

**“BUT SEX WORK IS GOOD BUT I DON’T WANT TO DO IT”: BLACK MEN’S
NARRATIVES OF SELLING SEX**

Simone Peters

Ptrsim006

A dissertation submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the award of
the degree of
Masters of Social Sciences (MSocSci) in Psychology

Faculty of the Humanities

University of Cape Town

April 2016

COMPULSORY DECLARATION

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

48 581 Words

The copyright of this thesis vests in the author. No quotation from it or information derived from it is to be published without full acknowledgement of the source. The thesis is to be used for private study or non-commercial research purposes only.

Published by the University of Cape Town (UCT) in terms of the non-exclusive license granted to UCT by the author.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

- Firstly, I would like to thank God, because without His blessings, wisdom and grace I would not have gotten this far. To God be all the glory for great things He has done
- To the *participants* who gave up their time and knowledge in order to share their very real experiences with me. It has been a great learning experience, thank you for allowing me the opportunity to share your stories with others. Your contribution has enabled a richer understanding of the experiences of sex workers in Cape Town
- To SWEAT, thank you for your willingness, your constant support and help throughout my research process.
- To my supervisors, *Dr Shose Kessi and Dr Floretta Boonzaier*, thank you for your patience, availability and sharing of your expert knowledge. Thank you for your continual support, encouragement and guidance.
- I would also like to thank the National Research Foundation and the Knowledge Co-Op for their contributions in funding this project. Without the funding this research would not have been possible. And lastly to my family:
- To my *mom* thank you for all your support not only throughout this year, but always. Without it, I would not have been able to get this far. Thank you for all your prayers and love.
- To my *siblings*, especially Micaela, your unwavering support and understanding throughout this year has been incredible. Thank you for your love, patience, guidance and support. I couldn't imagine my life without you.
- To my friends and spiritual mothers Aunty Angie and Aunty Carmen, thank you for your constant support, prayers and guidance. Thank you for mentoring me and helping me be the best version of me

Abstract

Sex work within the South African context has become a much contested issue; with different perspectives emerging on the topic from various stakeholders. Sex work in South Africa, takes place in a complex context of poverty and lack of jobs, which plays a part in men's entry into the profession. While much research has been done on sex work, it has tended to focus on female sex workers, to the detriment of male sex workers. Male sex workers have been made invisible in the literature on sex work and their experiences are thus not adequately presented. This research however hopes to gain insight into Black men's experiences of sex work in Cape Town. Narrative interviews were used to investigate the experiences of 16 black male sex workers, from SWEAT, a Cape Town based NGO. All the interviews were analysed using a combination of an intersectional and narrative approach, to best understand the complexities and different factors that shape their lived experiences. Through this analysis, many complexities and tensions within male sex workers' experiences were found. Their experiences of entry and exit from sex work have and continue to be shaped by their race, age, socio economic status and gender. As men in this profession, they encounter many challenges and judgement, however being a man has also provided them with advantages not afforded to female sex workers. These findings are then discussed in relation to the existing literature and recommendations for future research and interventions are offered.

Keywords: Cape Town, male sex workers, narrative, intersectionality

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	2
ABSTRACT.....	3
CHAPTER ONE: AN INTRODUCTION	8
1.1 SEX WORK IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT.....	8
1.2 DEFINING SEX WORK: A FEMINIST DEBATE.....	10
1.3 CONTEXT OF MALE SEX WORK	12
1.4 THE IMPORTANCE OF INTERSECTIONAL RESEARCH	13
1.5 THE OUTLINE OF STUDY	13
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW.....	15
2.1 MEN AND MASCULINITIES	15
2.1.1 Understanding the link between Gender and Masculinity.....	15
2.1.2 Race and Masculinity in South Africa.....	18
2.1.3 Class and Masculinity in South Africa	21
2.1.4 Media and Masculinity in South Africa.....	24
2.2 RESEARCH ON MEN WHO SELL SEX	25
2.2.1 Stigma and Contestation in Representation of Male Sex Work	26
2.2.2 Subjective Experiences of Male Sex Workers.....	28
2.2.3 Motivations for Selling Sex	32
2.2.4 Clients of Male Sex Workers.....	32

2.3 AIMS AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS	35
2.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS	35
2.5 SUB QUESTIONS.....	35
CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY.....	37
3.1 FEMINIST RESEARCH	37
3.2 EFFECTIVELY USING INTERSECTIONAL ANALYSIS	38
3.3 QUALITATIVE RESEARCH.....	40
3.4 RESEARCH USING NARRATIVE APPROACH	40
3.5 PARTICIPANTS	42
3.6 PROCEDURE.....	45
3.7 DATA ANALYSIS.....	46
3.7.1 Thematic narrative analysis	47
3.7.2 Dialogic/performative narrative analysis	48
3.8 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS.....	49
3.8.1 Informed consent	49
3.8.2 Risks and Benefits.....	49
3.8. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY.....	50
3.9 REFLEXIVITY.....	50
CHAPTER FOUR: IDENTITY NARRATIVES	52
4.1. DILEMMA OF BEING A BLACK FEMINIST RESEARCHER	52

4.1.1 Reflections of being perceived as both an ‘insider’ and ‘outsider’	54
4.2 MAINTAINING MANHOOD	60
4.2.1 Controlling and objectifying women	61
4.2.2 Narratives of Violence	65
4.3 BEING A ‘REAL’ MAN AND A SEX WORKER	69
4.3.1 A ‘real’ man is straight	69
4.3.2 Consequences of not being a ‘real’ man	72
CHAPTER FIVE: NARRATIVES OF JUSTIFICATION AND SELLING SEX.....	74
5.1 SEX WORK BRINGS IN MONEY	74
5.2 SEX WORK IS MY CHOICE	79
5.3 COMPLEXITIES OF SELLING SEX	81
5.4 STORIES OF RESISTANCE	94
CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION.....	99
6.1 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS.....	99
6.2 CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE STUDY.....	101
6.2.1 Methodological Contributions.....	101
6.2.2 Theoretical and social implications.....	103
6.3 SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH.....	106
REFERENCE.....	108

APPENDIX.....125

Chapter One: An Introduction

In this section I will be discussing the context, South Africa, in which sex work has gained popularity as a form of work. South Africa has made sex work illegal; however, sex work continues to be a daily activity on the streets of South Africa. This section also discusses what sex is and how male sex work has been shaped and framed by academia and within society.

Sex Work within the South African Context

This research seeks to gain some insight into the lives and experiences of black¹ men who sell sex in Cape Town, South Africa. In South Africa, sex work, is a highly contested profession legally and morally. In the country sex work has been criminalised (Act 23 of 1957). This law bans the exchange of sex for money (Gould & Fick, 2008). Recently the Sexual Offences Amendment Act 23 of 2007 was put into place, which not only criminalises the sex workers but also the clients who pay for the service (Gardner, 2009). Despite these limitations placed on sex workers by the law, they still continue to sell and buy sex publicly countrywide (Gardner, 2009).

Sex work in South Africa happens in a context of high unemployment rates. According to the Quarterly Labour Force Survey, a household based sample survey conducted by Statistics South Africa (Stats SA), 24.3 percent of South Africans were unemployed which translated into 4.9 million people between the months of October and December 2014 (Stats SA, 2014). It was also found that the unemployment rate among black Africans was higher than any other population followed by Coloured² people. Many employed and unemployed black Africans and Coloured people had no matric certificates and those who were employed were earning low salaries as they could only do low-skill jobs (Stats SA, 2014). It is within this context that sex work began to flourish, as it provided people with no or little education, a platform to make fast money and provide for themselves and their families (Boyce et al., 2011). Gould (2008) found in her study that a sex worker with only a primary level education could earn up to five times more money than they would in other job options.

South African society, however, does not view sex work as an alternative means to earn money, instead sex workers are viewed as immoral (WorldAidsCampaign, n.d). After being allowed to host the 2010 World Cup, during preparations it was proposed that special permission be given to

¹ Black in the paper refers to all African, Coloured and Indian people in South Africa. Although the gender and racial terms are not in inverted commas, I do acknowledge that they are socially constructed terms.

² Coloured in the paper prefers the term given in Apartheid to a diverse group of people who descended from the Cape slaves, indigenous Khoisan people and other people of African, European and Asian descent. They are also commonly known as being “mixed race” and have held intermediate status in South Africa (Adhikari, 2006).

temporarily legalize sex work (Bird & Donaldson, 2009; WorldAidsCampaign, n.d), since many foreigners would be in the country (Bird & Donaldson, 2009). It was argued that by doing this, sex work would be better regulated (Bird & Donaldson, 2009). However, there was a huge backlash from the public, while some supported this proposal, many more refused. They argued that legalizing sex work would destroy the morals of the society, it would break up families, leading to higher divorce rates and it would encourage more people, especially young girls, to enter the industry (Bird & Donaldson, 2009; Gardner, 2009; WorldAidsCampaign, n.d). The final decision was made to not allow for the temporary legalization. It is this sort of thinking and arguments that have led to sex workers, once noticed, receiving a lot of negative stigma from the health care system, police system, communities and family (Vanwesenbeeck, 2013). Sex workers are treated like second class citizens and penalized for trying to make a living. They are unable to get access to basic rights such as good working conditions, protection and legal work contracts (SWEAT, 2006).

Many organisations have requested that the profession become decriminalised, arguing that by decriminalising sex work, sex workers will be less stigmatised, have better access to health centres and be protected against all forms of abuse (Luiz&Roets, 2000; SWEAT, 2006). Moreover, the Commission for Gender Equality (2013) has also argued for the decriminalisation of sex work. They argue that by criminalising sex work, sex workers' rights continue to be violated. However, this has still not occurred, even though countries like New Zealand show that decriminalisation has been beneficial. In 2003 the New Zealand Prostitution Reform Act (PRA) came into being, decriminalising consensual adult sex work. Decriminalisation of sex work has allowed sex workers with a safer space in which to work, increased protection against violent clients, more choice in respect to working conditions, they are able to complain about unfair treatment and draw up contracts (Canadian Alliance for Sex Work Law Reform, 2014). However, some organisations such as Embrace Dignity, who work with sex workers exiting the industry, argue that sex work should not be legalized but instead be seen as the exploitation of people and as a form of violence against women (Embrace Dignity, 2014). These debates demonstrate how, within the context of South Africa, sex work has become a highly contested issue. Moreover, within the body of literature especially feminist work, sex work has also become a highly contested subject.

Defining Sex Work: A Feminist Debate

It would be useful to first review the different debates that are happening within feminist works regarding sex work before moving to the literature. Within feminist discourses on sex work, it is cited as “the absolute embodiment of patriarchal male privilege” (Kesler, 2002, p.19). However, feminists themselves have been debating what sex work is, their thinking has been divided into two standpoints: advocating for the rights of sex workers and advocating for the destruction of sex work

(Wahab, 2002). Among the feminists who are advocating for the rights of sex workers are liberal feminists. They argue that sex work is a choice; they believe that the sex worker sells her service not her body (Sloan and Wahab, 2000). They view sex work as a neutral commodity and see the act of sex as a neutral transaction between consenting people (Sullivan, 1995; Wardlow, 2004). By choosing sex work as a career, it is argued that women are able to gain agency of their body (Sullivan, 1995), able to liberate themselves from discrimination (Halland, 2010) and it empowers the person instead of further marginalizing them (Aronson, 2006). Liberal feminists conclude that women are empowered when they charge men for services that are expected to be for free (Jenness, 1990). Thus fighting for the legalization and decriminalisation of sex work. They argue that laws that criminalise sex work are unconstitutional as they deny women the right to control their bodies, deny them the right to protection and safety within their work and deny them of their civil rights (Sloan and Wahab, 2000). Moreover, it is believed that by decriminalising and legalizing sex work, the lives and safety of sex workers will improve (Sullivan, 1995, Wardlow, 2004). However, the liberal approach tends to ignore the existence of power relations that takes place within sex work. Moreover, this approach tends to ignore race, class and gender, which impact on sex workers' decisions and experiences (Scoular, 2004). Post-structural and sex workers' rights activists share similar standpoints; however, they believe that the challenges faced by sex workers are direct results of the exploitative and patriarchal structures of society. Therefore, firmly arguing that the lives of sex workers need to be understood from their perspective and their voices on their lives need to be listened to (Sloan and Wahab, 2000).

The second group who advocate for the destruction of sex work are radical and Marxist feminists. Radical feminists argue that prostitution is “one of those most graphic examples of men's domination over women” (Pateman, 1983, p.562). Radical feminists view prostitution as harmful to women, arguing that it exploits women and is an act of violence against women (Kesler, 2002). Jeffrey (2008, p.4) argues that

[Prostitution is] male sexual behaviour characterised by three elements variously combined: barter, promiscuity, and emotional indifference. Any man is a prostitution abuser who, for the purposes of his sexual satisfaction, habitually or intermittently reduces another human being into a sexual object by the use of money or other mercenary considerations.

Marxist feminists share a similar viewpoint, arguing that sex work is a form of labour. These feminists argue that all labourers can be exploited and often are as they are turned into commodified objects. In their theory, sex workers become dehumanised and are forced to stay labourers in a capitalistic system in order to survive. Thus sex workers are argued to be victims of a capitalistic society (Overall, 1992). Jagger (1991) states that sex workers become like wage employees whose

value as people are measured by how much they are worth on the market. She argues that “like wage labourers, they are compelled to work by economic pressure; prostitution, if not marriage, may well be the best option available to them” (p. 357). These theories, however, have been criticized for reducing women’s identity to one trait, the victim, and disregarding the role played by race and disregards women’s agency (Scoular, 2004).

Disregarding race, class and gender in one’s research can be a significant omission as it silences the voices and experiences of those most marginalized. Black Feminists have argued that female sex workers of colour have fewer opportunities of employment outside of sex work in comparison to white female sex workers and sex workers of colour are arrested more often for sex work (McClintock, 1992). They argue that in order to understand the experiences of sex workers, one must explore race and how it influences black women in the sex industry. Black feminists bring black women’s viewpoint across and produce work that is informed by the intersections of race, class and gender (Collins, 1990, Hooks, 1989). They argue that one needs to examine how issues of race, class and gender intersect to bring about a matrix of domination. Collins (1990) and Hooks (1989) have both noted how issues of racism, sexism and classism hold different dimensions of oppression, which although not being the fundamental systems of oppression, have profoundly influenced the lives of black women. In Collins’ (1990) analysis of sex work, she theorized around issues of racism and sexism within sex work, and concluded that sex work is the exploitation of black women’s bodies for economic gains. She argues that sex work commodifies sexuality and sends the message to “White boys” that black women of the sex worker population are for sale. Black feminists have argued that in order to fully understand sex workers lives, one must explore the intersection of race, class and gender (Sloan and Wahab, 2000). However Black feminists, just like radical and Marxist feminists, only view sex workers as victims and disregard their agency (Scoular, 2004). The two different standpoints that exist among feminists demonstrate just how contested sex work is.

Context of Male Sex Work (MSW)

Sex work is defined as an exchange of money for sexual services between a sex worker and client (Visano, 1988). A male sex worker has been defined as any male who provides sexual services to persons in exchange for money, gifts or necessities such as food and clothing (Coleman, 1989). Logan (2010) argues that male sex workers (MSWs) are in a very distinctive social position as they provide their services to not only women but to both gay and heterosexual men. However, their clientele are mainly men, which has made it difficult to conceptualise male sex work (MSW) into gender, economics and social theories of sex work (Bernstein, 2005; Edlund & Korn, 2002). Furthermore, MSWs are often disregarded in the literature on sex work as they only constitute five percent of the sex workers (Stacey, Konstant, Ragasami, Steward & Mans, 2013). Sex work has

become synonymous with the image of women selling sex, while MSWs are unfamiliar to most (Dennis, 2008). This is evident within both standpoints on sex work and across various feminist thoughts; one can see that sex work is viewed as women's work. Nowhere in the literature do they talk about MSWs, which means that currently we do not have a conceptual framework for understanding male sex work.

The idea of there being a male sex worker challenges these heteronormative assumptions of women's body as objects for men because with MSWs, the male body too is also being objectified and exploited (Minichiello, Scott & Callander, 2013). In today's world, MSW is fast becoming a growing industry with more men entering the industry as the male body is starting to become seen more as a commodity (Scott et al., 2005). As Thomas (2000) notes, the male on male pornography industry has become quite popular and accounts for a third to a half of the \$2.5 billion adult industry. Moreover, more and more mainstream newspapers and magazines are publishing advertisements that sell the male body. All these developments have helped to shift the way male sexuality is viewed (Scott et al., 2005).

For the purpose of this study the term sex worker and sex work will be used, as opposed to prostitution. This term has been chosen as it does not have a strong gender connotation such as the word prostitution, which is strongly connected to woman's work (Berstein, 1999). Furthermore, it also embraces the change towards empowerment, new constructions within literature of sex workers and legality for sex workers.

The Importance of Intersectional Research

An intersectional approach was first introduced into research by Black feminists who argued that the voices and experiences of black women were being ignored. They recognise and emphasize the importance of exploring the intersection between race, class and gender, in order to fully understand the lived experiences of sex workers (Sloan and Wahab, 2000). In their work, both Smith (2012) and Wojciki and Malala (2001) have argued that an intersectional analysis is vital when studying the experiences of sex workers. One's race, class and gender all intersect and influence how you experience life and how others will treat you. To not explore these positionalities would produce inadequate research on sex workers. The few studies that have focused on MSWs have focused on the HIV risk they pose, the stigma they face, the empowerment the industry provides, their demographics, and different practices they engage in. However, research done on MSWs although being valuable, have failed to fully comprehend the lived experiences of MSWs, which are and continue to be influenced by their various positionalities. Studies done on MSWs have not analysed their experiences using an intersectional lens, which this research will be doing. This research hopes to contribute to the creation of effective policies and interventions with MSWs.

In this section I discussed the context, South Africa, in which sex work has gained popularity as a form of work. South Africa has made sex work illegal; however, in a country where work is scarce, unemployment on the increase and skills lacking, sex work has become a means of earning a source of income. Sex work has become a highly contested arena in this country, with some activists and organisations calling for the decriminalisation of sex work while other organisations argue that sex work is exploiting women. Many members of society also argue that sex work is destroying society and its morals and values. Sex work has left the country divided which was evident in the circumstances surrounding the 2010 FIFA Soccer World Cup. Sex work has also been a highly contested topic among scholar's especially feminist writers with liberal, post-modern feminists and sex work activists arguing that sex work is empowering to women and that it is work and a choice that is made. In contrast to radical, Black and Marxist feminists arguing that the practice is harmful to women and continues to exploit their bodies for the pleasure of men. Both standpoints however ignore the lives of MSWs and how they frame sex work.

Outline of the study

The first chapter has introduced and situated sex work in the South African context and also frames and defined male sex work. Chapter Two reviews literature pertinent to MSWs. The first half of the chapter reviews literature on masculinities and men and looks at literature on black men in South Africa and discusses the factors that have influenced and shaped these masculinities. The second half reviews the body of literature on MSWs, with an emphasis on qualitative research exploring men's subjective experiences of selling sex. Chapter Three provides an outline of the theoretical framework and research design used in the research project, providing a detailed introduction to narrative research. The chapter also elaborates on the recruitment process and context, the participants, the data collection, analysis procedures and concludes with a discussion of the ethical considerations, limitations of the study and reflections on the research process. Chapter four and five present the findings of this study. In closing, chapter six summarises the findings of the study, the contributions of the research project are assessed and recommendations for addressing the demand side of the sex work industry are made. The thesis ends with suggestions for future research.

Chapter Two

A Review of the Literature on Masculinities and Men who Sell Sex

This chapter will be reviewing the literature that exists on men and masculinities particularly looking at South African masculinities and how it has been shaped by gender, history, race, location, class and the media. It is important to analyse how these factors intersect in order to get an accurate account of sex workers' lived experiences (Smith,2012; Wojciki &Malala,2001) It will also discuss the literature that exists on MSWs, arguing that they are a marginalized group, whose experiences have been ignored and made invisible in academic work on sex workers. Furthermore, it will go on to discuss the subjective experiences, how literature has categorized them, their motivations for staying in the profession and the relationship between the client and sex worker, which is a complex one.

Men and Masculinities

In this section, I will be discussing the different discourses that exist on men and masculinities, looking at how gender is conceptualised and how it relates to the concept of masculinity. This section will be discussing the different ways that masculinity has manifested itself and what the implications are for men who do not fit the mould. Secondly, it will look at South African masculinities and how these men's experiences have been shaped and continue to be shaped by their positionalities as raced and classed men.

Understanding the link between Gender and Masculinity.

Minichiello and colleagues (2013) argue that masculinity is vital when trying to understand the structure and organisation of male sex work, as male sex workers' experiences are influenced by a society that holds certain views around manhood. When one talks about conceptualizing masculinity, it is important to take into account the different concepts of gender as masculinity is closely interlinked with gender. There are two approaches for defining gender: the essentialist approach and the social constructionist approach, which both have practical implications for the concept of 'masculinity'. In the essentialist approach, it is argued that men and women are different because of unique internal traits that make one inherently 'male' or 'female' (Cosgrave, 2003). Theorists from this approach believe that gender is a result of the biological sex differences that exist between men and women. Thus within this paradigm, masculinity can be defined as traits that naturally belong to males. For example, if aggression is seen as 'masculine' it is argued to be a natural trait of men (Cosgrave, 2003). However, many theorists have argued that this approach is problematic as it firstly homogenizes males and females, arguing that if one does not possess those 'natural traits' then you are not 'normal' (Bohan, 1993). Secondly, it produces a hierarchy that places

men as superior to women. Shefer (2004) argues that a focus on gender differences was used to “obscure the power inequality between men and women and to legitimate ideologically the continued reproduction of such difference (and inequality)” (p.190).

The social constructionist approach, which is what I will use in my dissertation, argues for an alternative view of gender. In this approach, gender differences are argued to be a social construction and thus are not predetermined (Hare-Mustin&Marecek, 1988). Gender is not viewed as a natural trait that is inherent in males or females but instead it is a construct that is reproduced in different social contexts, prescribing behaviours deemed as appropriate for men and women (Bohan, 1993; Swain, 2005). Masculinity from this view is seen as a set of traits that are deemed by society as appropriate for men in a given context (Swain, 2005).

Masculinity refers to “social roles, behaviours, and meanings prescribed for men in any given society” (Kimmel & Aronson, 2000, p.503). Men then internalise these expectations, meanings and ascribed roles and in turn reproduce them. Masculinity is thus constantly constructed and lived out (Moore, 1994). It is seen as socially constructed as opposed to biologically determined (Nye, 2005). As Ratele (2008, p.3) stated “masculinity needs society, not just testicles”. From this view, it is culturally relative, thus meaning ascribed to men from one culture or race may differ from the meaning ascribed to another man from a different culture and race (Gutman, 1997). It is important to note that masculinities do not exist in isolation but are constructed alongside and in opposition to femininities and other forms of masculine identities (Synnott, 1993). Connell (1995) has noted that even within one culture many forms of manhood and meanings of what it is to be a man exists. However, he argues that there is one form of manhood that dominates, the hegemonic masculinity, which is the masculinity most men aspire to attain as it seen as the successful masculinity. Hegemonic masculinity exerts its power by either validating certain forms of masculinities while rejecting or questioning other forms. In the western model, the hegemonic man has traditionally been identified as a white, heterosexual man who is from the middle class. However, social constructionists view masculinity as fluid, ever changing (Swain, 2005) and this view of one either being a hegemonic man or not is too simplistic and problematic within a country as diverse as South Africa.

In his paper, Demetriou (2001, p.355), critiques the idea of a hegemonic masculinity, and instead offers the view of a hegemonic bloc, which is “a masculinity that is capable of reproducing patriarchy is in a constant process of negotiation, translation, hybridization, and reconfiguration”. In his analysis, he takes into consideration the dynamic and fluid nature of masculinity and notes how the hegemonic bloc changes in a very deceptive and unrecognisable way. It changes through “... the transformation of what appears counter-hegemonic and progressive in to an instrument of

backwardness and patriarchal reproduction” (p.355). Ratele (2006) has also engaged with work around hegemonic masculinities. In his work he speaks about ruling masculinities. He notes that “ruling masculinity indicates a design of practices, relations, and supportive cognitive and affective discourses that seek to have us believe in the naturalness of men’s power over women, other men, and children” (p.56). It is argued to be a “practicable, ideological position shaped primarily by dynamics of history, the weight of socio-economic structures and group based power and resistance” (Ratele, 1998, p. 21). This ruling masculinity within South Africa is very similar to masculinities around the world in that it displays an “assertive heterosexuality, control of economic decisions within (and outside) the home, political authority, cultural ascendancy and support for male promiscuity” (Ratele, 2006, p.51). In his paper he demonstrates how the ruling masculinity is linked to sexuality and to human and sexual rights as they influence ideas around sexuality and rights. However, he notes that masculinity is not a single thing but that multiple masculinities exist because masculinities interconnect and co-produce each other in relation to race, class, location and sexualities. Moreover, he notes how males are trying to “radically change the ruling masculinity” (p. 57) as men are not naturally heterosexual and masculine, which is evident by men who have sex with men, men who like dressing up in women’s clothing and men who have sex with both men and women. However, he argues that:

Ruling men with political, economic, social or cultural power who publically repudiate oral and other “wrong” sexual practices silence other men and women with less political voice, less education, and less cultural and economic power. In societies and cultures where women and men are unequal, the sexual rights, choices, desires and pleasure of women and marginal men are likely to be curtailed by the words of such powerful men (Ratele, 2006, p.60).

Worldwide society has created this image of a ‘real’ man through a diverse set of traits. Firstly, manliness is associated “with our sexual partners(s), the sexual appeal of our partners(s), the size of our penises, the claims we make about our sexual stamina, whether we can maintain a healthy erection and how virile we are.” (Ratele, 2011, p.399). A dominant narrative on what a ‘real’ man is suggesting that heterosexual men have “awe sex with beautiful women” (p.399). According to work by Brannon (1976, p.12), American manhood has four traits which are: 1) “No sissy stuff” (anything that is characteristic of women); 2) “Be a big wheel” (emphasis placed on being successful and have status); 3) “Be a sturdy oak” (emphasis on toughness, confidence and self-reliance); and 4) “Give ‘em hell” (importance given to being violent, aggressive and having risk-taking behaviours). Kimmel (1993) argues that these traits of ‘real’ manliness have “[led] to a sexuality built around accumulating partners (scoring), emotional distance, and risk taking” (p. 142). Traits of masculinity worldwide as identified by researchers working with men have been: violence/aggression (e.g. Andrews, 1998-

1999; Brannon, 1976; Bruce, 2007; Campbell, 1992; Cooper & Foster, 2008; Epstein, 1998; Peters & Bawa, 2012; Wojcicki, 2002), status (e.g. Brannon, 1976; Bruce, 2007), being the breadwinner (e.g. Campbell, 1992; Barker and Ricardo, 2005; Niehaus, 2005), being the head of the family (e.g. Campbell, 1992; Hunter, 2005; Niehaus, 2005; Ratele et al., 2007), being successful (e.g. Brannon, 1976; Cooper & Foster, 2008; Mahalik et al., 2003), having wealth (e.g. Baaz & Stern, 2009; Bruce, 2007), denying anything associated with femininity (e.g. Brannon, 1976; Kimmel, 1993, 1994), being heterosexual (e.g. Kimmel, 1994; Morrell & Swart, 2005; Niehaus, 2005; Shefer & Mankayi, 2007), risk-taking (e.g. Brannon, 1976; Cooper & Foster, 2008; Mahalik et al., 2003; Shefer & Mankayi, 2007), fearlessness/bravery (e.g. Campbell, 1992), strength (e.g. Baaz & Stern, 2009; Luyt, 2003), repression of emotion (e.g. Brannon, 1976; Luyt, 2003; Mahalik et al., 2003), power/dominance (e.g. Cooper & Foster, 2008; Kimmel, 1993, 1994; Mahalik et al., 2003; Wood & Jewkes, 2001), and self-reliance (e.g. Brannon, 1976; Mahalik et al., 2003).

The meanings around what manhood is, are always found out within interpersonal and institutional relationships such as our parents, intimate relationships, schools, media, cultures and religion that dictate to us how men should behave (Ratele, 2011). The meanings around masculinity and femininity are always being constructed by oneself and by others. They are continually being performed, changing from context to context and are continually being constructed and deconstructed by outside factors (Swain, 2005). It is important to analyse ideas held by one's society around manhood as these ideas have serious consequences for men such as male sex workers who are perceived to not fit the mould by society. These views around manhood also shape and influence how they experience sex work and how they see themselves as men who sell sex.

Race and Masculinity in South Africa.

Masculinity is not only constructed in relation to femininities or other masculine identities, but it is also constructed through notions of race. Within the context of South Africa, race, class and gender have become part of the country's culture and history (Morrell, 2001). It is beyond the scope of this research to give a detailed account of the development of all the masculinities within South Africa (see Morrell, 1998). However, to contextualise this research, an overview of the different masculinities in South Africa both pre and post 1994 will be given. Ratele (1998) argues that as researchers studying masculinities of black men, it is important for us to look at the history of black manhood as "black manhood is an historical construction". "As black men we were birthed and given our names by history" (p.63). Biko (1978) states that we must relate the past to the present and show the advancement of the modern black man.

Pre-1994, South Africa was ruled by white men, who created a system of oppression known as Apartheid. These men held all the power economically and politically, but even within this

hegemony of white power there were also diverse representations of masculinity mainly the British and Afrikaner masculinities. Despite political and cultural differences, both British and Afrikaner men were white and yielded a lot of power. British masculinities were characterised by “a willingness to resort to force and a belief in the glory of combat” (Morrell, 1998, p.616). A successful Afrikaner man was a man who upheld tradition, who identified as a Boer, played or enjoyed rugby, he was a Calvinist Christian, he was very conservative on topics such as sex which was seen as taboo and held very rigid gender roles, characterised by exerting authority over “women, people of colour and uitlanders” (p.617). White masculinity may have aided in uniting all men, however one cannot claim that it was hegemonic throughout South Africa as other forms of masculinities also existed (Morrell, 1998).

In contrast, black masculinities in South African history were different and largely influenced by pre-colonial history, the colonists and then apartheid. Biko (1978) defined black people as oppressed and historically determined. He argued that the colour separation in South Africa came about for economic reasons because by making black bodies inferior to white bodies one could pay black people less money and get higher profits. He noted that white leaders had to create a barrier between black and white people in order to justify their exploitation of black bodies. In his writing Biko (1977) states that “the black man has become a shell, a shadow of a man, completely defeated, drowning in his own misery, a slave, an ox bearing the yoke of oppression with sheepish timidity” (p.29). One of the reasons for black men becoming an empty shell was the fact that black men were emasculated by their white colonisers (white men, women and children) who constantly called them “boy” (Morrell, 1998). He argues that white colonisers used the term as they refused to acknowledge manhood among black men. Black men were denied of their right to vote as only white men could vote (Morrell, 1998). Moreover, they were not treated like humans and were made to feel like animals in their land (Biko, 1978). Biko (1977) argued that one had to acknowledge the black man’s position in order to free him, to fill him with life, dignity and pride which he tried to do through the Black Consciousness movement (BCM). The BCM sought to “give positivity in the outlook of the black people to their problems” (p.31) The movement aimed to use the anger of black people and direct it into one purpose and involve every black person in the struggle for freedom of both their minds and bodies.

With men moving off to work in mines in the city, this migration and urbanisation led to diversity within black masculinities. This created what Morrell (1998) calls ‘African masculinity’ and ‘black masculinity’. However, it is important to note that this is how Morrell outlined what he

saw as South African masculinities. ‘African masculinity’ is characterised as ‘traditional’³, is largely upheld in rural areas, and success is measured by having a wife or wives, children, livestock and being the head of your home. They believe that a woman’s place is at home looking after her husband and children, men are the decision makers and that there is order to everything. ‘African masculinities’ believed and emphasized the importance of rituals and respect for elders (Campbell, 1992; Morrell, 1998). Morrell (1998) argues that this form of masculinity had to change and diversify in the context of extreme social interference but it remained the hegemonic form of masculinity among African men. However, ‘black masculinity’, in contrast is mainly influenced by urbanisation, resisting the state and participating in work are some of their central characteristics (Morrell, 1998). Constructions of ‘black masculinity’ which included African, Coloured and Indian men, were also largely influenced by formations of gangs, with the images of the tsotsi or gangster who “...developed a materialist and consumerist orientation” (Morrell, 1998, p.627). Apartheid and movements of resistance once again divided these two masculinities, as ‘black masculinities’ were more politicised in comparison to ‘African masculinities’ (Campbell, 1992). Participating in resistance movements and being part of the struggle played a big part in identity construction during this period, and “what it meant to be involved in the fight for liberation [...] was significantly bound up in what it meant to be a man” (Waetjen&Maré, 2001, p.198).

From the literature one can see that masculinity during Apartheid for black South Africans was influenced by various factors which included their race, age, working environment, living environment and political circumstances. Morrell’s work appears to have been written from a particular perspective that may be critiqued. In his writings, Biko (1978), argues that “colonialism is never fully content with just controlling black bodies but they want to write about black people’s past and “disfigure and distort it” (p.17). He notes that the history of the black man in South Africa is always presented as a “long succession of defeats”(p.17). Black men are painted as thieves of the white man’s property, trouble makers, liars, cruel and murderers. He argues that there is no objectivity in the history that is written and taught and the history on the black man is often misrepresented. He argues that in order for the black man to come into consciousness, we as black people need to rewrite and produce our own histories. It is also important to note that these concepts of ‘African’ and ‘black’ do not encompass all the influences that have affected masculinity or even the diversity of black masculinities but they do however capture an important theme in the literature. These categories pay attention to the values of manhood regarded as either ‘traditional’ or ruling versus other masculinities (Campbell, 1992; Ratele et al., 2007).

³ One needs to note that ‘culture’ and ‘tradition’ in itself is socially constructed (Ratele, 2007). Although it is represented as rigid, it is simply reductive and uncritical to think of it as such (Ratele, 2007).

In post-apartheid South Africa, research has found various forms of black masculinities emerging. Within the African National Congress (ANC), the party that won the first democratic elections in 1994, different masculinities emerged. These were embodied through the presidents of the party and country. These men became the role models for what masculinity should look like. The country's first black president, Nelson Mandela, represented a "new" masculinity which promoted gender equality. He argued that it was time for peace and men to do the cooking and watch the children, challenging violent masculinities. However, this masculinity never became popular among black men but provided an alternative masculinity (Morrell, Jewkes & Lindegger, 2012). Thabo Mbeki, the country's second president carried forward the gender equality program, but was seen as a dictator and an autocrat which eroded support not only for him as president but also for this new masculinity that Mandela tried to develop (Gevisser, 2007). Jacob Zuma (South Africa's current president) was elected as the third president. He reflects a familiar masculinity, he has four wives; and has twenty-one children. In 2005, Zuma was accused of raping a woman; however, he denied the allegations but said that he did have consensual unprotected sex with an HIV positive woman. He then took a shower afterwards to minimise the risk of contracting HIV (Island, 2015). He showcases a traditional masculinity where he glorifies ideas of sexual entitlement, having multiple partners, asserting a heterosexual, patriarchal and violent masculinity (Ratele, 2006; Morrell et al., 2012). Many black men look up to these black leaders and have shaped their masculine identities around these leaders' meanings of manhood in post-apartheid. Moreover, this also illustrates the point that masculine identities within South African black men are diverse, multiple and always changing (Swain, 2005). Race has played a big part in the formation of masculinities in South Africa; moreover, class has also influenced ideas around masculinity.

Class and Masculinity in South Africa.

Masculinities are also largely influenced by socioeconomic circumstances, in South Africa 24.3 percent of South Africans are unemployed, which equals to 4.9 million people without work of which Africans have the highest unemployment rate followed by Coloureds and then white people (Stats SA, 2014). Elliot (2003) notes that unemployment among both black men and white men are resulting in "grave threats to men's self-esteem and manhood" as they are not conforming to the conceptions of successful manhood (p.10). Being able to provide financially for your family, being a breadwinner, being financially independent and being able to pay a bride dowry are important attributes of successful manhood in both white and black cultures (Elliot,2003; Hunter, 2005). Men both white and black are now assessing their masculinity in terms of how well they are able to provide for their sexual partners and families. Evident in research done by Wood (2005), the rising

unemployment rate left many men feeling frustrated, powerless and emasculated because they could not be providers or “breadwinners” without money.

Boonzaier (2005), in her work with both men who perpetrate violence and women who are abused, found that men’s ideas around successful masculinities were linked to their ability to provide financially for their families. In her study some men stated that as a result of not being able to provide financially they felt powerless. This feeling of powerlessness was used as justification for using violence against their partners. Researchers have argued that unemployed men become marginalised as they are less able to attract sexual partners. This then undermines their masculinity as research found that sex with women was viewed as a reflection of one’s masculinity. The more female sexual partners and sex you had, the more of a ‘man’ you were (Hunter, 2004; Ratele, 2011; Woods & Jewkes, 2001). In his research Hunter (2004) found that “in the void by men’s inability to work and become unnumzana⁴, success with multiple women has become critical marker of manliness” (p.139).

Further research done in South Africa has highlighted the pressure felt by boys and men to have multiple sexual partners as a way of proving their masculinity and getting the affirmation from their peers for being ‘successful’ (Woods & Jewkes, 2001). However, research found that in order to have access to sex one needed to have money, as many women wanted men who could provide them with gifts or money for clothes or food (Wood & Jewkes, 2001). Moreover, women are argued to then shame and taunt unemployed men, saying they are only available to employed men (Elliot, 2003). This is argued to leave them with lower self-esteem as they have no money and have less access to women, which results in an increase in sexual violence against women and children (Morrell & Swart, 2005; Niehaus, 2005).

However, Gqola (2007) and Jewkes and colleagues (2011) argue that gender based violence is more complicated than that. Gqola (2007) argues that violence is not only committed by poor or unemployed men but also by wealthy men from “good backgrounds”. She argues that it is everywhere and made to seem normal through meanings given around ‘successful’ manhood. Some researchers suggest that men use violence because they are unable to adopt a gendered position and they blame the power, educational and income differences between their partners and them, stating that it prevents them from attaining a ‘successful’ masculinity (Boonzaier, 2005). Gqola (2007) and Jewkes (2010) argues that with a violent history such as South Africa’s, an environment has been created in which violence has become a tool of exerting power and control. Many men who are

⁴ A head of household

unable to attain manhood through providing, do so by using violence against those who are weaker than them be it other men or women (Morrell, 2001).

It has been argued that violence has become a vital component in the construction of masculinity in South Africa (Andrews, 1998-1999; Campbell, 1992, Epstein, 1998). Violence, as a method of attaining manhood, has been influenced by the system of apartheid; where government used violence to exert power and control over others and maintain order as well as being influenced by the resistance against this system; where the resistance turned from peaceful into violent in order to make the government listen to them (Andrews, 1998-1999). Research on South African black men found that the legacy of apartheid's violent era still had an impact on their lives today which was evident in research by Cooper and Foster (2008). They found that from the twenty-five Coloured men partaking in their study, all who were awaiting trials in Cape Town, many said that although they were 'democracy's children', but "their masculinities carry the scars of a very oppressive history" (p.21). The authors argued that these men used violence as "a reaction to emasculation they experienced through marginalization" (p.20). Moreover, in another study, violence was found to be a prominent element within most men in the Coloured community (Peters & Bawa, 2012).

However, in post-apartheid South Africa, new and contested forms of masculinities are coming to the surface (Cooper & Foster, 2008, Malinga & Ratele, 2012, Salo, 2007; Walker, 2005). In research done by Salo (2007), it was found that in the Coloured neighbourhood of Manenberg, Western Cape, although violent masculinities were present within gang cultures, there were also men who resisted gangsterism and criminal behaviour, and instead exhibited their 'toughness' through living a disciplined religious life. Similarly, in research done by Malinga and Ratele (2012), with black participants in the Western Cape, they found that these men constructed a 'real' man as being a protector, a provider, a caregiver, a leader, a man that takes responsibility for his actions and who treats his partner with respect. Similar constructions of a 'real' man were found in Cooper and Foster's (2008) study. It was found that qualities of a 'real' man were being able to provide, protect, and respect others, being disciplined, showing vulnerability, relinquishing control and portraying behaviour that is not authoritative. Gay masculinities ranging from drag queens, to private gay identities, have also started to emerge, resisting dominant notions of all 'real' men having sex with only women. However, they face homophobia and judgments from society for their resistance to dominant manhood ideas (Ratele, 2008; Reddy, 1998). As more work on men and masculinities is being done, more is being done to challenge destructive masculinities and create positive masculinities moving forward (Elliot, 2003). Although different, more non-violent and gender sensitive masculinities are being born, these 'non-macho' men are often ridiculed, physically harmed and insulted for not thinking like men should (Walker, 2005). Men's socioeconomic status in society

influences how men see themselves, how they behave and how they are treated by others. Gender, race and class are all interlinked and shape men's lived experiences therefore it is important to emphasize and analyse this link. However, men's identity and experiences are not only shaped by these positionalities but by media as well.

Media and Masculinity in South Africa.

It is important to analyse the media and its role in shaping ideas around the black man as it plays a role in how black man are treated by society and experience life. It is argued that the media plays a critical role in shaping opinions about a group of people as well maintaining certain ways of seeing the world and people who live in that world (Jiwani, 2013). Black masculinities have faced extreme difficulties which are brought on by the way they have been depicted in the South African media. During 1890-1914 there was a period of 'black peril', which reflected "white anxieties in times of social and economic crisis" (van Onselen, 1982, p.50-52). 'Black Peril'-was defined as the "threatened rape of white women by black men" (Cornwall, 1996) and it resulted in oppressive legislature being written up to keep black men in their place (van Onselen, 1982). It was a strategy used in colonial and apartheid times to keep black people under the control of white people but in post-apartheid, 'black peril' is replaying itself (Cornwall, 1996). Media in post-apartheid continues to report and make rape by black men against white women a huge sensation as it results in more papers, magazines or books being sold (Cornwall, 1996). Berger (2002) found that most South African white editors acknowledged racism in the media but stated that it was unintentional, however black editors spoke of extensive racism being reconstructed through media and by white editors such as white people's assumptions that black people will fail, black people rarely being quoted and black people being portrayed as corrupt or criminals (Berger, 2002).

American researchers found similar results. An analysis of American media is relevant to the South Africa context as much of the media watched or read in the country comes from America. American media tends to underrepresent black men as experts and "relatable" characters such as fathers but overrepresented them as criminals, unemployed, aggressive, and poor (Jiwani, 2013; Opportunity Agenda, 2011). These distorted images "create attitudinal effects ranging from general antagonism toward black men and boys, to higher tolerance for race-based socio-economic disparities, reduced attention to structural and other big-picture factors, and public support for punitive approaches to problems" (Opportunity Agenda, 2011:2). Research also showed that white and black people alike were more likely to associate words like "terrible, failure, horrible, evil, agony, nasty and awful" with unknown black faces, as opposed to white faces (Opportunity Agenda, 2011, p.2-3). Moreover, these representations of black men as "thugs, criminals, fools and disadvantaged" leads to them getting less medical attention, harsher sentencing, higher likelihood of

not getting hired or getting a loan and getting shot by a police officer (Opportunity Agenda, 2011, p.3).

However, a shift is being seen, because people are realising the power that the media has in shaping ideas around what it means to be black, what it means to be a man or what it means to be a black man for example. Black actors are starting to create a new stereotype of the black man as intelligent, confident and a leader. They are starting to play the roles of a president, mayor, professor, doctor, judge and so forth. These new stereotypes are argued to not only change the views of black people about their own communities but also helps in changing perceptions on black men held by society. Moreover, the increasing positive representation of black men in the media has also played a role in influencing the acceptance of Black leaders and academics (NewsOne, 2010). This above section has tried to demonstrate how gender, race, class and the media all intersect to produce and shape the lived experiences of men. It has argued that to effectively capture the lives of men one needs to analyse these various factors that influence their lives. Men who sell sex are a unique group of men, whose lives are also influenced by the media, their race as black men, their class, sexuality and gender.

Research on Men who Sell Sex

This section will discuss how MSWs are rendered invisible within the literature on sex work and within society. It will also explore the different subjective experiences of MSWs which has been argued in the section above to be shaped and influenced by their gender, race, class and by the media. Furthermore, it discusses how the literature has categorized MSWs and the motivations behind selling sex. It finishes off with a look at the research gap and rationale, the aims and research questions.

Reviewing the literature on sex work shows that a gap exists, in that MSWs are seldom written about and therefore rendered invisible (Dennis, 2008; Gaffney & Beverly, 2001; Whowell, 2010). In a review of 166 articles on sex work within social science journals, 84% discussed only female sex workers, while only 10% explored male sex work (Dennis, 2008). Additionally, a review of feminist literature yielded only one article on MSWs (Gaffney & Beverly, 2001). It was noted that many of these articles used terms and pronouns such as “she”, “her”, “an objectified female body” to describe sex workers. They also failed to acknowledge that their sample was limited. These articles thus present female sex workers as the totality of the sex work industry. Smith (2012) notes how current research such as feminist work has come to focus extensively on the experiences of female sex workers and have linked sex work to ‘women’s work’. Thus she argues that more research needs to be done in this under-researched field of male sex work. Chipamaunga, Muula and Mataya (2010) argue that:

sex work like much other human behaviour is a complicated experience, and reductionist approaches, in which researchers and public health intervention implementers assume that sexual intercourse is always heterosexual, penile-vaginal, that all clients seek services of sex workers without the knowledge of their spouses, and that sex work is motivated by poverty, may not be as meaningful as when the actual practices are understood (p.49).

Most of the work that has been done on MSWs has focused on epidemiology, while very few studies have looked at their lived experiences and social circumstances that they face (Boyce et al., 2011; Okanlawon, Adebowale & Titilayo, 2012). Literature and discourses on male sex work is limited in peripheral countries (developing countries) (Dennis, 2008). Notably, limited research on MSWs exists in African countries, and many researchers do not acknowledge this gap in the research (Boyce et al., 2011; Minichiello et al., 2013). Similarly, Dennis (2008), found that of the articles concerning MSWs, 80% located them in “core states” (developed states) and 7% in the “periphery”, even though male sex work is extremely common in every peripheral country (Ratnapala, 1999). Dennis (2008) argues that since same-sex practice supposedly only happens in the West, male sex work becomes perceived as only a Western phenomenon, thus ignoring the experiences of MSWs not located in the West.

Stigma and Contestation in Representations of Male Sex Work

The other few studies done on MSWs have tried to categorize them by their practices and socioeconomic status. For many decades, only one type of MSW practice was written about, “the delinquent”, due to the sampling of just street workers (Bimbi, 2007). Work on male sex work has been largely influenced by discourses of sexuality and gender (Scott, 2003). Early research conducted on them took two approaches: sociological and clinical approaches. Within the sociological approach, research focused on their deviant characteristics, the delinquent youth (Harris, 1973, Reiss 1961) or as homosexuals (Hauser, 1962). MSWs were automatically classified as homosexuals, which was seen as unnatural and posed a threat to societal notions of gender and gender roles (Scott, 2003). During the 1950’s and 1960’s, male sex work became a social problem as it was thought to involve young heterosexual males and it was believed that they could be treated (Scott, 2003). This led to the development of clinical approaches, which understood them to be sociopaths who could be treated through either psychotherapy or lobotomy; a surgical procedure where the nerve pathways in a lobe of the brain are severed from those in other areas (Allen, 1980; Freyhan, 1947; Ginsberg, 1967; MacNamara, 1965). However, within this research many contradictions arouse, such as MacNamara (1965) describing male sex workers as effeminate and

homosexual while Ginsburg (1967) described them as masculine and heterosexual. Both of these approaches have created specific representations of the male sex worker. He is defined as:

youthful, poorly educated with low average intelligence, immature and lazy, isolated and alienated, possessing a poor work history and few vocational skills, raised in poor socioeconomic circumstances, characterised by a disorganised familial environment, heterosexual with a hyper-masculine appearance or traits, alcohol or drug dependent, hostile and aggressive to himself, family, and society, incapable of forming stable relations with others, and highly transient, sexually promiscuous and virile, while having been initiated into sexual activity at a young age (Scott et al., 2005,p.323).

However, one must be very weary of these representations as these studies confined their samples to clinically or criminally institutionalised populations of delinquent youth, which were easier to access (Ginsburg, 1967). These narratives led to the images of the male sex worker as passive, disempowered and exploited; however, recent works are challenging these narratives (Browne & Minichiello, 1996). Male sex work in itself is a much contested space as it challenges the notions of gender and what is considered to be 'women's or men's' work. Across the decades, many researchers have written about different types of MSW practices. Some studies have tried to create a profile of MSWs according to their socio-demographic characteristics including their age, race, relationship status, sexual orientation and so forth (Logan, 2010; Mariño, Minichiello, & Disogra, 2003), however, they fail to acknowledge how these characteristics impact on their experiences.

Other studies have profiled MSWs according to the environments in which they work and try to define the type of man you would find in each of these environments, focusing on the risk taking behaviours involved within each environment (Allan, 1980; Van der Poel, 1992). MSWs have been divided into five broad categories which are street MSWs, bar MSWs, brothel MSWs, escorts and kept boys (Scott, 2003). Minichiello and colleagues (2000) found that non-street MSWs were the most likely to be educated, they were financially more stable, often saw sex work as a long term career and felt more comfortable with sex work. In comparison, research on street based MSWs found that they are the most vulnerable. It was noted that they were mostly foreigners, had less education, used condoms less frequently, had higher financial difficulties and had higher drug use (Belza et al., 2001; Mimiaga, Reisner, Tinsley, Mayer & Safren, 2008; Minichiello et al., 2013). MSWs have been described and represented in various ways by different works which have all had an impact on their subjective experiences.

Subjective Experiences of MSWs

The few studies that have been done on MSWs, have found two contrasting themes when researching their experiences: stigma and empowerment. As the HIV/AIDS pandemic emerged, the “discourse of sexual risk” began to shape the research conducted with MSWs (Connell & Hart, 2003, p.6). Most academic papers began framing MSWs as “vectors of disease”, researching their risky sexual behaviour (Morse, Simon, Osofsky, Balson & Gaumer, 1991), “a core reservoir of STD’s and HIV” (Pettifor, Bekinska & Rees, 2000, p.36) and “a potential hazard to society” (Wolffers and van Beelen, 2003, p.1981). MSWs began to be seen as public health threats (Bimbi, 2007; Connell & Hart, 2003) with many studies focusing on the socio-demographic characteristics of MSWs and how that puts them at risk of contracting and spreading HIV (Minichello et al., 2000; Williams, Bowen, Timpson, Ross & Atkinson, 2006). Furthermore, in South Africa, results from quantitative studies found that 20% of new HIV infections come from sex work, while MSWs are 2.9 times more likely than female sex workers to engage in unprotected and anal sex which increases their risks (Richter, Chersich, Temmerman & Luchters, 2013). Researchers have argued that these studies on HIV prevalence and risk are to inform HIV prevention programs. However, they further stigmatize this already vulnerable group by blaming the HIV pandemic on them. Moreover, Kempadoo (2003) argues that the link made between sex workers and HIV has impacted on sex workers’ experiences, she states that,

... This relatively new sexually transmitted disease [HIV] and identification by world health authorities of a concentration of the epidemic in developing countries has led to government interventions. The attention has produced contradictions for sex workers around the world. As in the past, with state concern for public health matters, prostitutes are placed under scrutiny, subject to intense campaigning, and roped into projects that define them as the vectors and transmitters of disease. Sex workers are continually blamed for the spread of the disease, with Eurocentric racist notions of cultural difference compounding the effect for Third World populations. Consequently, inappropriate methods of intervention have been introduced and sex workers burdened with having to take responsibility for the prevention and control of the disease (p.145).

Instead of focusing and trying to diminish the power imbalance between clients and sex workers (Bimbi, 2007) and trying to address social and economic reasons that impact on the negotiation of condoms, governments instead imposes laws and public health programs that are ineffective (Richter et al., 2013). Despite the focus on risk above, emerging research has reported that

MSWs use condoms more frequently with their clients than casual male sex partners (Belza et al., 2001; Bimbi & Parsons, 2005). Research by Parsons, Koken and Bimbi (2004) and Samudzi (2014) found that participants attempted to educate their clients about the risks involved by refusing to have unprotected sex and refused clients who would not use a condom. However, condom use and negotiation is complex. Research on Nigerian MSWs by Okanlawon and colleagues (2012) showed that clients would pay less money when one used a condom or they would look for more willing sex workers. This often resulted in MSWs engaging in risky sexual behaviour to maintain a wealthy client. Sex workers are taking responsibility and making wiser choices, however not all sex workers are in a position to make the same safe choices. While many MSWs take responsibility for their sexual practices, literature and media continues to blame the spread of HIV/AIDS on them which leads to much stigma and violence from society. Stigma towards sex workers from the society came in diverse forms from institutional stigma (stigma from the police and health care sector) to inter relational (stigma from their communities and families). In a study done by Samudzi (2014) with 21 male and transgender female sex workers from Cape Town, he found that although sex workers have different lived experiences, abuse from the South African police remained constant. Many of his participants complained about being victimised, humiliated, abused and raped by police (Samudzi, 2014). Since sex work is criminalised, filing reports of police brutality or victimization is often ignored or met with difficulty (Junck, 2014; Samudzi, 2014). This was echoed by the refugee male sex workers interviewed by Junck (2014), who were further stigmatised by their refugee status. They were constantly arrested and abused for not having the proper refugee papers.

MSWs are also stigmatised within the healthcare sector. Samudzi (2014) found that his participants were harassed and verbally abused by healthcare staff that held strong moral and homophobic views. Some participants said that they would avoid certain clinics out of fear for “whorephobic” discrimination (fear or hatred of sex workers). Research also showed that some health care providers refused to help any male sex workers (Scorgie et al., 2011). MSWs from Kenya, Namibia, South Africa, Uganda and Zimbabwe, in Boyce and colleagues (2011) study said that nurses, once they knew you were a MSW would often call other nurses telling them “we have never had such a case” or “come look at this type of STD, we have never had it at our hospital before” (p. 18). They also experienced stigma within their communities and families, with most who disclosed their profession being disowned and abandoned (Samudzi, 2014). Bos, Pryor, Reeder & Stutterheim (2013) argue that this could be linked to stigma by association or the fact that the community might ostracize them for their connection with the sex worker, especially males who are further stigmatised for breaking the rigid construct of what ‘real’ men are and do (Samudzi, 2014). Many MSWs (gay, transsexual or straight) would often get married or thought of getting married and have children in

order to be perceived as a heterosexual man and avoid being stigmatized (Boyce et al., 2011; Okanlawon et al., 2012). The culture of male sex work has emphasized hegemonic models of masculinity in order to deal with the constant stigma they face (Alcano, 2011).

Stigma against male sex workers often resulted in high levels of violence shown towards them. In contrast to the growing amount of literature on violence against female sex workers, literature on violence against men is somewhat limited (Jamel, 2011; Scott et al., 2005). The literature that does exist on violence against MSWs is very contradictory, with some literature arguing that the rates of violence committed against MSWs by clients is low (Jamel, 2011; Minichiello et al., 1999). An Australian study conducted in 2000, studied 2074 commercial sex encounters including a broad range of sexual encounters between clients and MSWs (Minichiello et al., 2000) and research conducted in Argentina on 238 commercial sex encounters (Mariño et al., 2003), found that violence towards sex workers was low. With only 3.9% of the Australian sample reporting violence and in the Argentina sample only 1.7 %. In the Argentina sample, 11.8 % of the MSWs reported being physically abused by the police, while 5.9 % stated the police asked them for money in order to not face jail time. Studies suggest that the amount of violence one would encounter is the result of your class, race, sexual orientation, and age (Scott et al., 2005). Smith (2012) noted in her paper that white MSWs, who enjoyed relative socioeconomic advantages, constructed sex work as a positive experience; whereas Scott and colleagues (2005) found that young MSWs under 18 were most vulnerable to abuse and the influence of powerful older clients as well as illegal immigrants working as MSWs who were constantly being blackmailed and manipulated by clients. Moreover, the low numbers could also be as a result of MSWs being less exploited than FSW's by clients as men tended to respect other men more than they do women (Altman, 1999).

However, studies on male street based workers from Spain, England and Nigeria, who are mainly black and foreigners, show different results (Belza et al., 2001, Connell & Hart, 2003; Okanlawon et al., 2012.). Connell and Hart (2003) found that street based male sex workers in Edinburgh and Glasgow, England, reported high levels of violence particularly reporting being sexually, physically and verbally abused by clients, especially as found with Nigerian MSWs, when they insisted on condom use (Okanlawon et al., 2012). Participants revealed that it was common to get raped, with one participant reporting being raped "maybe a dozen times" (Connell & Hart, 2003, p.60), getting beaten up and threatened with knives or guns by clients. Additionally, they reported high levels of both physical and verbal abuse from members of the public. MSWs working on the street would often be seen as easy targets of abuse as they "lack guardianship, because their status renders them appropriate victims, because they live in high-risk neighborhoods, because they go out

late at night, carry valuables and engage in risky behaviour such as drug and alcohol abuse” (Scott et al., 2005, p.331).

MSWs are also seen as deviant as they are perceived to be homosexual and the abuse perpetrated against them is often homophobic attacks (Scott et al., 2005). However, there are also reports of MSWs exerting violence over clients if they refused to pay them (West & de Villiers, 1993). Thus, to know the true extent of violence committed against MSWs and by them, we need more research on their experiences in the field and how their race, class and gender impact on their experience and perceptions of violence. Sex work can be a discriminating industry with sex workers facing stigma, violence and abuse; however, it can also provide empowerment by allowing a space for sex workers to challenge conformity to gender norms and to express their sexuality (Boyce et al., 2011). Campbell and Deacon (2006) note how sex workers contest this stigmatisation by reclaiming their identity and transforming it. Sex workers have also spoken about the independence sex work gives them; by allowing them to earn their own money (Samudzi, 2014). They have also described feeling empowered by having the freedom to choose and refuse clients (Mimiaga et al., 2008). In their research Boyce and colleagues (2011) found that participants stated that key advantages of sex work were the amount of freedom they had, working alone and making lots of money, it was a way of making easy money, it taught them responsibility, built their self-esteem, gave them independence, they were their own boss, provided a great opportunity for networking, they were introduced to many leadership programs, could study further using the money they earned and it was a way of serving the community. Many participants said that they offered their clients not only sex but also companionship, therapy and many were instrumental in saving their clients marriages (Boyce et al., 2011). It is important for researchers to stay away from labeling all sex workers as universally poor, victims and carriers of sexual diseases, as this further stigmatizes them and gives them little opportunity for asserting positive and worthy forms of identity. Furthermore, it ignores the complexity of the experiences of male sex workers and the complexities in MSWs choosing to do sex work (Boyce et al., 2011).

Motivations for Selling Sex

Research shows that many MSWs enter the industry for various reasons. Some enter the field to finance their drug habits, while others are exploited by drug dealers and pimps (Parry et al., 2008). It was noted that drugs played a multifaceted role: they are used as a coping mechanism, a way to increase one’s sexual drive; they make the sex workers more willing to engage sexually and serve as facilitators for new clients (Jamel, 2011; Parry et al., 2008). Sex workers enter the field because of financial difficulty and need the money to survive or maintain their lifestyles (Mimiaga et al, 2008; Minichiello et al., 1999; Parsons et al., 2004). Okanlawon and colleagues (2012) found that their

participants never wanted to be sex workers but selling sex become their only method of fighting poverty and improving their lives. Additionally, Boyce et al., (2011) found that some participants said they entered the field to explore and live out their desired sexuality and in this line of thinking; sex work then becomes a way to perform an aspect of their identities. Furthermore, childhood abuse, neglect, traumatic experiences and unstable families is also noted as reasons for entering the field (McCoun & Minichiello, 2007; Pretorius & Bricker, 2011). MSWs chose the profession as it is lucrative, exciting, gives them a sense of freedom and empowerment (Mimiaga et al., 2008). However, many sex workers were worried about their futures, as sex work was not a secure living with money coming and going quickly. Many sex workers are left anxious on what happens next, since they have no savings, retirement plans and they lack recognized work experience that can be used to find other work. Furthermore, many noted that it was age limited, and the older one got the harder it got to find clients (Boyce et al., 2011). These findings follow the trend of the work on female sex workers and similar research and findings can be recorded there. Moreover, when studying MSWs it important to study their relationship with their clients, who are not only diverse but impact on their lived experiences.

Clients of Male Sex Workers

In order for one to understand the experiences of MSWs it is important to look at the clients of these workers, and how MSWs define them and the relationship they have with them. MSWs have a diversity of clients which include women, men both gay, bisexual and straight as clients, however, the majority of their clients are men (Aggleton, 1999; Boyce et al., 2011). In work done in Cape Town, clients of MSWs were also found to be mostly male, employed, married, thirty and above with the majority being white, however, more black males are also becoming clients (Gould, 2008). Clients were described as being prominent figures in society with high earning jobs from research from across the world on MSWs (Aggleton, 1999; Gaffney & Beverley, 2001). Moreover, their clients have also been constructed as posing a threat to the social order of society (Scott, 2003). Clients of MSWs are defined as being people who long for companionship (Aggleton, 1999; Smith, Grov & Seal, 2008) and who seek out MSWs as a way to find fulfillment in their lives (Bimbi, 2007). Clients of sex workers have also been described as lonely people who find it hard to form satisfactory relationships with others and who have failed with personality integration (Aggleton, 1999). Clients thus seek the companionship of sex workers and use this platform as a way of gaining emotional and physical connections, which they are unable to form in their personal lives.

However, contrasting research has found that some clients seek out sex workers because they enjoy having their sexual needs met and not having to worry about the other person or their emotional needs (Harriman, Johnston & Kenny, 2007). Research also found that if the client identified himself

as a heterosexual male, then they would ask the sex workers to take on the passive role during intercourse as this made them feel more like 'real' men (Aggleton, 1999, p. 253). Moreover, they would use violence over MSWs to make them feel manlier (Kaye, 2004). Many MSWs are unlikely to report sexual or physical violence inflicted on them, which could be seen as a strategy used to uphold their masculine identities (Aggleton, 1999). In Cape Town, it was found that 40 percent of sex workers (both male and female sex workers) were forced into taking drugs and alcohol by their clients (Gould, 2008; Isaacs, 2011). This is argued to be a method to gain control over sex workers and make them more willing to participate in riskier sex behaviours (Gaffney & Beverley, 2001). The drugged sex workers are also less likely to protect themselves from any violence that could be inflicted on them and be more vulnerable to HIV or STD transmission as they are not of sound mind to make decisions (Wechsberg, Luseno & Lam, 2006). However, sex workers are being described as heterosexual, youthful, dominant and masculine in comparison to their male clients who are defined as feminine, passive, aged and homosexual (Schifter&Aggleton, 1999). Clients were often humiliated and treated cruelly because they were not seen as being "real" men by MSWs (Schifter&Aggleton, 1999). Salamon (1989) argued that heterosexual MSWs would label their clients as feminine in order to keep their masculine identity and create a positive self-image of them.

The relationship between the client and male sex worker largely would depend on the MSW's socioeconomic status (Kaye, 2007). Men who are financially secure are able to accept and reject clients whereas men who are economically challenged are often forced to accept any offer they get. In circumstances such as these, MSWs often get clients who were undesirable, violent and more likely to engage in riskier sexual behaviour; which puts the MSWs at more risk (Kaye, 2007). In terms of the law; clients also had more power over sex workers. Sex workers under the law are seen as criminals and although clients are also being penalised now, research showed that sex workers were more likely to be arrested than their clients. In the Annual Crime Situation in SA report written by the South African Police Services (2008/2009), it was found that there were 428 convictions of selling sex in comparison to ten convictions for buying sex. Clients are thus less stigmatized and are more protected by the legal system (Huysamen, 2013). Clients used their wealth to gain control over sex workers and are often perceived as "sugar daddies" that provide sex workers with drugs as a payment (Aggleton, 1999). In these circumstances MSWs would cope with unpleasant clients by spending less time with them and by reducing the intensity of their interaction with the client. They would also not offer any reductions and often charged clients full price (Harriman et al., 2007). Additionally, sex workers describe their relationships with clients as detached and emotionless. Many clients only cared about their own needs and expressed no or little interest in the sex worker during sex. They often would not care whether the sex worker had a good experience and rarely

asked for mutual masturbation (McAnulty&Burnette, 2006). Many sex workers spoke about providing a good service so that the client would keep coming back. This was especially important as competition is high and in order to keep your businesses running, satisfying one's client is vital (Okanlawon et al., 2012). In her research with MSWs from Cape Town, Panday (n.d) found that many of them said that they always had to be in a good mood as a bad one was bad for one's business. This was because their mood directly affected the client's mood. Moreover, their mood also largely affected their performance as anxiety or depression resulted in them being unable to have erections.

In contrast narratives were being told by MSWs of clients as being loving, thoughtful, sharing affection and experiences with the sex worker and often in these relationships very strong emotional bonds were created between the male sex worker and client (Smith et al., 2008). MSWs would often get pampered, taken out on dates, get gifts, taken on weekends away and have walks on the beach while being paid for their time as all the client wanted was companionship. This has been stated to be the "boyfriend" experience, where clients treated their regular male sex worker as their "boyfriend". Many participants in her study perceived clients need to hire them as a way to fulfill their emotional needs. This was especially true for clients who had relationships go bad, clients who were secretly homosexual but could not share this to others or clients who lacked confidence to form relationships in their personal lives (Panday, n.d). The relationship between client and sex worker is one that is complex, however the client has an influence over the sex worker's experiences, thus it is important to study the dynamics between them.

In summary this chapter has reviewed the literature on men and masculinities particularly looking at South African masculinities and how it has been shaped by their race, location, class and the media. The literature showed that masculinities are fluid, diverse, cultural dependent and keep evolving over time; however, a dominant hegemonic masculinity exists which either validates or rejects other forms of masculinities. Society constantly dictates how 'real' men should behave and men can either choose to internalize or challenge these meanings of manhood. This section then went to discuss the literature that exists on MSWs, arguing that they are a marginalized group, whose experiences have been ignored and made invisible in academic work on sex workers. When writing or thinking of sex work, it has mainly been perceived as a 'women' job, which resulted in MSWs being seen as not existing. Moreover, when they have been researched, the work would focus on their contradictory experiences of stigma and violence on the one hand and experiences of empowerment on the other. However, this work was minimal. Many studies either categorized them by their demographics or work environment and on their motivations to sell sex, which varied. Furthermore, I discussed the relationship between the client and sex worker, which is a complex one.

Clients, who are often wealthy men, hold lots of power over sex workers especially those who are financially desperate. This relationship influences MSWs lived experiences.

Aims and Research Questions

This project aims to gain insight and give a voice to the experiences of MSWs, working within the Cape Town area. It is hoped that through telling their stories, which are intertwined with their race, class and gender, this study will contribute to making more diverse representations of their experiences available in academic discourse. The study hopes to answer the following question posed below:

Research Questions

What stories do black male sex workers tell to describe their experiences of being male sex workers in Cape Town?

Sub-Questions:

- 1. What stories do MSWs tell to describe the difficulties and advantages of sex work?*
- 2. What stories do they tell of their motivations to stay in sex work?*
- 3. How is their identity as men shaped by sex work?*
- 4. How have their experiences as MSWs been shaped by their intersectional oppressions (race, class, gender, sexual orientation).*

By using these questions to analyse the data that I gathered from these men, I hoped to paint a clearer and more diverse picture of their unique and shared experiences as a complex group. In order to do that effectively I needed to make use of an appropriate theoretical framework, design and method, which I will be discussing next.

Chapter Three

Theoretical Framework, Design and Methodology

Feminist Research

This project has taken a critical feminist approach, which is multidimensional and multidisciplinary and aims to link together issues of economy, politics and culture (Mbilinyi, 1992) and look at how they influence participant's lives. It incorporates elements from all feminisms - specifically Black feminism-which has a particular focus on gender, class and race. Critical feminist research also aims to look at how gender is constructed and deconstructed within different periods, cultures and spaces, which is true to MSWs who are redefining gender conceptions. Lather (1991, p.71) states "very simply, to do feminist research is to put social construction of gender at the centre of one's enquiry." Feminist work has mainly focused on women's lives and their experiences; however, Mbilinyi (1992) argues that feminists have focused on women for far too long. She argues that they need to do more work on men especially the way they are socialised as this plays a role in the way they interact with women. Additionally, Boonzaier and Shefer (2006) note three broad concerns of feminist research. Firstly, it is concerned with using gender as a primary analysis and ensuring that the research process and topic comes from women's experiences. The central aim of feminist work is to explore different issues that will have an impact on women's lives and that the results from the work will have practical implications for women's lives (Bowen, Bahrick&Enns, 1991). Secondly, it is concerned with power and politics in undertaking the research and states that feminist work must make a contribution towards political activism, make the personal political and be applicable. Lastly, it is concerned with the power differences between the researcher and researched and notes that researchers be self-reflexive of the process. Researchers should constantly observe their actions and reflect on how their positionalities influence what gets said and what is kept private.

The theoretical framework of this study will be intersectional analysis, which is rooted in Black feminist thinking. In the early 1980's some feminism movements were beginning to get criticized by black feminists who argued that some of their issues were getting excluded in policies and analysis. They argued that feminists should not classify all women as the same because white middle class women had different issues to black poor women. The intersectional approach became a method to address this issue of homogenizing women (Dennis, 2008). This study is rooted in an intersectional approach that strives to take into account all the different influences such as one's age, race, class, sexual orientation and so forth and acknowledge that they shape one's lived experiences.

Although this project focuses on men's experiences, the aims of the research and the process itself were in line with the basic principles of feminist work. Research that looks at men's lived experiences and tries to understand how they have been socialized and why they sell sex will have an impact on women's lives both privately and politically as these participants are not only MSWs but clients, fathers, husbands and boyfriends to women too. Feminism also argues that women (and I argue men as well) create their identities and have certain experiences as a result of how they are positioned within the hegemonic society they find themselves in at the time. Thus studying men's subjective experiences of selling sex, their identity construction, and the general gender norms that govern their actions ties in with a feminist research agenda. Moreover, the research also ties in with the goals of feminist research, with empowerment of participants being on top of the list (Bowen et al., 1991). Most of my participants are marginalized and their lives made invisible. The research hopes that by sharing their stories with each other and the researcher would empower them to see themselves as experts in their own lives and know that their lives do matter. Additionally, feminist work also aims to expose and destabilize gender societal norms which keep disempowering some women (and some men). This research is looking at MSWs who by becoming sex workers have already destabilized gender norms and they have also created new meanings around who does sex work.

Effectively Using Intersectional Analysis

The theoretical framework of this study is located within an intersectional approach. Intersectionality, coined by Crenshaw (1989), is an analysis that argues that different systems of oppression crisscross to shape one's lived experience (Collins, 2000; Collins, 2007). These may be systems of race, class, gender, sexual orientation, ethnicity, disability, age and so forth (Collins, 2000). Collins (2000) argues that no homogeneous standpoints exist, and that we all have unique experiences. Shields (2008), further argues that one cannot separate oppressed identities, thus, one's race cannot be seen separately to one's class because the two intersect and influence each other to create various lived experiences. Moreover, people are active agents in living out their identities and giving meaning to it instead of being passive recipients of imposed identities (Shields, 2008). This approach acknowledges that each experience is unique but also notes that people in similar social categories such as black, poor male sex workers also share experiences.

Collins (2000) further notes that intersectionality works within a matrix of domination, which refers to the way in which power is structured within society. The matrix consists of two features; firstly, there is a certain way in which systems of oppression intersect and secondly these systems of oppression are further organized through interconnected domains of power, which are interpersonal, structural, disciplinary and hegemonic (Collins, 2000). The interpersonal domain consists of all the

personal relationships we have and the different interactions we encounter, which make up daily life. Achieving change in this domain begins with an understanding of your position and experiences. The structural domain is rooted in social structures such as the law, politics and religion, which shape power relations (Collins, 2000). It is noted that change in this domain is quite slow and often requires large social movements. The disciplinary domain consists of the control of human behaviour and is argued to disguise the effects of sexism and racism through the use of clever language such as equality. Here change comes from insider resistance. Lastly the hegemonic domain links all the domains. It consists of our culture: the language we use, music we listen to, teachings we abide by and beliefs we hold. To bring about change in this domain needs a deconstruction of the hegemonic domain (Collins, 2000).

Taking an intersectional approach is argued to be more insightful, as it allows for an in-depth exploration of the participants' lived experiences. It also allows the researcher to determine the struggles, both internal and external, which shape these experiences. Lastly it challenges binary thinking which assumes that all women are powerless and all men are powerful (Collins, 2007). Crenshaw (1991, p.1299) argues that an intersectional analysis provides a useful "basis for reconceptualising race as a coalition between men and women of colour" and "provides a way of dealing with other's marginalisation." In her paper, Crenshaw (1991) shows this by doing an intersectional analysis of violence against women of colour. She argues that violence experienced by women is shaped by their identities such as their race and class. However, she notes that women's experiences of violence differ as a result of their class and race. The way women in abusive relationships access resources, which could help them cope with the abuse or leave the abusive partner, are shaped by the intersection of race, class and gender (Crenshaw, 1991). Furthermore, violence against black women is more likely to be unaccounted for. For example, black or white men who raped black women were less likely to get arrested and if they were arrested they would get a lighter sentencing in contrast to the rapists of white women (Crenshaw, 1991). Doing an intersectional analysis illustrates that one size does not fit all and is helpful in terms of policy formation and intervention programs because people have different experiences. An intersectional analysis of MSWs would contribute to our understandings of their complex experiences. It is argued that an intersectional analysis is essential in critically capturing the experience of sex workers (Wojciki & Malala, 2001). Smith (2012), finds that one's race (white) affords one certain socioeconomic privileges, which means that as a white male sex worker you have more freedom to choose your environment in which you will work and your clients, thus having the option to work in safer environments and insist on condom use.

However, as mentioned previously, black MSWs, who are mainly from low socioeconomic backgrounds, do not have such options. They work on unsafe streets and because they need the money, they will often engage in riskier sexual behaviours. Thus, it is important to look at their experiences using an intersectional analysis. However, it is also important to note that not all black MSWs have the same experiences. Research by Boyce and colleagues (2011) found that some of their black participants who are MSWs were also buying sex from other workers thus, transcending power relations. In order to capture these complexities effectively, an intersectional analysis is critical.

Qualitative research

Qualitative research is an approach that strives to understand human nature and subjective experiences (Babbie & Mouton, 2007; Terre Blanche, Kelly & Durrheim, 2006). It allows for first-person accounts and the exploration of how experiences are shaped socially, historically and culturally. This characteristic of this approach is consistent with the aim of the study, which attempts to give voice to MSWs lived experience. Qualitative approaches are argued to be “uniquely sensitive and powerful methods of capturing the experiences and lived meaning of the subject’s everyday world” (Kvale, 1996, p.70). Qualitative research pays careful attention to the research process itself and how the research is shaped by both what is said by the participants and how it is interpreted by the researcher (Babbie & Mouton, 2007). The social identities of both the participant and researcher are carefully observed as they influence the process. Kvale (1996) argues that the approach is neither objective nor subjective but rather intersubjective. This approach is the most appropriate one for this study as it allows for a deeper exploration of the MSWs lived experiences. There are a variety of qualitative designs and this research through its focus on stories told by MSWs –will take a narrative approach.

Research using a Narrative Approach

This research is informed by a narrative approach as a research design and takes a social constructionist approach. Social constructionist paradigms argue that the knowledge we create is a result of the interactions we have with other people or things and that it is socially and culturally constructed. We use language which is available to us to define things, make sense of our worlds and ourselves while also using it to give meanings to our experiences (Crossley, 2000, 2003). Psychological research that uses a narrative approach is concerned with how one talks about oneself, what language is being used and what the purpose of using that language is. It is more focused on the stories that are told about the self than the language used in the stories told (Crossley, 2000). Narrative approaches also argue that language plays a key role especially the use of stories in the

“process of self-construction”, however language is important but more important is the idea of stories (Crossley, 2003).

Narrative approaches note that stories can be used to make sense of unexpected events but they also go beyond that and argue that stories are a strategy used to organise human life and behaviours (Crossley, 2003). “Stories are the womb of personhood. Stories make and break us. Stories sustain us in times of trouble and encourage us towards ends we would not otherwise envision. The more we shrink and harden our ways of telling, the more starved and constipated we become.” (Mair, 1989, p. 2). Moreover, it is important to note that particular stories are rooted and connected to norms and values of a specific culture, time and place (Crossley, 2003). Narrative approaches are concerned with the structure, content and the function of stories, focusing on what kinds of stories we tell ourselves and others in a social interaction. It notes that we live in a “storied world” and that we tell stories to interpret actions through the stories we tell. “Through narratives we not only shape the world and ourselves but they are shaped for us through narrative” (Murray, 2003, p.95). Narrative theory was created as a tool of analysing written literature but of late it has been applied to written texts, speeches or anything spoken, visual material and ethnographic work (Riessman, 2008). Riessman (2008, p. 4) argues that narratives are everywhere, however, “not everything is narrative”, in other words that not everything may be defined as a narrative. Murray (2003) states that a narrative has certain features; it provides one with a structure or plot of how events occurred, which is often shaped by one’s culture. The plot of the story is what connects the beginning to the end. A narrative in this sense is structured, has a linear ordering of events and has a beginning, middle and end (Riessman, 2002, 2008). “Whatever the content, stories demand the consequential linking of events or ideas. Narrative shaping entails imposing a meaningful pattern on what would otherwise be random and disconnected” (Riessman, 2008, p. 5). Squire (2008) states that stories follow a sequence, they are meaningful, they are a method of making sense of an event, and they re-present and reconstruct experiences and often change. Riessman (2002, 2008) argues that there are multiple definitions and meanings around the term narratives, although it is often synonymous with the term, stories. Furthermore, it is argued that not all stories are structured or follow linear ordering, such as collectivist cultures where stories are often episodic in nature (Riessman, 2002).

This research will be analysing the personal narratives told by these MSWs. Personal narratives are fascinating analysis material as they are not passive or neutral accounts of what happened, they are told for a purpose. Narratives serve a function and are a strategy used; they are able to do things to others (Riessman, 2002). These narratives are often told either consciously or unconsciously to “remember, argue, justify, persuade, engage, entertain, and even mislead” their

audience (Riessman, 2008, p. 8). Moreover, narratives are also used to construct our identity and person; we create ourselves through the narratives we choose to tell others (Crossley, 2000). When someone tells us a story about their experiences, they are performing a preferred version of themselves, which they deem is appropriate for their audience at the time (Riessman, 2002, 2008). Furthermore, the meanings we give to certain concepts and truths we develop are not fixed but are socially constructed and fluid (Jackson, 2001; Riessman, 2002). Therefore, one must note that narratives that construct oneself and others can be ambiguous, contradictory and vary quite a lot (Jackson, 2001). Telling stories may also be a way for people to come to terms with events which happened to them, organize their thoughts and make meaning of their past (Riessman, 2008). Narratives about our identities and experiences are constantly being created and recreated, depending on the audience (Crossley, 2000).

Narratives are not just used at the individual level to “do things”, they also “do things” at the political level. Stories are created within certain social contexts and tell us not only about the narrator but also about the society in which they live (Riessman, 2008). “Narratives are composed for particular audiences at moments in history, and they draw on taken for granted discourses and values circulating in a particular culture” (Riessman, 2008, p.3). Narratives are not the individuals but are products of social interaction. It is important for a researcher using a narrative approach to ask what function the narrative told is serving and was it achieved. Researchers should be most interested with what types of narratives are being told, how these narratives are being told and how are participants using narratives in constructing themselves, their identities and others around them (Riessman, 2002).

Participants

This research project was undertaken in collaboration with SWEAT, a local non-governmental organization (NGO), working with sex workers in Cape Town. SWEAT advocates for an empowered sex work industry in South Africa where sex work is legalized and they hope to achieve this by creating awareness around the implementation of equal access to human rights, social justice and health care for sex workers. In order for participants to partake in the study, they needed to be male sex workers, be 18 or older and have been part of the SWEAT creative space: a gathering of all the MSWs on a Tuesday to discuss their challenges, work on solutions together and be educated on various topics. The sampling used in the current study was purposive as it was investigating the lived experiences of a specific population (Babbie, 2008). This sampling strategy was best suited for this study, which aimed to explore the lived experiences of particular individuals not the general population (Riessman, 2008). Sixteen MSWs who were involved in the creative spaces, called *Siyasebenza*, were recruited for the study. The participants were made up

of black males living in Cape Town. The participants occupy different socio-economic statuses, which are shown in the table below. They all considered themselves to be active male sex workers.

Mark	Coloured, married with two children. He is street –based and his family is unaware of his job. He is 36 with a degree in Architecture but left his job as an architect because it was boring. He is bisexual and loves obtaining knowledge.
Joshua	African, single and street-based. He is 30 and has matric. He is from Zimbabwe and has been struggling to get a work permit with Home Affairs. He identifies as straight but has male clients.
Daniel	Coloured, in a relationship and bar/club based. He is 36 and has matric. He studied civil engineering at CPUT but did not complete his studies. He has a permanent job and lives with his parents who are Christians. He is straight and only has women clients. His family and girlfriend are unaware of his job as a male sex worker.
Matthew	African and in a relationship with his permanent client. He is a “kept boy”, 46 and has a degree in journalism. He is a father to two kids who he hasn’t seen in nine years and is still married to his wife who does not live in SA. He is bisexual.
Simeon	Coloured, 46 and bar/club based. He is gay and has been HIV positive since he was 21 which he contracted from working in a hospital. He has a degree in ballet and has travelled extensively with his work at a music production company. He is single. His family has been fully supportive of his sexuality but are unaware of his job.
Bob	Coloured, married and street-based. He is 47 and has matric. He entered gangsterism at 14 and went to jail for two years at 27 for attempted murder. He has two children. His family live in a home while he is homeless. He is a Muslim man and his family is unaware of his job. He is straight but has both male and female clients.
Dylan	Coloured, single and street-based. He is 29 and has matric. He is currently using heroin and tik but is in a rehab program. He has one child. He identifies as straight but has both male and female clients. He is a Christian.
Stephen	Coloured, married and street-based. He is 38 and has a diploma in IT which he got in jail. He has three children and his wife is aware of his job. He is a home owner and identifies as straight but has both male and female clients.
Roscoe	Coloured, single and bar/club based. He is 32 and has grade 10. He entered gangsterism at 14 and shot someone at that age too. His father is a gang boss and he went to jail twice for murder and attempted murder. He is father of two. He identifies as straight and only has female clients. His family knows about his job and disowned

	him for it.
Paul	African, single and street-based. He is 30 and has grade 10. He is a drug user and is straight but has both male and female clients.
Dean	African, single and street-based. He is 26 and has matric. He is Zimbabwean and has been struggling to get a work permit. He is straight but has both male and female clients
Frank	Coloured, in a relationship with a female sex worker and is street-based. He is 37 and passed grade 11 then went to prison for 6 months. He was a Christian leader in a big church, where his father is still a Bishop. He was married but divorced when he's wife cheated on him with his brother. He has two children and is currently homeless.
Timothy	Coloured, single and street-based. He is 38 and has grade 9. He was separated from his parents at age 8 and lived with his aunt. At 15 he lived in a home, then in shelters and homeless. He was a tik user but stopped four years ago. He is a Christian and has two children. He is bisexual and has both males and female clients.
Sidney	African, single and bar/club based. He is 40 and has a degree in education. He is Christian and gay. His family disowned him after knowing his sexuality; they are unaware of his job. He is a home owner and a former teacher.
Reece	Coloured, in a relationship with another male sex worker. He is street based, 50 with grade 10. He is homeless now for 32 years. He went to prison at 25 for stealing cars. At 26 he got married and they were together for twelve years until she died. He has two kids and three grandchildren. He was an ecstasy user and dealer but stopped and now just uses cannabis.
Peter	Coloured, divorced after his wife cheated on him, 45 with a matric certificate. He is street-based and HIV positive, which he contracted from his client. He is a father of two, homosexual and Christian. He was a community and church leader but once he came out as homosexual, he was disowned by his family. He is homeless, a cannabis user and sees himself as a "third class citizen".

The organization invited me to some of the sessions to allow for the recruiting of participants and building a better rapport with them. In order to recruit participants, I told them that being part of the study could have an empowering impact by allowing their stories to be told. Their stories would also help bring awareness around their experiences and help in generating new knowledge about them in the literature. Moreover, they were provided with refreshments and R40 for their

transport to each session.

Procedure.

Data was collected through the use of two focus groups and two individual narrative interviews with each participant. The participants (sixteen) were split in half so that each focus group had 8 participants, which was easier to manage. My plan initially was to use the data gathered in focus group for analysis, however the venue provided to us by SWEAT was very noisy so words were hard to make out when transcribing the interaction. Therefore, the data from the focus groups were not used in the analysis. Nevertheless, the focus group did prove to be important in establishing a relationship between the participants and myself, which showed in the interviews conducted after it. The focus group, not only helped raise the awareness of the participants shared experiences but could have potentially also empower them by hearing others experiences, which they found out were very similar. The focus groups also offered an opportunity to explore issues relevant to the person-in-context as it allowed participants to challenge, co-construct, react, and contribute to stories told (Wilkinson, 1998). Moreover, they ensured that priority was given to the hierarchy of what participants found important, their language, concepts and framework of understanding their experiences (Wilkinson, 1998). It was open ended to facilitate a diversity of perspectives on the topic of sex work but I also prepared some questions to facilitate the process which at times were necessary (see Appendix 2 for the focus group question schedule). Moreover, it also provided me with means of finding out how MSWs collectively spoke of their experiences, the differences and similarities they had. Finally, it helped me to come up with questions for the individual interviews as I got a sense of what participants found important.

Individual interviews were also conducted, to not only enhance the data but also provide a safe space for those participants who were reluctant to share their stories in the focus group. Individual narrative interviews are best for eliciting a deeper level of detail, which was vital for analysing how their positionalities shaped the experiences they had thus far (Seidman, 2012). Narrative interviews aim for a more open and collaborative effort between the interviewer and interviewee. This sort of interview takes on a conversational form between the narrator and audience, who are co-constructors of the narrative being told and meanings assigned to the process (Riessman, 2008).

The aim of the interview was to get the participant to give long sections of speech instead of short answers and detailed accounts of their experiences (Riessman, 2008). The first interview that I had with each participant was episodic; this interview was more focused on a specific topic (Murray, 2003). It sought to get detailed accounts of the participants' experiences of sex work. The main question asked was "tell me about your experiences as a male sex worker". A semi-structured (see Appendix 3 for interview schedule) interview schedule was developed to facilitate the process

if necessary. In the second interview I wanted to know about participants' lives before becoming sex workers and the men behind the sex worker. In these interviews, I asked them to tell me their life story. Life history interviews are detailed accounts of a broad area of experience. These are said to be holistic, contextual, to construct identity, and may be lengthy or a series of interviews and are often unstructured. The main emphasis is on how the narrator connects the events of their life together (Murray, 2003). Personal narratives in the form of both episodic interviews and life histories, were useful in the context of the current research, as this approach allowed me to explore the meaning men make of selling sex and how this is intertwined with their identity and sense of self. It also allowed me to explore the dominant discourses of gender, race, class and sexuality that operate in their daily lives and contribute to shaping their experiences.

I also used this interview to elaborate on some of their answers given in the first interview and to seek some clarity on previous answers given by them or other participants. However not all of the participants wished to have a second interview for various reasons, which I respected. In total I did sixteen episodic interviews and seven narrative interviews over the months of July and August 2015. The interviews were all done at SWEAT in a quiet office known as a safe place to all the participants. The interviews ranged from twenty-five minutes to an hour depending on how much the participants wanted to share. All the interviews both focus group and individual were recorded using an electronic recording device and the interviews were transcribed.

Data Analysis

When conducting research using narratives, it is important to note that they do not speak for themselves but instead need to be analysed (Riessman, 2008). A narrative analysis has no clear cut out steps for one to follow as there are various methods of narrative analysis, with each method focusing on a particular aspect of narratives (Riessman, 2008). However, many of the methods have similarities. Firstly, they all agree on the fact that narratives serve a function, and look to find what that function is. They look for what the stories are able to do for the narrator and what they mean to them. Secondly they state that stories are case centered, meaning that stories rely on extended accounts. These stories are blended into one instead of being broken up, however stories are told in different ways. Narrative analysis also allows for the challenging of harmful assumptions about MSWs. This is achieved through stories of resistance, empowerment and pleasure in contrast to dominant narratives of health risks and victimhood. The narratives told by participants also tells one what resources, both politically and culturally, are available to them within their contexts (Squire, 2008).

As a researcher one must pay close attention to the power dynamics and politics at play which either facilitate or constrain the telling of stories. Furthermore, what the researcher chooses to analyse and focus on or take away from the story they heard depends on what story they want their research to tell. The unit of analysis may be in the form of short segments of the interview, an entire interview, long life histories, answers to questions, biographical accounts or observations but whatever they use must be kept together and their original sequence kept (Riessman, 2008). This data analysis tool is useful and appropriate as I am aiming to capture the way MSWs choose to represent their lived experiences. “In constructing a transcript, we do not stand outside in a neutral objective position, merely presenting “what was said.” Rather, investigators are implicated at every step along the way in constituting the narrative we then analyse” (Riessman, 2008, p.28).

Thematic narrative analysis

I used a thematic narrative analysis, as described by Riessman (2008), to analyse the data. With thematic analysis, data is understood by looking for common stories and themes across all interviews. However, the individual stories from the interviews are kept intact and analysed as a whole and not as a broken story as far as possible. Furthermore, a thematic narrative analysis focuses on the content of the narratives and how they communicate the “what” instead of focusing on the structure of the narrative, the purpose of the story, how language is used, or the context. It also pays attention to time, place and the historical context (Riessman, 2008). However thematic analysis tends to focus more on the researcher’s interpretation of the narrative rather than the explicit and implicit meaning found within the story itself (Wiles, Rosenberg & Kearns, 2005). It is however a useful tool for understanding data because it allows the researcher the opportunity to cross-compare data between parts of the interview and different interviews with different participants (Wiles et al., 2005). It is also a useful tool to theorise across a number of interviews as one finds commonalities across participants and the events they report (Riessman, 2008).

Dialogue/performative narrative analysis

A thematic narrative analysis does not capture the social context in which narratives are produced and told in. It ignores the conditions which form the narrative, which includes the perceived audience and the interviewer’s influence over what is said and what is not said (Riessman, 2008). However, since this research is feminist research, it is important for me as the researcher to reflect

and comment on my influence over the research process and the data produced. I was researching the experiences of men who sold sex and as a woman, my presence largely impacted what narratives were told to me and which narratives went untold, I believe it is important for me to pay attention to that relationship, thus I saw a need for a dialogue/performative narrative analysis to be used alongside the thematic narrative analysis. With dialogue/performative narrative analysis “storytelling is seen as performance-by a “self” with a past-who involves, persuades, and (perhaps) moves an audience through language and gesture, “doing” rather than telling alone” (Riessman, 2008, p.5). This analysis acknowledges that stories are produced within a certain interactional, historical and discursive context (Riessman, 2008). The narrator chooses to tell certain stories about their lives while omitting others, which depends on who they perceive their audiences to be. They perform a certain version of themselves in order to achieve something. Thus the audience becomes a significant contributor to the narratives told as they help construct and give meaning to the story (Langellier, 1989; Riessman, 2008). Although the audience to the narrative may vary (be either real or imagined), this analysis will focus on the interaction between the researcher and participant.

Researchers not only help to construct the narrative by being the audience members, they also help in creating the narrative told (Riessman, 2008). Narratives are not told or created in isolation but through the conversation between the researcher and participant, the telling of the story is influenced by the amount of eye contact that is made, the body language and turns taken to talk between the narrator and audience member. Hence the story that is told and the meaning ascribed it is a product of the interaction between the researcher and participant (Langellier, 1989). The researcher may choose to pay attention to different features of the story from how narrators are positioned in the story, the settings that produce the conditions of performance, the dialogue between the interviewer and interviewee and the reaction of the interviewer (Riessman, 2008). This analysis is useful in studies of communication and for detailed studies on identity construction-how the narrator portrays themselves and wants to be seen, how they involve the interviewer in “doing” their identities. It allows one to analyse how the interviewer is involved in the narrative process too (Riessman, 2008).

In summary data was analysed using a thematic narrative analysis, which has a strong focus on the content of the story. Commonalities and difference between the narratives were identified and put into different themes. Furthermore, a performative/dialogue narrative analysis was used to analyse how the narratives told were collaboratively produced by both the researcher and participant.

Ethical considerations

This section will be discussing the informed consent given to participants as well as the risks and benefits of the research

Informed Consent

An informed consent was distributed to each participant at the beginning of the study (see Appendix 1 for the informed consent form). An informed consent form is a document that contains all the details of the research study, purpose and process before data is collected (Willig, 2001). Furthermore, to uphold the feminist principal of transparency, participants were informed about every aspect of the research process before they signed the consent forms and began being interviewed. Each participant was thoroughly briefed about the study and given an opportunity to ask questions if they were uncertain of anything. They were notified of the fact that they could leave the study at any time and not answer questions which made them feel uncomfortable, before every focus group and interview. They were also reminded that each interview session was recorded and that the recording would be transcribed and kept safe on my password protected laptop. Moreover, the research was only shared with my supervisors and SWEAT and their identities will remain anonymous. In the focus groups, I asked that all participants respect the confidentiality of the other participants and keep what is shared in the group private.

Risks and Benefits

As researchers we have an ethical obligation to protect our participants against any form of harm (Willig, 2001). Harm is multifaceted and could vary from emotional harm, personal harm, and damage to reputation or any financial loss (Willig, 2001). The risk to participants in this study was minimal. All interviews took place within a venue that was housed in the SWEAT building. This building was a safe and comfortable space for the men interviewed. Furthermore, the content of the interviews was not very distressing and it was unstructured. The unstructured nature of the interviews allowed the participants to be in control of the process and share only what they wanted to. However, there was a counsellor provided by SWEAT in case any participants experienced some distress when sharing their difficult experiences. This however did not happen and all the participants shared their stories without needing the counsellor. Moreover, when one is researching sex workers, the potential harm to their reputation is very real considering the stigma attached to them (Grenz, 2005). For many of the participants, they kept their identities as sex workers silent from their families and friends, thus confidentiality was of utmost importance. My supervisors and I are the only ones who know who the participants are but they asked that we not greet them in public and keep the interview content and their identity hidden. When reporting their results, pseudonyms were provided when

quoting them. Potential benefits of the study were allowing a safe space for participants to tell and share their experiences. It also gave voice to a marginalised group within society, by giving them the opportunity to create new knowledge about themselves.

Limitations of study

SWEAT's service users comprise only a fraction of Cape Town's sex workers. The group of sex workers were diverse nevertheless their experiences are contextual and do not reflect the experiences of all sex workers in South Africa. To facilitate more achievable policy strategies, further research and inquiry involving larger and more diverse samples of the male sex worker population is necessary. Despite the limitations, it was hoped that through the proposed study, new insights into the experiences of MSWs would be found, contributing to a greater understanding of their choices.

Reflexivity

Qualitative research draws close attention to the way that the research process is not neutral but acknowledges that the researcher plays a vital role in that process (Babbie & Mouton, 2007). Oakley (1998) argues that it is important for the researcher to reflect on how their presence and the hierarchical relationship between them and their participants influence the research process. This is echoed by Bhavani (1994), who notes that the researcher is positioned in a unique way to power compared to the researched. Thus one must analyse one's position as the researcher and not just make a note of it, as the researcher plays a role in co-constructing and shaping the data (Hiles & Cermák, 2007; Palmary, 2006). Both qualitative research and feminist research argue that the researcher is not neutral but instead they are central to the research process (Willig, 2001). The researcher's demographics such as their race, gender, class and so forth can influence the types of stories that are shared by the participants (Eagle, Hayes, & Sibanda, 2006). Greenhalgh (2006, p.445) suggests that a story is an interaction "an artistic and rhetorical performance for an audience who (actively or passively) shapes the telling". Narratives are altered or changed to fit the expectation of the researcher, or they omit certain stories out of fear of being judged (Grenz, 2005). Being a reflexive researcher throughout the whole research process is considered to be a good qualitative research practice.

I believe reflecting on the complex relationship between myself and participants needs to be unpacked and doing it in one paragraph under this section is not sufficient enough. My position as both an insider, sharing commonalities with the participants and an outsider, having differences, impacted on what narratives were told to me. My presence in the interview and the relationship between the participants and I, largely impacted on what data came out of the research process and thus I will be unpacking this within the main discussion of the research findings. However, I believe a brief description of myself is needed to frame the relationship between my participants and me. I

am a Coloured young woman researching black MSWs, majority of who identify as Coloured men. My race made me an 'insider', but my gender made me an 'outsider'. An 'insider' is referred to a researcher who is studying a group they belong to in terms of race, class, gender and so forth. In contrast, an 'outsider' is a researcher who does not belong to the group they studying (Mullings, 1999). Collins (1990) has argued that being an 'insider' is more of an advantage because the researcher is able to use their insight of the group to gain more trust and thus more intimate knowledge from them. However, Fanow and Cook (1991) have argued that it better to be an 'outsider' as one is perceived to be neutral and thus participants would share more information. I am currently twenty- three and studying towards my Master's degree. I am a feminist researcher. My status as a researcher with two degrees onto getting my third made me an 'outsider' and positioned me in a particular way, which will later be discussed. Currently I reside in the Cape Flats which made me an 'insider' as most my participants also lived on the Cape Flats. My position as a Christian made me an 'insider' as some of my participants were also Christians however it also positioned me as an 'outsider' with those who did not share my beliefs. Reflecting on my status also made me aware of my own thoughts and stereotypes which were challenged by this research.

In summary this section has provided an outline of the evaluation of the data and the research designs employed by this research. An outline of the ethical considerations was given, which was relevant to the research. Thereafter the limitations of the study were given as well as the justifications for why this research should still be done. Lastly it looked at the importance of doing reflexive work, which is central to both qualitative and feminist research. The researcher played a crucial role in the research process and the narratives that came out, and for this reason reflexivity will be explored as part of the main discussion of the research finding, which follow in the next section.

Chapter Four

Narratives of Identity

This chapter will be discussing narratives of identity, where I look at how my identity as a Coloured woman was constantly challenged and helped in co-constructing the narratives told. As well as how MSWs talked about and made sense of their masculinity in relation to sex work. It begins with a reflexive piece, where I, the researcher discuss how my positionality or perceived positionality influenced the research process. Participants saw me in a particular way, which determined what was told and what was omitted. It then goes on to discuss the narratives told by participants in relation to their identity as men. Many participants argued that they were ‘real’ men despite being male sex workers. They would maintain their manhood through different strategies which will also be discussed. Many participants spoke in a nonstandard English dialect, often combining both Afrikaans and English. As a narrative researcher, is it important for me to acknowledge that some meanings are lost in my presentation and re-presentation of these men’s different experiences (Riessman, 1993). A lot is also lost when one transcribes the spoken word into written form; it accurately depicts what was said, however it loses the manner in which the words were said and the body language that accompanied the narrative (Maher, 1997). It is important to note that this is my interpretation of the men’s narratives and many other interpretations are possible. My interpretation is based on my particular positionality, my readings and research, which is based within a particular sociohistorical moment (Boonzaier & De La Rey, 2004).

Dilemma of being a Black Feminist Researcher

I thought it would be relevant to start the findings chapter with a discussion on my positionality as the researcher, as this influenced the results I obtained. The research process is heavily influenced by the researcher. How we dress, our race, our class, our gender and our stereotypes among others influence how we are perceived by our participants, what gets asked and said and what remains unsaid. Therefore, as the researcher, I was a key component in how the knowledge in this particular project was produced. When embarking on the journey of doing my masters I had some idea about what I wanted to do. I knew my interest areas and what I did not want to do but finding my research topic was hard. Once I found my topic, many people asked me why. Is it a topic even worth researching? At first, I struggled to give a clear answer to that question, but when some of my participants started asking why I am doing this research I realized that I needed to give them an answer as the extract below will illustrate:

Roscoe: So why you chose this one

Simone: Hey

Roscoe: Why you chose this one?

Simone: Male sex work, because well me as a researcher, I've always looked at men who were kind of pushed aside by society...

Roscoe: Yoh

Simone: Till I saw it on the thing then I went to the internet to find stuff and research it and there was hardly anything so in South Africa one would swear there's no male sex workers because nothing comes up...

Roscoe: Eh?

Simone: ...Why can sex work only be for women? So that, I'm one of those researchers that why can't the other sex or the other people go into something else so that's why I did this work to give, to put something up there that's not just women, women, women all the time and to give your experiences voice. Because now nobody knows that you guys do this because you fathers, you do this to put food on the table, you did this to do something good.

When asked why I chose to research male sex workers I gave my participants a lengthy justification. Langellier (1989) and Riessman (2008) state that we tell certain narratives depending on who our audiences are. We tell these different narratives to achieve something. When I gave my participants my reasons, it was filled with a language of bringing about a change in their circumstances, trying to help tell their stories and make their experiences, which are often silenced, known. I pointed to the fact that they were fathers putting food on the table and that they were doing this to do something good. This type of reasoning, after reflection, one could argue was told in order to convince them to share as much as possible with me. However, my aim was to bring light to their diverse and complex experiences through this research. When asked why I was researching this topic by many of my participants, I was often caught off guard and had to think deeply before answering them. In my previous years of researching participants, none of them had questioned me about my motivations for doing that particular research. Although it caught me off guard, it also forced me into reflecting on my motivations, which is important to do as a researcher. We need to ask ourselves why we researching what we researching and critically reflect on our motivations for doing it. My narrative was told to build trust by showing that I was here not to judge them but to hear their story. I believe this helped my relationship with my participants as they knew my motives behind my research and trusted me more resulting in the sharing of very intimate stories. I went into my research with my own stereotypes and beliefs on male sex workers, which have shifted after the research. My Christian upbringing influenced my beliefs around sex and sex work, but once I engaged with the participants, they started to challenge my beliefs. My positionality as both an 'insider' and an 'outsider' created a certain relationship between my participants and me. It determined what narratives I heard and what narratives went unsaid.

Reflections of being perceived as both an ‘Insider’ and ‘Outsider’

‘Insider’ status as a researcher means that one is researching a group one belongs to or that one shares characteristics such as similar race, class, gender, age or sexual orientation (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009; Mullings, 1999). Collins (1990) argues that being an ‘insider’ grants one a certain advantage because one is able to use your knowledge of the group to gain more trust and thus more intimate knowledge not otherwise granted if one is an ‘outsider.’ However, Asselin (2003) has suggested that ‘insider’ researchers should go into their research with their “eyes open”, assuming that they know nothing about the group they are researching. She notes that being an ‘insider’ might mean that you know the culture but you might not know their particular subculture thus it being better to assume nothing. In comparison to ‘outsiders’ who are referred to as researchers not belonging to the group they are studying (Mullings, 1999). ‘Outsiders’ have argued that being an ‘outsider’ is better because one is perceived as being neutral and thus participants will want to share more information. They also argue that they are more objective resulting in a better reflection of the results (Fanow & Cook, 1991). On the other hand, Rose (1985, p.77) has argued that “there is no neutrality. There is only greater or less awareness of one’s own biases. And if you do not appreciate the force of what you are leaving out, you are not fully in command of what you are doing.” However, Mullings (1999) argues that this ‘insider/’ ‘outsider’ binary is unstable as positionalities are forever shifting with time and space. She argues that no researcher can just be an ‘insider’ or only an ‘outsider’ but that we constantly find ourselves positioned as both an ‘insider’ and ‘outsider’.

In my own research, I found that my participants perceived me as both an ‘insider’ and an ‘outsider’. My race was one such aspect. I identify myself as a Coloured, which the majority of my participants were too. One could say my race made me an ‘insider’ as some of my participants indicated:

Simone: So they more open and do you think it’s because Camps Bay is a white area and with Coloured communities they would be more against?

Bob: Yes, obviously, you know also, you a Coloured and I’m a Coloured. You know how our race is. We are very, how can I say judgmental, ah we like to “ah look at that girls she’s doing sex work” no I don’t like that. So it’s better for me not to do things in my community

In many instances the participants referred to me as being one of them. Our shared race made it easier for participants to open up to me assuming I understood what they were talking about because we shared a race or “a people”. Kanuha (2000) argues that although as an ‘insider’ one has a greater understanding of the population under research, we as ‘insider’ researchers on the other hand need to ask ourselves if we are the right people to conduct the research because maybe we

might know too much or be too close to the project. My status as an ‘insider’ in regard to race made particular conversations possible:

Bob: (...) number one I don’t go with black

Simone: With black people and why’s that?

Bob: I don’t go with Coloureds

Simone: Okay

Bob: I only go with white

Simone: Okay and why white only

Bob: The reason is because white people are more open. The Coloured people they want to negotiate with you. I don’t like that. Our job is our job and I have to do it, understand. As you do the job now you must get paid for it now the Coloureds and the blacks they always want to say no I can’t give so and so I don’t go for that, you understand and with white people you say this is my price, this is what we gonna do they just accept the price no up and down

In the extract above participants were telling me about how they would not have black or Coloured people as clients, this statement was shared among many of my participants. Many preferred white clients for various reasons. Coloured MSWs refused to have black clients even black participants refused to have black people as clients, both arguing that they were bad payers and they also liked to gossip as illustrated below:

Sidney: I know they don’t like to pay and they will just take and go, no, I don’t. I know they nice but I don’t do black

Simone: So they not good clients

Sidney: No I don’t, me I can only have sex for fun with those guys

Simone: Oh so not for payment

Sidney: I’d rather pay them, rather be a client [laughs]. No I don’t know, no I know a black person, black people can talk and whether you from Nigeria, Nigerian or Kenyan as long you black, I know black people can talk they don’t give money when it comes to sex, they don’t keep quiet I know them

Not only were white clients narrated to be better payers and more “open” than their black counterparts, they were also stated to be “stupid”:

Daniel: Well I can’t say I work in any clubs but I like white clubs. The reason I like it cause they all stupid. In other words, you know whities can’t jump. They acting most of the time, they like to be cool and so, you wanna be cool fine I go with the flow.

In the above narrative, white clients are said to be “stupid” and not able to jump. In his broader narrative, Daniel defined jumping as having sex. White clients were stated to be better clients than black clients in majority of the narratives. I believe that my shared race and thus assumption that I would understand their justification for not choosing clients, allowed for this conversation to

happen. Moreover, many spoke of their dislike of white people even though they were their main clientele, one even saying they “stupid”. One could on a surface level interpret their preference of white clients as internalised racism, a claim often found with people who identify as Coloured. However, the fact that they were expressing a dislike of white people complicated the understanding of it as internalised racism. Moreover, because of the rapport established in our interviews, it allowed me to go somewhat deeper into this and move beyond a surface interpretation. Their claim of preferring white clients was more complex than just internalised racism but it was a choice they made because of certain characteristics possessed by black clients. Participants felt that it was okay to share these narratives as they saw me as one of them, part of “our people” and thus would not judge them for their way of thinking. In her work with Bangladeshi participants in Los Angeles, Islam (2000) found that by her being a Bangladeshi herself and being able to speak the same language as her participants, made them more willing to share certain narratives. In her research on race and racism, many of her participants freely shared their dislike and “hate” for African Americans. She argues that this narrative would not have come up if she was for example an “outsider”. Moreover, our shared race also allowed for narratives of racism to come up as will be illustrated below:

Timothy: Hell, I'm gonna tell you, because when my front teeth is out, Coloureds you know how we are, it's not all of us. It's just the one who is making shit for the other one you know what I'm saying. Some I don't like to speak, some of my clients speak Afrikaans but I don't speak Afrikaans to white people. I just pretend, maybe if they from Joburg or Durban and they speak Afrikaans then I just pretend I don't understand so I speak English. Maybe it's for me I feel like when you speak Afrikaans then clients are starting to judge ja

Simone: Judge you, how do you mean?

Timothy: Like they say you just like other brown people, but everyone is not like that

Simone: When they say you like the others, what is the others?

Timothy: We steal but I am not like that I will rather ask if I don't have [Afrikaans]

In the extract above, Timothy, opens up about the racism and judgement he feels from white clients for being a Coloured, as they assume he is a thief. The concept of race and racism within Cape Town and its consequences for black MSWs will be discussed in more detail in chapter five. Our shared race made it possible for participants to share their stories of racism with me as they assumed I had similar experiences and that I would understand. This is illustrated when Timothy says “you know what I’m saying.” In Archer’s (2001) research with British Muslim pupils, she used two British Pakistani researchers to help her conduct her research. She found that the narratives told to her, a white woman, were vastly different to narratives told to the Pakistani researchers. The pupils were more open to the Pakistani researchers about the racism they experienced while omitting it to the white researcher. Many participants in my project stated that we had a shared race, except one participant who disagreed:

Simone: But you right about that happening especially for men, because I'm a Coloured woman but if I go into a club they don't search me

Daniel: No you not a Coloured woman, you white, a wannabe Coloured woman

Simone: What did you say? Yoh [laughs]

Daniel: Yes, you then don't speak Afrikaans

Simone: Just because I don't speak Afrikaans doesn't make me less of a Coloured

Daniel: You a wannabe Coloured woman

Simone: Oh my gosh. I'm not a wannabe, I am a Coloured cause my skin is Coloured. I grew up in the Coloured community

Daniel: Do you really think you Coloured, I see the Ponds, I see it over here (pointing to his chin)

Simone: No it isn't, this isn't Ponds, its Johnsons

Daniel: Do you see now Johnsons. Why not Sunlight soap?

In the extract above, when I try to establish my race, a Coloured, I am quickly told that I am a “wannabe Coloured” because I don't speak Afrikaans and I use Johnson's products on my face. I believe it was more than just speaking English and using certain products, maybe the fact that I was studying at the University of Cape Town and that I was doing a postgraduate degree could also have resulted in participants seeing me as an ‘outsider’. I am an English speaker which is why I conducted my interviews in English, but I understand Afrikaans, which was helpful in some interviews where participants spoke in Afrikaans as they could not explain their thinking in English. This participant says I am “white”, thus positioning me an ‘outsider’. My race became a contested issue, with me defending my Coloured identity. In her research Islam (2000) had a similar experience with her race and culture making her an ‘insider’ but her participants saw her as an ‘outsider’ because of the way she spoke, walked and her short hair. The Bangladeshi community distanced her because of her association with white people. This put me in a particular dilemma, because although I was a Coloured, my talk, place of study and mannerisms resulted in me being seen as a “white” person. I was made aware that I was not only an insider but an ‘outsider’ too:

Simone: But like now with me, you don't know what I'm thinking but you still talking to me

Bob: But you are an outsider, you nothing of me. So what I say I don't think two shits what you think about me, you understand

I was made aware of the fact that I was an ‘outsider’, not only had my race made me an outsider but also my gender, class, education and the fact that I was not a sex worker. However, being an ‘outsider’ allowed for narratives to be shared because many participants claimed not to care about what I thought about them. However, I believe it's not that they didn't care. I think that

in any interview encounter there will be moments of identification and dis-identification on the basis of our shared identities and not shared identities. Our identities are constantly shifting and never static. Many felt that because I was a woman they could share personal details and feelings with me because I would not judge them as harshly as a male researcher would have. This is because men tend to judge each harsher to maintain hegemonic masculinity performances. Thus when a man disrupts these systems, they are often met with criticism, which could result in them silencing these ‘unacceptable’ behaviours. However, the fact that I was a woman constantly came up in interviews:

Simone: What did the women do?

Stephen: Full of shit sometime, you know how women is, you mos also a woman nuh so you know how women is. If you tell them it is red they will tell you it is blue

Daniel: You now jumping Coloured women now and days is not cool...

Simone: So what’s wrong with Coloured women? Are we boring?

Daniel: Ja, you fucked

In the narrative above, not only did they constantly bring up women or girls but women were portrayed in a bad light, often being connoted with negative images. Although my positionality as a woman allowed them to possibly feel comfortable enough to share personal stories with me, that same positionality might have also omitted stories from being told because I was a woman and assumed by some participants to not be trustworthy. As a woman and a Coloured woman in particular, this made me feel somewhat attacked and I wondered why they told these particular narratives. In their research with men, Arendell (1997) and McKee and O’Brien (1983) found that their participants were very critical of women but still shared very intimate details with them because of the very fact that they were women. This Arendell (1997) argues is because they related to her in a specific way because of their expectations of her as a woman. Many of the participants had Coloured wives and girlfriends, which made me wonder if they really believed Coloured women to be “full of shit”, “fucked” or bad “jumpers”, jumping in Daniel’s narrative refers to having sex, then why marry or date them? Maybe this was a performance, a way to maintain their masculinity by narrating women in a particular light. Arendell (1997) and McKee and O’Brien (1983) found similar findings with men degrading women constantly throughout the interviews, these findings are later discussed in more detail.

While reflecting, I wondered why talk to a female researcher if you did not trust women? Is it possible that they openly engaged with me because of their expectation of me as a woman to be caring, nurturing and open to listening or because I was paying them a fee and a meal if they participated? This question is still mainly unanswered but I do believe it could have been a variety

of factors that facilitated participant's engagement with me. Working with these participants challenged me emotionally as a researcher because I constantly had to negotiate my place and prove myself to the participants. I constantly had to re-evaluate myself asking if I was the right person for the research. The stories I heard broke my heart and in many ways I could relate with my participants because I had been there myself. Our shared experiences created a special bond between us and the process taught me a lot about the men and myself as illustrated below:

Simone: But I'm thinking you can't keep going to the bottle to help you because the thing is you drink, I have a father and my father is an alcoholic as well. He drinks, he drinks also to shut down problems and all of that and I keep going hoping that one day he's gonna stop cause I'm thinking of your children. And you say she's fifteen, a child doesn't want that for her father

Roscoe: I know

Simone: Cause I don't want that for my father and I think, I always tell him you can't keep drinking because at the end of the day you ruin your relationship with your children.

Roscoe: Ja

In many of my interviews I told my participants a bit about my story. After most of my interviews I would engage with my participants, I believe that sharing my story allowed them to see me in a different light, which in turn encouraged them to share more personal stories with me. Oakley (1981) stated that researchers should be prepared to invest their own identities and stories into the relationship with their participants. I believe that when we as researchers give more of our time and ourselves to the process, the more the participants will share with us because they see we are invested and not there to just take from them. However, by creating this intimate relationship, it also complicates the boundaries as participants were asking me for money and clothes for their children, while also presenting me with gifts. This presented a particular dilemma because as a researcher we are taught to not take gifts or give gifts. However, if I declined it, would my participants still be eager to work with me? Hearing their stories and not helping them if they asked for something felt wrong to me because we had developed such an intimate relationship. Their narratives of hardship, poverty and homelessness had evoked empathy in me, so much so that I felt compelled to help them in any way I could because I understood. Often as a student researcher we are not taught how to handle these situations of feeling harassed or vulnerable in our research. We are not taught how to handle gifts or what to say when we are asked for something, it is something I had to navigate throughout the research process.

This section focused on my positionality as the researcher and how my race, gender, and education in particular resulted in different narratives being told to me, while resulting in other narratives being omitted. I explored how my 'insider' and 'outsider' status influenced this particular

research and resulted in the production of particular narratives. One of those narratives being narratives of identity. Throughout the research it became apparent that the men had an agenda, one to prove their masculinity to me especially since being a sex worker was perceived as “women’s work”. Narratives to reclaim their identity as ‘real’ men according to society came up throughout the interviews. They used the interview context to reestablish their identity through the use of different strategies, which are discussed below. Their narratives became a tool they used in some instances to torment me because I was challenging and questioning their masculinity. In other instances, my questioning style evoked certain narratives of masculinity to surface. The narratives produced in the section below, I believe were largely influenced by how they saw me, an educated Coloured woman, who at times needed to be shown her place. In many ways, the participants perceived me to have more power than them because of my education level and perceived class status. In order to reclaim power, certain narratives such as the use of violence came up, as a way to challenge my power. I believe that the stories that emerged in the following section were a result of how I viewed participants and how they viewed me.

Maintaining Masculinity

Masculinity is defined as the “social roles, behaviours, and meanings prescribed for men in any given society” (Kimmel & Aronson, 2000, p503). These expectations of what a ‘real’ man is and what he does are internalised by men and they start to reproduce these roles. These appropriate roles and expectations of a ‘real’ man are produced by society (Ratele, 2008; Swain, 2005). Although many forms of masculinity exist, the hegemonic masculinity is still seen by men as the most successful masculinity (Connell, 1995). Minichiello and colleagues (2013) argue that when one is researching male sex workers it is important to understand masculinity as their experiences, identity and reasons are shaped by what it means to be a ‘real’ man within society. This section will discuss how the participants in this research shared certain narratives in which they asserted their masculinity. They left no doubt that they were ‘real’ men regardless of the fact that they were sex workers. Through the narratives told, they used different techniques to maintain their masculinity.

Controlling and objectifying women

All of the participants in the research were men who used different strategies to maintain their manhood throughout our interaction. One of these strategies was controlling me, a woman researcher, or by telling narratives of how they are men because they have control over women. In many of the interviews, participants tried to control my questions, the research process by resisting my questions and my dress code:

Daniel: So you not actually looking into marriage
 Simone: I am; I am a marriage type of person...
 Daniel: Are you the married type?
 Simone: Ja, I'm the married type. Don't I look the married type?
 Daniel: The way you dress?
 Simone: Hey?
 Daniel: The way you dress, you not the married type

In the extract above, Daniel asked me about my relationship with my partner and brought up the topic of marriage asking me whether I was the “marriage type”. In his line of questioning me, he tried to police my clothing, arguing that my dress code was inappropriate for a woman who wanted to get married. As a woman, my dress code, whether I wore make-up or not, my hairstyle all got scrutinized. Both Lee (1997) and Islam (2000) note the importance of one’s dress code when interviewing men. In her research, Lee (1997), decided to wear plain trousers and a shirt with no make-up or jewelry as to not attract any attention. Islam (2000) covered herself fully when interviewing men, as her culture dictated. In both, clothing was used as a way to police women, arguing that it protects us from men. These are similar narratives found in the broader society, and are often used in rape cases, where women are cautioned to protect themselves against sexual assault or honor their partners and family by dressing “properly”. However, Fox (1997) argues that this is a tactic to control women, by telling them what is deemed appropriate to wear and what is not. In the extract above, I am told that I don’t dress like the married type. This made me reflect on my dress code, wondering whether I was dressed appropriately. To me my dress code was appropriate but it implied something else to some participants. Lee (1997) notes how one’s dress code as a researcher leaves one in a dilemma, because we can either dress plain to avoid trouble or dress “feminine” to access male informants.

Moreover, my participants would tell narratives where they assumed we as women were a particular way. This I believe was a method to control me in that I was a woman and therefore I had to behave in a certain way that they as men saw fit. Connell (1987) notes that society has created all forms of femininity to be in subordination to all men. Different forms of femininity exist, one such is the emphasized femininity where women comply with their subordination and are driven to satisfy and please men. Other forms are defined by women being non-compliant or resisting men. Often we as women researchers just comply with our male participants, often fearful of the consequences of speaking out (Lee, 1997). Arendell (1997) and McKee and O’Brien (1983) found that their participants were very critical of women but still shared very intimate details with them because of the fact that they were women. This Arendell (1997) argues is because they related to her in a specific way because of their expectations of her as a woman. When a participant attempted to stereotype women to a single trait I challenged him:

Roscoe: A girl's heart is like you know soft
 Simone: I heard that a lot and that males are harder than females
 Roscoe: We can take any punches, that's the truth I know
 Simone: Is it? Don't underestimate women; lots of women can also take punches
 Roscoe: Uh not, women can take baby pain but not the pain we take
 Simone: I think women are clearly stronger than males as in mentally and emotionally.

In the narrative above, women are painted as being soft hearted and men as hard and able to “take the punches” A narrative often found in the broader society through magazines, books and movies, thus making men believe it's the ‘truth’ as the participant stated. Women are depicted as different to men, which was often brought up by participants. In the narrative the participant subtly tries to control me by telling me that women are all soft hearted so I am a woman and thus must be soft hearted too. However, as a feminist researcher I found it important to challenge my participants and their thinking around certain topics as I believed it would help contribute towards equality and social justice. Here I told him not to “underestimate women”, which challenged his stereotypes around women. Boonzaier (2014) argued that this was often the challenge for many feminist researchers, whether or not to challenge sexism within our interviews. However, in her work with violent men, she often challenged her participant's assumptions, an approach that I adopted too. When a man who is a MSW, a predominantly female job, is challenged about their masculinity by a female researcher, he may choose the opportunity provided to reassert his masculine authority by “resisting the researcher's agenda” (Boonzaier, 2014). Men chose to answer questions in the way they wanted to tell it and not answer the question I asked, as seen in the extract below:

Simone: And you here. Now what does your girlfriend say? Does she know?
 Daniel: Samantha, no. I'm not gonna lie to, but no I won't tell her why, she's a Coloured she's a Coloured girl, she is going to freak out. No she's gonna freak, she's gonna flip out. I can't, our families are on good terms. [Laughs]. It's like really selling me short, no man
 Simone: So it's just you can't tell her cause it will ruin everything
 Daniel: Our families know each other for fucking life. My father and her father are friends. Are you fucking mad?
 Simone: I'm just asking
 Daniel: No you not right [Afrikaans]

In the above excerpts, Daniel took control over the interview by telling me that I “was fucking mad” for asking him if his girlfriend knew if he was a sex worker. I assumed the question was a fair question but it evoked him to become very aggressive even swearing at me for asking it. Here he clearly showed his dissatisfaction at me for even asking that question in the first place. His reaction

dictated which questions were allowed and which clearly were not. In their research, Boonzaier (2014) and Mullings (1999) found that their participants would control the research process by allowing to share certain information or by omitting it, based on their perceptions of them. Much research assumes that the researcher has the control and power over their participants (Patai, 1991; Sidaway, 1992), however, I found that it was not always the case. Participants would negotiate that power and take control over the process by answering or not answering certain questions or by challenging my knowledge constantly as seen below:

Matthew: I would want them to know about male sex workers but about both female and male

Simone: But lots of them know about female sex workers

Matthew: Oh you think so

Simone: They are because females are more visible

Matthew: To me there's more sex workers who are men than women

Simone: Really?

Matthew: I'm telling you

My knowledge as the researcher was constantly being challenged. The literature alluded to the fact that female and black sex workers are predominant in terms of visibility. However, that knowledge was constantly challenged by participants. They took every opportunity to put me in my place or show me that they are the men and they have the control and expertise not me. Having dominance or control over women was noted as a performance of masculinity (e.g. Cooper & Foster, 2008; Kimmel, 1993, 1994; Mahalik et al., 2003; Wood & Jewkes, 2001). Not only did they try to physically control me but they also told narratives about how they controlled the women in their lives. These narratives could again be seen as a tool to assert their dominance over women and challenge the perceived power I have over them in the relationship:

Simone: So in that relationship you think you still have the control?

Roscoe: Ja

Simone: They don't have the control?

Roscoe: They tell me they want this and this. I don't want to do it; I don't do it. You don't tell me what to do because if you come to me asking for this and this and I tell you this. I show them who I am then you gonna tell me another story then I'm gonna tell you piss off or fuck off

In the above except Roscoe states that he is always in control of his relationships with his clients who are women. Again asserting that he is a man because he is always in control of women, regardless of the fact that they paying him for his service. His clients are often women who hold more power over him, in terms of earning more money, having a good education and having stable careers. However, regardless of their power, Roscoe is the man and therefore controls the

relationship. I read this as a way of him subtly telling me that he had the control in our relationship because I was still a woman, regardless of my education. In many ways these narratives were used as a tool to reclaim their power by controlling the women in their lives including me. In the many of the narratives told, these participants were doing masculinity (West & Zimmerman, 1987) by telling stories of them controlling women. Participants did not only maintain their masculinity through the use of control but also by constantly degrading women and objectifying me. Rienharz (1993, p.58) stated that “the researcher that is young and female may be defined as a sex object to be seduced by heterosexual males.” Many feminist women researchers, who worked with men, all alluded to the fact that as women, we need to be cautious when interviewing men especially in private spheres (Arendell, 1997; Boonzaier, 2014; Kitzinger, 1994; Lee, 1997; McKee & O’Brien, 1983). When I came to SWEAT the first day and days following that, I felt that I was reduced to a sex object because the men came up to me commenting about my appearance, body and appeared eager to work with me so that they could sit next to a “beautiful woman”. One participant asked me to pose naked for him, constantly making comments about my body. While another participant even suggested that I become a sex worker for the “upper market.” In Dworkins (2006) work, she argues that men sexually objectify women to solidify their dominance over women but also to show women that they are just “something’s” not “someone’s” and thus not equal to men. Pascoe (2007) found similar results, in that men sexually harassed women with unwanted touching and comments as a means of establishing and affirming their heterosexual identity. However their actions could also have been read as them giving me a ‘taste’ of the reality of their world, since by the virtue of their profession they too are constantly reduced to sex objects. One participant as illustrated below implied to his girlfriend that our interview was a date:

Frank: She was like is your story that interesting and I was saying bla, bla and she was oh another interview, another interview

Simone: Oh she thinks it’s a date [laughs]

Frank: Now to her it seems like I am coming for a date

This particular participant however did not tell his girlfriend that it was not a date and instead used me to make her jealous. Many participants would shower me with gifts such as teddy bears and sweets, they would hug me and some even said “I love you” to which I did not reply. Some participants also took on a very protective role over me, with them carrying my bags, opening the door for me and speaking on my behalf when men were being or speaking inappropriately with me. The harassment made me feel uncomfortable but having most men speak up for me and telling their colleagues to stop their inappropriate comments and behaviour helped me cope with it. Moreover, having the SWEAT team in the building, who were always willing to assist me, also helped me cope. This I took to be another form of asserting their masculine authority through chivalry. Chivalry was

found to be a tool men used to assert their masculine identity, as it “positions the female other in terms of hegemonic femininity, encompassing vulnerability and heterosexuality” (Presser, 2005, p.2079).

This section argued that men used the tools of controlling women, including myself, to assert their dominance but also to establish their identity as men. In controlling us women, through surveillance, resistance and by sexually objectifying us, the participants reclaimed their power, and took the opportunity to prove their masculinity to me through their narratives. Moreover, narratives of violence were also presented in the research process, as a method to maintain their masculinity, which is discussed in the next section.

Narratives of Violence

Gqola (2007) and Jewkes (2010) have noted that South Africa’s violent history has resulted in an environment where violence has become an acceptable tool for exerting power and control. I believe that these narratives presented themselves because these men are deemed as ‘not real’ men because they have sex with other men but many are also economically disadvantaged and without ‘real’ employment. Thus they told these narratives to access ‘successful’ manhood ideals (Morrell & Swart, 2005). The use of violence has become an integral element in constructing masculinity for South African men (Andrews, 1998-1999; Campbell, 1992; Epstein, 1998). The use of violence to gain power and control over women, men and children was a narrative used by participants in the research. Such narratives are presented below:

Daniel: Would you tell your boyfriend; look here I am occasionally doing sex work part time?

Simone: My boyfriend would also trip

Daniel: That’s like fucking telling him you a murderer

Simone: I don’t think so, why you comparing it to a murderer?

Daniel: I would murder you!

Roscoe: ...they say mus leave it I say go play outside okay it’s like I was throwing that thing there, blood, then I hear a scream why you doing that. I don’t like a woman to scream at me in front of my friends. Her mother and father just want to be like why you hit my daughter. Take a beer bottle and I was hitting her with a beer bottle.

In this case Daniel and Roscoe are doing masculinity (West & Zimmerman, 1987) by asserting their dominance over women by using violence. Violence was seen as justified because women and children asked for it, by disrespecting their property or embarrassing them. Boonzaier (2014) and Anderson and Umberson (2001), found similar results, where the men blamed the victims. In the interview with Daniel I asked him why he had not told his girlfriend that he is a sex

worker, he told me I was mad and then used his narrative to place me in his shoes through a series of questions. His narrative also revealed a double standard, where it was okay for him to be a sex worker but not for his girlfriend, again a method to assert dominance by dictating the rules for women. He goes on to say that if he was my boyfriend and found out I was a sex worker; he would murder me, again attempting to use violence to control a woman's actions. In Roscoe's narrative, he says that he was a former gangster, and that he was taught by his father, a gang boss, to be violent as it signified his masculinity and dominance over others. This is another example that shows one that violent masculinities are created and not biological (Campbell, 1992). He tried to resist his father but would be met with harsh consequences and thus did what he was told. He thus used violence as a way to protect himself against his father but also against being embarrassed and controlled. This is further illustrated in an extract from Roscoe below, where he tries to challenge his father's orders:

Roscoe: Then two of the 28⁵ members they come out of prison two days ago then they were raping them man, than my father was crying and my father say they mustn't leave my side... I was walking away and my father ask why you walking away and I say I can't see this because that time I have a baby girl, my first baby girl and she was two and then I tell him if something like that must happen to my girl I will kill the person but you always another person.... two of my father's guys say sit down, it's your turn. I say what is my turn? You do what we do. I say no fuck that I can't do that...

Narrative analysis argues that "storytelling is seen as performance-by a self" with a past, who involves, persuades, and (perhaps) moves an audience through language and gesture, "doing" rather than "telling alone" (Riessman, 2008, p.5). In the above narrative, the participant, states that he could not do it however, he still allowed them to rape the women but I believe by him saying no he challenged their thinking. He speaks of how his father was crying, which shows that he did not want to do it but in order to exert his dominance he had to do it or be seen as weak in front of the other men, which could leave him vulnerable to violence. Roscoe resisted them by not partaking in it and had he tried to stop the men, there would have certainly been consequences. He told this particular narrative to show me that he was a changed man but I still questioned why he even told that narrative of change in the first place. Many men living in the Cape flats, live in gang infested areas and constant trauma from gang wars. In order to survive, men often join gangs as a form of survival or become very violent as not to be a target by being seen as lesser of a man. They also

⁵ 28 in the paper refers the term given to a notorious prison gang that operates throughout South African prisons. They are a sophisticated gang with their own language, initiation rituals and ranking system. Membership is dependent on one successfully stabbing either a warden or other inmate (Haysom, 1981).

joined gangs as gangsters were admired for being ‘real’ men, for their fighting skills, and being successful with women often using rape and violence to instill fear and power over women and communities (Glaser, 2000). Rape is a common tool used by gangsters to dominate and control women and assert their masculinity in their gang (Glaser, 1992; Kynoch, 1999).

As a woman listening to these narratives of violence, I was particularly interested as to why they were told to me. Was it a technique to scare or intimidate me or to further assert their masculinity because I did not ask about violence but these narratives of abuse against women and children kept coming up? However, after much reflection I realized that it could also be that these men told these narratives to make me empathise with them. To make me understand why they use violence, often not because they want to but because they were taught to and often had to in order to stay alive. Violent masculinities may then be embodied by men as a form of adapting and surviving their traumatic environments. MSWs would overemphasize their violence as to not be seen as targets, which their jobs often made them, hence why they would often use violence against their male clients as illustrated:

Matthew: Mm no it's not hard, it's easy at times but now the only thing, men, men tend to be violent and that's the sad part and when they not violent then they about being tough
 Simone: And with men cause your clients are mainly men, so your
 Matthew: Both clients and fellow sex workers can be violent
 Simone: So that kind of puts you in a dangerous spot at times
 Matthew: At times, yes

In constructions and meaning given to manhood, men have internalized the need to use violence to get what they want. Much research has found aggression and violence to be traits of ‘real’ manliness (e.g. Bruce, 2007; Cooper & Foster, 2008; Peters & Bawa, 2012; Wojcicki, 2002). Research found that clients often used violence against MSWs in order to control them or get what they want (Connell & Hart, 2003; Okanlawon et al., 2012; Scott et al., 2005). Male sex workers would use violence against clients too if they were not paid (West & de Villers, 1993). Men used violence against their clients so that their masculinity would not be questioned, which it often is because they are MSW. In order to reclaim their identity and resist being controlled by sex workers or clients, whether men or women, violence is often used. Violence was used as a tool to reassert one’s dominance by demanding respect and power as shown in the example below:

Bob: Everybody knows me here and respects me, so
 Simone: So for you is manlihood equal to respect for you
 Bob: Yaah
 Simone: And how do you earn respect?
 Bob: You have to show yourself and you have to give respect to earn respect you understand

Simone: Mmm

Bob: And not also that, and when it's time for the fighting be a general and stand out like a man, they will respect you much more

In Bob's narrative, he grew up without his father and was constantly abused as a child by his mother. His idea of love was using violence, which his mother taught him through her actions. He was surrounded by violence and thus was taught to use it as a way to show love, control and gain respect, which he also learnt through his gang. In the above extracts Bob justifies his use of violence in order to gain respect. Here we see how violence is linked to respect, and with more violence resulting in more respect "much more". In Cooper and Foster's (2008) research with Coloured men, they noted that men used violence as "a reaction to emasculation they experienced through marginalization" (p.20). This was echoed by Courtenay (2000, p.1391) who argued that "physical dominance and violence are easily accessible resources for structuring, negotiating and sustaining masculinities, particularly among men who because of their social positioning lack less dangerous means." Men used different justifications, which went unchallenged by me because I was afraid that in challenging them they could have felt like I was judging their actions, which could have caused them to not engage further with me.

This section focused on how men used violence against women, children and other men, as a means to assert their masculine identity by controlling them and instilling fear in them. It is also argued to be a tactic used by men who are unable to attain 'successful' masculinity attributes. Violence is argued to be easier to access for these men, and used to assert their dominance and thus not be seen as targets by their clients or fellow MSW. Moreover, violent masculinities are taught to boys either by their parents, media or gangs and are socialised to be violent. Violence then becomes a means of coping and surviving in traumatic and violent environments. Being a sex worker made these men vulnerable to violence and in order to counter that, these men used strategies such as violence. Being perceived as heterosexual was also one such strategy, which men would constantly reassert in the research process.

Being a 'Real' Man and a Sex Worker

'Real' Men are Straight

Research done with men about how they define manhood, all concluded that 'real' men were heterosexual (Kimmel, 1994; Morrell & Swart, 2005; Niehaus, 2005; Shefer & Mankayi, 2007). Having sex with women was a huge part of their manhood (Brannon, 1976; Ratele, 2011). Men are told by society from a young age that they are to avoid anything associated with women (Kimmel,

1993, 1994; Luyt, 2003). Sex work is associated with women and in order to get back their manhood sex workers would use a variety of strategies, one of these being the distancing of oneself the taking on of the dominant role in sexual encounters. This is illustrated by Bob:

Simone: And now that you, because you put a lot of emphasis on respect and manlihood. Now that you a sex worker and you do have male clients, do you still feel like a man?
 Bob: Jaah, cause I'm still in power, you understand. I call the shots. Whether you like it or dislike it, fine if you dislike it you can take your money and go
 Simone: Mmm and how do you stay in control?
 Bob: Because I am strictly on top, I don't get used. I use people. I will never, I will never be bottom
 Simone: Why won't you be bottom I mean if you, if you
 Bob: Noooo
 Simone: If you into guys also then
 Bob: No, no, no
 Simone: No
 Bob: I am strictly top, in this game if you gay you bottom, if your bisexual you top but before I make business I make it sure to my customers that I'm strictly top.

In Bob's narrative, I believe my line of questioning helped in co-constructing this narrative he told. I was challenging his masculinity in my line of questioning, which resulted in him reacting by telling a narrative in which he is dominant and powerful, a method of properly doing masculinity by asserting his power. This narrative was told to reassert his masculinity because he calls the shots and maintains control. In a male on male relationship, the man who inserts his penis is defined as a 'top' and the man who gets penetrated is defined as the 'bottom' (Grundy-Bowers, Hardy & McKeown, 2015; Zheng, Hart & Zheng, 2012). These self-given labels of 'top' and 'bottom' were used to assert men's identity. The 'tops' are masculine penetrators who exercise control and ownership through internal ejaculation over 'bottoms' who are controlled, perceived to be feminine and placed in a subordinated role (Grundy-Bowers et al., 2015; Zheng et al., 2012). MSWs would actively dissociate themselves from the 'bottom' label in an attempt to maintain their masculinity by being a 'top'. Another strategy to maintain their manhood although they sleeping with men was to distance themselves from anything associated with femininity, this is seen in Joshua's narrative:

Simone: Why won't you be a bottom?
 Joshua: Because I am a man and I like being inside a woman. I feel comfortable with what I am but you know some people can be disabled on the inside
 Simone: They can be disabled on their inside?
 Joshua: It's kind of like a disability
 Simone: What's a disability?
 Joshua: To be gay or a transgender I think
 Simone: You think it's a disability
 Joshua: Ja

In his narrative, Joshua is constructing a way of being properly masculine, which is to be heterosexual while still having sex with men. This is done by him taking on a ‘dominant’ role in his sexual encounters with his clients who are men. Just like Bob, he dissociates himself from the ‘bottom’ label and in his narrative perceives that label to be associated with femininity. He then goes on to dissociate himself from the gay and transgender label by defining homosexuality as a “disability”. By doing this he is reasserting and establishing his masculine identity, by disassociating himself from anything perceived as feminine (Kimmel, 1993, 1994). MSWs also told narratives of how they would imagine their clients to be females or actively search out feminine looking men, as to re-enact a heterosexual relationship as closely as possible,

Simone: And with that when people ask, do you still consider yourself to be a man, even though you did it with another man? Do you still say you a straight man and this is it?

Joshua: Ja because mostly if they too masculine maybe, uhm then it’s difficult to you know get feelings [laughs]

Simone: If they too masculine?

Joshua: It’s like urgh you know but if they like they women then I can just pretend

Simone: Okay so you like a feminine type of look

Joshua: Ja, ja, ja

Simone: So then you like they almost like a girl so it’s fine

Joshua: Ja

Joshua and I co-constructed a narrative where having a feminine male clients made it okay because it was still almost like a man sleeping with a woman. Moreover, my line of questioning was inviting participants to reassert their straight masculinity. My own biases and religious beliefs came through in my questionings, where I wanted the men to perform hegemonic forms of masculinity through posing them various questions. Other participants would imagine that the client was a woman or watch porn between a man and woman to be able to get an erection, once again asserting their heterosexuality. Moreover, some men would just refuse to have male clients as a form of establishing their heterosexuality.

Simone: And so you don’t do males rights

Daniel: [Laughs]

Simone: I’m just asking

Daniel: Don’t spoil my day, I like women

Simone: I know you like women but lots male sex workers have males and females, you not like that?

Daniel: Are you mad? [Afrikaans]

In Daniel's narrative, he aggressively reasserts his masculinity by distancing himself from any homosexual activity. However, once again my line of questioning I believe resulted in these types of narratives to be told. The participants could have told these narratives to reassert their masculinity but also could have been told because I was a woman. So it may not necessarily be true that they only accept females as clients. In parts of Africa, same sex relationships are seen to be un-African, with many men socialized to condemn and stigmatize homosexuality (Forman, 1999). The narrative above is consistent with the narratives found in broader society where having sex with men is seen as wrong and not masculine. Heterosexuality was also reasserted through narratives of loving sex, a performance consistent with manhood. An example is given from Peter:

Peter: And I enjoy being in this position that I find myself in and eh that's cool. Simone I just love sex and I don't know what is it. I just love sex...

Much research has noted the strong link made by men between masculinity and sex. Ratele (2011) notes how manliness is linked to heterosexual men having lots of sex with women. Men's sexual histories are constantly being scrutinized, in order to reveal their level of manliness, with more sex resulting in being seen as a 'real' man (Kimmel, 1993). Barker and Ricardo (2005) note how men are pressured from peers and women to be sexually active, enjoy having sex and have multiple partners, in order to be seen as a man. Men in various research state that if they did not have sex with a girl that it would lead to social rejection and one's reputation being ruined (MacPhail & Campbell, 2001; Varga, 2001). Many participants state that they love sex and their love of sex makes sex work the ideal job. However, society has put and continues to put a lot of pressure on men to enjoy sex and have plenty of it, thus why I believe this narrative came up. These men felt compelled to prove their masculinity to me and would use the resources they had available. Men who do not conform to society expectations of 'real' manliness are met with various consequences.

Consequences of not being a 'real' man

Masculinities are not a single factor, but instead are fluid and ever-changing. The ruling masculinity is constantly being challenged (Connell, 1995; Ratele, 2006). Some of the participants stated that they were not heterosexual:

Simone: And so you started seeing male clients

Reece: Yes

Simone: And then you felt that that it was what you preferred

Reece: Yes, men are better than women

In the above narrative Reece is challenging the hegemonic masculinity by stating that men are better sexual partners than woman. He is challenging the fact that ‘real’ men are heterosexual. Some participants were homosexual, while others were bisexual often preferring men over women. Ratele (2006, p.57) notes that men are trying to “radically change the ruling masculinity” as men are not naturally heterosexual or masculine. However, challenging dominant notions of manhood has resulted in lethal consequences for these men:

Simone: And why, why do you think your family is so anti-sex workers and anti-gay?

Sidney: Because they are so deeply Christian, they are Seven Day Adventists. Those were the things even when we grew up from the Bible that prostitution is a sin, homosexuality and all those things. Those were the things we learnt from a day-to-day basis from the congregation. That’s what I know even they talk bad about prostitution and homosexuality saying all those people are going straight to hell so that I know exactly. They even said to me, my mother told me that I will be cursed, she said of all people you, I wouldn’t even know or think that you would be into this, have you read about the HIV being high in gays and that homosexuality is a sin

Roscoe: ...I use to rob gay people, moffies and stuff. My friend picks them up and then I go and I rob them. I tell them it’s not right if you sleep with another man

Homosexuality is seen as a “sin” according to many religions and un-African (Forman, 1999). This has resulted in homosexual men or men who have sex with men, being met with physical violence, being humiliated, emotionally abused and insulted for not conforming to dominant notions of masculinity (Walker, 2005). In Sidney’s broader narrative, he got disowned by his family for revealing he was gay because it was a “sin” and he was told he is going to hell. This was a common narrative shared by gay men who came from Christian or Muslim homes. Once they revealed their sexuality they would be disowned. This narrative highlights the influence religion has on one’s experiences in that participants from religious backgrounds experience more stigma and judgement in comparison to participants with atheist family members. This was seen in Simon’s narrative of his family accepting his sexuality because they are atheists, which is different to Sidney and Roscoe’s narratives. Additionally, Roscoe speaks of how he used to rob gay people and tell them that sleeping with men was wrong. This narrative he tells reasserts his masculine identity by distancing himself from gay men and he shows how he used violence to scare them into behaving straight. Society’s expectations of what a ‘real’ man is, has left men pressured into conforming, however, men have tried to challenge these notions but have been met with severe consequences.

Men who were deemed as ‘not real’ men according to society tended to overemphasize certain aspects of hegemonic masculinity (Alcano, 2011; Lupton, 2000), which I felt was the case in this research project. These men are in a job that’s seen as ‘women’s work’ and they have male

clients, so they used their narratives to establish their heterosexuality and reclaim their dominance. Men who are sex workers are often stigmatised by various stakeholders because sex work is seen as 'women's work'. Male sex workers are often seen as not 'real' men and in order to protect themselves from this stigma they employ various strategies to maintain their masculinity which I attempted to demonstrate in the above section (Boyce et al., 2011; Okanlawon et al., 2012; Samudzi, 2014). Moreover, I believe that my questions helped in creating these narratives of reasserting their masculinity by emphasising their dominance and heterosexuality. Moreover, they also used their narratives of justifications as a tool to maintain their masculinity, which is discussed in the next section.

In this chapter narratives of identity were discussed. I offered a reflexive piece in which I spoke about how my position or perceived position as either an 'insider' or 'outsider' influenced the research process. My dual positionality allowed for certain stories to be told to me while others remained silent. This research wanted to understand how sex work shaped men's identity and it found that when men were given the opportunity to tell their story, establishing and maintaining their masculine identity was of importance. They employed various strategies to assert their masculinity firstly by controlling me, a woman, but also by telling stories of how they control other women. They also told many narratives of using violence to get what they wanted which was mainly respect and power. Many men are tormented for being sex workers because they are seen as 'lesser' men. These men used the research process and their stories to tell a new narrative of them still being 'real' men despite being sex workers. They stated that they were 'real' men because they provide for their families; they are straight, enjoy having sex and were never penetrated, which are important elements of the dominant masculinity. However, there were men who were homosexual and who enjoyed having sex with men. These men however faced various consequences from being chased away to being hurt or robbed. The interview process allowed for the recreating and managing of identities. Identities were never static but kept changing throughout the process. While identities were explored in this chapter, the following chapter will be reflecting on narratives of justifications and selling sex. The following chapter further explores the reasons MSWs enter and stay in the profession as well as explore the complexities of selling sex.

Chapter Five

Narratives of Justifications, Complexities of Selling Sex and Resistance

This chapter will be discussing narratives of justifications and selling sex which looks at how sex workers talk about selling sex. Narratives of justification are discussed first, where participants justify their reasons for entering into the sex industry. They state needing money as their primary reason for entering the industry. They also entered the profession as it is argued to be the better option and their choice. It then delves into the contradiction that is selling sex. On the one hand it offers an opportunity for sex workers to be healers, be healed and be exposed to loving clients. However, on the other hand it is not a stable or safe job, it comes with a lot of harassment from the police and security guards and one is exposed to abusive clients who do not always pay adequately. Judgement is also discussed in this chapter, where sex worker's talk reveals various sources of judgement such their religion, communities and their own families for being sex workers. Their profession often results in them being disowned or being treated unfairly, since sex work is seen as immoral and a "sin". Lastly this chapter looks at stories of resistance where sex workers resist popular narratives written or spoken about them. They argue that sex workers are responsible and dignified. They also state that they do not deserve to be judged because they are human beings trying to earn a living just like everyone else.

Sex Work Brings in the Money

Justification narratives were constant in every story told by the participants. Reasons for entering the sex industry were various ranging from financial need to doing it out of choice (Boyce et al., 2011; Parry et al., 2008). Many spoke of entering because it was the only way of earning money:

Mark: Sex work, for me basically what it is, is money. Money is one of my first priorities so that's what brought me into...

Sex work provided the participants with an income. Some of the participants were qualified professionals with degrees, while others were unemployed. When asked why they entered the sex industry they all said that it provided them with more money. In these narratives, men justify their actions by telling stories of being in need of money and sex work creating the opportunity for them to earn money. Not only did it provide them with money, but men also stated that it provided them with more money, implying that sex work was more lucrative than their previous jobs:

Sidney: Yes, sex work, I can relate sex work with one of, with a drug I relate sex work to a drug cause there's an addiction in between in this, cause even if you are working you have

other jobs, should you start, there's no way you can stop it's not easy to exist because you think of the money

In the narrative above, Sidney tells a narrative in which he compares sex work to a drug addiction. Drug addiction is defined as a chronic brain disease, which results in compulsive drug seeking behaviours and use. The misuse of drugs starts to change the chemical makeup of the brain to such an extent that it becomes near impossible for them to live without the drugs (National Institute on Drug Abuse, 2012). Many drug addicts have told narratives of drug use being very hard to escape, with relapse rates being extremely high (National Institute on Drug Abuse, 2012). In this narrative told by Sidney, he argues that sex work just like a drug addiction, is hard to leave even if one does get another job, because the money is very good. He goes as far to say that "there's no way you can stop". This narrative implies that sex work is like a maze, because once you enter it, it is very hard to leave it. This narrative also could be told as a way to evoke empathy in the audience, here it being me, because many sex workers are asked constantly why they stay. He justifies his behaviours, by telling a narrative which I believe was told to make me understand why they stay. Sex work has also been linked to high drug abuse, with many sex workers found to be frequent users (De Graaf, van Wesenbeeck, van Zeesen, Straver & Visser, 1995; Pauw & Brener, 2003). Many participants in my research told narratives of drug abuse and stated that sex work provided them with the money to maintain their habit:

Dylan: Well I would say I enjoy sex and secondly I got a substance abuse problem so it's a, a method to support my habit, so I need an income to support my habit

Simone: So what habit do you have?

Dylan: I'm using heroin and tik currently

Some of the participants, like Dylan above were drug users and said that they entered the industry to get money to support their habit. Research with sex workers found similar results, with drugs being frequently used (De Graaf et al., 1995; Pauw & Brener, 2003). Amongst my participants, the majority were drug users, with cannabis and tik being the most used substances. In many narratives told, drugs were stated to be used as a coping tool to deal with various pains the sex workers faced:

Sidney: ...Okay after having sex let me put it that way I feel like having business with someone, you know there are reasons why other sex workers use drugs, why other sex workers become alcoholics because after all the things that you did, doing all these things for money. It comes, it is stressing, oh my god I slept with somebody I didn't even know sometimes you do think what am I doing I slept with this person.

Drugs played a complex role as it was not only used as a coping mechanism but also made sex workers more willing to have sex (Jamel, 2011; Parry et al., 2008). Further research done in Cape Town with sex workers found that drugs were used for their ability to relieve anxiety and fear (Pauw & Brener, 2003). This was especially helpful under the dangerous working conditions sex workers often find themselves in. It was also used to make them feel happy, enjoy sex more, increase their confidence in sexual encounters and cope with the demands of clients (Pauw & Brener, 2003). In the narratives above, Sidney states that sex work is stressful, which leads one to use drugs. The MSWs in the research use drugs to “block out” memories, often the memories of sleeping with strangers for money or blocking out memories of pain. Drugs were also used as a means to “go longer”, meaning that it helped MSWs maintain an erection for longer, often to please clients. The drug use narrative often started with reasons for using drugs followed by an attempt to sustain the habit by entering sex work. Later some participants said that they wanted to leave drugs, even entering drug rehabilitation to help them stop. Two of the participants according to their narratives, successfully left the drugs, while others stated that it was not easy and they were still struggling to leave drugs. However, if one carefully looks at the narratives, you see that sex work creates a complicated situation for MSWs, especially those wanting to stop drugs. Using the money made from sex work to fund one’s drug habit resulted in the labeling of not being seen by other sex workers as a “real” sex worker:

Roscoe: Like you have a sex worker nuh who just do sex for their drug habits and they stay on the streets. They don’t do nothing just drugs, drugs, drugs with their money and then you get the real sex workers who have families, supporting them

In Roscoe’s narrative he attempts to recreate the image of sex workers by separating sex workers from “real sex workers”. In his narrative sex workers are in the industry to support their drug habits whereas “real” sex workers are in the industry to support their families. Firstly, this narrative shows one how sex workers themselves judge each other. They perceive the sex workers who are using the money to provide for their families as “real” whereas the sex workers supporting their drug habits are not. Secondly, in his narrative he is reclaiming the assumed identity of a sex worker and in his story creates a positive image of “real” sex workers as hard working men who are trying to support their families. This theme was found in many other participants’ narratives with many men speaking of the need to provide for their families. Sex work provided them with the opportunity to earn money, which would enable them to put food on the table:

Simone: And how did it make you feel to become a sex worker; how did you feel going from one into that job?

Reece: I didn't feel good about it, because my mind wanted to do something else with my life but I have to feed my family, cause I couldn't depend on my mom's disability come there every month for my mom's pay gone with this and gone with that. So I had to do it, I didn't feel 100% for the thing, thing I was doing.

Dominant narratives around what a man is and does, has always been linked to the notion of men as breadwinners. Being able to provide for one's family has come to be an important trait of masculinity (Barker and Ricardo, 2005; Campbell, 1992; Niehaus, 2005). Elliot (2003) notes that unemployment among both black men and white men are resulting in "grave threats to men's self-esteem and manhood" (p.10), as they are not conforming to the conceptions of successful manhood. Much research found that providing financially for your family, being a breadwinner, being financially independent and being able to pay a bride dowry are important attributes of successful manhood in both white and black cultures (Elliot, 2003; Hunter, 2005). Men both white and black, are now assessing their masculinity in terms of how well they are able to provide for their sexual partners and families. In both narratives told, the men all emphasized the need to provide for their families and make sure their families are "sorted". Many men saw it as a need to provide for their families. They had a strong sense of responsibility towards providing for their families, emphasizing how they made money for them. Evident in research done by Wood (2005), who found that the rising unemployment rate left many men feeling frustrated, powerless and emasculated because they could not be providers or "breadwinners" without money. In these narratives they were doing masculinity (West and Zimmerman, 1987) by asserting their masculine authority through chivalry. This was done by making the women in their lives 'damsels in distress' and themselves the heroes of the story. Men knew the importance of providing for their families, as it signified their masculinity. They often told these stories of themselves as handworkers who are trying to put food of the table just like other workers. Sex work allows them an opportunity to fulfill their responsibility of providing, however, it also leaves many men feeling ashamed and not very manly. Doing sex work leaves men in a complex battle for their identity. On the one hand it gives them the opportunity to do their masculinity (West & Zimmerman, 1987) by giving them an opportunity to earn money and provide for their families. However, on the other hand it is not the ideal job as it makes men feel less like men. Many participants could not find any work, and thus sex work became the only option available, according to their narratives:

Simone: So the first thing I am gonna ask you is what brought you into sex work?

Bob: Uhm poverty

Simone: Okay can you explain a bit more

Bob: Ja, uhm 19, no 2008 yes no I lie in 2002 I lost my job. The company got liquidated and since that time I was struggling to find a job and I didn't succeed till now. And that is how I got into sex work

Sex work provides these participants with a job opportunity in a context where unemployment and scarcity of jobs is high. In South Africa, the unemployment rate was 24.3 percent which translated into 4.9 million people being unemployed between the months of October and December 2014 (Stats SA, 2014). Okanlawon and colleagues (2012) found similar results, where participants entered sex work as a means of earning money and improving their lives although many did not want to do it. This narrative was told by many of the other participants, who all agreed that unemployment in South Africa was high and without the necessary skills they did stand a chance of finding a suitable job. Sex work then became an easy way to earn money. Money is a commodity that one needs in order to survive, and without a job, earning money becomes difficult. This narrative told by participants portrays sex workers as victims of a capitalist system, as argued by Marxist feminists (Overall, 1992). Moreover, unemployment was not only a result of not possessing the necessary skills or finding a job, but also because some participants had a prison record:

Stephen: Wherever I go and I throw out the word prison, a door closed in my face you see, then I think ey, I got a skill and get quick money you see. Yaah then I'm back on track, I just make me, myself you know.

Having a prison record made finding a job near impossible because employers did not want criminals working for them. Ex-convicts were found to be untrustworthy and thus would not get hired. Moreover, incarceration eroded their job skills, while also increasing mental or physical illness resulting from the survival behaviours prisoners need to use to stay alive (Western, Kling & Weiman, 2001). In Stephen's narrative he says that once he stated he was an ex-convict, he was denied employment. This led him to seek alternate employment, sex work, where one's past does not influence you getting the job or not. Moreover, participants who were not born in South Africa, also struggled to find employment as Home Affairs made getting a working permit near impossible:

Simone: So did that not getting your work permit push you into sex work?

Joshua: Yah, I can say so as well because a hungry man can do anything for money, you know so that was another cause

In South Africa, work is scarce and jobs are few, which has led to foreigners being harmed and treated with hostility when trying to find job opportunities. Moreover, with the influx of foreigners into the country, Home Affairs has been stricter with giving work permits. Many foreigners have thus found it increasingly difficult to find work in South Africa. Junck (2014) found similar results

in his work with foreigner MSWs, they only entered sex work because of no other job opportunities being available.

In this section it was found that MSWs entered the industry because it provided them with an opportunity to earn money. Sex work was said to be a very lucrative business, often bringing in more money than other jobs. This nature of sex work made it “addictive” and not an easy profession to leave. Participants also said that they entered sex work to support their drug habit. Drugs were used as a means of coping with the “stressful” nature of sex work or “blocking out” negative memories. With South Africa’s high unemployment rates, sex work provided MSWs with a job especially foreign workers who were struggling to get work permits. Many participants could not find work either because they did not possess the needed skills, work permits or because they had a criminal record. However, many stated that they needed to earn money in order to support their families, and sex work provided that opportunity. Not only did they enter sex work to earn money but it was also said to be a choice they made.

Sex Work is My Choice

Liberal feminists have argued that sex work is a choice. Sex workers choose to enter the sex industry and see it as a service being provided (Sloan & Wahab, 2000). This narrative appeared often in the sex worker’s stories:

Sidney: ...sex work that is a choice that is a choice. I chose to be a sex worker; everybody chooses to be a sex worker because you can do something else. But like I said sex work is an addiction in between because from the money that I had I could have saved it and started a business but now I did other things. I did sex work because you get money quick and you are your own boss, no one is telling you what to do so don’t do this and all that stuff. So there is no, it’s not very much easy to quit

In Sidney’s narrative, he states that sex work is a choice because one could choose to do something else. However, Sidney unlike many of the other sex workers has a university degree in education, his own home and saved money from his previous job as a teacher. He had the freedom to choose another job, which other participants with a criminal record and no matric certificate did not have. Other participant’s narratives were different as they had different positionalities:

Roscoe: Because how can I say he was a sex worker and he support his family with that money. So he brought me into that business, before I was in that business I was a gangster, so he tell me to leave the gang and do that because it’s easy money, support your family so I gave it a try but then I leave and I said no I sell my penis and stuff then he say no it’s for your own good because I was robbing people and stuff so I just go to prison and when I got out of prison then I started to do that

Simone: Sex work now

Roscoe: Yes

Roscoe's narrative unlike Sidney's is very different because the two men had different lived experiences. Roscoe unlike Sidney, only made it to grade 10 and was heavily involved in gangsterism to the point where he was incarcerated. Having a prison record and no matric made finding a job very difficult. In Roscoe's narrative, he explains how sex work was a choice he took for his own good because he was a gangster who would rob people. At first he refused but sex work allowed him with an opportunity for a better life and an exit from criminal activities. Other participants who had found other jobs, such as being a taxi driver, painter, architect, builder and carpenter left that work because sex work was seen as the better option in comparison to what they were doing before:

Dean: Yes, it is the better option... Yes, better pay and better working conditions

Simone: Better working conditions? What do you mean?

Dean: It's because you not under pressure

Dean saw sex work as the "better option" because one was not under pressure and you were paid better. These findings are consistent with research by Boyce and colleagues (2011) and Mimiaga and colleagues (2008), which found MSWs entering the industry because it was better, more lucrative and exciting. These narratives challenged the assumptions made by many research and society, who argue that one is forced into sex work. Some of these men chose sex work because they enjoyed having sex and it provided them with fun and excitement:

Simone: But then there is something that keeps you doing it and it's not just the money

Stephen: For the love of it

The narrative above of loving sex, as stated earlier in this chapter, could be seen as a way to maintain their masculinity. This could be a way to properly do heterosexuality by overemphasizing their love for sex. Even among sex workers themselves, one can see how complex experiences can be. Some see sex work as their only option due to circumstances whereas others see it as a choice they took because it offered them more money, less pressure, the opportunity to be their own boss and empowerment by being able to provide for their families. By doing an intersectional analysis, one can see how participants' race, gender, prison record, level of education and sexuality all impact on how they interacted with me, how they created their identity and how they got into sex work. This is not the only place where complexities are found, as we also see contradictions in MSWs talk on selling sex.

Complexities in selling sex

Reasons for entering sex work were diverse and various. Much research did not look into the reasons why sex workers stay in the profession. Many sex workers state that the money keeps them in the profession however my research found that the sex industry gave them more than just money. It provided them with supporting relationships as well as teaching them how to love another person:

Simone: (...) can I just go back you said that you stay in the profession because you have this healing potential for others but you also said it heals you and that heals you, I wanted you to elaborate more on how sex work heals you?

Frank: Uhm how can I say it's rather funny, very peculiar in a way why I say it heals me okay I've been married for eleven years. I've been faithful. So I was saying she disappointed me real badly you know I would say until, up to a certain extent I could not believe in love, I thought there was something about love but through sex work I learnt to appreciate people. I learnt to appreciate myself, I learnt what the principals of love and what makes up love...

Sex work gave these men the opportunity to learn to love others and be loved in return by the client. In Frank's narrative, he says that sex work healed him because his wife hurt him badly when she cheated on him with his brother. He not only felt betrayed but hurt when his family sided with his cheating brother. Sex work helped him to heal by helping him appreciate people and learn about love through caring and loving clients. These narratives of sex work as healing could have been told to create more support to legalize and decriminalise the profession by making it a dignified industry. However, these narratives were often told by the participants who were disowned by their families and friends, thus making clients the only people they could depend on to help them. Many of the participants spoke about enduring many hardships growing up and in their current lives and learning to heal through sex work. This is illustrated in Peter's narrative:

Peter: Yes, sex work is healing because at the moment I need my mother; I need to be with my mother. But can you believe it I need to be with my mother and for more than twenty years I haven't been with her, so eh Max is part of this healing process that I'm in and to accept the things that I can't change. Eh you know with the calling that I have as a sex worker I can take my work and sell it anywhere.

Sex work was seen as therapeutic because in loving the client and receiving love, advice and support from them, the sex workers began to heal from the hurt they experienced. Peter speaks of how he really needs to be with his mother, and how he misses his mother who disowned him for being homosexual. He has not seen her in twenty years, which is very painful for him, hence why he sought out help from Max. He states that sex work is healing him but then later speaks about Max (a counsellor for SWEAT) who has helped him with the healing process. This indicates that the counselling could in fact be healing him and not sex work. However, on the other hand, being a sex

worker and being part of SWEAT does give him access to the resources of counselling, which he might not otherwise have had. Participants were aware that I was psychology student and some assumed that I was a counsellor, which could have resulted in these sorts of narratives about childhood abuse, abandonment and rejection surfacing. However, many participants involved in the research also used the interview process to tell their stories as a way to deal with their past and start the healing process which starts with acknowledging the hurt. In Peter's narrative he refers to sex work as his calling, which I thought was very interesting because by saying it's a calling; it legitimises sex work as a job. He says that he is able to sell his "sex" anywhere. Sex work was also therapeutic to participants as both the client and sex worker have the opportunity to climax in a sexual encounter, which helped release both stress and anger. Moreover, sex workers took the research process as an opportunity to recreate their identity as sex workers and often stated that sex work was good as it gave them the opportunity to be more than just a sex worker. An example is given from Timothy's narrative:

Timothy: ... You know not all the clients are into sex, some of them they just want you to sit next to them, hold hands, take a shower with them you know just to be there. Sometimes the client just needs someone to talk to them, that's how and eh he pays me just to be there not only for sex. I find it very interesting.

Similar narratives were found in research with male sex workers in other parts of Africa. Many stated that they offered not only sex but companionship and therapy to clients too (Boyce et al., 2011). Research done with clients of sex workers found that clients seek the companionship of sex workers and use it as a way to form emotional and physical connections (Harriman et al., 2007). In the narratives above the participants painted themselves as men who cared, listened and solved client's problems. In one way this could be a tactic to reassert their masculine authority by exerting chivalry by coming to the rescue of their clients. However, it could also be a way for the men to reclaim and recreate their sex worker identity as a positive image. Clients were portrayed as caring people who not only wanted sex and were helpful, sometimes providing sex workers with a source of support not only with advice but with resources too:

Dean: The good ones mm, some clients they are, they can help you with some of your problems especially the regular clients. Its, they better off because uh regular clients it's uh an income which you always get like some of them that are out of the country so when they come here they always come to you. So its uh good but some. Most of them are there for assistance and help us out with what we need

In her research with clients of female sex workers Huysamen (2013) found that many of her participants stated that they were supportive clients often providing sex workers with the resources they needed. However, she found that these men did it as way of asserting their masculinity through chivalry. Some sex workers echoed this, stating that they had lovable clients who helped them out with their needs. These were often provided by regular clients, who created stronger bonds with the MSWs, as they knew them for a long time. These narratives are contrary to much research that has found clients of sex workers to be violent, exploitative and abusive (Aggleton, 1999; Gould, 2008; Harriman et al., 2007; Isaacs, 2011; Wechsberg et al., 2006). This research also found similar results, on the one hand clients were portrayed as nonviolent, while on the other hand were found to be cruel. Participants would sometimes be asked to not wear condoms and get paid more, leaving them vulnerable to HIV and AIDS or use drugs in order to satisfy the clients or be paid little or nothing (Belza et al., 2001; Mimiaga et al., 2008, Minichiello et al., 2013; Okanlawon et al., 2012). An example is given from Peter and Dean's narrative:

Peter: So I asked this guy the one morning what medication is this lying here so he said my AIDS medication, I am an AIDS client, and I've got AIDS. So I asked why you didn't tell me and then we could have had safe sex with a condom or something.

Dean: And they will do things, like some of them do drugs and they drink and if you not into that then you get bored because if they drink they also want you to drink and what they smoking they also want you to smoke it and sometimes you end up doing those things just to please the customer. And if you don't do it then they don't pay you nice.

Simone: So if you don't do it they don't pay you?

Dean: They don't pay you nice, they pay very badly

In the first narrative, Peter contracted HIV from a client who did not disclose his status to him; he only realized the client had AIDS after questioning him about his medication. The power imbalance between client and sex worker makes it hard for some sex workers to refuse using a condom, which leaves them vulnerable. Peter has no family to support him and no job, which makes him more vulnerable to having sex without condoms if the client refuses to pay him if he uses a condom. Many participants are willing to take the risk, have sex without condoms, because they need money. However, research on men who have sex with men found that using no condoms was a method these men used to do masculinity properly by taking risks (Grundy-Bowers et al., 2015). Moreover, sex workers were often pressurized into using drugs as Dean confesses or be paid "very badly" if they refused. Research done in Cape Town on both MSWs and FSW's found that 40 percent of them were forced into taking drugs or alcohol by clients (Gould, 2008; Isaacs, 2011). Clients were also found to be demanding, often leaving some sex workers to feel like they have been used. This was illustrated in Joshua's narrative:

Joshua: Ja some who came, ugh let's say you won't know that, you going and there's gonna be plenty of people and they have this type of group sex that they do. So urh, for me I didn't know about that group sex thing and sex work. So on my thing it was not ugh, yoh it was not a good experience. Because there's different emotions [laughs] and people demanding you and stuff so it's not a good experience.

Simone: So when you say not a good experience was there any violence towards you?

Joshua: Ugh they can be demanding, too demanding on you to just keep on [laughs]

Simone: Okay to keep on and on and on

Joshua: [Laughs] yeah, on and on. Like you a robot or something

Simone: And not a human being

Joshua: Ja [laughs]

In some narratives told by MSWs, clients are painted as demanding people. Clients' often have more money, which is used to control sex workers, often clients will refuse payment or give less if their requests are not met. Dean emphasizes this point even going as far to say that he is "like a robot or something" because clients demand them to have sex for long periods of time forgetting that they are human. Participants spoke of feeling used by clients which are narratives very contradictory to the ones being told of clients as kind and caring. Many sex workers said that they did not even feel human anymore and more like "robots" being used for the client's pleasure. As illustrated in Peter's narrative:

Peter: Bad clients eh they want you to be in a posture that they want you to be in and some of them use grudges when they fuck you man, you know it's like raping so some of them I want to ask my friend are all up there are you okay? But he said naai he likes it because it was all done to him so he gets kick out of it, hard sex when he has fucked up an ass. Just putting you in agony and pain.

Simone: And how does that make you feel when you have clients who treat you like that?

Peter: Sherbet when you have clients like that you must put yourself on lots of ganja, make yourself stone and just lie there. Make done and just fuck me I want to get it over with so I can go

Peter in his narrative shared his experience of being "fucked" so hard that it felt like he was being raped. The client did not see him as a human being but just an object to be used for his satisfaction. In this narrative, Peter is a homosexual, so the fact that he was "fucked" so hard could have been the consequence of being homosexual. To cope with it he took drugs, ganja which is another term for cannabis, so that he would be not be conscious and just lay there till it was over. Since South Africa criminalised sex work, sex workers do not have any protection against violence. They cannot even report crime done against them in fear of going to jail. Clients can also be arrested for buying sex however; they rarely are and are more protected by the legal system (Huysamen, 2013). Some participants brought this up that clients were treated better and believed more often. Many

complained of not getting paid the price agreed on and then getting blackmailed by clients. Clients would often threaten to expose their identity to get them arrested or if sex workers were found in their homes, they would claim that they were thieves. Moreover, foreigners were also taken advantage of by South African clients, who would try to blackmail them if they were illegal or pay them less. This is shown in the narrative of Dean:

Dean: If you get clients from the country they take advantage of that

Simone: So they advantage of the fact that you are foreigners, how do they take advantage?

Dean: They just take advantage of you cause you not from this area

Simone: But when you say they take advantage of you what do you mean? Are they paying you less?

Dean: Yes, they want to pay me less and they want to use you more

In Dean's narrative, he notes that his foreigner status made him more vulnerable than his South African counterparts. Many did not have working permits or papers to be in the country legally, which made them targets to blackmail and being taken advantage of. Moreover, the fact that sex work is criminalised made it harder for sex workers to get paid properly and easier for them to be taken advantage of by clients. The sex workers noted that their relationships between themselves and their clients were largely dependent upon their socioeconomic status, gender and also their race. This was also argued by Kaye (2007). One's financial security allowed one to reject certain clients and one's education level allowed one a certain level of perceived authority and respect, which again points to the importance of an intersectional analysis. In work done with MSWs, violence against them was almost nonexistent in most research (Jamel, 2011; Minichiello et al., 1999). Some participants in this research agreed that their gender, being men, sometimes protected them against abuse. This is illustrated in Dylan's narrative:

Simone: The male clients that you have, have you experienced any violence towards you or have they forced you do stuff you didn't want to do?

Dylan: Uhm not really with my clients, I always get my own way or ja

Simone: How do you get your own way?

Dylan: Like if they suggest something than I will suggest something else no than we do it like my way you understand...

Simone: But would say that power gets afforded to you because you a man? Or just because you Dean?

Dylan: Uhm [long pause] I would say both because Dylan likes to be in control and cause I'm a man and the other guy is gay, how can I say they like to see themselves as females and so on

In the narrative above Dylan resists popular narratives that clients have all the power but instead indicates the complexities of power and how it is constantly negotiated. He says that he has power over his clients because they are feminine and he is masculine. In his narrative he performs masculinity by reasserting the dominance that is afforded to him because he is seen as manlier than his clients. This is a narrative that the society has encouraged men to internalise, one of men having power over women and ‘lesser’ men. Salamon (1989) argues that heterosexual men describe their clients as gay or feminine in order to keep their masculine identity and keep a positive self -image, which could be a possible reason for this narrative. This power in some way protects them from violence because they are men and as men they are able to demand respect and control over those weaker than them. Altman (1999) suggests that the violence against MSWs could be low because men are less exploited than women. Additionally, men also respected other men more than women. Moreover, their race also provided protection against violence because clients who were often white men or women, assumed black men to be dangerous and thus would not try to harm them. An example is provided by Daniel:

Daniel: You know you racist towards us, people don't see it that way but I've experienced it. If I don't have my false teeth in it's like I'm gonna rob you, I'm gonna rape you. I'm gonna stab you...

Race is also included as a factor that protects one against violence as Daniel states. Being black protected men from violence, as it was assumed they are violent. Moreover, participants have stated that clients assume black men to be dangerous and assumed to rape, stab or rob you and thus would not abuse them. These stereotypes of black men have been created by media that constantly portrays black men as criminals, corrupt, aggressive and dangerous (Berger, 2002; Jiwani, 2013). These stereotypes have shaped black MSWs experiences as they are judged more harshly by clients and constantly searched by police officers. Their race in one aspect protects them against violence from clients but on the other hand it also disadvantages one as seen in Sidney's narrative:

Sidney: ... But when it comes to pay you see some of my fellow white sex workers when it comes to charge, I think the difference is only there, because they can just charge whatever amount. But for me I charge this money where I say okay this person mustn't look down on me because I am black so white on white if he says R2000, then they give it but with me I cannot ask for so much, because they say that this person doesn't deserve that much

In Sidney's narrative, he illustrates how payment in sex work is racialized. This example points to the system of racism in showing how inequitable even sex work is because white men are still able to demand more money. Many of my participants were well educated men, some having

attended university too. These men said that their education provided them protection against clients because they knew the law and what to say as Mark indicates in his narrative. He would lay a charge against anyone who touched him.

Simone: And you get into difficulties with them, they not hitting you or anything?

Mark: Nah, they won't they know I'm a very, I'm a very per, person who is very educated I know what I'm doing. Don't mess with me, if you mess with me, I'm gonna have a lawyer on top of you. I'm not stupid and I'm not silly if you touch me you know what's gonna happen. I'm gonna lay a charge against you.

Doing an intersectional analysis, shows one how MSWs relationships with clients and their experiences with clients be it payment or the level of violence they experienced, depended on their positionality. One's positionality could either place you at an advantage or a disadvantage, which would result in how you perceived your experiences to be. In Mark's narrative, it states how his education protects him, moreover he had access to a lawyer who was able to help him. Those resources might not be available to other MSWs, who for instance are not at SWEAT, an organisation that provides sex workers with lawyers and knowledge. Moreover, when participants were financially stable, they had more control over who their clients were and what they would allow. Sex work might present MSWs with opportunities; however it also results in constant challenges with the police. One's positionality also affected how you were treated by the police. The police were another challenge that made sex work difficult for many MSWs. Much research done with MSWs found police brutality to be a big problem with MSWs often being physically and sexually abused by police officers or being bribed (Minichiello et al., 2000; Mariño et al., 2003; Scott et al., 2005). Problems with the police and security guards were a reoccurring narrative among the participants:

Bob: Oh by the police, yes that's my main problem I have because they label you, you understand. There's also some other cops if they catch you, you understand, or know you a sex worker and they catch you they want you to how I can say, pay them like bribe them. Give the 200, 300 rand, which I can't afford to give. I mean you have the permanent job why must I give you money, where must I find 300 at he doesn't even catch me in the act with the clients he only see me leaving with the client find you don't find me in acting do you understand. So who are you to ask me money, I refuse, I do refuse...

Since sex work is criminalised, it makes them targets to police taking advantage of them, which is reflected in Bob's narrative. He is asked for bribes by the police if he doesn't want to go to jail. Some participants also brought up the fact that their gender, being men, also affected their experience with police. This is shown by Joshua:

Joshua: Arh, especially when you working in the streets it's difficult because of the police brutality out there so when it comes to guys who are, you know guys are always suspects to crime, so it's easier when it's a lady but if it's a guy its....

Simone: So you say men are more harassed and beaten up by the police?

Joshua: Ja, more than women and another thing is that women are not just picking up a guy they don't know...

In above narrative, participants spoke of how being men protected them from being abused by their clients. However, that same manhood also made them targets to police brutality. In these narratives they were the victims of powerful policemen who take advantage of the situation. These narratives are often told and emphasized to help in the argument of decriminalising sex workers, Moreover, participants also told stories of how they are often searched or locked up because they are black and assumed to be dangerous:

Matthew: I remember one day I was walking that was not in Gordon's Bay...walking and I saw three young ladies, girls in fact coming but now as I am approaching they jumped to the other side. The minute I passed a bit then they just took off their shoes and started running, wow...I ran and the cops saw me chasing them and thought I wanted to rob them... So when they asked them why, they ran away they couldn't have an answer. Then I had to tell them I am black and they maybe thought I was going to harm them. In life people don't have to generalise...

Simone: Mm and does that affect you're working as a male sex worker?

Matthew: What do you mean?

Simone: You as a, I mean you in these areas and sometimes you work on the streets now you walking and the police come up to you and so I'm guessing that it effects the way you work

Matthew: Yes, it does...because you happen to have to have a foreign client who's white. He sees police approaching you, he completely loses trust in you. He doesn't want to be with you anymore, he's gonna think other things. Why are the cops going to him, he must be dangerous person, he might be someone not good to be with...

Dylan: ... The police are already treating me differently; they don't even know I'm a sex worker I look like a gangster maybe to them. Just because I'm Coloured now I must be searched or something...

In some narratives above, men said that their race protected them against violent clients because they were assumed to be dangerous, however that same assumption made them vulnerable to police brutality. Both narratives above state how the police viewed them as the criminals, with Dylan saying that his race made him a target because it is assumed he is a gangster. Similarly, Matthew tells a story of how he was stereotyped as dangerous because of his race. The men spoke of being subjected to lots of racism in Cape Town, which resulted in many police searches. Moreover, the police or security guards would often bribe the men but many men did not have the money to give them. Having the police constantly harass them, led to MSWs losing clients, as it was assumed that they

were dangerous if the police were searching them. Being a foreigner also meant one experienced the police differently. There were three foreign participants who all said that their experiences were made harder with them being a sex worker and a foreigner too. They constantly needed to produce papers, which are reflected in Joshua's narrative:

Joshua: Ja that is one of the common things that eh. If you don't have papers than it's gonna be more difficult because police, they always ask for papers. So it's mostly that you give documents, if you don't then it's also a bit challenging.

Simone: Do you work with your documents?

Joshua: Uh mostly, but if they want my documents than I can show them. I don't walk with them cause they can be lost

In Joshua's narrative, he indicates that his foreigner status created a unique experience between himself and police officers, unlike South African workers, he was constantly asked for his papers. However, MSWs told narratives of how they challenged and often resisted the police and used various techniques to get rid of them:

Frank: There was one, once off I wouldn't say a problem, a confrontation and I handled it very maturely they like you just confident that this SWEAT will come for you nuh I'm like yes they will, they bring me a lawyer now should I call you sir, Constable, what you doing is wrong. We got human rights, so you can maybe take out the Equity Act and show me where I'm wrong...

SWEAT provides MSWs with support when it comes to the police. They teach them about their human rights and the different Acts that protect them. Many of the participants used this knowledge to get rid of the police but some also used other strategies. Some MSWs would make the police feel uncomfortable by commenting on their "ass" which would often get rid of them as their heterosexuality was being challenged. By criminalising sex work, sex workers are viewed as criminals who do not deserve protection by police, this has meant that they often operate in unsafe working conditions as was mentioned by participants:

Mark: ... I operate in Woodstock, Maitland so I operate in between those areas because as you know you should be known. It's not just like you can walk there and you know just go and make money there, it's not gonna work for you. You gonna get hurt, you gonna get robbed, you gonna get killed for instance so you need to have a system where people know you. And people take pride in what you doing as well. And a very, very, very important thing is that you need to know who the drug dealers are. You need to, if you don't you in big shit. Sorry to say that but your life depends on what he says...

MSWs said that they often worked in unsafe areas and this meant that they had to negotiate with drug dealers and gang bosses for protection. Instead of providing safety, the police instead would arrest or harass sex workers. Mark stated that in order to survive one had to “be known” to gangsters, gang bosses and the drug dealers in your area, in order to live. These men had to negotiate daily for their safety, often using violence or affiliating with gangsters to gain protection. Moreover, spaces to work also had to be negotiated among sex workers themselves. Competition among sex workers themselves was high as clients were few. This is illustrated in Sidney narrative:

Sidney: There’s lots of police brutality, robberies and jealousy between the guys, there’s too much guys and too little clients for us all, or even they don’t go for the client. In sex work what I like is if you are new the clients come to you but when you come back from the client the guys will tell you that you must give me something that was my regular client or whatever so and or otherwise you know so I said okay.

Spaces for one to work were limited and often sex workers would compete for clients and search for a prime area. Sidney states that there are too many guys and too few clients, which creates a battlefield, where sex workers must fight for clients. This battle is often won by the stronger, newer and younger men. In order for the older sex workers to still make their money, they would threaten younger MSWs by saying they must get a portion of the money received from their regular client otherwise. Many South African sex workers would also blame foreigners for the fact that clients are giving them less for their services. This is seen in Bob’s narrative:

Bob: Because you see, no offense or whatever. The foreign guys here, they make the clients cheap

Simone: Okay

Bob: Which I don’t like you understand. Me if I do a job I need to get paid for it but now they tell you last night I paid that other guy so much and so that has nothing to do with me. That guy and me we not the same, he is a foreigner and I am a South African, you understand

Many times if new MSWs came, the clients would go to the new ones often causing conflict between the old and new MSWs. Reece says that talking did not always help, which led them to use violence to protect their space or to leave that space. Many of the narratives pointed to the fact that clients liked going to new MSWs and also cheap MSWs. South Africans like Bob believed that foreigners cheapen their prices, which often resulted in foreigners being harmed. In Bob’s narrative he emphasises that foreigners and himself are not the same. This statement again shows why doing an intersectional analysis is important because MSWs are not all the same and therefore experience the industry differently.

Moreover, being a sex worker led to many receiving judgement from various stakeholders. Judgement came from family, friends, and health care workers. Often judgement was passed because they were men who are doing sex work thus being seen as deviating from the norm, but also from religion, which has cast sex work as a sin. Participant's positionalities might differ but they all experienced some form judgement. Judgement came from families and friends as seen in narrative by Timothy:

Timothy: Ja, and some of my friends know and they call me in road saying you fucking gays and such things

Simone: And then how does that make you feel?

Timothy: In front of the people. I just walk, I feel very upset but that time and he's with other friends of him and they like hey moffie. Sometimes they just say that and people are laughing and looking but I don't still look at them. And I feel very upset [Afrikaans]

Judgement also came from communities as seen in Peter's narrative:

Peter: ...They say oh shit that disease and people they get pissed off if they know that you a disease carrier. They call you a disease carrier and shout there goes one of those fucken carriers, close the fucken doors and the, you know. And eh ja. Nah but I am cool, the only problem is that I want my mother to accept me.

The healthcare sector and providers, once they knew the men were MSWs would often judge them too. This is seen in Dylan's narrative:

Dylan: You get laughed at, stigmatised at the normal clinics, they know we are saying this one is a sex worker then you then hear the nurses starting to gossip about you and so on, making jokes and things like that.

Similar results were found by other research done with MSWs. MSWs spoke of being verbally harassed and abused by healthcare staff and often avoided clinics because of it (Boyce et al., 2011; Scorgie et al., 2001). Interestingly, most MSWs would say that they were not bothered by the comments and did not care about being judged. However, this could have been a method of doing masculinity by acting to not care or engage in one's emotions. After much probing, I later found that the stigma and rejection from family and friends often caused the men lots of hurt and pain. They wanted to be accepted by their family but knew that being a sex worker would not get them that acceptance, and thus they would pretend to not care. Moreover, Samudzi (2014) found that communities also stigmatised sex workers and once families found out that they were sex workers they often disowned them. Family and friends often stigmatise their family members who are sex workers as a way to protect themselves from stigma by association (Bos et al., 2013). Society has created an image of what job a 'real' man should be doing and by these sex workers challenging

those norms, they are being judged and rejected for their choices. Gay sex workers often received a double stigma for being both gay and a sex worker. Judgement came upon them often because they were men and were breaking constructions of what men are and do (Samudzi, 2014). This narrative was brought up by most men but examples are given by Simeon:

Simeon: But people's attitudes don't change, we still have that prejudice ja, whereas I think before it was just whenever you spoke about sex workers you think of a female being a sex worker so they having males and straight males are having sex for money and then they like ag we can expect that from gays let's move on. People probably say it's for the women and then the gays but not like straight men, it's the same like if a man got raped, and he were to go to the police and say he was raped or a woman raped him, they would be laughing at him because it's like I heard of this but it's unmanly. And so I think there's a lot of stigma that male sex workers face.

In the narrative above, the participant found that his gender made his experience of selling sex more difficult. Men are expected to be doing certain types of work but society does not see sex work as a job for men. This has resulted in MSWs receiving more stigma than FSWs. The participants all noted that FSWs had it easier than MSWs as it was "allowed" for them to be sex workers. Moreover, FSWs could report violence against them such as rape but men could not out of fear of being judged harshly because men don't get raped or abused. This narrative was also found in the broader society where men who are victimised often suffer in silence out of fear. Many MSWs were called "moffies", a term to stigmatise gay men and questioned about their decisions that challenged the norms of manhood. The men assumed that FSWs had it "easier" because sex work is assumed to be "women's work", however research found that FSWs like MSWs also had a hard time in the industry. They often received more violence at the hands of their clients, they were also made vulnerable when clients refused to have sex with condoms on or be paid less, women also worked late at night and in dangerous spaces making them more vulnerable to rape and abuse, by both clients and police (Farley, 2004, 2005; Pauw & Brener; Varga, 2001; Wojcicki & Malala, 2001). Both MSWs and FSWs had similar experiences because they had the same job, which put them in danger. However, unlike MSWs, FSWs were more vulnerable because of their gender, which MSWs never acknowledged (Farley, 2004,2005; Pauw & Brener; Varga, 2001; Wojcicki & Malala, 2001). FSWs were often written about a lot and much research was done on them, which could be why the men rendered FSWs struggles invisible in their narratives. Hereby ensuring that their struggles are seen as priority in my research.

Religion often plays a big role when it comes to what society deems right or wrong. All religions saw sex work as a sin as one was having sex before marriage and with multiple people. All of my participants had religious family members either of Christian or Muslim faith and many grew up in

religious home. Participants shared their narratives on how religion saw sex work as wrong. We see this Bob's narrative as a Muslim:

Simone: Even though, would you ever tell them?

Bob: No I don't think so because it's against my religion you know

Simone: What religion are you

Bob: I'm Muslim and if I'm gonna tell them then I am almost like gonna be a disgrace to my family, you understand only to the family in the Muslim community

Simone: But you still a Muslim and it's against your religion so does it make you feel

Bob: Dirty

Simone: Does it make you feel dirty?

Bob: Real dirty, yes

Christianity also deemed sex work as sinful as seen in Dylan's narrative:

Dylan: (...) uhm I would say like how now, it makes me feel ashamed cause I was brought up in a good family you know like where we would go to church always on a Sunday and so on and my grandmother was still alive and that was to the age of 17 and I was still involved with the church and so on. Ja like how can I say, I know it's wrong that I am sleeping with guys and things like that but I don't know. You know the thing that gives me comfort is that God will forgive me for all my sins one day no matter what I have done, he will forgive me.

In the narratives above MSWs acknowledge the fact that their religions, being Christian and Muslim, saw sex work as "wrong". Participants belonging to religious groups have internalised the message portrayed by their religions to such an extent of feeling ashamed when you do what is deemed "wrong" by that religion. Bob states that sex work is a disgrace to his Muslim community, hence why he has not told them about it. In debates on legalizing and decriminalising sex work, religion is always used as a form to justify that it is immoral and thus should not be legal as it will break the moral fabric of our society (Bird & Donaldson, 2009; Gardner, 2009). However, the judgement by others could have serious consequences for MSWs such as death, as shown in Sidney's narrative:

Sidney: ...I don't want to know what will happen if they find out I'm selling sex and I don't care. I got to have that I don't care; I need nothing from them but family is family you know so if anything happens to me it's family that's gonna come first so I don't know what will happen it will be worse maybe I might even commit suicide because I tried to commit already

Simone: If they find out now

Sidney: Definitely that would be worse

Many participants were left hurt once their families and friends knew they were selling sex, which often led to them being disowned, mocked or trying to take their . When given the opportunity to tell

their stories, sex workers also resisted and challenged common narratives told about them. They used the research context to rewrite perceptions about them and recreate their identities.

Narratives of Resistance

MSWs took the opportunity in the interviews to tell stories of resistance, where they actively resisted narratives that were being spoken about them. Much research has painted sex workers as “vectors of disease” (Morse et al., 1991), “a core reservoir of STD’s and HIV” (Pettifor et al., 2000, p.36) and “a potential hazard to society” (Wolffers and van Beelen, 2003, p.1981). However, much research has tried to challenge this research, finding that sex workers took responsibility to be safe often educating their clients on safe sex practices and refusing unsafe sex (Parsons et al, 2004; Samudzi, 2014). Again it is important to note that not all sex workers have the opportunity to say no to unsafe sex as was shown earlier in this chapter. Participants in this research often mentioned that safe sex was their largest priority:

Simone: But I know some clients don’t like it with a condom that’s why I ask, do you take clients like that

Mark: No, definitely not. Why would I do that? It will give me some harm to my body; it will make me not the same person anymore. So I am not gonna do something that I am going to regret afterwards. So ja I would always insist on condoms

Simone: Okay, because you know with some people they need the money so much

Mark: But that is nothing about money, it’s about your life. It’s more about your safety, what type of person you are so if you set that boundary then know to respect it that’s the way I live, that’s the way I like it. If you don’t like it then go somewhere else

The narratives which have been shared above all challenge research that argues sex workers are disease carriers. It also challenges research done by Richter and colleagues (2013) who found that MSWs were 2, 9 times more likely than FSWs to engage in unprotected sex. These findings by Richter and colleagues (2013) suggest that MSWs practice unsafe sex more regularly, however they do not tell the narratives of MSWs who always have protected sex. Most of the current participants spoke of being afraid of contracting HIV and AIDS, which ensured that they insisted on condom use. They rejected clients who did not want to use a condom, often saying that their health was more important than the money. Here we see that these MSWs have values and principles that money can’t replace, their health being one of them. Some participants were afforded the right to control the interaction because they had financial stability and education. Many were proud of the fact that they were HIV negative and wanted to keep things that way.

Many feminists and organisations have debated on whether it is sex work or prostitution. Sex work acknowledges the sex worker’s choice in becoming sex workers whereas prostitution views them as being exploited and forced into the industry (Sloan & Wahab, 2000). Participants’ narratives

above said that they chose to be sex workers and saw it as work like other jobs resisting narratives of sex work being prostitution where they have no agency:

Peter: Ja because you a moffie, they the people out there they just say that this is a moffie. And eh he likes to get fucked in his ass. What is a moffie, this is a work that I'm doing, not a drag queen. I'm selling sex, I'm earning a wage because of this profession that I'm in and the service I provide to the community, ja cool

Sex work was seen as work by most participants. Peter says that he is selling sex and earning a wage, sex work is portrayed just like other work where one gets a salary. Participants' wanted people to know that sex work is work, a statement that has been highly debated on. In Peter's narrative, he distances and challenges the label "moffie" stating that he is working and providing a service. In many narratives, these men are reclaiming and recreating themselves as dignified men who are working. However, some participants found it to be unstable and not real work. As illustrated in Dylan and Reece's narratives:

Dylan: Yes, I can, at the moment I can say I'm unemployed cause to the outside world sex work is mos not work. We don't pay UIF, we don't get taxed, nothing you know what I mean. We don't receive a pension or something so I'm unemployed.

Reece: A steady work, everyday work. Sex work is not a steady job, you get a client today, after two days you get another one. Everyday is not the same sometimes you get 100 rand then other time you get 200 or 300 rand. It all depends how the client feels, some of them don't pay you with money but pay you with clothes and food...

Despite sex work being argued to be work by some MSWs, other's acknowledged the discrepancies in that argument. Some argued that unlike other work, sex work is unstable, one's wages is not taxed and you have no pension. These narratives of trying to normalise sex work also reflected in narratives that suggested everyone in a relationship was a sex worker. Participants argued that having sex for money was not a big issue because everyone in a relationship is a sex worker. This is shown in Matthew's narrative:

Matthew: That's exactly, I believe that you know because being a sex worker is having something in return for sex. For example, the husband goes to work there are other chores he does not attend to and the women attends to those chores. There I will say to it that there is sex work there you understand. One or the other should be sex worker, you understand. So other people should say they are sex workers but unknowingly, you see. As long as there is a return after sex expected...

Narratives of everyone being a sex worker came up often. It was argued that everyone who was benefiting from a relationship was a sex worker but just did not know it or did not want to admit to it. They saw marriages as an example of doing sex work, where the wife is a sex worker giving her husband sex in return for a house, car, food or money and the same situation with a boyfriend and girlfriend. In all their narratives they were attempting to normalise sex work and in normalising sex work it makes it okay to be one. None of the research found this narrative in their results, however it is an important narrative to acknowledge. It could be seen as a coping strategy because if everyone is a sex worker than it's okay for them to be one too. However, that is only my theory, there could be various other reasons for why this narrative came up. Campbell and Deacon (2006) found that sex workers would often contest the stigma they received by reclaiming their identities and transforming and this narrative could be one such transformation. Much research on sex work also failed to discuss the complexity of being a sex worker (Boyce et al., 2011). Sex workers told narratives in which they played multiple roles, negotiating power as they shifted through roles:

Matthew: You know where the sex workers go and should I use the word parade and so I just also go there

Simone: Okay leisurely just for fun

Matthew: Ja for fun, yes, for fun but that fun must also have something in return

Simone: Okay so when you going there are you being a client and getting people there

Matthew: I can be a client, I can also be a buyer, it depends on what I see there

Simone: So you go there to find people?

Matthew: I can find, I can also be found

Stephen: Ja I still do it

Simone: Then who do you pimp out? Women or men?

Stephen: I pimp men and women

Simone: Okay, and then you get a cut?

Stephen: You must get a cut

Above Matthew notes, he can go to be a client but also to be found by clients. Here he shows how he can be both but chooses whether to be a client or a sex worker. Some of the participants also spoke about being pimps, which brought in an additional income. Being a client or pimp elevated their power, and these narratives show how men could shift from one role into another. Research and society portrays sex workers as the same and often powerless, however these narrative challenges these assumptions as sex workers show that their lives and experiences are more complex. When asked what they would tell the world if they were given the opportunity many participants said the following:

Timothy: Male sex workers, I want people to take notice that male sex workers exist and that they must also respect us for who we are men. We all human so give us a chance in life, no matter if we are men. We are all God's creation and how can I say uhm, the thing is this I can't help who I am. I made a choice, my choice to sleep with other men. You are still a man even if you sleep with men. It's your decision and people will come from that side to judge you. I would like people to notice male sex workers

Many of the participants wanted sex work to be decriminalised so that they could be afforded better working conditions, pensions and less judgement from society. They pleaded for society to stop judging them and give them an opportunity to tell them that they are doing this to provide for their families. They asked to be respected as men by society. Most of them wanted to change the perception of society as seen in Timothy's narrative. He says that he chose to be a sex worker and would like his choice and himself to be respected. He wanted people to notice MSWs who are often rendered invisible by research and society. These narratives of being respected and noticed could be the men's last tactic at doing masculinity as being respected was a key element in performing masculinity. In the research process, sex workers took the opportunity to tell various narratives, which often reflected how complex their experience of selling sex is.

Participants' narratives of selling sex appeared to be complex. On the one hand sex work provided MSWs with healing and an opportunity to be advisors and therapists. It also provided them with caring, kind and supportive clients. However, on the other hand, clients were also said to be cruel, demanding and harmful. Sex work was also shown to be an unsafe profession with MSWs constantly being harassed by police. These narratives, however, were diverse because the MSWs positionalities were diverse. One's education level, nationality, gender, sexuality and race all resulted in how one was perceived and treated by clients, fellow sex workers, society and the police. Moreover, the media has played an influential role in how black men are viewed in society often judging them harsher.

The research wanted to see what justification stories men told and how their justifications were shaped by their positionalities. It was found that participants had various justifications which were influenced by their positionalities. A need for money was cited as a key justification with many arguing that sex work was a choice they took because it was the better option, provided them with money to either provide for their families or maintain their drug habits. However, one sees that some participants had more options due to their level of education. Participants with prison records, no matric certificate and little or no skills did not have many choices, since they were often denied employment opportunities. Narratives of selling sex were also discussed, which looked at how sex workers talk about selling sex. It showed how complex experiences of selling sex were. On the one

hand it offers an opportunity for sex workers to be healers, to be healed and be exposed to loving clients. Clients, who provided them with advice, support both emotionally and financially. However, one is exposed to abusive clients who do not always pay them adequately, who treat them as less than human and they face a lot of harassment from the police and security guards. Their experiences with clients and the police and security guards were showed to be affected by their gender, sexuality, nationality, class and race, which made the experience often more difficult. Being black and being a man proved to make them easier targets as they were often assumed to be dangerous and in need of being searched. Moreover, sex workers were judged by their family, friends, communities and healthcare workers for being sex workers. The judgement received was often a result of strict pressure put on men to behave in a certain way and when they challenged these strict rules they were met with judgement as sex work is not what men do. Moreover, religion, put extra pressure on sex workers as their work is seen as a sin. This led to many feeling ashamed of being sex workers.

Lastly this chapter looked at stories of resistance where sex workers resisted popular narratives told about them. They argued that they always wore condoms because their health was more important than money. They also said that sex work is work, although often being unstable and not being seen as real work in the “outside world”. Moreover, they constructed sex work as something more common to most relationships and how they played multiple roles. All they wanted was to stop being judged and have sex work decriminalised for a better life for all sex workers. The following chapter will be concluding this thesis by providing a summary of the findings as well as the contributions made by this thesis and suggestions for further research.

Chapter Seven:

Conclusion

This research aimed to explore and critically analyse MSWs talk about selling sex to both male and female clients. It aimed to explore their experiences of being MSWs in Cape Town. The results of this study suggest that the way men spoke about and understood selling sex and the way they experienced selling sex, were all influenced by dominant discourses of gender and sexuality. Moreover, results found that race, class and gender largely shaped the MSWs experiences. Firstly, a summary of the findings will be presented. This will be followed by a discussion of methodological contributions of the study as well as theoretical and social implications of its findings. This chapter ends with suggestions for future research.

Summary of Findings

The findings of the study were discussed within three chapters in the report. In Chapter Four I provided a critical reflexive piece in which I spoke about how my position or perceived position as either an 'insider' or 'outsider' influenced the research process. My dual positionality allowed for certain stories to be told to me while others remained silent. This discussion suggested that the narratives which emerged from this research process should be understood as being the result of a joint construction of meaning, by both the interviewer and participants. When men were given the opportunity to tell their stories, the establishing and maintaining of their masculine identities appeared to be of central importance. It also analysed how particular discourses around what it means to be a man and around successful masculinities, provided men with particular ways of constructing their identities.

MSWs employed various strategies to assert their masculine authority firstly by controlling me, a woman, but also by emphasising how they control other women. Narratives of using violence to get what they wanted occurred in the research process. MSWs drew on heterosexual discourses of power and dominance (Cooper & Foster, 2008; Kimmel, 1993, 1994; Mahalik et al., 2003; Wood & Jewkes, 2001) to justify their use of violence arguing that violence gave them the respect and power they deserved for being men. Many men are tormented for being sex workers because they are seen as 'lesser' men. These men used the research process and their stories to recreate their identities and portray themselves as 'real' men despite being sex workers. They showed that they are 'real' men by properly doing masculinity because; they are straight, enjoy having sex and did not allow themselves to be penetrated, which are important elements of the dominant masculinity.

However, some men challenged heterosexual discourses of having sex with men often resulting in various consequences from being chased away to being hurt or robbed.

Chapter Five discussed narratives of justifications for becoming sex workers and complexities that exist in MSWs talk on selling sex. Money was cited as a key motivation with many arguing that sex work was a choice they took because it was the better option. These discourses allowed men to justify their decision for selling sex, stating that it provided them with an income which helped them to provide for their families. Here they drew on heterosexual discourses of the male provider (Barker & Ricardo, 2005; Campbell, 1992; Niehaus, 2005). However, many spoke of sex work not being their ideal job and that it left them not feeling good about themselves but it was work and put food on the table. While some men said that sex work was their choice, it was found that one's positionality such as your level of education or having a prison record for example made sex work more of one's only option instead of a choice.

Complexities of selling sex were then later looked at in the chapter, which looked at how sex workers talked about selling sex. It showed how complex selling sex was. Sex work offered MSWs an opportunity to be healers, to be healed and be exposed to loving clients. Clients were painted as kind because they provided MSWs with advice and support both emotionally and financially. However, MSWs were also exposed to abusive clients who do not always pay them adequately, who treat them as less than human and abuse them both physically and emotionally. The law protects clients (Huysamen, 2013), while further stigmatizing sex workers, leaving them more vulnerable. They face a lot of harassment from the police and security guards. This thesis found that MSWs experiences with clients, the police and security guards were affected by their gender, class, sexuality, education level and race, which made the experience often more difficult. Being black, being uneducated and being a man proved to make them easier targets as they were often assumed to be dangerous. Moreover, many MSWs experienced judgement, where they were judged by their family, friends, communities and healthcare workers for being sex workers. MSWs, in their opinion received harsher judgement than FSW's because of strict pressure put on men to behave in a certain way. When MSWs challenged these strict rules they were met with judgement as sex work is not what men do. Religion also put extra pressure on sex workers as their work is seen as a sin and morally wrong. This led to many feeling ashamed of being sex workers as they started to internalise the messages projected by religion and society. Lastly this chapter looked at stories of resistance where sex workers challenged popular narratives spoken and written about them. They argued that they always wore condoms because their health was more important than money. Sex work was argued to be work, although often being unstable and not being seen as real work in the "outside world". Moreover, in their talk they constructed everyone as sex workers, which could be a method

to cope by normalizing sex work. MSWs played multiple roles which suggested that their lives were more complex. They moved in between different power roles from sex workers to clients and pimps indicating the complexity of power. Their narratives suggested that decriminalisation and legalization of sex work was a concern for them.

Contributions of the Study

The next section will discuss methodological contributions of the study as well as the theoretical and social implications of the research findings.

Methodological contributions

First and foremost, this research contributed to methodology by emphasising the importance of using an intersectional analysis, especially when researching sex workers. An intersectional analysis was used throughout this research in order to emphasize the uniqueness of each participant but also show how they were similar (Collins, 2000). Collins (2000, 2007) and Crenshaw (1989) all argued that no homogeneous group exists but instead that we are unique because our experiences are shaped by the interaction of our race, class, gender and such. An intersectional approach is argued to be the most effective tool to use when unpacking experiences, as it provides one with a clearer picture (Crenshaw, 1989; Wojciki & Malala, 2001). My participants were all black MSWs working within Cape Town. This resulted in them all experiencing racism and being stereotyped as dangerous or a criminal because of their race and gender. Throughout this research one can see that being black and a man created certain advantages but also disadvantages for these MSWs. However, their class, sexual orientation, religion, nationality, education level and age would result in them either being treated better or worse. For example, this research showed how foreign MSWs were taken advantage of by clients, harassed by police officers who constantly searched for their papers and constantly struggled with Home Affairs for work permits, which South African MSWs did not experience. This analysis helps one to effectively create policies and intervention programs that will not generalize all MSWs but meet them at their needs. Much research especially with MSWs have treated them as a homogeneous group, which this research showed was ineffective since their experiences are somewhat different. An intersectional analysis should be a tool used by all researchers who are working with people.

Secondly this research has shown the significance of analyzing and fully incorporating reflexivity into one's main analysis. Feminist and qualitative researchers have argued that no research is neutral. As feminist researchers, we must minimise the power dynamics between the researched and researcher. (Boonzaier & Shefer, 2006). We are encouraged to be self-reflexive and acknowledge

our role in shaping the data produced. Much qualitative and feminist research has a reflexive section, however majority of the time it consists of a small section in the written up work. Many research techniques do not call for an in depth acknowledgement of the interview process and how it shapes results, however I believe it is something researchers should strive towards. This is because our results are shaped within that particular context and relationship and it's important to critically discuss it. This research has contributed to methodology by emphasising the relevance of being self-reflexive and expanding a reflexive piece beyond a small section.

Much research does not critically analyse the researched-researcher relationship, which is always relevant. It becomes even more relevant when there is cross gender and cross race research being done for example women researching men or a white person researching a black person especially regarding sensitive topics such as sexuality or racism. These relationships often reveal complex processes at work within the broader society, which replicate themselves in the interview context. Moreover, work by female researchers interviewing men is scarce, and I believe that interviewing across gender, race and class lines are important. It also reveals to us the complexity that is the masculine identity and how it is created, recreated and managed when men feel that their identity is being challenged or being scrutinized especially by a woman. That valuable data is mostly revealed in cross –gender research, as men behave differently with other males as oppose to females. Considering the gap in feminist research on MSWs, this might be an important area to focus on in future research.

Reflexivity is not a new methodological concept and its importance has been widely written about (Collins, 2000, 2007; Crenshaw 1989). This research has contributed to the field by showing how important the interview process is in co-creating the narratives told. It is more than just including a small paragraph on these dynamics and how it may have contributed to the data found. My work has shown that as researchers we need to take it a step further and critically discuss these dynamics in the interviewer – participant relationship. This research has shown examples of how the interview context not only provides the researcher with rich data but it also provides a context where both the researched and researcher manage, create and recreate their identities.

A reflexive piece is provided in Chapter Four, where it shows how my positionality influences the kinds of narratives told to me in the interview context. Moreover, I provide more self-reflexivity throughout the other two chapters as my race, class, gender, sexual orientation and education all impacted on what questions I asked, how they got answered and why they were answered in that manner. Being self-reflexive should be the goal and aim of every researcher who works with people because no research is neutral. As researchers we need go beyond just the narratives told to us but investigate the purpose behind why they told to us.

Theoretical and social implications of the research

This research project has attempted to contribute to the academic knowledge of MSWs. This research has helped to answer the question of what MSWs in Cape Town experience and how those experiences are shaped by their race, class and gender. This research tried to look at the experiences of MSWs, under the impression that it would be vastly different from FSWs' experiences of sex work. However, this research revealed just how similar their experiences and justifications for entering were. Instead of trying to find the differences between these two genders, we need to realise how similarly they are treated in the industry. MSWs like FSWs both entered the industry out of a need for money being stated as the main reason. The women like the men also could not find any suitable work because they did not have the relevant skills or qualifications. Moreover, FSWs also had families to provide for, often because they were single mothers (De Graaf et al, 1995; Pauw & Brener, 2003). Some FSWs like the MSWs entered the industry to sustain their drug habit too, so one can see that their justifications into entering are very similar. Additionally, they experience stigma and discrimination from the healthcare sector, families and communities. Police brutalise both genders and physically and sexually assault them both. This is also seen with clients, both FSWs and MSWs suffer pain and humiliation at the hands of their clients who pay them less, refuse to use condoms and at times physically and sexually abuse them. Thus this leads one to ask if we as researchers should be looking at their experiences individually for example experiences of FSWs or whether we should research them collectively since their experiences are very similar. Moreover, we need to ask ourselves what does it mean to do sex work? Who are sex workers? Just the ones who call themselves sex workers? What about people in marriages who give sexual services in return for a house, car or money like participants mentioned? Or about women or men who have sex with older people for services like the 'sugar baby' 'sugar daddy/mommy' phenomenon for financial gain? Sex work could be more complex than what is currently written about it.

In the light of these findings, I believe that there is a need for sex work to be decriminalised and legalized in South Africa. Sex workers under the current law are left too exposed and vulnerable to exploitation by the police and clients. Moreover, their lives are at risk daily and the very police who are supposed to be protecting them are abusing them. Sex workers are all human beings and therefore deserve to be treated with dignity and respect. Changing the laws is hoped to better the working conditions for all sex workers as well as eliminate harsh societal judgement. Attitudes from society will not change overnight; however, changing the laws is a step in the right direction. Sex work allows another avenue of job opportunities for people, and as long as there is a market it will keep continuing. Instead of fighting it with laws, government should decriminalise

and legalize the sex work trade, and make this job opportunity the safest it can be. However, I also acknowledge the fact that many of my participants would prefer to do other work. Hence I propose that government and NGO'S create more skills facilities, where MSWs can learn valuable skills which will makes them employable in other sectors.

Furthermore, as much as they are similar, an intersectional analysis revealed some differences which were not found with the FSW's. MSWs argued that they faced more judgement and stigma when compared to FSW's in that sex work was assumed to be "women's work", so by entering this profession they challenging societal norms around successful forms of masculine work. MSWs also stated that they had more control over clients, which was not found with FSW's. Moreover, much feminist research on sex work has failed to analyse MSWs, whereas lots of research has been done on FSW's. Radical feminists argue that sex work is exploitative in that the woman's body is objectified for the pleasure of men. However, MSWs challenge these arguments, because they are also being exploited by clients who are both women and men. Moreover, with the sex work industry itself, MSWs are able to negotiate power by stepping into various roles be it a sex worker, a client or a pimp. It is this very complexity of being a MSW, which needs more research and needs to be conceptualized into feminist research on sex work.

In comparison to research done with FSW's, my research also found that when researching MSWs, maintaining their masculinity became pivotal. They maintained their masculinity by using resources and narratives available to them within the broader society .Men have internalised these expectations, meanings and ascribed roles and in turn reproduce them on a daily basis. Masculinity is thus constantly constructed and lived out (Moore, 1994). Moreover, masculinity is argued to be culturally relative, thus meaning ascribed to men from one culture or race may differ from the meaning ascribed to another man from a different culture and race (Gutman, 1997). In this research it was found that majority of my participants, all black men, lived in daily trauma. Majority lived on the Cape flats where gang violence and violent crimes are a daily occurrence. In order to survive and adapt, most black men in these areas learn very quickly to either enter a gang for protection or use violence to protect themselves and their family from becoming targets. This has big social implications since crime is a major problem in South Africa, especially gang related crime. These findings suggest that in order to curb violent behaviours in men, we need to investigate the environments they live in, which could be creating violent masculinities.

Moreover, the participants also maintained their masculine identity by telling narratives on 'real' men being the provider (Barker & Ricardo, 2005; Campbell, 1992; Niehaus, 2005). Many of the men stated that they needed to put food on the table and provide for their families, which fits into the broader narrative of hegemonic masculinity (Hollway, 2001). Moreover, in this same

narrative they asserted their superiority and authority by portraying themselves as hero's helping out 'damsels in distress'. Society, through the media, family members, religion and so forth tell men that it is their duty to provide for their families financially and be the head of the household. Men have internalized these messages and reproduce them. If one cannot provide for their family, they are deemed as an unfit man. Most men in my research could not find suitable jobs and so go into sex work to earn money to provide for their families. Many men in a context such as South Africa, where unemployment is high and jobs are scarce, are unable to live up to idealised versions of masculinity. MSWs are using sex work to reclaim their masculinity by earning money and providing for their families. Sex work thus presents itself as contradictory; on the one hand it provides men with a platform to reclaim their masculinity while on the other hand also emasculating them because it's seen as "women's work".

Emphasising their control over women and clients also became prevalent in their narratives. Control allowed them the opportunity to do masculinity properly by asserting their dominance. They would torment me for challenging their masculinity and sexually objectify me and other women, which Dworkins (2006) argues is a way of exerting dominance over women. Moreover, Pascoe (2007) found sexual objectification to be a tool of establishing one's heterosexual identity. Participants also established their heterosexual identity by emphasising their love of sex, distancing themselves from homosexual activities and stating that they only had female clients which in the light of the findings seemed less likely as men were predominantly clients. When they had male clients, they would take on the dominant role in the sexual encounters and would not get penetrated but instead penetrate other men. This was a method used to establish their dominance and maintain their heterosexuality. From this research, one could see how the broader narratives in society were being replicated in the interview context. The interview context revealed just how entrenched narratives became in participants. These narratives feed into the way men understand and talk about selling sex to be justifiable. It also revealed the language used by society to describe and define successful and unsuccessful masculinity.

Moreover, the findings revealed that after twenty years of democracy, racism in the country is still apparent and visible. The participants' race has largely influenced the ways in which they are perceived and treated in Cape Town. One does not have to wonder why black men are often perceived as dangerous. Judging from the media which included newspapers, movies and music videos where black men are often portrayed as criminals, thugs, rapists, failures and as being stupid. This has fed into the ways they are treated within society, as the media powerfully shapes people's identities in the ways they portray them. These black men were often searched by the police or arrested because of their race as they were assumed to be thief's or gangsters. Moreover,

when a black man was found in a predominantly white area, he was immediately found to be suspicious and dangerous by residents, which one would have expected would have transformed after twenty years. Moreover, it was also found that payment of sex workers was racialized, in that white sex workers could ask for money in comparison to black sex workers. This reflects how unequal even sex work is and reinforces racist ideologies. We as society need to challenge ideas that are being portrayed about black men. Much of the media is trying to reverse the damage done, by casting black men as lawyers, mayors, men of integrity and dignity. Black public figures such as Obama, Morgan Freeman, Nelson Mandela and so forth, strong black role models are helping to destroy stereotypes held about black men. Social media platforms are also becoming a powerful tool for people to challenge deeply entrenched narratives which bring harm to others. An example was seen with the ongoing Twitter trends, Facebook posts and Instagram posts by both celebrities and citizens speaking out against racism in South Africa and America as well as the shooting of innocent black men by white police officers in America.

Changing the attitude and beliefs of people take some time but it is possible. The way sex workers are viewed by both researchers and society needs to be challenged. They are too often portrayed as victims and disease carriers, a narrative that needs to be rewritten. Thus I call for all research with black men or women and sex workers to be critical and not stigmatise them further. I also propose that we start at the bottom, with children and adolescents, and start to break stereotypes here already. It starts with teachers and parents, teaching boys and girls the fundamentals of respecting each other and people of all walks of life, all occupations including sex work, race, class, gender and sexual orientation. However, I acknowledge that teaching children about sex work in schools comes with its challenges since sex work is still illegal. Hence why laws need to be changed. People are not born to be racist, sexist or discriminating but instead learn these behaviours. That's why it's up to everyone to curb jokes told which promote rape or violence and we need to challenge and speak up against racist and sexist thoughts.

Suggestions for Future Research

The review of literature on sex work has highlighted the poor representation or lack of MSWs in South African and international research on sex work. Thus it is necessary to conduct further qualitative research into the meaning men make of selling sex. I believe quantitative research on the MSW population also needs to be done, so that we can get an accurate statistic on how many MSWs are operating in South Africa and in each province. Having the correct statistics will help to make MSWs visible and their needs visible too. The limitations of this research project may inform suggestions for future research on the topic. The data for this study was collected over

single 25 min to hour-long interviews with participants. Some participants decided to have a second interview, however many refused and stated that I was still a stranger to them and they would prefer to write their story. Many, however, when given the opportunity, chose not to write because of time commitments but recommended it for future research. A future research project, whereby each participant is given the opportunity to keep a journal of their experiences or to write their story, may allow for the collection of richer data and more intimate data.

Moreover, the sampling strategy employed in this project excluded a specific group of men in South Africa, namely those who were not part of SWEAT and men who classified themselves as white. Thus future projects that endeavour to collect the narratives of men who sell sex in different contexts in South Africa, for example white men who sell sex or experiences of men selling sex in Gauteng, would be invaluable in furthering the academic knowledge base on MSWs.

Although brief mention was made, this thesis did not explicitly explore the narratives of the prison experience and how that fed into the experience of selling sex. Men did mention that having a prison record made it near impossible to find a job, however they did not go into depth on their experiences inside the prison. However, some participants mentioned the need to overemphasize one's masculinity to not become some inmate's "bitch". Some research has found the prison system to be a conducive context where sex work happens frequently. Men either engage in sex work to survive, be protected and to get resources. Research into sex work within prisons, will help us to better understand men who sell sex but also how masculinity reproduces itself and sustains itself in prisons.

Moreover, this research only gives one side of the story, to better understand the client –sex worker relationship; we need to do research on clients of MSWs. Research on how clients perceive the relationship and how they negotiate power and do masculinity needs to be done to get a clearer image of the dynamics that are taking place.

References

- Adhikari, M. (2006). Hope, Fear, Shame, Frustration: Continuity and Change in the Expression of Coloured Identity in White Supremacist South Africa, 1910–1994. *Journal of Southern Africa Studies*, 32, 467-487. doi:10.1080/03057070600829542
- Aggleton, P. (1999). *Men who sell sex*. London: UCL Press.
- Alcano, M. C. (2011). “Slaves of our own making.” *Indonesia and the Malay World*, 39, 373–389. doi: 10.1080/13639811.2011.614087
- Allen, D. (1980). Young male prostitutes: A psychosocial study. *Archives of Sexual Behaviour*, 9, 399-426. doi: 10.1007/BF02115941
- Altman, D. (1999). Foreword. In P. Aggleton (Ed.), *Men who sell sex: International perspectives on male prostitution and HIV/AIDS* (pp. xiii–xix). London: UCL Press.
- Anderson, K., & Umberson, D. (2001). Gendering violence: Masculinity and power in men's accounts of domestic violence. *Gender & society*, 15(3), 358-380. doi: 10.1177/089124301015003003
- Andrews P. (1998-1999). Violence against women in South Africa: The role of culture and the limitations of the Law. *Temp. Pol. & Civ. Rts. L. Rev*, 8, 425.
- Archer, L. (2001). 'Muslim brothers, black lads, traditional asians': British Muslim young men's constructions of race, religion and masculinity. *Feminism & Psychology*, 11(1), 79-105. doi: 10.1177/0959353501011001005
- Arendell, T. (1997). Reflections on the researcher-researched relationship: A women interviewing men. *Qualitative Sociology*, 20(3), 341-367.
- Aronson, G. (2006). Seeking a consolidated feminist voice for prostitution in the US. *Rutgers Journal of Law & Urban Policy*, 3(3), 357-388.
- Asselin, M. E. (2003). Insider research: Issues to consider when doing qualitative research in your own setting. *Journal for Nurses in Professional Development*, 19(2), 99-103.
- Baaz, M., & Stern, M. (2009). Why do Soldiers rape? Masculinity, violence, and sexuality in the armed forces in the Congo (DRC). *International Studies Quarterly*, 53(2), 495-518. doi: 10.1111/j.1468-2478.2009.00543.x
- Babbie, E. (2008). *The Basics of Social Research*. Belmont: Thomson Wadsworth.
- Babbie, E., & Mouton, J. (2007). *The Practice of Social Science Research*. Cape Town, South Africa
- Barker, G., & Ricardo, C. (2005). *Young men and the construction of masculinity in Sub-Saharan Africa: Implications for HIV/AIDS, conflict, and violence*. Washington DC: World Bank.

- Belza, M. J., Llacer, A., Mora, R., Morales, M., Castilla, J., & Fuente, L. D. L. (2001). Sociodemographic characteristics and HIV risk behaviour patterns of male sex workers in Madrid, Spain. *AIDS care*, *13*(5), 677-682. doi: 10.1080/09540120120063296
- Berger, G. (2002). Seeing past race-The politics of the HRC's inquiry into racial representation. *Ecquid Novi*, *23*(2), 254-277. doi: 10.1080/02560054.2002.9653250
- Bernstein, E. (1999). What's wrong with prostitution? What's right with sex work? Comparing markets in female sexual labor. *Hastings Women LJ*, *10*, 91.
- Bernstein, E. (2005). Desire, demand, and the commerce of sex. In E. Bernstein & L. Schaffner (Eds.), *Regulating sex: The politics of intimacy and identity* (pp. 101-128). New York: Routledge.
- Bhavnani, K. (1994). "Tracing the Contours: Feminist Research and Feminist Objectivity," in H. Afshar, M.T. Maynard & Francis (Eds.), *The Dynamics of 'Race' and Gender: Some Feminist Interventions*, London.
- Biko, S. (1978). Black consciousness and the quest for a true humanity. *Ufahamu: A Journal of African Studies*, *8*(3), 10-23.
- Biko, S. (1977). Steve Biko 1946-1977. I write what I like. A Selection of his Writings. *Ufahamu: A Journal of African Studies*, *8*(3), 62-67.
- Bimbi, D. S. (2007). Male prostitution: Pathology, paradigms and progress in research. *Journal of Homosexuality*, *53*, 7-35. doi: 10.1300/J082v53n01_02
- Bimbi, D. S., & Parsons, J. T. (2005). Barebacking among Internet-based male sex workers. *Journal of Gay and Lesbian Psychotherapy*, *9*, 89-110. doi: 10.1300/J236v09n03_06
- Bird, R., & Donaldson, R. (2009). "Sex, sun, soccer": Stakeholder-opinions on the sex industry in Cape Town in anticipation of the 2010 FIFA Soccer World Cup. *Urban Forum*, *20*, 33-46.
- Bohan, J. S. (1993). Essentialism, constructionism, and feminist psychology. *Psychology of women quarterly*, *17*(1), 5-21. doi: 10.1111/j.1471-6402.1993.tb00673.x
- Boonzaier, F. (2014). Methodological disruptions: interviewing domestically violent men across a 'gender divide'. *NORMA: International Journal for Masculinity Studies*, *9*(4), 232-248. doi: 10.1080/18902138.2014.974868
- Boonzaier, F. (2005). Woman abuse in South Africa: A brief contextual analysis. *Feminism & Psychology*, *15*(1), 99-103. doi: 10.1177/0959353505049711
- Boonzaier, F., & De La Rey, C. (2004). Woman abuse: The construction of gender in women and men's narratives of violence. *South African Journal of Psychology*, *34*, 443-463. doi: 10.1177/008124630403400307

- Boonzaier, F., & Shefer, T. (2006). Gendered research. In T. Shefer, F. Boonzaier & P. Kiguwa (Eds.), *The gender of psychology* (pp. 3-11). Cape Town, South Africa: UCT Press.
- Bos, A.E.R., Pryor, J.B., Reeder, G.D., and Stutterheim, S.E. (2013) 'Stigma: advances in theory and research.' *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, 35, 1-9. doi: 10.1177/008124630403400307
- Bowen, N.H., Bahrack, A.S., & Enns, C.Z. (1991). A feminist response to empowerment. *Journal of Counselling and Development*, 69, 228. doi: 10.1002/j.1556- 6676. 1991.tb01492
- Boyce, P., Isaacs, G., Duncan, C., Goagoseb, N., Harper, E., Kanengoni, A., ... & Ndlovu, M. (2011). *An exploratory study of the social contexts, practices and risks of men who sell sex in Southern and Eastern Africa*. Publisher not identified
- Brannon, R. (1976). The male sex role: Our culture's blueprint of manhood. D.S David and R. Brannon. *The Fourty– Nine Percent Majority: The Male Sex Role*. Reading, MA: Addison Wesley.
- Browne, J., & Minichiello, V. (1996). The social and work context of commercial sex between men: A research note. *Journal of Sociology*, 32(1), 86-92. doi: 10.1300/J082v31n04_02
- Bruce, D. (2007). To be someone: Status insecurity and violence in South Africa. In P. Burton (Ed), *Someone stole my smile: An exploration into the causes of youth violence in* (pp.57-68). Centre for Justice and Crime Prevention, Cape Town
- Campbell, C. (1992). Learning to kill? Masculinity, the family and violence in Natal. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 18,614–628. doi: 10.1002/casp.901
- Campbell, C and Deacon, H. (2006) 'Unravelling the contexts of stigma: from internalisation to resistance to change.' *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology*, 16(6), pp. 411-417.
- Canadian Alliance for Sex Worker Law Reform. (2014). *10 Ways to explain prostitution law reform to your constituents*. Retrieved from [www. sexworklawreform.com](http://www.sexworklawreform.com)
- Chipamaunga, S., Muula, A. S. & Mataya, R. (2010). An assessment of sex work in Swaziland: barriers to and opportunities for HIV prevention among sex workers. *SAHARA J*, 7, 44-50. doi: org/10.1080/17290376.2010.9724968
- Coleman, E. (1989). The development of male prostitution activity among gay and bisexual adolescents. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 17(1-2), 131-150. doi: 10.1300/J082v17n01_06
- Collins, P. H. (1990). *Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment*. Boston: Unwin Hyman.
- Collins, P. H. (2000). *Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment* (2nd ed.). NY: Routledge.

- Collins, P. H., (2007). Pushing the Boundaries or Business As Usual? Race, Class, and Gender Studies and Sociological Inquiry. In C. Calhoun. (Ed.), *Sociology in America: A History* (pp. 572-604). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Commission for Gender Equality. (2013). *Decriminalising sex work in South Africa: Official position of the Commission for Gender Equality 2013*. Retrieved from <http://www.cge.org.za/>
- Connell, J., & Hart, G. (2003). *An overview of male sex work in Edinburgh and Glasgow The male sex worker perspective*. Glasgow, UK: Medical Research Council Social and Public Health Sciences Unit.
- Connell, R. W. (1987). *Gender and power: Society, the person and sexual politics*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Connell, R. W. (1995). *Masculinities*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Cooper, A., & Foster, D. (2008). Democracy's children? Masculinities of Coloured adolescents awaiting trial in post-apartheid Cape Town, South Africa. *Thymos*, 2, 3.
- Cornwell, G. (1996). George Webb Hardy's the Black Peril and the Social Meaning of 'Black Peril' in Early Twentieth-Century South Africa. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 22(3), 441–453. doi: 10.1080/03057079608708504
- Cosgrove, L. (2003). Feminism, postmodernism, and psychological research. *Hypatia*, 18(3), 85-112. doi: 10.1111/j.1527-2001.2003.tb00823.x
- Courtney, W.H. (2000). Constructions of masculinity and their influence on men's well-being: a theory of gender and health. *Social Science and Medicine*, 50, 1385-140. doi: 10.1016/S0277-9536(99)00390-1
- Crenshaw, K. (1989). Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex: A black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine, feminist theory and anti-racist politics. *University of Chicago Legal Forum*, 139, 139-167.
- Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of colour. *Stanford Law Review*, 43, 1241-1299. doi: 10.2307/1229039
- Crossley, M. L. (2000). *Introducing narrative psychology: Self, trauma and the construction of meaning*. Buckingham, England: Open University Press.
- Crossley, M.L. (2003). Formulating narrative psychology: The limitations of contemporary social constructionism. *Narrative Inquiry*, 13(2), 287-300.
- De Graaf, R., van Wesenbeeck, I., van Zessen, G., Straver, C. J., & Visser, J. H. (1995). Alcohol and drug use in heterosexual and homosexual prostitution, and its relation to protection behaviour. *AIDS Care*, 7, 35–47.
- Demetriou, D. (2001). Connell's concept of hegemonic masculinity: A critique. *Theory and society*, 30(3), 337-361.

- Dennis, J. P. (2008). Women are victims, men make choices: The invisibility of men and boys in the global sex trade. *Gender Issues*, 25, 11–25.
- Dworkin, A. (2006). Virginité. In A Dworkin (Ed), *Intercourse* (pp.103-153). America, New York: Basic Books.
- Dwyer, S. C., & Buckle, J. L. (2009). The space between: On being an insider-outsider in qualitative research. *International journal of qualitative methods*, 8(1), 54-63.doi: 10.1177/160940690900800105
- Eagle, G., Hayes, G., & Sibanda, T. (2006). Standpoint methodologies: Marxist, feminist, and black scholarship perspectives. In J. Terre Blanche, K. Durrheim & D. Painter (Eds.), *Research in practice: Applied methods for the social sciences* (pp. 499-522). Cape Town, South Africa: University of Cape Town Press.
- Edlund, L., & Korn, E. (2002). A theory of prostitution. *Journal of political Economy*, 110(1), 181-214. doi: 10.1086/324390
- Elliot, W. (2003). *Masculinity: Key South African issues and debates. A Soul City Review*. Retrieved from <http://www.soulcity.org.za/projects/soul-city-series/previous-series/soul-city-series-7/literature-review/masculinity-in-south-africa>
- Embrace Dignity. (2014). *Who is Embrace Dignity?* Retrieved from <http://embracedignity.org.za/site/about-us/>
- Epstein, D. (1998). Marked men: Whiteness and masculinity. *Agenda*, 14(37), 49-59.doi: 10.1080/10130950.1998.9675691
- Farley, M. (2004). “Bad for the body, bad for the heart”: Prostitution harms women even if legalized or decriminalised. *Violence Against Women*, 10, 1087–1125.doi: 10.1177/1077801204268607
- Farley, M. (2005). Prostitution harms women even if indoors. *Violence Against Women*, 11, 950–964.
- Fanow, M. M., & Cook, J. A. (Eds.). (1991). *Beyond methodology: Feminist scholarship as lived research*. Indiana University Press.
- Foreman, M. (Ed.). (1999). *Aids and Men Taking Risks or Taking Responsibility?* London, England: Panos/, ZED Books.
- Fox, R.L. (1997). *Gender Dynamics in Congressional Elections*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage
- Freyhan, F. A. (1947). Homosexual prostitution: A case report. *The Delaware State Medical Journal*, 19(5), 92-94.
- Gaffney, J., & Beverley, K. (2001). Contextualizing the construction and social organization of the commercial male sex industry in London at the beginning of the twenty-first century. *Feminist Review*, 67, 133–141.doi: 10.1080/01417780150514556

- Gardner, J. (2009). Criminalising the act of sex: Attitudes to adult commercial sex work in South Africa. In M. Steyn & M. Van Zyl (Eds.), *The price and the prize* (pp. 329–340). Cape Town, South Africa: HSRC Press.
- Gevisser, M. (2007). *Thabo Mbeki: the dream deferred*. Jonathan Ball Publishers.
- Ginsburg, K. N. (1967). The meat-rack: A study of the male homosexual prostitute. *American of Psychotherapy*, 21, 170-185.
- Glaser, C. (1992). The mark of zorro: sexuality and gender relations in the tsotsi subculture on the Witwatersrand. *African Studies*, 51(1), 47-68. doi: 10.1080/00020189208707749
- Glaser, C. 2000. *Bo-Tsotsi: The youth gangs of Soweto 1935-1976*. Portsmouth: Heineman
- Gould, C., & Fick, N. (2008). *Selling Sex in Cape Town: Sex work and human trafficking in a South African city*. Cape Town, South Africa: Institute for Security Studies.
- Gould, C. (2008). *Selling Sex in Cape Town Sex, Work & Human Trafficking in South African City*. Pretoria/Tshwane: Institute for Security Studies.
- Gqola, P.D. (2007). The ‘cult of femininity’ and violent masculinities support endemic gender based violence in contemporary South Africa. *African Identities*, 5, 111-124. doi 10.1080/14725840701253894
- Greenhalgh, T. (2006). *What seems to be the trouble? Stories in illness and healthcare*. Radcliffe Publishing.
- Grenz, S. (2005). Intersections of sex and power in research on prostitution: A female researcher interviewing male heterosexual clients. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture & Society*, 30, 2091–2113. doi: 10.1086/428418
- Grundy-Bowers, M., Hardy, S., & McKeown, E. (2015). Barebacking and sexual position. *Sexualities*, 18(1/2), 176-194.
- Gutmann, M.C. (1997). ‘Trafficking in men: The anthropology of masculinity’. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 26, 385–409.
- Halland, J. (2010). *Narratives of sex work: Exploring stories of entry, experience, and meaning*. (Doctoral thesis) University of Cape Town, Cape Town, South Africa.
- Hare-Mustin, R. T., & Marecek, J. (1988). The meaning of difference: Gender theory, postmodernism, and psychology. *The American Psychologist*, 43, 455–464. doi:10.1037/0003x.43.6.455.
- Harriman, R. L., Johnston, B., & Kenny, P. M. (2007). Musings on male sex work: A “virtual” discussion. *Journal of homosexuality*, 53, 277-318.
- Harris, M. (1973). *The Dilly Boys: Male prostitution in Piccadilly*. London: Croom Helm
- Hauser, R. (1962). *The homosexual society*. Bodley Head.

- Haysom, N. (1981). *Towards an understanding of prison gangs*. Institute of Criminology, University of Cape Town.
- Hiles, D. & Cermák, I. (2007). Narrative psychology. In W. Stainton-Rogers, & C. Willig (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of qualitative research in psychology* (pp. 147-164). London, England: SAGE Publications.
- Hollway, W. (2001). Gender difference and the production of subjectivity. In M. Wetherell, S. Taylor & S. J. Yates (Eds.), *Discourse theory and practice: A reader* (pp. 272-284). London: SAGE.
- Hooks, B. (1989). *Talking back: Thinking feminist, thinking black*. South End Press.
- Hunter, M. (2004). Masculinities, multiple-sexual-partners, and AIDS: The making and unmaking of Isoka in KwaZulu-Natal. *Transformation: critical perspectives on Southern Africa*, 54(1), 123-153.
- Hunter, M. (2005). Cultural politics and masculinities: Multiple-partners in historical perspective in KwaZulu-Natal. *Culture, health & sexuality*, 7(4), 389-403. doi: 10.1080/13691050412331293458
- Huysamen, M. (2013). *“For that hour he is Mr Hunk himself”: Men’s Narratives of buying sex*. (Unpublished master’s thesis) University of Cape Town, Cape Town, South Africa.
- Isaacs, G. (2011). *Male sex work narratives: Implications for health and rights*. Retrieved from http://www.anovahealth.co.za/resources/category/men_who_have_sex_with_men/
- Islam, N. (2000). Research as an act of betrayal: Researching race in an Asian community in Los Angeles. In F. W. Twine & J. W. Warren (Eds.), *Racing research researching race. Methodological dilemmas in critical race studies* (pp.35-66). New York: New York University Press.
- Island, J. (2015). *Jacob Gedleyihlekisa Zuma*. Retrieved from <http://www.sahistory.org.za/people/jacob-gedleyihlekisa-zuma>
- Jackson, S. (2001). Happily never after: Young women’s stories of abuse in heterosexual love relationships. *Feminism & Psychology*, 11,305–321. doi: 10.1177/0959353501011003004
- Jagger, A. (1991). Prostitution. In A Soble (Ed), *The Philosophy of sex. Contemporary readings* 2nd edition (pp. 259-280). Maryland: Rowan & Littlefield Publishers
- Jamel, J. (2011). An investigation of the incidence of client-perpetrated sexual violence against male sex workers. *International Journal of Sexual Health*, 23, 63–78. doi: 10.1080/19317611.2011.537958
- Jeffreys, S. (2008). *The Idea of Prostitution*. Melbourne: Spinifex Press.
- Jenness, V. (1990). From sex as sin to sex as work: COYOTE and the reorganization of prostitution as a social problem. *Social Problems*,37(3), 403-420. doi: 10.2307/800751

- Jewkes, R. (2010). Gender inequities must be addressed in HIV prevention. *Science*, 329(5988), 145-147.
- Jewkes, R., Sikweyiya, Y., Morrell, R., & Dunkle, K. (2011). Gender inequitable masculinity and sexual entitlement in rape perpetration South Africa: findings of a cross-sectional study. *PLoS ONE*, 6(12), 1-11.
- Jiwani, Y. (2013). *Racism and the Media*. Retrieved from <http://www.stopracism.ca/content/racism-and-media>
- Junck, L.D. (2014). *Like a bridge over troubled water: An ethnographic study on strategies of bodily navigation of male refugees in Cape Town*. (Unpublished honour's research report). University of Cape Town, Cape Town, South Africa.
- Kanuha, V. K. (2000). "Being" native versus "going native": Conducting social work research as an insider. *Social work*, 45(5), 439-447. doi: 10.1093/sw/45.5.439
- Kaye, K. (2007). Sex and the unspoken in male street prostitution. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 53, 37-73. doi: 10.1300/J082v53n01_03
- Kempadoo, K. (2003). Globalizing sex workers' rights. *Canadian Woman Studies*, 22(3/4), 143-150.
- Kesler, K. (2002). Is a feminist stance in support of prostitution possible? An exploration of current trends. *Sexualities*, 5(2), 219-235. doi: 10.1177/1363460702005002005
- Kimmel, M. (1993). Men, masculinity, and the rape culture. In E. Buchwald, P. Fletcher & M. Roth, *Transforming a rape culture: Revised edition* (pp. 141-157). Minneapolis, MN: Milkweed Editions.
- Kimmel, M. (1994). Masculinity as homophobia: Fear, shame, and silence in the construction of gender identity. In H. Brod & M. Kaufman (Eds.), *Theorizing masculinities* (pp. 119-141). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage
- Kimmel, M. & Aronson, A. (2000). *The Gendered Society Reader*.
- Kitzinger, J. (1994). The methodology of focus groups: the importance of interaction between research participants. *Sociology of health & illness*, 16(1), 103-121. doi: 10.1111/1467-9566.ep11347023
- Kvale, S. (1996). *Interviews: An Introduction to Qualitative Research Interviewing*. London: Sage.
- Kynoch, G. (1999). From the Ninevites to the Hard Livings gang: township gangsters and urban violence in twentieth-century South Africa. *African Studies*, 58(1), 55-85. doi: 10.1080/00020189908707905
- Langellier, K. M. (1989). Personal narratives: Perspectives on theory and research. *Text and Performance Quarterly*, 9, 243-276. doi: 10.1080/10462938909365938

- Lather, P. (1991). Deconstructing/deconstructive inquiry: The politics of knowing and being known. *Educational Theory*, 41(2), 153-173. doi: 10.1111/j.1741-5446.1991.00153.x
- Lee, D. (1997). Interviewing men: Vulnerabilities and dilemmas. In *Women's Studies International Forum*, 20, 553-564. doi: 10.1016/S0277-5395(97)00043-5
- Logan, T. D. (2010). Personal characteristics, sexual behaviours, and male sex work a quantitative approach. *American Sociological Review*, 75, 679–704. doi: 10.1177/0003122410379581
- Luiz, J. M., & Roets, L. (2000). On Prostitution, STDs and the Law in South Africa: The State as Pimp. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 18, 21-37. doi: 10.1080/025890000111959
- Lupton, B. (2000). Maintaining masculinity: Men who do 'women's work'. *British Journal of Management*, 11, S33-S48.
- MacNamara, D. (1965). Male prostitution in American cities: A socio-economic or pathological phenomenon? *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 35(2), 204.
- MacPhail, C., & Campbell, C. (2001). 'I think condoms are good but, aai, I hate those things': condom use among adolescents and young people in a Southern African township. *Social science & medicine*, 52(11), 1613-1627. doi: 10.1016/S0277-9536(00)00272-0
- Mahalik, J., Locke, B., Ludlow, L., Diemer, M., Scott, R., Gottfried, M., & Freitas, G. (2003). Development of the Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, 4, 3-25. doi:10.1037/1524-9220.4.1.3
- Maher, L. (1997). *Sexed work: Gender, race and resistance in a Brooklyn drug market*. Oxford, UK: Claredon.
- Mair, M. (1989). *Between psychology and psychotherapy: A poetics of experience*. New York: Routledge.
- Malinga, M., & Ratele, K. (2012). Love and the construction of young black masculinities. University of South Africa (UNISA). Retrieved from <http://www.inter-disciplinary.net/critical-issues/wp-content/uploads/2012/07/malingagpaper.pdf>, site accessed, 17.
- Mariño, R., Minichiello, V., & Disogra, C. (2003). Male sex workers in Córdoba, Argentina: sociodemographic characteristics and sex work experiences. *Revista Panamericana de Salud Pública*, 13, 311–319. doi:10.1590/S1020-49892003000400006
- Mbilinyi, M. J. (1992). "Research Methodologies in Gender Issues." In R. A. Meena (Ed.), *Gender in Southern Africa* (pp. 31-70). Harare: SAPES Books.
- McAnulty, R. D., & Burnette, M. M. (2006). *Sex and sexuality*. Westport: Praeger
- McClintock, A. (1992). Screwing the system: Sex work, race, and the law. *Boundary 2*, 19(2), 70-95. doi: 10.2307/303534

- McKee, L., & O'Brien, M. (1983). Interviewing men: Taking gender seriously. In E. Garmarknikow, D. Morgan, J. Purvis, & D. Taylorson, (Eds.), *The public and the private* (pp. 147-159). London: Heinemann.
- McCouns, D. L., & Minichiello, V. (2007). Exploring the interpersonal relationships in street-based male sex work: Results from an Australian qualitative study. *Journal of homosexuality*, *53*, 75–110. doi: 10.1300/J082v53n01_04
- Mimiaga, M., Reisner, S., Tinsley, J., Mayer, K., & Safren, S. (2008). Street workers and Internet escorts: Contextual and psychosocial factors surrounding HIV risk behaviour among men who engage in sex work with other men. *Journal of Urban Health*, *86*, 54–66.
- Minichiello, V., Mariño, R., Browne, J., Jamieson, M., Peterson, K., Reuter, B., & Robinson, K. (2000). Commercial sex between men: A prospective diary-based study. *Journal of Sex Research*, *37*, 151-160. doi: 10.1080/00224490009552032.
- Minichiello, V., Mariño, R., Browne, J., Jamieson, M., Peterson, K., Reuter, B., & Robinson, K. (1999). A profile of the clients of male sex workers in three Australian cities. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Public Health*, *23*, 511–518. doi:10.1111/j.1467-842X.1999.tb01308.x
- Minichiello, V., Scott, J., & Callander, D. (2013). New pleasures and old dangers: reinventing male sex work. *Journal of Sex Research*, *50*, 263–275. doi: 10.1080/00224499.2012.760189
- Moore, H. (1994) The problem of explaining violence in the social sciences. In P Harvey & P Gow (Eds.), *Sex and violence: Issues in representation and experience* (pp.138-155). Routledge
- Morrell, R. (2001). *Changing men in southern Africa*. Zed books.
- Morrell, R. (1998). Of boys and men: Masculinity and gender in Southern African studies. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, *24*(4), 605-630. doi: 10.1080/03057079808708593
- Morrell, R., & Swart, S. (2005). Men in the Third World: Postcolonial perspectives on masculinity. In M. S. Kimmel, J. Hearn & R. Connell (Eds.), *Handbook of studies on men and masculinities* (pp. 90-113). Thousand Oaks: Sage
- Morrell, R., Jewkes, R., & Lindegger, G. (2012). Hegemonic masculinity/masculinities in South Africa culture, power, and gender politics. *Men and Masculinities*, *15*, 11–30. doi: 10.1177/1097184X12438001
- Morse, E. V., Simon, P. M., Osofsky, H. J., Balson, P. M., & Gaumer, H. R. (1991). The male street prostitute: A vector for transmission of HIV infection into the heterosexual world. *Social Science & Medicine*, *32*, 535–539. doi: 10.1016/0277-9536(91)90287-M
- Mullings, B. (1999). Insider or outsider, both or neither: some dilemmas of interviewing in a cross-cultural setting. *Geoforum*, *30*(4), 337-350. doi: 10.1016/S0016-7185(99)00025-1

- Murray, M. (2003). Narrative psychology and narrative analysis. In P. M. Camic, J. E. Rhodes & L. Yardley (Eds.), *Qualitative research in psychology. Expanding perspectives in methodology and design* (pp. 95-112). Washington: American Psychological Association.
- National Institute on Drug Abuse. (2012). *Understanding drug abuse and addiction*. Retrieved from www.drugabuse.gov.
- NewsOne. (2010). *Are Actors creating a new positive stereotype of Black men?* Retrieved from <http://newsone.com/562365/a-new-positive-stereotype-for-black-men/>
- Niehaus, I. (2005). Masculine domination in sexual violence: Interpreting accounts of three cases of rape in the South African Lowveld. In G. Reid & L Walker, *Men behaving differently* (65-83). Juta and Company Ltd.
- Nye, R. A. (2005). Locating masculinity: Some recent work on men. *Signs*, 30(3), 1937-1962. doi: 10.1086/426799
- Oakley, A. (1981). *Subject women*.
- Oakley, A. (1998). "Gender, Methodology, and People's Ways of Knowing: Some Problems with Feminism and the Paradigm Debate." *Sociology*, 32, 707-731. doi: 10.1177/0038038598032004005
- Okanlawon, K., Stephen, A., Titilayo, A., & Titilayo, A. (2013) Sexual hazards, life experiences and social circumstances among male sex workers in Nigeria, *Culture, Health & Sexuality. An International Journal for Research, Intervention and Care*, 15, 22-33. doi: 10.1080/13691058.2012.754053
- Opportunity Agenda. (2011). *Opportunity for Black men and boys: Public opinion, media depictions and media consumption*. Retrieved from www.opportunityagenda.org
- Overall, C. (1992). What's wrong with prostitution? Evaluating sex work. *Signs*, 17(4), 705-724.
- Palmay, I. (2006). The possibility of a reflexive gaze: The relevance of feminist debates on reflexivity, representation and situated knowledges for psychology. In T. Shefer, F. Boonzaier & P. Kiguwa (Eds.), *The gender of psychology* (pp. 29-44). Cape Town, South Africa: UCT Press.
- Panday, T. (n.d). *Street –Based Male Sex Workers in South Africa: Investigating construction of the client-sex worker relationship*. (Unpublished honours thesis). The University of Cape Town, Cape Town, South Africa.
- Parry, C. D. H., Dewing, S., Petersen, P., Carney, T., Needle, R., Kroeger, K., & Treger, L. (2008). 'Rapid assessment of HIV risk behaviour in drug using sex workers in three cities in South Africa'. *AIDS Behaviour*, 13, pp. 849-859. doi: 10.1007/s10461-008-9367-3

- Parsons, J., Koken, J., & Bimbi, D. (2004). The use of the Internet by gay and bisexual male escorts: Sex workers as sex educators. *AIDS Care*, *16*, 1021–1035. doi: 10.1080/09540120412331292405
- Pascoe, C.J. (2007). *Dude, you're a Fag: Masculinity and sexuality in high school*. Berkeley: Univ. Calif. Press.
- Patai, D., (1991). U.S. academics and third world women: Is ethical research possible? In S.B Gluck & D Patai (Eds.), *Women Ōs Words: The Feminist Practice of Oral History*. New York: Routledge.
- Pateman, C. (1983) 'Defending Prostitution: Charges against Ericsson.' *Ethics*, *93*, 561–565.
- Pauw, I., & Brener, L. (2003). You are just whores—you can't be raped': barriers to safer sex practices among women street sex workers in Cape Town. *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, *5*(6), 465-481, doi: 10.1080/136910501185198
- Peters, F., & Bawa, U. (2012). The construction of sexual consent/coercion amongst incarcerated adolescent males. *In International Journal of Psychology*, *47*, 710.
- 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*, *4* (2), 35-43.
- Presser, L. (2005). Negotiating power and narrative in research: Implications for feminist methodology. *Signs*, *30* (4), 2067–2090. doi:10.1086/428424
- Pretorius, G., & Bricker, D. (2011). 'The lived experiences of sex workers in South Africa: An existential phenomenological exploration.' *Journal of Psychology in Africa*, *21*(11), pp. 33-42. doi: 10.2307/3583446
- Ratele, K. (2011). Male sexualities and masculinities. In S. Tamale (Ed.), *African sexualities: A reader* (pp.399–419). Nairobi: Pambazuka Press.
- Ratele, K. (2008). Analysing males in Africa: Certain useful elements in considering ruling masculinities. *African and Asian Studies*, *7*, 515–536. doi: 10.1163/156921008X359641
- Ratele, K. (2006). Ruling masculinity and sexuality. *Feminist Africa*, *6*, 48–64.
- Ratele, K. (1998). The end of the black man. *Agenda*, *14*(37), 60-64. doi:10.1080/10130950.1998.9675692
- Ratele, K., Fouten, E., Shefer, T., Strebel, A., Shabalala, N., & Buikema, R. (2007). 'Moffies, jocks and cool guys': Boys' accounts of masculinity and their resistance in context. In T. Shefer, K. Ratele, A. Strebel, N. Shabalala & R. Buikema (Eds), *From boys to Men: Social constructions of masculinity in contemporary society* (pp. 112-127). Lansdowne: UCT Press.

- Ratnapala, N. (1999). Male sex work in Sri Lanka. In P. Aggleton (Ed.), *Men who sell sex* (pp. 213–222). Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Reddy, V. (1998). Negotiating gay masculinities. *Agenda*, 14, 65-70. doi: 10.1080/10130950.1998.9675693
- Reinharz, S. (1993). Neglected voices and excessive demands in feminist research. *Qualitative Sociology*, 16, 69-75.
- Reiss, A. J. (1961). The social integration of peers and queers. *Social Reproductive Health*, 5(2), 175-195.
- 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(3), 246-251.
- Riessman, C. K. (2008). *Narrative methods for the human sciences*. Los Angeles, USA: Sage Publications
- Riessman, C. K. (2002). Analysis of personal narratives. In J. F. Gubrium & J. A. Holstein (Eds.), *Handbook of interview research: Context & method* (pp. 695–710). London, England: SAGE.
- Riessman, C. K. (1993). *Narrative analysis* (Vol. 30). USA: Sage Publications.
- Rose, N. (1985). *Psychology, Politics and Society in England 1869-1939*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Ross, H. L. (1959). The “hustler” in Chicago. *Journal of Student Research*, 1, 13-19.
- Salamon, E. (1989). The homosexual escort agency: Deviance disavowal. *British Journal of Sociology*, 40, 1-21. doi: 10.2307/590288
- Salo, E. (2007). Social construction of masculinity on the racial and gendered margins of Cape Town. In T. Shefer (Ed), *From boys to men: Social constructions of masculinity in contemporary society* (pp.160-180). Juta and Company Ltd.
- Samduzi. (2014). “I don’t believe I should be treated like a second citizen by anybody”: Narratives of agency and exclusion amongst male and transgender female sex workers in Cape Town, South Africa. (Unpublished master’s thesis). The London School of Economics and Political Science. London.
- Schifter, J., & Aggleton, P. (1999). Cacherismo in a San José Brothel-Aspects of. In Aggleton, P, *Men who sell sex: International perspectives on male prostitution and HIV/AIDS* (pp.141-158). United Kingdom: Temple University Press.
- Scorgie, F., Nakato, D., Akoth, D.O., Netshivhambe, M., Chakuvunga, 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. *Final report. African Sex Workers Alliance.*

- Scott, J. (2003). A prostitute's progress: Male prostitution in scientific discourse. *Social Semiotics*, *13*, 179-199. doi: 10.1080/1035033032000152606
- Scott, J., Minichiello, V., Marin˜o, R., Harvey, G. P., Jamieson, M., & Browne, J. (2005). Understanding the new context of the male sex work industry. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, *20*, 320–342. doi: 10.1177/0886260504270334
- Scoular, J. (2004). The 'subject' of prostitution. *Feminist Theory*, *5*, 343-355. doi:10.1177/1464700104046983
- Shefer, T. (2004). Psychology and the regulation of gender. In D. Hook, , N. Mkhize., P. Kiguwa., A. Collins., E. Burman. & I. Parker (Eds.), *Critical psychology* (pp.187-209). Cape Town: UCT Press.
- Shefer, T., & Mankayi, N. (2007). The (hetero) sexualization of the military and the militarization of (hetero) sex: Discourses on male (hetero) sexual practices among a group of young men in the South African military. *Sexualities*, *10*(2), 189-207. doi: 10.1177/1363460707075801
- Shields, S. A. (2008). Gender: An intersectionality perspective. *Sex Roles*, *59*, 301-311. doi: 10.1007/s11199-008-9501-8
- Sidaway, J. (1992). In other words on the politics of research by "First World" geographers in the "Third World." *Area*, *24*, 403-408.
- Sloan, L., & Wahab, S. (2000). Feminist Voices on Sex Work: Implications for Social Work. *AFFILIA*, *15*, 457-479. doi: 10.1177/088610990001500402
- Smith, M, Grov, C, & Seal, D. (2008). Agency-based male sex work: A descriptive focus on physical, personal, and social space. *J Mens Stud*, *16* (2), 193-210. doi: 10.3149/jms.1602.193
- Smith, N. J. (2012). Body issues: The political economy of male sex work. *Sexualities*, *15*, 586–603. doi: 10.1177/1363460712445983
- South African Police Services. (2009). *Crime Situation in South Africa, 2008/9*. Retrieved from http://www.saps.gov.za/saps_profile/strategic_framework/annual_report/2008_2009/2_crime_situation_sa.pdf
- Squire, C. (2008). Experience-centred and culturally-oriented approaches to narrative. In M. Andrews, C. Squire & M. Tamboukou (Eds.), *Doing narrative research* (pp.41-63). London, United Kingdom: Sage Publications.
- Stacey, M., Konstant, T., Rangasami, J., Stewart, M., & Mans, G. (2013). Estimating the Number of Sex Workers in South Africa: Rapid Population Size Estimation. *AIDS and Behaviour*, *19*(1), 3-15.

- Statistics South Africa. (2014). *Mid-year population estimates*. Retrieved from <http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/P0302/P03022014.pdf>
- Sullivan, B. (1995). Rethinking prostitution. In B. Caine & R. Pringle (Eds.), *Transitions: New Australian feminisms* (pp. 184–97). Sydney: Allen & Unwin
- Swain, J. (2005). Masculinities in education. *Handbook of studies on men and masculinities* (pp.213-229). Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- SWEAT, (2006). *Presentation to the Joint Monitoring Committee on the Quality of Life and Status of Women*. Retrieved from <http://www.pmg.org.za/node/7875>
- Synott, A. (1993). *The body social: Symbolism, self and society*. London: Routledge.
- Terre Blanche, M., Durrheim, K., & Painter, D. (2006). *Research in practice: Applied methods for the social sciences* (Second Edition). Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press.
- Thomas, J. (2000). Gay male video pornography: Past, present and future. In P. Aggleton (Ed.), *Sex for sale: Prostitution, pornography and the sex industry* (pp.49-66). New York: Routledge.
- Van der Poel, S. (1992). Professional male prostitution: A neglected phenomenon. *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 18,259-275. doi: 10.1007/BF00138895
- Van Onselen, C. (1982). *Studies in the Social and Economic History of the Witwatersrand, 1886-1914*. Johannesburg: Raven Press
- 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. doi: 10.1080/10532528.2001.10559799
- Vanwesenbeeck, I. (2013). Prostitution Push and Pull: Male and Female Perspectives. *Journal of Sex Research*, 50, 11-16. doi:10.1080/00224499.2012.696285.
- Varga, C.A. (2001). “The Forgotten Fifty Per Cent: A Review of Sexual and Reproductive Health Research and programs focused boys and young men in sub-Saharan Africa. *African Journal of Reproductive Health*, 5(3), 175-195. doi: 10.2307/3583334
- Visano, L. (1988). Generic and generative dimensions of interactionism: Towards the unfolding of critical directions. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, 29, 230.
- Waetjen, T., & Maré, G. (2001). 'Men amongst Men': Masculinity and Zulu Nationalism in the 1980's. In R. Morrell (Ed.), *Changing Men in Southern Africa* (pp.195-208). New York: Zed Books.
- Wahab, S. (2002). For Their Own Good: Sex Work, Social Control and Social Workers, a Historical Perspective. *J. Soc. & Soc. Welfare*, 29, 39-58.
- Walker, L. (2005) 'Men behaving differently: South African men since 1994.' *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, 7(3), 225-238. doi: 10.1080/13691050410001713215

- Walsh, S., & Mitchell, C. (2006). 'I'm too young to die': HIV, masculinity, danger and desire in urban South Africa. *Gender & Development, 14*(1), 57-68. doi: 10.1080/13552070500518186
- Wardlow, H. (2004). Anger, economy, and female agency: Problematizing "prostitution" and "sex work" among the Huli of Papua New Guinea. *Signs, 29*(4), 1017-1040. doi: 10.1086/382628
- Wechsberg, W., Luseno, W., & Lam, W. (2005). Violence against substance-abusing South African sex workers: Intersection with culture and HIV risk. *AIDS Care, 17*, 55–64. doi: 10.1080/09540120500120419
- West, C., & Zimmerman, D. (1987). Doing gender. *Gender and Society, 1*(2), 125-151. doi: 10.1177/0891243287001002002
- West, D. J., & de Villiers, B. (1993). *Male prostitution: Gay sex services in London*. Binghampton, NY: Harrington Park Press.
- Western, B., Kling, J.R., & Weiman, D.F. (2001). The labor market consequences of incarceration. *Crime and Delinquency, 47*(3), 410-427.
- Whowell, M. (2010). Male sex work: Exploring regulation in England and Wales. *Journal of Law and Society, 37*, 125–144. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-6478.2010.00498.x
- Wiles, J. L., Rosenberg, M. W., & Kearns, R. A. (2005). Narrative analysis as a strategy for understanding interview talk in geographic research. *Area, 37*, 89-99. doi: 10.1111/j.1475-4762.2005.00608.x
- Wilkinson, S. (1988). The role of reflexivity in feminist psychology. *Women's Studies International Forum, 11*, 493-502. doi: 10.1016/0277-5395(88)90024-6
- Williams, M. L., Bowen, A. M., Timpson, S. C., Ross, M. W., & Atkinson, J. S. (2006). HIV prevention and street-based male sex workers: An evaluation of brief interventions. *AIDS Education & Prevention, 18*, 204–215.
- Willig, C. (2001). *Introducing qualitative research in psychology*. Berkshire, England: Open University Press.
- Wojcicki, J. (2002). "She drank his money": Survival sex and the problem of violence in taverns in Gauteng Province, South Africa. *Medical anthropology quarterly, 16*(3), 267-293. doi: 10.1525/maq.2002.16.3.267
- Wojcicki, J., & Malala, J. (2001). Condom use, power and HIV/AIDS risk: Sex-workers bargain for survival in Hillbrow/Joubert Park/Berea, Johannesburg. *Social Science and Medicine, 53*(1), 99–121. doi:10.1016/S0277-9536(00)00315-4
- Wolffers, I., & van Beelen, N. (2003). Public health and the human rights of sex workers. *Lancet, 361*(9373), 1981. doi: 10.1016/S0140-6736(03)13594-5

- Wood, K. (2005). Contextualizing group rape in post-apartheid South Africa. *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, 7 (4), 303-317. doi: 10.1080/13691050500100724
- Wood, K., & Jewkes, R. (2001). "Dangerous' Love: Reflections on Violence among Xhosa Township Youth." In R. Morell, (Ed), *Changing Men in Southern Africa* (pp317-336). Kwa-Zulu Natal: University of Natal Press/Zed Books.
- World Aids Campaign. (n.d). *Sex Work and the Law: A case for decriminalisation*. Retrieved at www.worldaidcampaign.org
- Zheng L, Hart T and Zheng Y (2012) The relationship between intercourse preference positions and personality traits among gay men in China. *Archives of Sexual Behaviour*, 41(3), 683–689.

Appendix 1

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN



Department of Psychology

The lived experiences of Male sex workers in Cape Town

– Study Consent Form –

1. Invitation and purpose

You are invited to take part in a Research project on the lived experiences of MSWs. We are researchers from the Department of Psychology at University of Cape Town.

2. Procedures

Participation in this study is voluntary. If you decide to take part in the study you will be expected to do the following:

- Participate in focus groups with the researchers as well as the other participants in the research project. During the first focus group, we will talk about the research theme, which is your personal experience of sex work. The meetings and discussions will be audio recorded but we will make sure that your identity is protected in any of the information that we use from these discussions.
- Participate in one on one interview with the researchers once the focus groups are finished. You will be asked to about your personal life story and what your lived experiences have been. The interview will be audio recorded.

3. Inconveniences

We don't expect that you will be distressed by the research but if it does become distressing you may stop participating at any time without any negative consequences. If you become distressed by any of the procedures in this project we will refer you for counselling, if necessary. You may withdraw from the study at any time

4. Benefits

You are given an opportunity to share your views and experiences and what you tell us is also likely to help in formulating other research projects and help in the campaign to decriminalise sex work. You are given an opportunity to tell us and others what is important to you and for others who have similar experiences.

5. Privacy and confidentiality

We will take strict precautions to safeguard your personal information throughout the study. Your information will be kept in a locked file cabinet in the principal researcher's office without your name and or other personal identifiers.

In the focus group discussions, what you say will be heard by other members of the group and we will ask participants to respect confidentiality in the groups. We have no control over what other group members will say outside the group – so be aware that full confidentiality of the group discussions cannot be guaranteed. The group discussions, meetings and interviews will all be digitally recorded and these files will be stored on the principal researcher's computer and will be protected by a password.

Some of this research may be published in academic journals but your identity will be protected at all times.

6. Contact details

If you have further questions or concerns about the study please contact the Project Leader at the Department of Psychology, University of Cape Town:

Dr Shose Kessi 021 650 4606

If you have any issues or problems regarding this research or your rights as a research participant and would like to speak to the Chair of the Ethics committee, please contact Mrs Rosalind Adams at the Department of Psychology, University of Cape Town (UCT), 021 650 3417.

If you understand all of the procedures and the risks and benefits of the study and you would like to participate in the project, please sign below:

Participant Name: _____

Participant Signature: _____

Date: _____

Agreement For Tape-Recording

I agree to have my voice tape-recorded in the interview.

Participant Signature: _____

Appendix 2: Focus Group Schedule

- Please could each one of you introduce yourself go giving your name and something interesting about yourself.
- Do you have any questions about the project or anything that you are uncertain of?
- What are hoping to achieve or get out of this project?
- What does sex work mean to you?
- What are the advantages of sex work?
- What are the challenges you face?
- Do you think your being a black man affects the way you are treated as MSWs?
- Would you like to decriminalise sex work? Why?

Appendix 3: Interview Schedule

Remind participants of the voluntary participation and that they may choose to answer or not answer any questions.

This interview is an opportunity for you to share your experiences of being a male sex worker. To start off, could you tell me what events lead you into the profession of sex work?

Tell me about your experiences of sex work?

What keeps you in the profession?

Tell me about your experiences with your clients? Both the good and bad.

What do you do when you not working?

What are some of the challenges that you face as a male sex worker?

Is there anything from the group discussions that you found interesting and would like to add onto?

Is there anything else you would like to share with me about your experiences as a male sex worker?

Is there anything more SWEAT can do for you?