

**Understanding the Situation of Commercial Sex Workers  
in Bagamoyo District**

**Their Motivation and its Implications on their Lives**

**A Research Report (2013)**

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## 1.0 INTRODUCTION

This report presents an analysis of the situation of Commercial Sex Workers (CSW) in Bagamoyo District. The study leading to this report was commissioned by CVM/APA and conducted by the Gender Center at the University of Dar es Salaam between July and September 2013. The study aimed at understanding the motivations that make individuals enter in the commercial sex work, how they perceive the activity and what have been the effects of CSW in the lives of the participants.

Commercial sex work (CSW), also referred to as prostitution, is defined as selling sex for a pay, and has been differentiated from promiscuity, the latter generally referring to having multiple partners for sexual gratification (Okafor & Duru, 2010). Both involve transactional sexual relationships. Leslie-Rue (2010) explains that the characteristics and motives of a transactional sexual relationship may not be limited to commercial sex, and it is practiced in other non-professional sexual relationships. Characteristics of permanent and temporary sexual relationships, as observed in many communities however, suggest that fixed definitions do not exist. It is also now acknowledged that occasional engagement in transactional sex, or sexual barter, constitutes 'sex work'. While economic need is considered the biggest driver of individuals becoming involved in the commercial sex work, many women associate this line of work with a level of financial independence not associated with other kinds of work (Moffat & Peters, 2004; Weitzer, 2005).

Another important aspect in the profiling of CSW, is the revelation that it operators are not a homogenous group. Men and women, young and old are involved. While women and girls form the majority of the commercial sex workers (Kamal et al, 2001), the number of boys and men is significant. In this study, Commercial Sex Work (CSW) is understood as 'means' to earn a living, that is, transactional sexual practices done for material remuneration, irrespective of the social status of the operator, mode and location of operation.

The study objectives as stipulated in the Terms of Reference were categorized into Primary and Secondary objectives as tabled below.

**Table 1: Primary and Secondary Objectives as Stipulated in the ToR**

Primary Objectives	Secondary Objectives
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>To understand the lifestyle and the living conditions of girls and women engaged in CSW (health, economic, social)</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>To understand the physical, psychological and social consequences of CSW in girls and women</li></ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>To outline the profile of women and girls engaged in CSW</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>To develop a social and demographic profile of CSWs' clients</li></ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>To understand the factors that cause girls and women engagement in CSW in Bagamoyo District</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>To gather more information about CSW in Bagamoyo District for future project design and implementation on girls and women rights, prevention, care and treatment of HIV/AIDS and STIs, gender empowerment and equality.</li></ul>

**The report is structured into six main sections:**

Section one provides the introduction and the objectives of the study. This section also provides a description of the methodology that was used for the study, preceded with an

overview of the study area, Bagamoyo district and sets the context within which the CSW activity needs to be placed.

The second Section discusses briefly some literature on the experience of CSW in Tanzania, and Section three presents the study findings.

Section four relates the social and economic implications from CSW operations followed by a brief preference listing of alternative livelihoods in Section Five. Section six completes the report with conclusions and recommendations.

### **1.1 Bagamoyo District: A Brief Context**

Bagamoyo District is one of six districts in the Pwani Region. It is located between 370 and 390 degrees East, and between 60 and 70 degrees South of the Equator. The district headquarters is Bagamoyo Town, which is located 65 kilometers North of Dar es Salaam. The District borders Morogoro District on the West; Mvomero, Kilindi, and Handeni Districts on the North; Pangani District on the North East; the Indian Ocean on the East; Kinondoni District on the South East and Kibaha District on the South.

The District is quite large in size, covering a total area of 9,847 square kilometers. The administrative structure includes 7 divisions, 22 wards, 97 villages, and 662 hamlets. Its population is estimated to be 289,859, which is the largest figure from the 6 districts of the region (National Census report, 2012). Its inhabitants are from different groups, and this heterogeneity is multiplying at a faster rate following opening up of the district for settlement in the current decade and government development investments in the area. Groups who claim to be local/indigenous include the Wa-Kwere, Wa-Zaramo, Wa-Doe, Wa-Zigua, and others Wa-Ndengereko, Wa-Nyamwezi, and Wa-Makonde (TCMP, 2003). Along the coastal area, the local people refer to themselves as Waswahili, characterized by their heterogeneity in places of origin, high rate of inter-marriage and the pre-dominant use of Kiswahili as the local language.

The district is predominantly rural agricultural-based. Agriculture is thus an important source of livelihood for most of the households. Other economic activities are trading, fishing, pastoralism, sand and gravel mining, and to a minor percentage is office employment. The coastal area in particular is a famous tourist destination that attracts a significant number of visitors for its beautiful coastline, cultural and natural history linked to the slave trade and German occupation in Dunda and Kaole areas, and the wildlife next to the sea in the Saadani National Park. The recently established Casino in Dunda increasingly attracts weekend visits, and as affirmed by one of CSW, also for their services. There are also growing groups of the non-employed, whom according to one study participant can be explained as follows:

*Those who do not have an identified job, only engaged as a day labour if work is available, but you see her/him surviving. These are called magumashi (Kiswahili:Wasio na ajira rasmi (wanaishi kwa kazi mchanganyiko, kikitokea kibarua anafanya, lakini unamwona anaishi tu, wanaitwa 'Magumashi' (Juma Mwangwa, Lugoba 10/07/2013)*

*Magumashi* has now become a popular adage to refer to the many youth who are easily drawn into risky activities, hooliganism, drugs and alcohol. Competition to job opportunities is however on the increase. The completion of the 55km Dar es Salaam Bagamoyo highway has allowed many people and traders such as in the fishing sector and other areas to shuttle in between the two settlements. One of the outcomes is the decreasing availability of land for local production [and residence] because of the high rate of sale to investor, and this has affected the livelihood sustainability for many households, and the situation of many women. The district's per capita income in 2002 was estimated to be 128,000 Tanzanian shillings (roughly US\$ 250) per year, well below the national per capita income of roughly US\$ 260 per year. By the year 2008, the per capita income rose to US\$320 (UN Habitat, 2009). Still, poor production technologies and slow expansion of employment opportunities to match the growing rate of the labour force have caused a high rate of dependency and household poverty.

## **1.2 Study Methodology**

The study adopted a mixed method approach, combining qualitative methods to interrogate perceptions and experiences on CSW, and quantitative techniques which were useful to map the situation of CSW in Bagamoyo district. The sampling process involved two main steps: Firstly, was the selection of 10 study communities from the 22 wards of the Bagamoyo District that represented different socio-economic characteristics in the district, and hence their possible influence on the situation of CSW (ref Appendix i). The selected study communities were Kiwangwa, Msata, Lugoba, Mdaula, Mkange/Saadani, Miono, Kerege, Zinga, Magomeni and Dunda. Secondly purposive sampling of the individual participants, both females and males, was done based on their positions, and for some consent to take part in the study. CSW participants' consent was critical for the study due to the often assumed sensitivity of the research topic especially when encountered in public settings. At this second stage, snowballing was used for the individuals involved in CSW.

### **1.2.1 Data Collection**

Multiple methods of gathering data from the participants in the selected study areas were in order to ensure validity of the information. The techniques and their description are as follows:

#### **a) Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)**

Ten FGDs were conducted, one in each study community which were comprised of 8-12 participants. These participants included local government leaders, members of the Ward Executive Committees, Teachers, Police Officers or Community Security Guards, representatives of the youth, women and the elderly, and religious leaders of the country's two dominant faiths, Muslim and Christianity. This heterogeneous composition was designed to allow community members from different positions to engage and share about CSW in their communities, how people become engaged and what have the communities done to address it.

**b) In-depth Interviews (IDIs)**

In depth interviews with four CSW were conducted in each of the 10 communities for the purpose of getting a deeper assessment of their situation, their opportunities and challenges confronting the whole activity. In one of the communities, a male sexual worker participated in the interviews.

c) **Questionnaires** were used to collect information from 94 sex workers from the selected 10 communities. From these questionnaires, a general profile of CSW was drawn, including aspects such as motives, experiences and livelihood preferences.

d) **Observations** were used as a tool to triangulate what people were saying by directly observing social behaviour in certain contexts associated to the study objective.

e) **Documentary Review** involved consulting both published and unpublished documents (including reports) in order to understand the context of CSW in Bagamoyo District and Tanzania in general.

## 2.0 COMMERCIAL SEX WORK: SOME DATA ON TANZANIA

CSW in Tanzania is reported in many studies and documents, posing a range of reasons for its prevalence and social consequences. A study by the NACP in 2010 established that there are about 7,500 female sex workers in Dar es Salaam alone and an estimated 15,000 male clients meet the sex workers in Dar es Salaam every night (NACP, 2010). It is reported that the major reasons are related to life frustrations, and the dilemmas in love and marriage, presumably by both men and women. Women faced with economic and social challenges are pushed to participate in commercial and transactional sex to generate income (Leslie-Rue, 2009).

CSWs operate in different settings with varying implications in terms of comfort and income. These 'work places' range from what are called Dada Poa places, which resemble rudimentary brothels, sophisticated call-girls who operate from the home or good hotels, road-side 'entrepreneurs', bar and guesthouse operators, while others resort to cheap environments such as local *pombe* shops and open environments like '*uwanja wa fisi*'<sup>1</sup>. The income equally varies, from a TShs 100,000 pay to as low as TShs 1000-2,000 (NACP, 2010).

In Tanzania, CSW has been criminalized by law (Cap 16, Chapter 15, s.145-6). It is considered an illegal conduct and often associated with mugging and other forms of crime in the urban settings. CSW is widely linked to health-related problems, especially HIV and other sexually transmitted diseases. The 2012 HIV/AIDS Progress Report for Tanzania established that about a third of women commercial sex workers in Dar es Salaam are HIV-positive. This is about three times the overall average of HIV-positive status among women. A surveillance study of Female Sex Workers (FSW) in Dar es Salaam showed that HIV prevalence was 31.4 per cent among female sex workers, compared to 10.4 per cent positivity for women in the city population as a whole (URT, 2010:49).

A few studies however show that CSW operators have been involved in a number of interventions including HIV & AIDS prevention (URT, 2011). For example CSWs have been given safe-sex education and encouraged to respect the use of condoms. Some experiences on interventions that have been taken to support the participants to seek for alternative livelihood endeavours can also be illustrated<sup>2</sup>.

There is increasing evidence that the operations of CSW in Tanzania are evolving. Reports on the prevalence of CSW suggest the increasing public presence of males into the occupation especially in the urban settings (Mbogoni, 2012). In addition, and as established by this study, many individuals from the 'non-traditional categories' are now engaged in CSW including school-age children, married women and men alike, although only a few can be directly identified as practicing CSW. Kamazima (2009) reports that increasingly girls and women who are brought from the rural to urban areas of Tanzania for reasons that include, housework or shamba labour, are sometimes forced into sex work (2009:28). This study found the same practices in the 10 communities involved in the investigation.

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<sup>1</sup> Literally translated as 'the hyena's space' is a location in Manzese, Dar es Salaam that was colloquially coined to express the no-man's space or environment, no law neither scruples in behaviour.

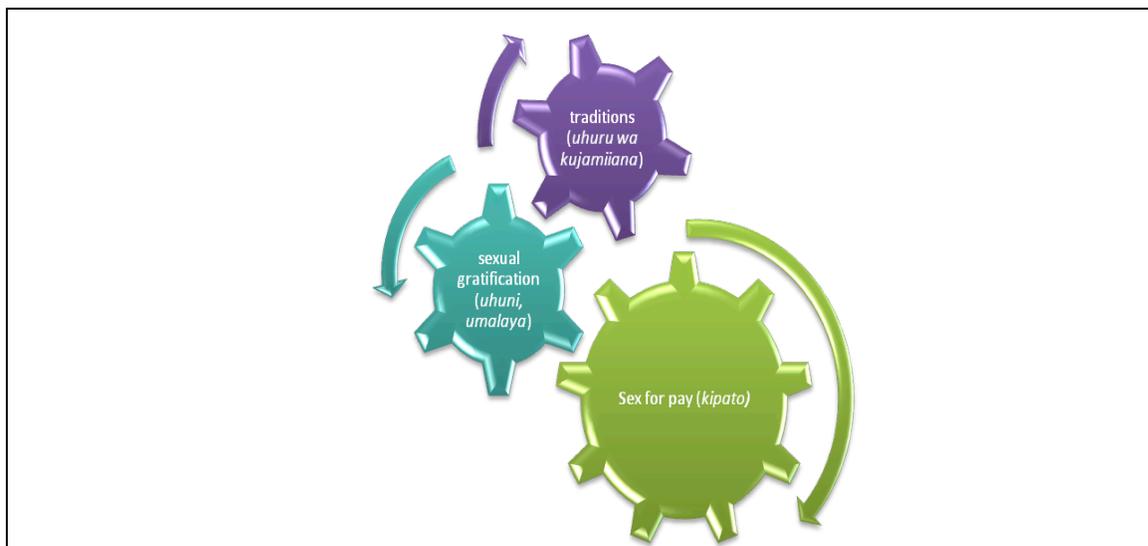
<sup>2</sup> Ref. ASUTA initiatives in Bagamoyo town with Neemeka Group, 2013.

### 3.0 COMMERCIAL SEX WORK IN BAGAMOYO DISTRICT

Commercial Sex Work (CSW) is generally recognized and accepted as an income-earning activity for women and some men in Bagamoyo district that has been prevalent for a long time. Its practice has been influenced to some extent by traditions and local understandings of the relationship between males and females in most of the communities of Bagamoyo. CSW is conducted both as an individual activity, but also within organized settings like other free trade transactions.

#### 3.1 Community Perceptions on CSW

According to the study participants, there is a fine line between promiscuity and CSW or prostitution. These differences are given meaning in Kiswahili terminology as *uhuni umalaya*, and *biashara ya ngono*, where only *uhuni* is used to refer to sexual promiscuity. While in the past, people who were promiscuous did not necessarily practice CSW, these days, all are conceived as the same. CSW, according to one participant of the FGD, has been sanctioned by society and conducted openly (“*imekuwa biashara huru na huria na hufanywa wazi*”<sup>3</sup>). Despite this reality, however, the CSW involved in this study reported that they are abhorred and their work is despised. In addition, individuals who that used their earnings from CSW to support the welfare of their families were discreet about their work and resort to deceit for fear of punishment or negative reaction by people close to them. Throughout the discussions with the communities, it became apparent that women are blamed for the prevalence of sex for money in the society. The recent NGO description - *biashara hatarishi, na tabia hatarishi* (lit: risky business, and risky behaviour) is now adopted not to criminalize CSW but to suggest alternative ways of seeking a livelihood not related to CSW.



**Fig 1: CSW’s Interlinked Perceptions – No fine line**

<sup>3</sup> FGD, Lugoba, 10/07/2013

### 3.2 Main Characteristics of CSW

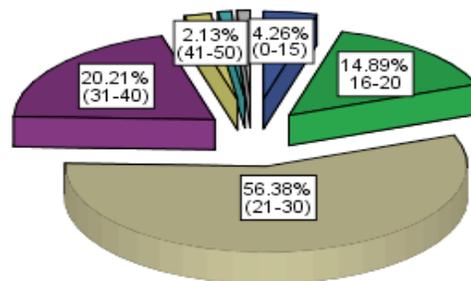
The main characteristics of the sexual workers were examined according to the following categories: sex; age; visibility; origin; lifestyles and nature of operations.

#### 3.2.1 Sex

Almost all sex workers were women. Participants referred to male sex workers in four of the 10 study communities namely Dunda, Magomeni, Msata and Lugoba, but there were few actual confirmations of the individuals. Only at Msata did a male sexual worker confirm his engagement. Other practices that were reported to be on the increase in Bagamoyo District involved well-off women paying for sexual services of young men on a daily basis or confine them in a rented room for such services as concubines.

#### 3.2.2 Age

The average age of most of the sex workers ranged from the age of 15. Most CSW are within the range of 20s to 30s as illustrated below in Fig 2. Fewer sex workers were in their 40s and above, some of whom were very active during crop marketing or peak fishing seasons. This was because most of the women sex workers at this age engage discretely but in the confines of their homes, not in public settings such as bars and guesthouses. A 47-year old sex worker revealed that during harvesting peak (pineapple and sesame seed/simsim marketing season), age matters less for female CSW and male clients. During these seasons, sex work becomes so prevalent due to fast circulation of money that male clients refer to as ‘*mapande*’ (making reference to the plots of land people engage in during farming season for a daily pay)<sup>4</sup>.

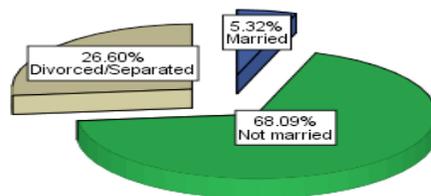


**Fig 2: Age Range of CSW Respondents**

<sup>4</sup> Kiwangwa IDI, 9<sup>th</sup> July, 2013

### 3.2.3 Marital Status

Both married and unmarried women practiced CSW, however, in different styles (ref Fig 3 below). Unmarried (single) women sex workers practice openly and can be publicly identified. Divorced women and widows are also a common feature among the CSW. Married women confirmed that they [‘speaking with reference to other women’] also offer sexual services for a price. In the rural communities of Miono, Mkange and Kiwangwa, married women engage in seasonal/periodic sex work, specifically responding to harvesting periods. In Miono, married women engaged with truck drivers and traders coming to collect produce in the area, on the explanation that many husbands spent money from the sale of crops on other lovers at the expense of their household’s sustenance<sup>5</sup>. The same was explained for Kiwangwa during the pineapple marketing seasons.



**Fig 3: Marital Status of CSW**

### 3.2.4 Visibility

CSW operations are now public and individuals are identifiable by the public. Publicly identified CSW operate in Bars and Guesthouses, some as employees, and some who visit these places specifically in search of clients. Local community members know who works as a CSW, even if they do not parade the streets.

Other common CSW operations are based in what was termed ‘*makao maalum*’ (lit: special residences), which are rented rooms (turned into self-styled brothels-*danguro*). These rooms can be rented by one of the women and uses it with friends to operate their trade, or are rented by *Madams* who then negotiate for the trade and use of the room on behalf of other women or girls. This system is common, and their existence it was claimed becomes public when Landladies or Landlords have to attend to a conflict, such as serious quarrels or fighting in the rooms. The extreme levels are the organized operations mentioned in Zinga which are summarized in Box 1 below.

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<sup>5</sup> Miono FGD, 11<sup>th</sup> July, 2013

**Box 1: Zinga Organized CSW**

Zinga Village has been the home of an organized system of CSW involving entertainment places-cum-brothels whose owner's trade in women, illicit drugs and alcohol. The names of these places are known as NUNGWI; MAGOGONI; JUMBA LA DHAHABU (*House of Gold*); LAKHI SI PESA (*A hundred thousand is not money*); JUMBA LA KALE (*Ancient house*). According to Zinga Ward and village government officials, the government using enforcement officers were able to curb the trade sometime this year (2013) but the trade is gradually picking up again in the same places.<sup>6</sup>

**3.2.5 Origin: Local or Migrant**

Except for the peri-urban settlements of Dunda and Magomeni, and vibrant communities of Msata and Lugoba, in the six study communities it was claimed that about 50% of the CSW are non-local. This was confirmed by the CSW themselves, most of whom established that they had come to search for life '*kutafuta maisha*'<sup>7</sup> or had been brought by 'somebody' for other business. From the study it was established that 54.26% of the practicing CSW were local residents, born and raised within Bagamoyo; 37.23% were immigrants who came as adults, and 7.45% claimed to be temporary residents, not intending to make Bagamoyo their permanent residence. The origin of a CSW is also strategic for business, 'foreigners' getting a higher pay than the *CDAs*, a term coined for local prostitutes at Mdaula<sup>8</sup>.

**3.2.6 Lifestyles and Nature of Operations**

56% (53) of the CSWs live independently in rented accommodation, either alone or sharing with a room-mate, while 40% (37) of them mentioned to be living with family members, such as parents, or in the homes of relatives, sisters or brothers. Only 4% (4) indicated that they were living with spouses. All of the latter insisted that their marriages were not working, and it was difficult to get basic items. Married women in the IDIs however were not reserved in speaking out why they engaged in sex for money. To them it was necessary for earning a livelihood, even if they were married.

All the CSWs operate in area locality, seldom shifting to distant places on the demand of a client. This makes them easily accessible; to maintain contacts and thus a steady clientele with both frequent visitors and local clients. Mobile operators are fewer, and are often those who deal with truck drivers. A 24 year old lady said that although my operations are local, I usually also travel with drivers to Dar es Salaam, Dodoma, Dumila or Morogoro depending on the clients' wishes<sup>9</sup>.

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<sup>6</sup> Zinga FGD, 27<sup>th</sup> August 2013.

<sup>7</sup> One of the CSW said, mwenzio anakuambia njoo huku uangalie maisha, ukija unajiingiza kwenye biashara hii halafu unajikuta unaganda tena, hutoki- your fellow invite you to search for life, and when you start practicing CSW, you find it difficult to stop (CSW, Mdaula, 24<sup>th</sup> July, 2013)

<sup>8</sup> In the Mdaula FGD, male participants referred to local CSW as *wa hapahapa* and therefore easier to negotiate for a lower price than *wakuja* (non-local) who were strictly for business. Mdaula, 27<sup>th</sup> August 2013.

<sup>9</sup> IDI, 10<sup>th</sup> July, 2013

### **3.3 Key Motivating Factors for CSW**

Multiple reasons are given for individual motivation into CSW. These range from the general attitudes about having multiple partners for sexual gratification to specific factors arising out of the prevailing social and economic circumstances that these people face. These interacting factors influenced behaviour that created an environment where CSW thrived.

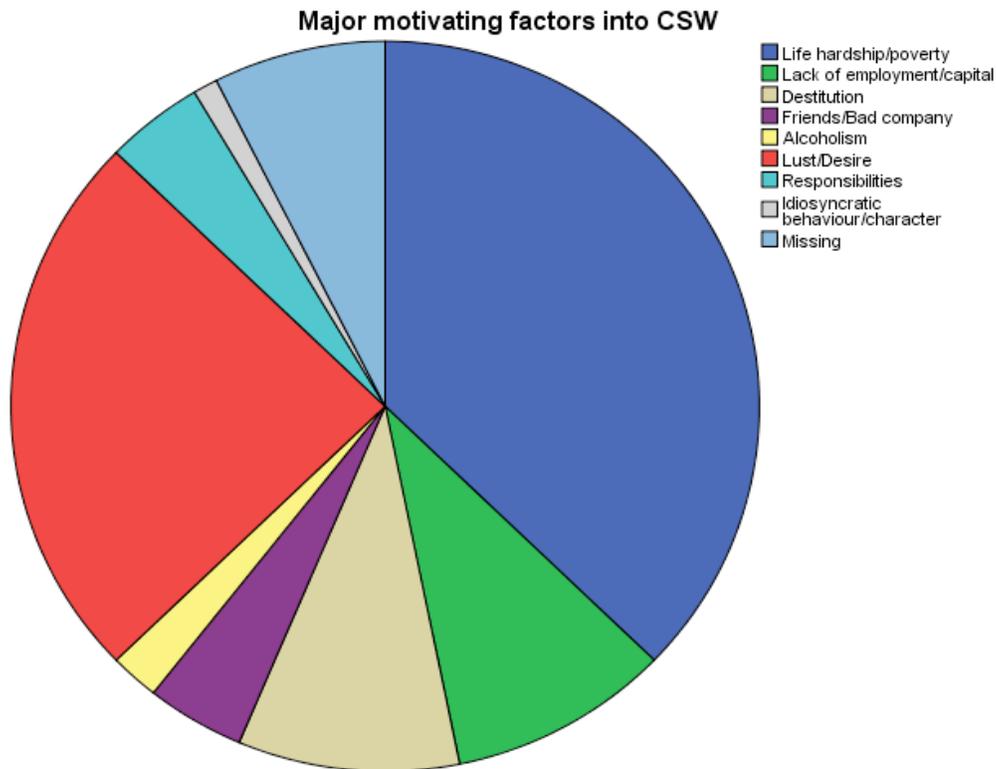
#### **3.3.1 General Attitudes about Sexual Gratification**

In all of the ten study communities, promiscuity, or having multiple partners for sexual gratification was explained as a behaviour that was common, and was regarded as acceptable. Engaging in love or a relationship is prestigious for both men and women. This was irrespective of age or marital status. Men's demand for sex, sometimes for incessant sexual gratification and for leisure was mentioned as the largest motivator for CSW.

This opinion was confirmed by both local and visiting individuals. Being a hot spot for tourism, national conferences and researches, Bagamoyo town was fertile ground for CSW. It is common for visitors to seek women/girls for one-night stands, sometimes facilitated by male *'kuwadi'* – go-between or pimps. Male *kuwadi* are now a common feature in the Bagamoyo CSW system. According to the CSW in this study, frequent visitors were known to have permanent contacts and would seek the girls on arrival. Local people also frequently asked for sexual favours from CSW. One girl mentioned that, *“wenyeji nao wamo sana, ukipita tu unakuta mtu anakuita, anasema samahani naomba tuongee”* (lit: local people are also very much involved in seeking sex, you may go through village/town, you find a man calling you, saying, excuse me, can we talk). Her comment was made in response to the contention that clients were not only visitors to Bagamoyo, and that seeking CSW was simply part of the local life.

#### **3.3.2 Entry into CSW: Motivators and Facilitators**

With regards to entry into the CSW activity, the following motivators were mentioned as primary. From the questionnaire, life hardships and lack of good employment are mentioned as among the highest factors motivating people into CSW (ref Fig 4).



**Fig 4: Motivating Factors into CSW**

As Fig 4 illustrates, 40 % of the respondents mentioned life hardships and poverty as the biggest motivator into CSW, 10% out of destitution, while 26% claimed it was because of bodily lust. Explained in qualitative terms, the following several reasons were mentioned to make sense of life hardships leading to low income sources and lack of alternative employment, and hence CSW.

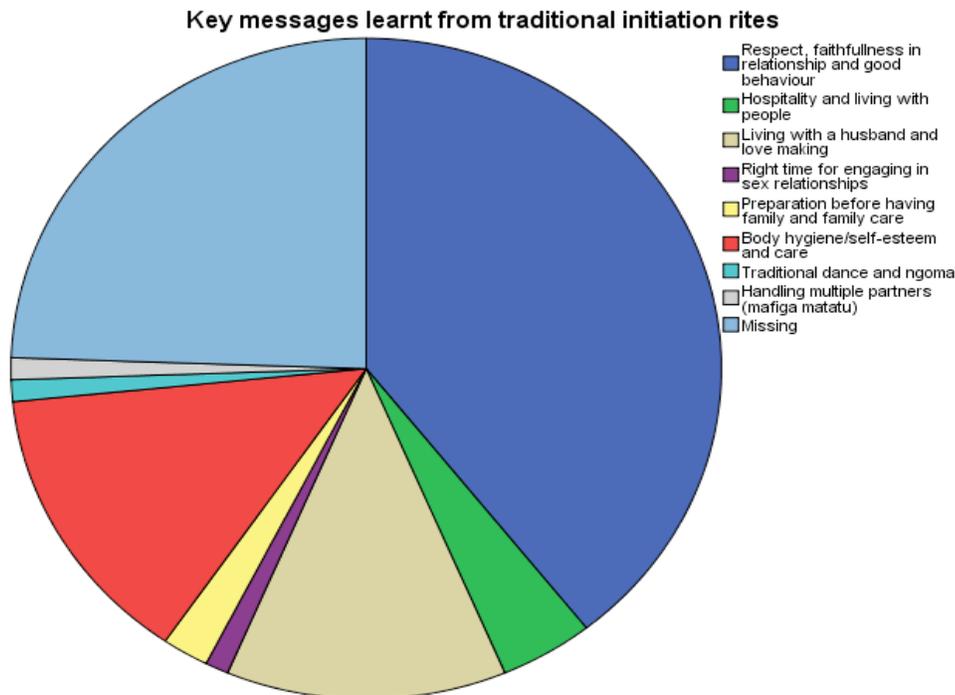
**(a) Parental Upbringing**

Poor upbringing by parents with respect to moral behaviour was said to be one of the biggest reason sending individuals into CSW. Allowing too much freedom for children, inability to reprimand inappropriate decisions made by children, lack of counseling abilities especially by elderly parents or guardians have all nurtured an environment where CSW can thrive. *“Mtoto akirudi usiku haulizwi, na wazazi wake wanamtazama tu”* (lit: When a child returns home late at night s/he is not questioned, they just look at her/him) or they claim that *“Mara nyingi mama anamfichia siri mtoto wake”* (lit: often the mother hides the child’s secrets). This was also mentioned in the case for male youth, who begin engaging in sex at very young ages, and girls who become enticed with small money when still young.

Parents and guardians were also accused of not confronting sexual abuses of female children in their own homes hence *“akikua, haachi”* (Lit: when she grows up she cannot stop). It becomes part of life.

**(b) Customs and Traditions (*Mila na Desturi*)**

Customs and traditions of the local communities were also mentioned to be responsible but in different ways. In some communities, it was claimed that local Kwere, Doe or Makonde customary teachings to girls and boys when they come of age enticed them to practice sex freely early. The art of *mafiga matatu* (lit: 3 stones of the hearth - implying multiple partners) was given as reference. In other communities, and especially by the elderly, it was claimed that modernization has belittled customary teachings including moral behaviour and restraint, because, they claim, prostitution was not among these teachings. For example, both women and men recited certain moral rules that they are usually taught during initiation rites (Ref Fig 2 below), but which come to be diffused when they encounter the real world.



**Fig 5: Key Messages Learnt from Traditional Rites**

The increasing heterogeneity among the residents in terms of their places of origin and customs was also said to be a catalyst in perpetuating certain behaviour including CSW that came to be taken as normal. In Msata for example, the establishment of a military camp and gravel mining quarries in the area are said to have stimulated CSW activities in the late 1990s to 2000s<sup>10</sup>.

**(c) Family Poverty**

As indicated in Section 2 above, many of the households of Bagamoyo depend on seasonal income from annual crops such as maize, pineapples, simsim (sesame seeds) and cashew nuts. Other communities rely on fishing livelihoods whose incomes are also reliable during peak fishing seasons. For the rest of the year, poor technologies do not allow good harvests, and the ability to maintain annual household food security is low. The ability of many parents

<sup>10</sup> Msata, 12<sup>th</sup> August 2013

to support their children materially is therefore quite a challenge. In one of the IDIs at Magomeni, a respondent said;

*“wazazi wengine wenyewe walalahoi, hawatoi mahitaji ya kutosha kwa watoto, mtoto inabidi ajitafutie ili aweze kupata mahitaji muhimu kama sabuni, mafuta. Mtu akitokea anamhitaji, anamkubali” (lit: some parents are very poor, and do not adequately meet the material needs of the children. Hence she is compelled to seek for soap or body oil from her own sources. If a man comes and seeks her favour, she agrees.*

The inability of some women to sustain their families following marriage breakdowns, divorce or widowhood, compel them to move into CSW. Poor household circumstances therefore push women into having multiple partners and then into CSW in order to sustain themselves.

The proliferation of *Bodaboda* transport has fuelled this behaviour among younger females, school girls in particular. *Bodaboda* operators were accused to be highly responsible in pushing female students into CSW in all of the ten study communities<sup>11</sup>. Inability of parents to support children with adequate transport fee to school has contributed to *Bodaboda* operators conning school-girls into free rides that end up in casual relationships, and later they become used to the practice.

#### **(d) Social Interactions – Society**

Modern, fast life, illustrated by the numerous media channels and sources – internet, face book, television channels, videos etc, entice the youth to abandon old-fashioned ways of life (locally called ‘*cha umwaka*’)<sup>12</sup>. Worse, the communities have acknowledged these changes and consumed such behaviour as normal, and feel restricted to reprimand the youth because of the ‘rights’ claims. It is now increasingly common for secondary school girls to have multiple partners (famously known as three [3] reasons<sup>13</sup>, sometimes with parents/guardians awareness.

Other types of behaviour also associated with ‘modernization’ and leading to CSW were mentioned to include; dressing styles and cross-age relationships. Dressing styles for example were claimed to becoming more revealing, especially to entice men into a relationship. Otherwise, young girls – under 18 - sleeping with older men for a pay, was said to have become common in the district. From the study however, some of the CSW, despite being despised believed that their dressing styles and mannerisms made them more attractive and also desired by several men.

#### **(e) Institutional Inadequacies**

The failure of social and state institutions to support people or to ensure a human system of governance was mentioned as one of the most significant motivator not only to enter into

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<sup>11</sup> Kiwangwa, 9<sup>th</sup> July, Zinga 27<sup>th</sup> August, Kerege 21<sup>st</sup> September, 2013

<sup>12</sup> Old fashioned in Doe language

<sup>13</sup> 3 reasons – handsome (for outing); ATM (for cash) and the third for physical (sexual) gratification.

CSW, but also to facilitate its continued prevalence. Key related aspects that were mentioned include the following:

Failure of the education system, especially the quality of Secondary school education was mentioned as a factor influencing the high level of unemployment and hence youth's options into CSW. Family poverty, coupled with the poor schooling environment, inadequate number of teachers and facilities brewed entry in CSW for many girls. In one of the FGDs, a participant elaborated this point explaining that:

*“The drop in the quality of education should be seen as a factor that pushes young girls into CSW. This is because these girls, who complete Form IV while quite young, complete secondary education with failures, which blocks any opportunities for higher education or getting a reasonable job. So they have to stay at home ... without any job or income resort to join CSW in order to get means to meet their needs” (Kerege, 21<sup>st</sup> September, 2013).*

State institutions responsible for enforcement of the law – the police and Ward and Village authorities were also mentioned as facilitators to a degree to which CSW prevalence is experienced in Bagamoyo, and its subsequent motivation of new comers who find it a better way to earn an income. Participants in the study claimed that these institutions have proved inefficient in curbing behaviour that stimulates entry and participation into CSW. For example, in all of the ten study communities, ‘prohibited styles of ngoma named ‘*khanga moja*’ or *bai koko*’ were said to be held either by individuals or as entertainment organized by Bar owners<sup>14</sup>. The frenzy and related open promiscuity associated with these ngoma types encouraged many participants to engage in the buying and selling of sexual favours, and thus making it a desired habit. The known CSWs confirmed that their trade flourished during these occasions because of the opportunity to market themselves freely and the presence of many willing clients.

Faith-based institutions on the other hand laid the blame on deteriorating morals. Participants from religious institutions confirmed the high prevalence of CSW, mentioning that it was ingrained in the communities of Bagamoyo. One participant mentioned that ‘people do not fear God’ and have turned to worldly solutions for their poverty or misery, CSW included. However the only platforms that Faith-based institution have had to plead for changes was through public gatherings or in houses of prayer – during *mawaidha* or *ibada*, but seldom through confronting those engaged in CSW. Participants at Mkange also mentioned that it was difficult to confront CSW, locally termed as adultery – and often blamed on the woman. They however acknowledged that CSW was caused by thrifty men during harvest seasons with concubines, or their laziness during off farming seasons and thus pushed their women

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<sup>14</sup> These types of ngoma entail obscene styles and body gyrating, with the female participants clothed in one piece of khanga, The whole process is designed to entice sexual behaviour and coupled with the high rate of alcohol consumption, these performances end up in uncontrolled sex among onlookers and participants alike. Officially, these types of ngoma have been prohibited, but as claimed by study participants are still being performed openly. They encourage promiscuity and CSW/

into prostitution in search of cash to feed their families. To them religious teachings alone on morality was not effective<sup>15</sup>.

**(v) Employers = Bar/Guest House Owners**

Bar and Guest house owners were mentioned as key facilitators into CSW. This occurred through two key processes. The first one was through females seeking a job, and on engagement in a Bar would be told ‘*your salary is determined by your opener*’ implying that their job was not based on a formal contract, but depended on how much they were able to attract and serve customers. Since this style of engagement was not reliable to enable them earn a reasonable living, some resorted to sell themselves to the customers to earn more money. This situation was largely faced by female newcomers, many of whom had no other means to sustain themselves, and could not even rely on their contacts who brought them to the settlements.

The second method is through trafficking of women or girls and forcing them to have sex with clients organized by these employers. One of the participants said that ...,

*Bar haiendi bila wasichana, ... wenye Ma-Bar huenda kuchukua wasichana vijijini na kuwaleta kwa Bar – wengine wadogo sana kiumri – wanakuwa kivutio*<sup>16</sup> (lit: A bar does not survive without girls, ... Bar owners bring girls from rural areas, some of them very young in age – becoming attractive)

In another community, the following explanation was given by a Bar girl-cum-CSW:

**Box 2:** The Boss, the owner of the Bar becomes the pimp. He connects the Bar attendants - girls with customers [especially visitors]. He takes the money from the customer and then he forces you saying ‘go to a specific place and listen to what the customer needs. By that time he has already been given the payment. Because you are in need of a livelihood, you just go. This happens for both newcomers and local girls (*Kiswahili: Boss/Mwenye Baa – anakuwa kuwadi – anaunganisha wasichana – hasa wafanya kazi wake – ma Bar maid, na wateja. Anapewa hela yeye na mteja - hasa hawa wageni. Bosi anakushurutisha – anasema ‘hebu nenda sehemu fulani umsikilize Yule mtu anachohitaji’ wakati huo ameshapokea pesa. kwa vile wewe ni muhitaji unaenda tu. Hii ni kwa wasichana wageni na wenyeji wa hapa hapa* (Magomeni, 21<sup>st</sup> august, 2013)

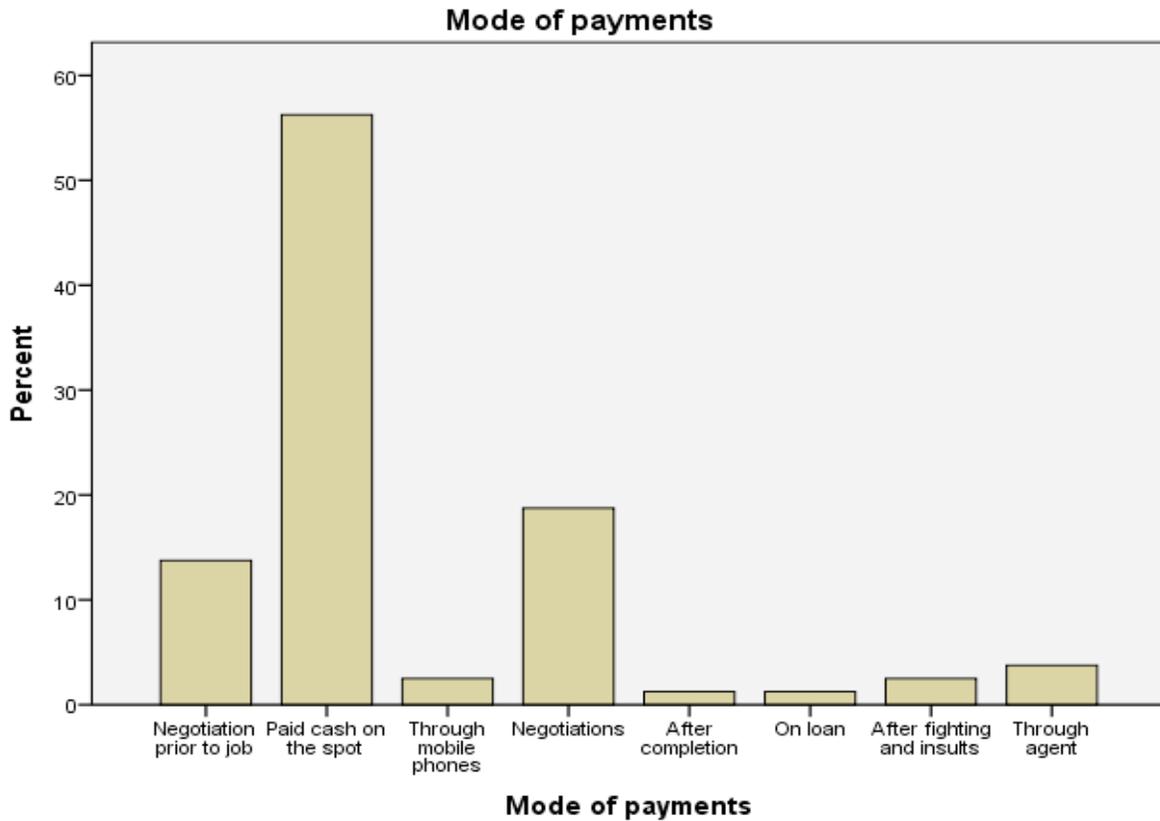
**(f) CSW v/s Alternative Income Sources**

*CSW pays back quickly and at a better level than other forms of employment!* Income from the available alternative sources of employment is low, and is often subject to competition because of the many actors. These sources include food vending (Mama Lishe), beverages and chips; petty trades (fried fish mongering, sale of clothing), farming and daily-paid wage labour. A CSW participant at Dunda said, “I also engage in the Mama Lishe business, as another woman’s assistance, but I get only TShs 2000-2500/- daily which is quite less than

<sup>15</sup> Mkange FGD, 13<sup>th</sup> September, 2013

<sup>16</sup> Kiwangwa July 7<sup>th</sup> 2013;

what I would get through the CSW activity – I get an average of TShs 5000-10,000/. Only in hard times do we get TShs 2000-3,000/- per person”. Figure 6 below illustrates the CSW’s experience on payments from their job.



**Fig 6: Mode of Payment from CSW**

As Fig 5 illustrates, most CSW transactions are completed on the spot, even if they are done through negotiations. In this way, CSW activity becomes preferred to agriculture, which because of poor technology, is arduous, involves a heavy input of manual labour, and the significant income is realized after a long period. *Kilimo kinachokesha*, one woman said, implying that farming is too tiring, while women along the coast – Dunda and Magomeni complained that fish trading needs adequate capital that most of them do not have, making CSW more attractive.

### 3.3.3 Clients – A Brief Profile

Both women and men can be clients or facilitators of CSW. Women especially the well-off middle-aged, use younger less-endowed men for their pleasure, or engage in trafficking other women into the business. This phenomenon was however claimed to be less prevalent than that of men of all ages who were the clients of girls and women, but also facilitated CSW to other men.

At Zinga, it was reported that young boys at the age of 15-17 also visit the brothels in the area and pay for the services with small money. The CSW entertain them when there are not enough good-paying clients, and “*often late at night when they cannot be seen*”. From the CSW themselves, the main characteristics of their clients were as follows:

**Table 2: Characteristics of CSW Clients**

S/No	Category	Key characteristics
1	Immigrants/Settlers	Individuals with money, no moral constraint to engage freely, at least with reasonable income
2	Visitors	Officials, Seminar attendees- some can afford 50,000/- a one-night stand. Frequent visitors maintain permanent contact with CSW or Pimps.
3	Itinerant persons – Truck drivers, Traders	Individuals with ready cash – pay very well during marketing seasons, and also by drivers if one is also mobile. Traders have no scruples engaging with married women
4	Local men	Lowest paying clients, often negotiate price because of familiarity.
5	<i>Bodaboda</i> (motorbike drivers) operators	Young, rough, deceitful, enticing young girls – trap with small money, double dealers and often desert girls
6	Camp residents (Construction workers, Military personnel)	No definite characteristic, mixed in morals/behaviour and service appreciation.
7	Common people	Include: Seasonal Fishers, small traders, local youth – often untrustworthy, may pay less than pre-negotiated amount, risk of rape, <i>kukopa</i> (getting services on credit)

Visitors, (official), Traders and newly settled people (immigrants) were regarded as the most significant clients of CSW because they pay well and often without complications or ruthlessness. Other clients were perceived on an individual basis, with luck, one may get TShs 20,000/- per service, but sometimes they get 1000-3,000/- as a normal local price. Because of the unreliability of clients, it was common for CSW to have 3-4 clients a day.

#### **4.0 SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS OF CSW**

This section discusses the socio-economic implications of CSW focusing on the physical, psychological and social consequences of CSW on girls and women. There are both individual and societal implications arising from CSW engagement, which can either be negative or positive at both dimensions. These are discussed as follows:

##### **4.1 Positive Outcomes**

A few positive outcomes mentioned by CSW, most important were those associated with tangible, material benefits. Significant among these were getting an income and to become self sustaining. Otherwise, some mentioned that CSW was able to give them recognition and being attractive to certain people. The latter was however not taken as wholly positive since CSW were often confronted by the spouses of married men or collision of clients in similar times.

Other benefits included the following:

- (i) Being able to raise capital for business
- (ii) Developing residential places/house construction
- (iii) Supporting the family
- (iv) Being able to settle debts
- (v) Opening a savings account

Generally, therefore, CSWs feel that their trade allowed them to get a better life in the constraining circumstances of social and economic hardships.

##### **4.2 Risks and Threats from CSW Operations**

According to those practicing CSW, negative experiences outweigh positive experiences in frequency, yet not many are willing to stop practicing CSW because of its associated material benefits mentioned above. Suffering from a general perception of doing a socially inappropriate job, CSWs also mentioned the discomfort they often encounter from clients who are not trustworthy, and being beaten especially when they insist on being paid as per negotiations. Rape and gang rape are also experienced. A summary of the risks and threats is presented in table 6 below.

**Table 3: Threats Experienced by CSW**

	<b>Threat/Risk</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage%</b>
1	Humiliation	4	4.25
2	Rape	4	4.25
3	Not paid on time/misunderstanding on payment/robbed	18	19.1
4	Harassment	4	4.25
5	Demanding payments	5	5.3
6	Forced anal sex	6	6.4
7	Beatings/threatened with weapons	18	19.1
8	Taken to distant unfamiliar places	5	5.3
9	Sex in dark corners/bushes	4	4.25
10	Gang rape	4	4.25
11	Double dealers	2	2.1
12	Alcoholic/drunk clients	5	5.3
13	HIV infection	4	4.25
14	Belittling for desire of money	4	4.25
15	Desired by the men of other women	5	5.3
16	Collision of clients	2	2.1
	<b>Total</b>	<b>94</b>	<b>100</b>

Other significant risks faced by CSW are health-related, child abuse, unwanted pregnancies and rape as discussed as follows:

#### **4.2.1 Health Risks, HIV & AIDS**

Multiple partners coupled with drugs and alcohol allows for fertile ground for unprotected sex. In the FGDs and IDIs, participants indicated that although most of the CSW had received HIV education which has been widely disseminated in the communities, practicing safe sex is often at the discretion of the client. To illustrate the risk of HIV infection, in the discussions at Kerege, it was disclosed that 28 people tested HIV+ out of the 182 individuals who freely tested during the Uhuru Torch rally in August 2013. This rate conforms to the district estimates of 15% of PLHIV in the district. In addition, STIs were experienced highly and more frequently confirming the rampant practice of unsafe sex. Many CSW however were not willing to conceal the health risks they faced, neither their experience of STIs or related problems as Table 4.2 below illustrates.

**Table 4: Health Risks and Problems Faced by CSW**

Health Problem	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
None	5	5.3	12.5	12.5
Itching	1	1.1	2.5	15.0
HIV/AIDS	2	2.1	5.0	20.0
Gonorrhea	11	11.7	27.5	47.5
Stomach-ache	4	4.3	10.0	57.5
Malaria	1	1.1	2.5	60.0
Flu/cold	1	1.1	2.5	62.5
Headache	2	2.1	5.0	67.5
Syphilis	3	3.2	7.5	75.0
UTI	2	2.1	5.0	80.0
Heart disease	1	1.1	2.5	82.5
Blockage of fallopian tubes	1	1.1	2.5	85.0
Fever	3	3.2	7.5	92.5
Eye infections	1	1.1	2.5	95.0
Waist pain	1	1.1	2.5	97.5
TB	1	1.1	2.5	100.0
Total	40	42.6	100.0	
Missing	99	54	57.4	
<b>Total</b>	<b>94</b>	<b>100.0</b>		

#### 4.2.2 Child Abuse

The trafficking of young females was mentioned in all communities, and sometimes it was claimed that very young girls = of the age 13 were brought from up-country to work in Bars, some of which also had guest houses<sup>17</sup>. One of the participants commented, “*unawaonea huruma watoto hawa, tena mmiliki anadai eti ni ndugu zangu nakuja kuwasomesha ... jioni nawakuta wako Bar wanahudumia bia, hata kufungua bia yenyewe hawawezi*” (Lit: you feel pity on these children, and the owner claims they are my relatives, I want to educate them ...but in the evening you find them in the Bar, serving beer, they can’t even open a beer bottle). Forcing young females to work in Bars was claimed to be Bar Owners’ techniques in attracting male customers and forcing the females into sex work. Because many of them did not have any other means for surviving. They were also not able to report such cases, many fell into the sex work operations.

#### 4.2.3 Unwanted (Teenage) Pregnancies

Although hard data could not be found, unwanted pregnancies were mentioned as common because of unsafe sex practices. This was more the case with those females coerced by employers (both women and men). Often in such cases, the females were forced to practice unprotected sex. It was claimed that, once pregnant, they are sent back to their homes. Unprotected sex (sex without condoms) was mentioned to pay highly than protected sex. Unprotected sex can pay TShs 20,000/- while sex with a condom is TShs 5000-10,000/-. Some CSW opt for the risk.

<sup>17</sup> Mdaula FGDs and IDIs, 24<sup>th</sup> August 2013

#### 4.2.4 Rape and Other Forms of Physical Abuse to CSW

Rape in Bagamoyo is not an absolutely threat for CSWs, but often a significant proportion of victims are CSWs as illustrated in Table 4 above. During the study period, a case of gang rape of a CSW in Dunda was reported to the police<sup>18</sup>. Such cases as it was claimed occur now and then. A group of CSWs in Dunda claimed how they once fell into the hands of hooligans who raped them in the bushes next to primary school. According to a Senior Police Officer of Bagamoyo, rape incidences in Bagamoyo are estimated as 0.2% of the total population<sup>19</sup>.

Other incidences of rape are within domestic environments done by parents/guardians especially step fathers (*baba wa kambo*) on children in their homes. But as it is for the rape incidences of CSWs, formally reported cases to the police are very few, only 2-3 in 6 months.

CSWs also encounter beatings or being roughed-up by customers, especially when they demand their due payments from the initial agreement. One of the CSW in Magomeni explained that sometimes they enter into agreements for protection with Security Guards at Bars or Guest Houses in the case of being violated. She said, *vurugu au kupigwa inatokea – hasa inapotokea mteja asipotimiza ahadi ya pesa – unamkunja na wewe!* (lit: chaos or being beaten sometimes occur, particularly if a client does not want to honour the payment agreement – you fight him up!). Another CSW at Dunda showed a scar on her head [in the presence of the other three CSW] which she claimed was from an injury caused by a drunk client who refused to pay her TShs 20,000/- which was the rate agreed for the service<sup>20</sup>. She followed the customer outside and yelled to him that he was a *tapeli* (lit: con man).

#### 4.3 Community Perceptions on the CSW Operator

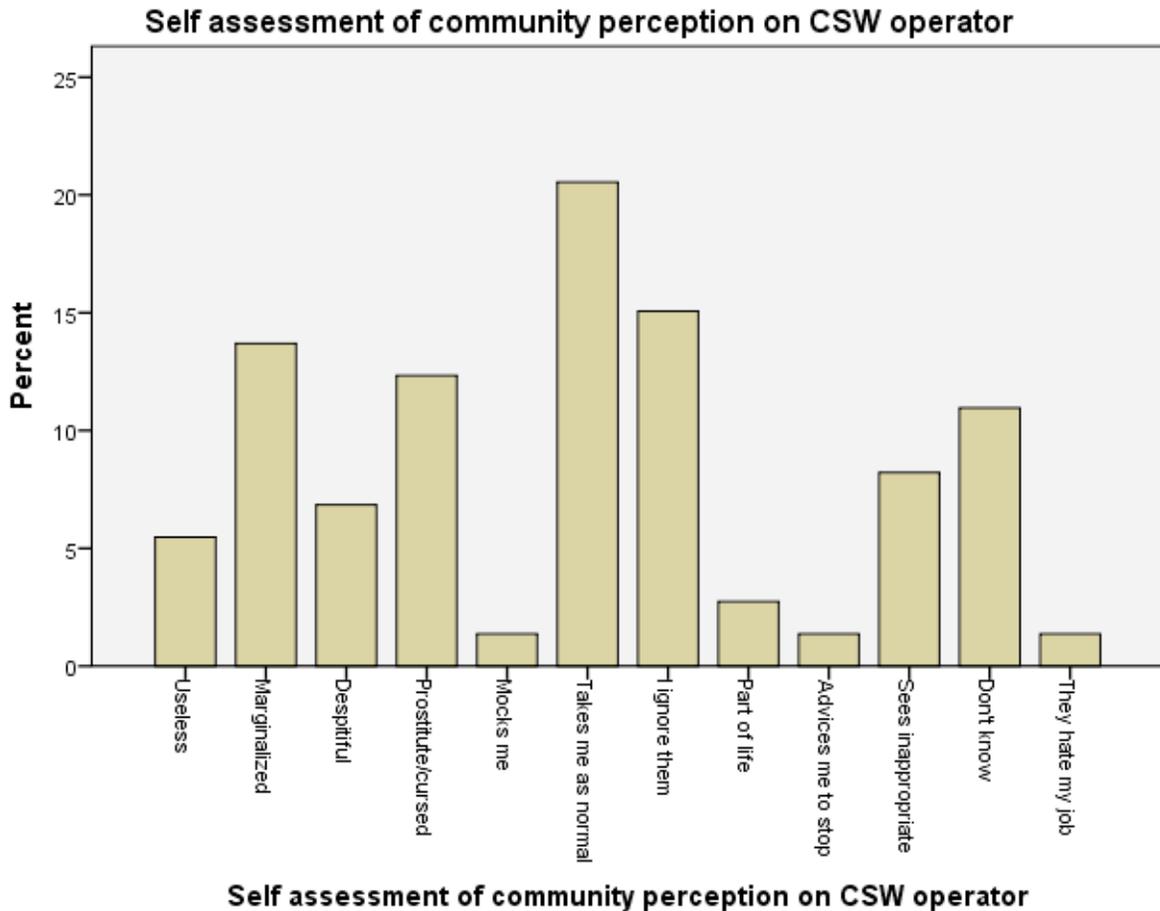
Community perceptions on CSW operators reflect an inappropriate behaviour, done by social misfits who deserve to be dissociated from mainstream society. This was viewed by both the community and the CSWs themselves. Some CSW however claimed that they do not mind being looked down upon, as long as '*mkono uende kinywani*' (lit: the hand feeds the mouth). Other views by CSW on how they are perceived by the community are shown below in Fig 7.

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<sup>18</sup> Information at CVM by volunteers, date 30 June, 2013, Bagamoyo.

<sup>19</sup> FGD Kerege, 21<sup>st</sup> September, 2013

<sup>20</sup> IDI, Dunda date 1<sup>st</sup> August, 2013.



**Fig 7: CSWs Responses on How the Community Perceives Them**

As illustrated above, despite negative perceptions on their job, a significant proportion of the CSWs in the study mentioned that they either ignores such perceptions or find them useful and despitedful.

**4.4 Knowledge on Rights**

CSWs were also asked whether they were aware of their rights to claim respect as human beings, and whether they had ever confronted law enforces when faced with the threats that have been mentioned in Table 4. In every community studied CSW claimed that they know what their rights were and where they need to report incidences of abuse and other similar cases. However, public disclosure of their plight was not favourable to them. They also confirmed that they know that beatings or rape are prohibited by the law. And even being swindled, such as not being paid by a client can be taken to enforcement authorities, but they do not report any of such incidences. This is because of the attitudes by service providers on them. They cited the Police as an example of those officials who looks down on them when they have a bad experience.

Accessing the police post, one of the CSW said, is too open/no privacy, and, *in any case they will dismiss you* because they know that you operate as a CSW, hence they assume that any rough behaviour that one experiences should be expected.

### 5.0 ALTERNATIVE INCOME GENERATION ACTIVITIES

About 45% of the CSW respondents indicated that if they were to stop CSW they preferred to engage in any of the petty trades, followed by 15% preferring to start Mama Lishe business or Cafes. Hardly 4% opted for education and skills development despite the fact that more than 60% of the CSWs did not go beyond standard VII. Fig 8 below illustrates the preferred options.

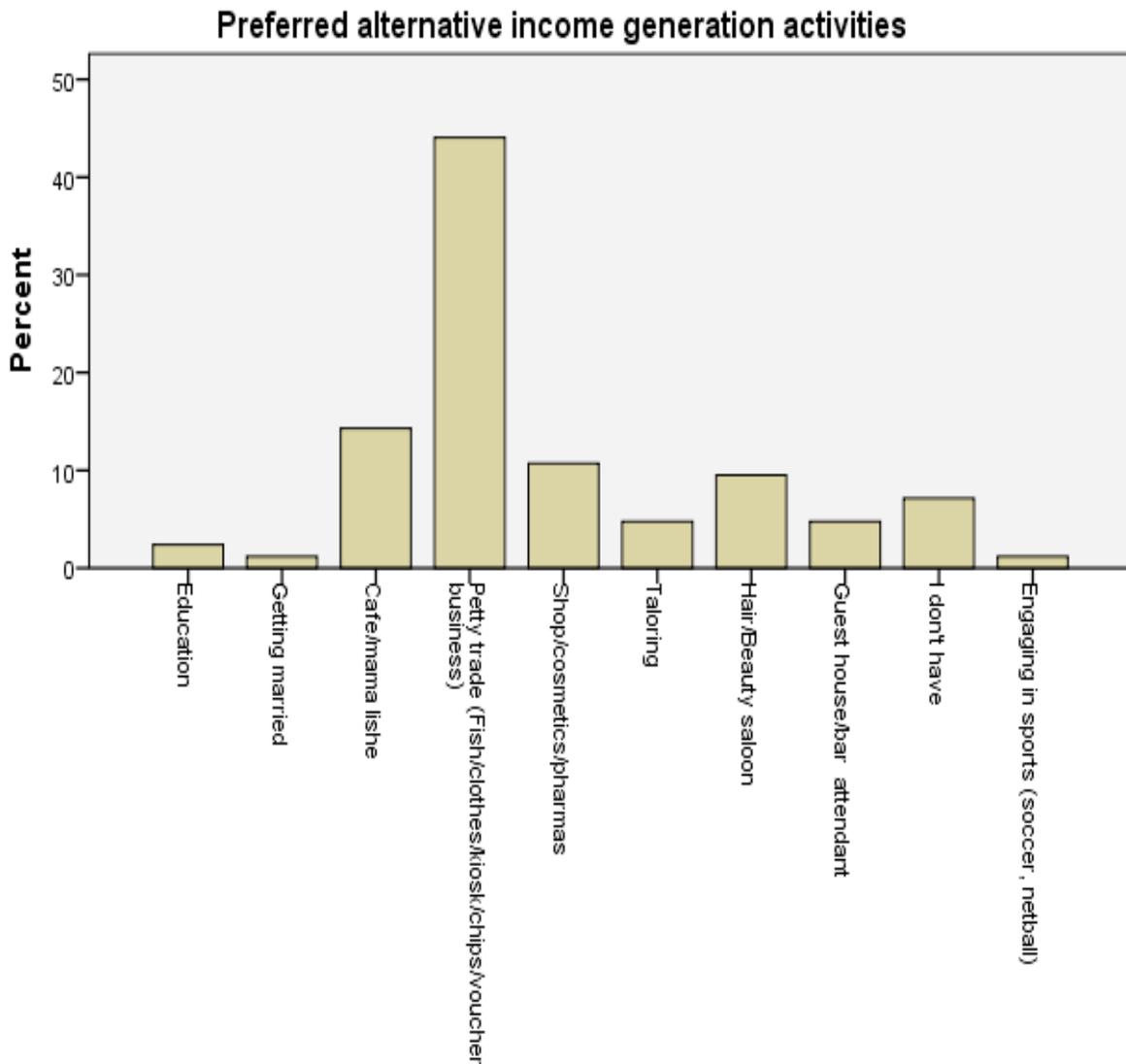


Fig 8: Preferred Alternative Income Generation Activity

Of the 94 CSWs responding to the questionnaire, only 20% mentioned that they have experience in operating petty businesses on their own which was highly preferred. Most have been engaged as apprentices to other women or have been briefly engaged in Bar or Guest house tending.

The key challenges preventing the CSWs to engage in such preferred alternative work were mentioned in terms of their priority: lack of skills (12%); lack of education (20%); lack of capital (42%); used to the job of CSW (23%) and other reasons including laziness, do not know why accounted for 3%.

## **6.0 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

This study has made an in-depth assessment of the situation of CSW in Bagamoyo district. It describes the socio-economic context, the motivation and experiences of CSW in the district and provides a general understanding on how possible CSW could be addressed to the benefit of its participants and Bagamoyo society.

The profile of girls and women engaged in CSW in Bagamoyo establishes that girls and women engaged in CSW ranged from the young age of 15 to women of 47-50 years of age. Most are single, although a significant number of married women also engaged in transactional sex as a livelihood activity. Most CSWs operate in local places of residence, with a few moving in and out with itinerant clients. Income from CSW however is regarded as more significant compared to other jobs despite the risk involved and the social stigma that CSW suffer from other sectors of society.

Motivating factors into CSW: The key reasons for engagement into CSW are economic and livelihood pursuits or challenges. These reasons are either facilitated or interact with a range of variables including age, the socio-cultural setting, institutional inadequacies to facilitate individuals' entry into CSW. Their clients are of a heterogeneous characteristic, young and aged, local and non-local given Bagamoyo's geographical location and other attractions that have facilitated continuous interaction with people from other areas of the country and abroad.

Physical, psychological and social consequences of CSW: Most CSW acknowledged the social stigma they encounter from some members in their own society, but to some, this is ignored, since CSW operations have become ingrained in the daily living in most settlements, and their presence also is visible. The risk to physical abuse such as rape, and beatings is as high as is the risk to contracting HIV and AIDS. All of the CSWs showed that they are aware of the health risks associated with their work, and realize the necessity of practicing safe sex, but the 'theoretical' knowledge does not conform to their daily practical experience. Since they are often less resourced in the negotiations with clients, many of them become subjected to unsafe sex.

### **6.1 Recommendations**

Several opportunities can be seen with regards to supporting girls and women engaged in CSW in Bagamoyo district. We mention just a few. Firstly is the appreciation that CSW in the district is deeply ingrained in the social life of people, that it becomes quite challenging to address it as a separate isolated phenomenon. It is associated to the declining social and economic opportunities that would have enabled these girls and women live a better life. Prostitution begun at an early-age because of a social environment that nurtures the practice without restraint is damaging the lives and promising futures of many young girls. More effort in integrating the school system with efforts to address CSW is necessary.

Many women are also compelled to make a living in constrained economic circumstances, with poor education and low skills, and hence see CSW as an easier and quick rewarding

option. Addressing CSW's economic situation will thus demand designing for options that may be as rewarding and help them make better decisions for earning their livelihoods.

Secondly, building the capacities of girls and women to address abuse, coerced sex, including rape is very important. However, as illustrated by the experiences in Bagamoyo, this demands a concerted approach that involves actors in different positions. The trafficking of girls and women for sexual entertainment for example, has become a common practice but it needs to be addressed by engaging individuals to confront the law and prevent the abuse of women.

Finally, enabling CSWs' ability to engage in safe sex and thus protect the women from health risks such as STIs and HIV infection and unwanted pregnancies is also recommended as a meaningful intervention. Integrating interventions with national programmes on HIV & AIDS prevention is thus necessary.

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**APPENDIX I**  
**STUDY COMMUNITY PROFILES IN BRIEF**

No.	Ward	Brief profile
1.	Kiwangwa	Rural community – along Bagamoyo-Msata highway, Predominantly agriculture-based livelihoods, trade in pineapples brings significant seasonal incomes; petty trades, fishing, livestock (chicken, goats, cows, pigs), fish mongering, local brewing, bar and guest house, vegetable growing and selling, food vending, investing in plantation
2.	Miono/Saadani	Rural community, kms from Chalinze-Segera trunk road; Seasonal agriculture, fishing, livestock, petty trade, bar, guest houses. Tourism in Saadani and prawn fishing a major income earners
3.	Mdaula	Chalinze-Morogoro Trunk road stop. Truck-drivers stop. Seasonal Agriculture, livestock, stone quarrying, charcoal, motorbike driving, employed in sisal estates, petty trade, business (food vendors, kiosk), and bricks production, local brewing, Bars and Guest houses
4.	Dunda	Urban employments, Various trades, Coastal/fisheries-based livelihoods, Transportation businesses and passenger saves – <i>Daladala, Bodaboda</i> business; Seamstresses, food vendors, juice making, agriculture, government and private offices bar, guest houses, casino, tourist hotels,
5.	Magomeni	Urban employments, Various trades, Coastal/fisheries-based livelihoods, <i>Bodaboda</i> business; Seamstresses, food vendors, juice making, agriculture, government and private offices bar, guest houses,
6.	Lugoba	Chalinze-Segera highway stop. Trades and some agriculture.
7.	Zinga	Urban (Dsm) influence, Seasonal Agriculture, petty trade, kiosk, fishing, livestock (chicken, goats, cows), local brewing, bar, guest house, vegetable growing and selling, food vending
8.	Kerege	Dsm-newcomers influence; Population – 3284, with 1620 male and 1664 females. Total households = 827. Heterogeneous community. Residents, the Makonde, settled in the 1970s. Agriculture-based, livestock keeping petty business and employments (teachers, health, courts) make 20% and bodaboda (5%).
9.	Mkange	Rural: predominantly agriculture, livestock keeping.
10.	Msata	Chalinze-Segera highway stop. Vibrant business centre – crops and fruits from inland, truck drivers stop,