain secure.
- I understand that this study has been ethically reviewed and approved by the University of Kwazulu Natal Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (approval number_____)."
- I have read and understand the explanation provided to me. I have had all my questions answered to my satisfaction, and I voluntarily agree to participate in this study.
- I have been given a copy of this consent form

_____ ____/____/2019
My Signature (participant) Date

_____ ____/____/2019
Princess Sibanda (Researcher/ facilitator) Date

Researcher	Princess. A.Sibanda	+263772954034 (Zim) +2739849042 (SA)	nyenyedzipee@gmail.com
Department	Drama and Performance Studies	+27 31 260 31 33	Wagnerc1@ukzn.ac.za
Institution	University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN)	Howard College Campus, Masizi Kunene Ave, Glenwood, Durban, South Africa.	http://www.ukzn.ac.za
Supervisor	Dr Miranda Young – Jahangeer	+27 31 260 1144	Youngm1@ukzn.ac.za
Please do not hesitate to contact any of the above persons, should you want further information on this research, or should you want to discuss any aspect of the process.			

Appendix 1 (Shona version)

CONSENT FORM

Title of Research: Screw You! This Flag Is Theirs Too: Reconstructing Narratives and Challenging Perceptions with Zimbabwean Sex Workers.

Gwaro rino rinokupai nhoroondo izere pamusoro peongororo ino. Munokukurudzirwa kuti mutore nguva yenyu muchiverenga bepa rino musati mabvuma kuva muongororo iyi. Kana muchinge musina kunzwisisa zvakanyorwa, kana kuwirirana nazvo munemvumo nekodzero yekukumbira tsanangudzo yakakwana ongororo isati yatanga. Kana muchinge mawirirana nezvese, makasununguka kuratidza nekusayina fomu rino.

Donzvo Reongororo

Munokokwa kuva mumwe vevachange vachipatisipeta muongororo ichange ichiitwa naPrincess .A. Sibanda. Donzvo guru reongororo iyi nderekushandisa mutambo kuti ndinzwisise kurarama kurikuita avo vanotengesa bonde, zvimhingamupinyi zvavarikusangana nazvo, zvichibva kwavari huye kuvabatanidza kuti vazvimirire vabzwike. Naizvozvo, ini ndichange ndichitungamirira kugadzira mutambo uyu nevanotengesa bonde munzvimbo yeBindura.

Unotarisirwa Kunge Ndichiitei?

Muongororo iyi unotarisirwa kupindur mibvunzo maererano nekurarama kwako semunhu anotengesa bonde, kugadzira nekuzoita mutambo. Tichinge tapedza, unozokumbirwa kunyora pfungwa dzako pasi maererano nezvatinenge taita.

Unobhadharwa Here?

Ongororo yatirikuita haina mubhadharo. Zvisinei, munyori achange achikupai mari yekufambisa zvese nechikafu panguva yamunenge muchiita ongororo iyi.

Ongororo Ino Ingave nematambudziko Api?

Zvinogona kuitika kuti paite matambudziko madiki akafanana nekubvunzwa mibvunzo yeupenyu inogona kumutsa hasha kana kurwadziwa muongororo iyi. Ini semunyori ndichazama

nepese pandinogona kuchengetedza vandichange ndichishanda navo, sekuti zita rako haribudzitswi pandichange ndavakunyora gwaro rangu.

Kuzvipira Kuvamuongororo Iyi

Hakuna munhu achange achimanikidzwa kuvamuongororo ino. Uchinge wabvuma kuva muongororo pekutanga, hakuna anokutuka kana kukubhadharisa kana uchinge wasarudza kuzobuda. Uyezve kana uchinge wati hauchadi kuenderera mberi, hukama hwako nearikuita ongororo hauchinji.

- Ndinonzwisisa kuti ndichange ndichitaura nezvehupenyu hwangu muchirongwa ichi. Ndikanzwa sendidisisade kuenderera mberi mungave muhurukuro kana mukuita mutambo ndinekodzero yekuramba kupindura kana kubuda muongororo.
- Ndinonzwisisa kuti ongororo ino ndeyechikoro uyezve zvandichataura zvichashandiswa mugwaro richanyorwa ongororo iyi yapera.
- Ndinonzwisisa kuti handisikuzobhadharwa muongororo iyi.
- Ndinonzwisisa kuti zita rangu chairo rekuzvarwa harisikuzoshandiswa mumagwaro achanyorwa huyezve zvandichataura zvochachengetedzeka.
- Ndinonzwisisa kuti chidzidzo chino chakaongororwa chikapasiswa nebazi rekudzidza rekuUniveristy of KwaZulu Natal.
- Ndaverenga ndikanzwisisa tsanangudzo yapihwa. Mibvunzo yangu yose maererano nezvatinenge tichiita yapindurwa, ndinobvuma kuti ndinoda kuva muchirongwa ichi. I
- Ndapiwawo rimwe bepa rakafanana neiri.

_____ ____/____/2019
My Signature (participant) Date

_____ ____/____/2019
Princess Sibanda (Researcher/ facilitator) Date

Researcher	Princess. A.Sibanda	+263772954034 (Zim) +2739849042 (SA)	nyenyedzipee@gmail.com
Department	Drama and Performance Studies	+27 31 260 31 33	Wagnerc1@ukzn.ac.za
Institution	University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN)	Howard College Campus, Masizi Kunene Ave, Glenwood, Durban, South Africa.	http://www.ukzn.ac.za
Supervisor	Dr Miranda Young – Jahangeer	+27 31 260 1144	Youngm1@ukzn.ac.za
Musatye kuchaira nhare kana kunyorera vakanyorwa pamusoro apo kana muchinge muinezvimwe zvamunoda kutaura kana kunzwisisa peongororo ino.			

Appendix 2

Video/Audio Recording CONSENT FORM

Title of Research: Screw You! This Flag Is Theirs Too: Reconstructing Narratives and Challenging Perceptions with Zimbabwean Sex Workers.

Description

This study involves the audio or video recording of rehearsals, performance and post-performance discussions. Neither your name nor any other identifying information will be associated with the audio or audio recording or the transcript. Only the research team will be able to listen (view) to the recordings. The tapes will be transcribed by the researcher and erased once the transcriptions are checked for accuracy. Transcripts of your interview may be reproduced in whole or in part for use in presentations or written products that result from this study. Neither your name nor any other identifying information (such as your voice or picture) will be used in presentations or in written products resulting from the study.

Voluntary Participation (Please Tick the Appropriate Box)

- I am aware that my participation in this study may be recorded (video/audio) and I agree to this. However, if I feel uncomfortable at any time I can ask that the recording equipment be switched off. I understand that I can ask for a copy of my recording. I understand what will happen to the recordings once the study is finished. ☐
- I do not agree to being audio/video recorded in this study. ☐

After considering the above statements, I consent to my involvement in this research project.

Name: (please print): _____

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Researcher's Signature _____ Date: _____

By signing this form, I am allowing the researcher to audio or video tape me as part of this research. I also understand that this consent for recording is effective until the following date: _____. On or before that date, the tapes will be destroyed.

Participant's Signature:

_____Date:_____

Appendix 2 (Shona Version)

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL
INYUVESI YAKWAZULU-NATALI

Bepa Rekubvumidza Kurekodha Mazwi Nemifananidzo

Title of Research: Screw You! This Flag Is Theirs Too: Reconstructing Narratives and Challenging Perceptions with Zimbabwean Sex Workers.

Tsanangudzo

Muongororo muno tichange tichitora mifananidzo nekutepa mazwi panguva yatinenge tichigadzirira mutambo, patichaita mutambo uyezve patinenge toita hurukuro pamusoro pemutambo. Zvatinenge tatora zese zvichachengetedzwa kusvika gwaro ranyorwa. Iro gwaro racho rinenge risingatauri kuti ndiwe wakataura zvakati. Ndichinge ndaisa pfumgwa dzenyu pasi, mifananidzo zvese nemanzwi amunenge Mataura tinozvidzima kuti vamwe vanhu vasinei negwaro iri vasashandise pfungwa dzenyu kana mifananidzo yenyu. Zvinogona kuitika kuti munyori adanwe kunotaura pamusoro peongororo iyi kana kunyora magwaro agoshandisa zvanege awana mutsvakiridzo ino. Hakuna mufananidzo wenyu kana inzwi richashandiswa pose pachataurwa kana kunyorwa nezveongororo ino.

Kuzvipira Kuvamuongororo Iyi

- Ndirikuziva kuti ndinogona kutorwa mifananidzo, kurekodhwa zvandataura muongororo ino huyezve ndabvumirana nazvo. Zvisinei ndikange ndinezvandisina kufarira kana kuti kupindirana nazvo ndinokwanisa kuramba kurekodhwa kana kukumbira kuti mushina yacho idzimwe, ndotaura pasina. Ndanyatsonzwisisa zvicharekodhwa zvichange zvichishandiswei huye kuti ndinekodzero yekukumbira zvarekodhwa pamusoro pangu kuti ndichengete. ☐

- Handibvume kurekodhwa kana kutorwa mifananidzo muongororo ino. ☐

Mushure mekuverenga nekunzwisisa zvakanyorwa pamuosoro apo, ndinobvuma kuva mumwe vevachange varimuongororo iyi.

Zita: (please print): _____

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Researcher's Signature _____ Date: _____

Nekusayina rino bepa, ndirikubvumira mudzidzi/muongorori kundirokedha panenge achiita ongororo yake. Ndinonzwisisa zvakare kuti ongororo ino ichatanga nekupera musiwa: _____. Mushure mezuva iri, zvose zvinenge zvarokedhwa zvichadzimwa.

Participant's Signature: _____