

BASOTHO SEX WORK IN THE LIGHT OF BASOTHO
TRADITIONAL MORAL VALUES

By

Celestina 'Makopano Tiheli

Submitted in fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in
African Literature in the Department of African Languages and
Literature,
Faculty of Humanities,
at The National University of Lesotho

Supervisor: Dr. K. C. Maimane

Co-supervisor: Dr. N. Khasoane

May 2023

STUDENT'S DECLARATION

I 'Makopano Celestina Tiheli, declare that "BASOTHO SEX WORK IN THE LIGHT OF BASOTHO TRADITIONAL MORAL VALUES" is my own work and that all sources that have been used or cited have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

M. C. Tiheli

Signed: M. C. Tiheli


23rd November

Date

SUPERVISOR(S)' RECOMMENDATION

Approved and recommended for acceptance as a partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of M.A.

Main Supervisor



Date

23/11/2023

Co-supervisor



Date

23/11/2023

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I wish to express my sincere gratitude to God Almighty for giving me wisdom and empowering me to pursue and conclude my study despite the many obstacles I encountered during the journey. I extend my heartfelt gratitude to people who journeyed with me in this challenging and inspiring voyage: My supervisor, Dr. Maimane and my co-supervisor, Dr. Khasoane without whose dedication, guidance, inspiration and motivation, this work could have not been completed. I would like to thank them for their encouragement, patience, understanding and their inputs, which made it possible for me to finish my thesis.

I also wish to express my sincere gratitude to the National University of Lesotho for giving me the opportunity to study under my specialty in the Department of African Languages and Literature. I cannot forget the special attention I got from the entire staff in the Department of African Languages and Literature, support, guidance, encouragement, and constructive criticism. My special gratitude goes to the National Manpower Development Secretariat (NMDS) for the financial support of my study. My gratitude also goes to the Thomas Mofolo library staff for being of assistance whenever I needed help.

I must acknowledge with deep appreciation my Congregation, Holy Cross Sisters in Lesotho Province. Sisters, I owe you a big thank you, especially for your moral support and dedicated prayers. Once again thank you very much for believing in me that I can make it. Allow me to single out two communities namely: Christ the King community where I stayed during my study and Holy Cross community where I stay at present for their daily encouragement. My special appreciation goes to Sr. Vitelina Mankimane for her daily support, concern and prayers.

My gratitude extends to my family members, friends, schoolmates and all who contributed to making this work successful. Some offered books, time and a listening ear. I wish to thank Mrs. Mapoloko Leeka, who works at Non-Government Organization (NGO) called Care for Basotho Association, who made it possible for me to meet sex workers, and my appreciation also goes to the sex workers themselves for the insightful data and information I got from them.

Lastly, I would like to thank Professor Kolobe for editing my work. Professor, you went an extra mile to edit even my term papers without any complaint. Your effort is highly appreciated

Professor. You did not only edit my work but every time when I met you, you would ask about my work, which showed a caring and loving attitude. May God bless you Professor.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my family, especially my Congregation, Holy Cross Sisters, for their entire support and for giving me an opportunity to further my studies, and for believing in my capability.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to interrogate sex work in Lesotho in the light of Basotho traditional moral values premised on the Relational Moral Theory. This study aimed at finding out how sex workers view sex work in consideration of the Basotho traditional moral values; and examined circumstances that lead to sex work. Basotho traditional moral values provide norms for good conduct practiced openly and proudly as part and parcel of Basotho way of life. When it comes to sex work, it is rather a recent phenomenon whose practice is covered with secrecy and obscurity in Lesotho. It is in this case that this study is aimed at conscientising and sensitising the government of Lesotho about the state of sex industry and to intervene where necessary. Of the utmost importance in the analysis, the study looked into sex workers' views on sex work in the light of Basotho traditional moral values. Sex workers shared their opinions on sex work as far as Basotho traditional moral values are concerned, such as sex work as a slavery, sex work as dirty work and sex work as evil and sex workers' views that support sex work. It also looked into ways and strategies that can be employed to combat sex work situation in Lesotho, for instance factors that contribute to sex workers in Lesotho such as: child-headed families which includes the death of parents and divorced parents. Abduction, lack of education, unemployment, poverty, and migrant labour are also factors. The study addressed ways and strategies to combat the sex work situation in Lesotho. The strategies have been sourced from the sex workers themselves through interviews. These include counselling sessions for sex workers, job creation workshops and subsistence farming projects for sex workers.

In order to address the above intentions of the study, the study implored qualitative approach. Therefore, this approach was selected in order to understand the attitudes, beliefs and get some other important information from the participants. The study employed two sampling methods namely: purposive sampling and snowball sampling. The researcher purposely chose some new sex workers and some veterans (old sex workers) in order to get different experiences and information. The snowball sampling technique was suitable for the researcher as the population under investigation is sensitive and hidden (Browne, 2005: 1). For the collection of data, the study employed focus group discussions. A focus group is more appropriate in this study since it helped the researcher to understand how sex workers think and feel.

Regarding ethical considerations in regard to thesis or dissertation, the researcher used alphabetical instead of the names of the participants as to protect them as she mentioned earlier that the topic is very sensitive. In conclusion, some sex workers pointed out that it is against the Basotho traditional moral values because the values call for self-respect and self-control. However, they did it as a means of survival. They even judged themselves by saying that they are living a sinful life whereby society does not welcome them.

Nevertheless, sex workers who felt that there was nothing wrong with sex work regarded Basotho traditional moral values as outdated and inconsiderate of their social and financial predicament. Some sex workers complained that Basotho traditional moral values do not only disapprove of the practice of sex within the marriage institution but forbid sex as a way of earning money and that is unfortunate according to them. On the other hand, some sex workers supported sex work merely because they did not know about Basotho traditional moral values.

As part of the solution to the discussed situation of sex workers in the two districts of Lesotho, namely Maseru and Mophale's Hoek, the researcher wished to make the following recommendations: inclusive education system, healthy relationship and government social support, as she believed that it might reduce the situation of sex workers in Lesotho and the nation live according to Basotho traditional moral values.

ABBREVIATIONS

ECCD - Early Child Care Development

IOM- International Organisation for Migration

TEBA - The Employment Bureau of Africa

STIs - Sexually Transmitted Infections

NEC- National Educational Curriculum

NGO- Non-Governmental Organization

UDHR - Universal Declaration of Human Rights

HIV/AIDS - Human Immunodeficiency Virus and Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

Sex

According to Okechi (2018: 001), sex and sexuality manifest themselves as physiological and cultural phenomenon. It is physiological in the sense that it is a naturally occurring urge for love relationship and pleasure. On the other hand, sex is a cultural phenomenon due to the organisation of human society which creates moral values system that defines how individual members of the society participate in any form of relationship or activity, especially sexual relationship. Thus, sex relates to sexual relationships and natural inclination activities which also form human, communal and social bonds. In this study, sex refers to sexual intercourse activities that are either homosexual or heterosexual.

Sex work

According to Bernnet et al. (2002:87), sex work refers to sex activities and its intimacies that are de-linked from cultural and social systems. Sex work or otherwise prostitution is a business or practice of providing sexual services for earning a living. (Nkala, 2014: 66). In our case, this refers to sexual activities performed with the aim to earn a living and without consideration of Basotho traditional moral values.

Basotho traditional moral values

Basotho traditional moral values refer to the code of conduct of Basotho practised for millennia, giving Basotho a unique identity as a particular people with their own way of life. As a way of life, Basotho traditional morals and values are holistic in the sense that they influence all the various stages of human growth and development, from childhood to maturity. In regards to Basotho traditional morals and values, Maimane (2002: 42) is of the opinion that societies have ways of doing things or traditions that are part and parcel of their daily lives. The same social traditions are referred to as norms of the society, while norms that are rated important and highly among them, are referred to as values. This means that every society has its own values. Mustofa et al. (2020: 29) argue that moral values relate to someone's personality and behaviour. They further assert that moral values mean that when one has good manners, she/he is obviously seen by other people.

Molise et al. (2018: 294) describe morals and values as a set of principles that guide people in knowing what is right or wrong, then making their own decision. They further encourage people to behave in a way that fits in with peoples' moral values. This indicates that values are principles or standards of behaviour that one is expected to live by in a society. Whereas, Molise et al (2018) talks about the morals and values, in this thesis, the researcher is going to discuss the principles that guide Basotho people in knowing what is right and wrong - the standards of behaviour one is expected to live in a society in terms of Basotho traditional moral values. Among other Basotho traditional moral values, the researcher is going to focus on the following: respect for persons, humility, self-control, perseverance and hardworking. Even though the researcher focuses on the above-mentioned Basotho traditional moral values, she acknowledges the study by Mustofa et al. (2020:29) as they discovered plenty of moral values such as: bravery, humility, politeness, honesty, sympathy and empathy, responsibility, sincerity, trustworthiness and many more.

In this study Basotho traditional moral values referred to the traditional and cultural norms in which Basotho conduct their way of life. The researcher defined Basotho traditional moral values as a set of principles of behaviour that guide Basotho to behave in a traditionally acceptable Basotho social way of life. Basotho traditional moral values set a standard of life one is expected to live by in society. The researcher will later discuss these terms within the context of sex workers' views on sex work.

Table of Contents

STUDENT'S DECLARATION	i
SUPERVISOR(S)' RECOMMENDATION.....	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
DEDICATION	v
ABSTRACT.....	vi
ABBREVIATIONS	viii
DEFINITION OF TERMS	ix
CHAPTER 1	1
INTRODUCTION	1
1.0 Introduction	1
1.1 Background and contextualisation of the study	1
1.2 Statement of the Problem	2
<i>1.2.1 Research questions</i>	3
<i>1.2.2 Hypotheses</i>	3
1.3 Purpose of Study	3
1.4 Rationale	4
1.5 Scope of the Study	4
1.6 Review of Related Literature	5
<i>1.6.1 Sex workers' views on sex work in the light of Basotho traditional moral values</i>	5
<i>1.6.2 Factors contributing to sex work in the light of Basotho traditional moral values</i> ..	6
<i>1.6.3 Ways and strategies that can be used to combat the sex work situation in Lesotho</i>	9
1.7 Theoretical Framework	10
1.8 Methodology	12
<i>1.8.1 Research design</i>	12
<i>1.8.2 Method of data collection</i>	12
<i>1.8.3 Sampling</i>	13
<i>1.8.4 Ethical considerations</i>	14
1.9 Organisation of the Study	14
CHAPTER TWO	16

SEX WORKERS' VIEWS ON SEX WORK IN THE LIGHT OF BASOTHO TRADITIONAL MORAL VALUES.....	16
2.0 Introduction	16
2.1 Sex Workers' views on Sex Work	16
<i>2.1.1 Sex Workers' view against Sex Work</i>	16
<i>2.1.1.2 Sex Work as a dirty work</i>	19
<i>2.1.1.3 Sex work as an evil work</i>	20
<i>2.1.2 Sex Workers' views that support Sex Work</i>	22
2.2 Conclusion	24
CHAPTER THREE.....	26
FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO SEX WORK IN LESOTHO.....	26
3.0 Introduction	26
3.1 Child-headed families	26
<i>3.1.1 The death of parents</i>	26
<i>3.1.2 Divorced parents</i>	28
3.2 Abduction	30
3.3 Lack of Education	32
3.4 Unemployment	34
3.5 Poverty	35
3.6 Migrant Labour	37
3.7 Conclusion	39
CHAPTER FOUR.....	40
STRATEGIES TO COMBAT THE SEX WORK SITUATION IN LESOTHO.....	40
4.0 Introduction	40
4.1 Counselling sessions for sex workers	40
4.2 Advocacy (workshops)	44
4.4 Improvement of Subsistence Farming	46
4.5 Conclusion	46
CHAPTER FIVE.....	48
CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....	48
5.0 Introduction	48
5.1 Summary of the Study	48

5.3	Recommendations	49
5.3.1	<i>Educational system that includes Basotho traditional moral values</i>	49
5.3.2	<i>Healthy relationship between sex workers and community</i>	50
5.3.3	<i>Governmental social support</i>	50
5.2	Conclusion	50
APPENDIX.....		52
INTERVIEW FOR SEX WORKERS.....		52
LIST OF REFERENCES		54

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

The purpose of this study was to interrogate the issue of sex work in relation to Basotho traditional moral values premised on the Relational Moral Theory. The researcher opined that Basotho traditional moral values are practised openly and proudly as part and parcel of Basotho way of life while the practice of sex work, is rather covered with secrecy and obscurity. However, the researcher observed that even though Basotho practice their traditional moral values openly and proudly, but there are those among them who practice sex work in secrecy and in obscurity. This is the matter of interest that the researcher discussed in this thesis. Chapter one gives a brief background and contextualisation of the study, statement of the problem, research questions, hypotheses, and purpose of the study. It further presents the rationale, scope of the study, review of related literature, theoretical framework, methodology, and organisation of the study.

1.1 Background and contextualisation of the study

The history of Basotho, like that of many other African peoples, has for millennia up to date been passed to posterity through oral traditions employed as the basic source of information. However, it is only towards the late 19th century that much of Basotho oral literature became written with the help of schools, which were introduced by European missionaries in Lesotho (Ellenberger, 1912: 7). According to Eugenio (2007: 1), oral literature or folk literature is a literature that is spoken or sung as opposed to that which is written.

Basotho oral traditions include rituals, curative chants, folk tales, life histories, institutions, norms, collective and individual activities (work), customs, morals, and values to mention but a few (Finnegan, 1970; Kachele, 2019). All these collective practices and narratives were meant to maintain balance and stability in a society (Holmwood, 2005: 2). Thus, it was with the help of these collective practices and narratives that Basotho maintained their social and national cohesion that made them a proud nation.

As Basotho came in contact with other nations and life progressed into modernity; some of these traditional identities changed, old ones got lost, while new ones were adopted, and so did the morals and standards among the Basotho. Work and money-earning activities became some of the

newly introduced ‘traditions’ as a result of coming in contact with other nations and the so-called modern ways. Sex work is one such money-earning activity that is gradually gripping into the lives of Basotho, especially those living in towns and along the periphery. It is noteworthy to mention that such practice as sex work is illegal in Lesotho.

In the context of this study, research on sex work is inspired by Basotho traditional moral values. The practice of sex work in Lesotho which is observed mainly in Maseru and other towns since the middle 1990s is but rather a recent phenomenon in Lesotho and it impacts Basotho traditional moral values that have stood the test of time among the Basotho people as a nation. For example, according to Basotho traditional moral values, sexual activity or sex is confined to the institution of marriage and family life as part of the intimacy shared between husband and wife and the begetting of children (Sekese, 1985: 7). Thus, morally speaking, sex should not be offered outside marriage. In contrast, sex work appears to be inconsistent with Basotho moral values for it allows for casual sexual activity outside marriage and even for earning a living (African National Congress Daily News, 2012). This study, therefore, interrogates the issue of sex work in relation to Basotho traditional moral values through the lens of the Relational Moral Theory.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

African culture inclusive of that of Basotho as Africans has for millennia maintained a high sense of morality among the Basotho themselves and other nations of the world. It is this culture that is the embodiment of the traditional moral values that this study wishes to use as the lens through which to look at the sex work industry in Lesotho; a phenomenon not well-researched in the field of oral traditions. Scholars such as Mphuthing (1981) and Tšehlana (2002) are some of the few scholars who have undertaken studies about sex work in Lesotho, but their studies do not consider Basotho traditional moral values. It is this gap that has left unanswered questions relating sex work to Basotho traditional moral values that needs to be pursued. Most importantly, contributory factors, as well as ways and strategies that can be engaged to address the sex work situation in Lesotho especially from the sex workers’ point of view, remain unexplored. As a result, examining sex work in relation to Basotho traditional moral values still remains as an academic exercise to be carried out. This study, therefore, sets out to interrogate sex work in relation to Basotho traditional moral values taking into consideration the factors contributing to individuals’

involvement in this illegal practice and possible strategies for addressing the sex work phenomenon in Lesotho.

To respond to the problem stated above, the researcher intended to address the following questions:

1.2.1 Research questions

In order to afford the issue, and the intended coverage, the following research questions have to be answered:

1. How do sex workers view sex work in the light of Basotho traditional moral values?
2. What factors contribute to sex work?
3. What are the ways and strategies that can be used to combat the sex work situation in Lesotho?

1.2.2 Hypotheses

1. It is hypothesised that sex work in Lesotho is still taboo as opposed to Basotho traditional moral values.
2. Child-led families, death of parents, divorced parents, abduction, lack of education, unemployment, poverty, and local migrant labour are some of the contributing factors towards sex work.
3. Counselling sessions, advocacy, job creation, and improving subsistence farming are ways and strategies that may get rid of sex work situation in Lesotho.

1.3 Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study was to interrogate sex work in Lesotho in the light of Basotho traditional moral values. This study aimed at finding out how sex workers view sex work in consideration of the Basotho traditional moral values; and examined circumstances that led to sex work. It looked into ways and strategies that can be employed to combat sex work situation in Lesotho.

Finally, through responses to the research questions the study also aimed at restoring Basotho traditional moral values; to encourage Basotho to love and protect their traditional moral values in the encounter and accommodation of other cultural practices and ways of life.

1.4 Rationale

This study will contribute in various sections of the society. The following are going to benefit from it, namely: the government of Lesotho, sex workers, their clients, literary students, the Church and the Basotho nation as a whole. Since the study is aimed at conscientising and sensitising the government of Lesotho about the state of sex industry and to intervene where necessary. The government of Lesotho is going to benefit from this study by being made aware of the seriousness of unemployment and its consequences, especially to women; sex workers will benefit from this study by understanding that their situation is not only a matter of deviant social behaviour but rather a consequence of the serious problem of unemployment and unfair distribution of national wealth; this study will help clients to understand that sex workers are economically and socially disadvantaged members of the community who wish that their situation could be different; literary students are going to benefit from this study by realising that sex work can also be looked at from the literary point of view in considering Basotho traditional moral values. As much as it is a social affair, it also features in Sesotho literary works and if it is not taken care of, it can affect Basotho traditional moral values. The Church will also benefit from this study by understanding some questionable behaviours of its members who might be affected by the sex work consequences. The Basotho nation will benefit from this study by being aware that some deficiencies in the Basotho traditional family setting and their way of life, may lead to the practice of sex work.

1.5 Scope of the Study

The study investigated sex worker's views in the light of Basotho traditional moral values; focusing on the sex workers' views themselves, and factors that contribute to sex work. Finally, it considered ways and strategies that can be used to combat sex work situation in the light of Basotho traditional moral values considering the fact that the practice is still illegal in Lesotho.

The researcher carried out the study in Maseru, the capital city of Lesotho and Maseru's Hoek town. The justification for the choice of these two places for the researcher was the researcher's accessibility to them and the availability of the study subjects. Thus, Maseru is near Roma where

the researcher is pursuing her studies while Mophale's Hoek is the researcher's hometown. In addition, the two places are known to be prevalent of sex workers.

1.6 Review of Related Literature

Up to now, there is hardly any literature on Basotho sex work in the light of Basotho traditional moral values. However, Tšehlana (2002) and Mphuthing (1981) have made their research on teenage sex workers and/or prostitution in Lesotho. For the literature review of this paper, the researcher consulted scholarly writings such as research papers, journals, books and dissertations. In regard to the review of related literature of this paper, the researcher has organised and discussed it according to themes treated, thus the literature review would be thematic.

The themes are structured as follows: 1.6.1 Sex workers' view on sex work in the light of Basotho traditional moral values. 1.6.2 Factors contributing towards sex work. 1.6.3 Ways and strategies to be used to combat sex work situation.

1.6.1 Sex workers' views on sex work in the light of Basotho traditional moral values

According to Kimaryo et al. (2004: 146), "Traditionally, sex was primarily about procreation and pleasing men. Young Basotho girls were groomed at an early stage and in initiation schools, which were intended to make a woman a good homemaker". The researcher agrees with the above statement that sex according to Basotho tradition and culture is a marital affair. The same position about sex and marriage is affirmed and asserted by Matšela (1990: 23-24) who claims that when a young girl starts her menstruation, she is made aware of her sexual maturity and its implications. Thus, it was instilled in her mind that she has to avoid playing any sexual games or having sexual contact with members of the opposite sex, to ensure that she does not engage in sex before marriage. Matšela (ibid) further argues that when a boy starts having wet dreams at night, he is also discouraged from playing physical games, especially having sexual contact with members of the opposite sex. Thus, according to Basotho tradition and culture, attempts to isolate boys and girls who have reached the puberty stage were instituted to avoid sex before marriage.

According to Bernnet et al. (2002: 87), nowadays sex and its intimacies are increasingly de-linked from local cultural and social systems, whereby new constructions of desire have replaced local values and norms. Bernnet's observation affirms the fact that the practice of sex work does not

take into consideration Basotho traditional moral values. The researcher is in line with Mturi (2001: 2) who asserts that most African adults find the replacement of local values and norms by new constructions of desire hard to comprehend. They (African adults) find it heavy going because culture dictates that self-control is to be observed since sex is to be done within the marriage context. Therefore, this study highlights a better perspective on sex work in relation to Basotho traditional moral values.

1.6.2 Factors contributing to sex work in the light of Basotho traditional moral values

Mphuthing (1981) conducted a study on whether or not females become prostitutes because of their background factors. Her study focused on the relationship between prostitution and socio-economic factors. Although she does not indicate which theory she has employed in handling her analysis, her discussion is well articulated. For instance, she says that “many of them come from poor families, broken homes with incidences of low education” (1981: 37). For the collection of data, she used interviews and non-participatory observation techniques. Her findings reveal that many teenage “sex workers” come from poor backgrounds; their families cannot afford education, which may be used as a means for better job opportunities.

Mphuthing’s (1981) other finding is that, prostitutes learn ways of attracting males. For example, she mentions the use of make-up and dressing in a way that is attractive to men. She remarks that prostitutes are selective about the kind of clients they engage with, as they reject the ones that are poor, shabby, crippled, deformed, or dirty. Mphuthing’s study is intended to help the current one in reinforcing the contention that some sex workers are uncomfortable with Basotho traditional moral values.

In her work entitled ‘The survival strategies of teenage sex workers in Lesotho’, Tšehlana (2002: iii) reveals that poverty, low educational attainment, dysfunctional families, and abuse, play a major role in forcing teenagers to resort to sex work as a form of income-generating activity. However, Tšehlana is silent about Basotho traditional moral values in regard to the practice of sex work. On the contrary, the researcher discusses sex work in the context of Basotho traditional moral values. Again, the researcher agrees with regarding the idea of poverty and educational attainment as the contributing factors to sex work.

Her study further describes the relationship between teenage sex workers and their clients, as well as their attitude towards different categories of clients such as Whites, Chinese, Indians, and black African foreigners (Tšehlana, 2002: 72). Tšehlana reveals issues concerning the use of condoms in sex work business as income earned, hardships and experiences of the teenage sex workers. The survival strategies as well as levels of satisfaction or dissatisfaction are revealed. For instance, sex workers use special attire, mannerism, and communication skills to attract clients. They have to find ways to make clients pay in advance as some refuse to pay after sex.

From her findings, on the one hand, it can be argued that sex workers earn their living from payments they get from the sale of sex. The money generated from sex work may help to alleviate the life standard of both sex workers and their families. On the other hand, sex workers run a high risk of contracting Sexually Transmitted Infections (STIs), HIV/AIDS infection, as well as being exposed to emotional, physical, and sexual abuse. Upon contracting Sexually Transmitted Infections, sex workers may encounter both health and social problems. Among others, they are blamed for the transmission of Sexually Transmitted Diseases. This may end up interrupting and lowering their livelihoods to a lesser state than before sex work.

Tšehlana (2002) further argues that most teenagers are forced out of their families mainly by poverty, low socio-economic status, physical and sexual abuse, and other circumstances. Furthermore, she associates sex work more with poverty but says nothing about morals and the dignity of those involved. The researcher further argues that sex work is more in line with the slavery practices towards women and contrary to Basotho traditional moral values as well as human dignity as entrenched in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) (Townley, 1948: 327-331). Finally, Tšehlana (2002) acknowledges that signs of loopholes and weaknesses exist in law enforcement in Lesotho. The present researcher argues with Tšehlana, regarding the loopholes in the enforcement of the law in relation to sex workers since the law in Lesotho stipulates that it is illegal.

Tšehlana (2002) adopted two theories in her analysis of data, namely Deviance Theory and Deviant Subculture Theory. In her methodology, Tšehlana (*ibid*) employed qualitative methods which the researcher has also adopted. For sampling, both Tšehlana and the present study used purposive and snowball sampling techniques. In addition, the two studies employed focus group discussions,

in-depth interviews, clinical interviews and non-participatory observation as tools for data collection. Tšehlana's study has been helpful to the present one as far as the material to build the case regarding sex work in Lesotho is concerned. Tšehlana (2002: 57) points out that there is not much literature from Lesotho. However, sex work is prevalent in Lesotho mainly due to rife unemployment (Mturi, 2003: 25). The current researcher observed that Tšehlana's study on teenage sex workers in Lesotho lacks Basotho traditional moral values which is the concern of this study.

The problem of unemployment rife as it is in Lesotho is not particular to Lesotho. The 21st century seems to be the time whereby many countries are struggling with unemployment. This situation is described by Deki (2012: i) who asserts that "from the beginning of the 20th century, unemployment was articulated as an alarming issue in the world". This is a hectic time whereby the qualified unemployed desperately seek jobs in vain; the rich get richer and the poor become poorer. Deki (ibid) further argues that in particular, youth unemployment has gained concern in the wake of the 21st century. He acknowledges the fact that there are various effects to this situation. He continues to point out that unemployment has some consequences which are not short-lived while they create a sudden disorder in society, with prolonged long-term effects. It is in the context of this situation that scholars like Tšehlana (2002) and Mphuthing (1981) have discussed sex work in Lesotho.

In the same vein, Nkala (2014: 68) indicates that sex work in Zimbabwe is referred to as prostitution. According to them, "The high levels of unemployment (more than 90%) are blamed for the rise of prostitution in Bulawayo. The closure of industries in Bulawayo has made young women sort to illicit deals as a way of generating income."

Tšehlana (2002) and Nkala (2014) associate sex work with unemployment. According to them, the unemployed encounter bitter poverty situations that lead them to sex work. It is in situations like this that government has to promote youth employment as their responsibility towards society. It is in this unemployment situation that Deki's study cited above becomes helpful in addressing the unemployment issue.

Nkala's study (2014) focused on factors that influence the increase of prostitution in Bulawayo's business centre. In his study, he discovered that many women married or unmarried, employed

and unemployed, including teenagers between 13 to 17 years are involved in prostitution. He further observed that there are many brothels, bars, and hotels that attract quite a number of young women. He argues that the Government's effort in curtailing the rate of prostitution through criminalising commercial sex by arresting and detaining those suspected of loitering or soliciting for clients seems to have failed.

Nkala adopted mixed methods approach, which comprised quantitative and qualitative paradigms. The current study adopts a qualitative approach. He further used snowball sampling which the current study also adopted. In his findings, Nkala's (2014) reveals that Zimbabwe's dire economic situation has forced many young women into prostitution. He asserts that the situation is increasing because the country is not addressing the problem but the symptoms. He argues that the major focus should be directed towards the equalisation of political opportunities in which women are educationally and economically empowered. What Nkala observes in Zimbabwe is what the researcher observes in Lesotho in terms of dire economic situation and youth unemployment.

Moreover, Nkala (2014: 68) argues that prostitution comes with shame and guilt, and societies usually become concerned when very brilliant brains fall into notoriety. His study helps the current one in highlighting dire economic situation and unemployment as contributing factors towards sex work.

1.6.3 Ways and strategies that can be used to combat the sex work situation in Lesotho

Martin (2015) conducted a study on the morality of commercialised sex. The purpose of his study was to evaluate and problematise the moral aspects of commercialised sex as presented with examples of contractarian and feminist moral positions. According to Martin (2015: 8), "both the contractarian and the feminist moral positions contain notions that the gender-related problems of commercialised sex are cultural and societal problems dependent on structure and attitudes."

He further asserts that commercial sex culture can be seen as both a causal and effectual problem depending on moral position. He attacks the argument for conventional morality, where traditional views on family values and the role of sex are culturally burdened. Martin (2015: 9) quoting Ericsson (1980) argues that there is no rational reason to regard sex as strictly belonging to the domain of emotional relations and that marital and mercenary sex should not, on moral grounds, be dichotomised with mercenary as sex being morally shunned. While not undermining the

importance of these authors, the issues raised by the researcher are based on Basotho traditional moral values that are a moral position different from that of Martin. On the other hand, Martin's study helps the present study to recognise and understand what is taking place in the sex work business and that sex work observed from Martin's point of view is of a different moral position from Basotho traditional moral values.

Martin adopted two theories of Social Contract Theory and Feminist Ethics while the present study adopted the Relational Moral Theory.

1.7 Theoretical Framework

The study is premised on the Relational Moral Theory to interrogate sex work in the light of Basotho traditional moral values. Metz (2021: 1) points out that Western moral principles, which entail the principles of utility and respect for autonomy, have as their underlying precept, an individualist premise that focuses much on the individual than on the community and its enhancement. Though this present study focuses on individuals who are sex workers, the perspective taken is that of the Relational Moral Theory. This theory advocates that in Africa, morals are seen mostly from a relational perspective. This means that people do not relate only with the immediate members of the family, but with other members of the society inclusive of those who have left this world, but still remain anchors and references of morality. With this understanding in mind, it is of great importance that people maintain harmonious existence or friendships, as an individual's moral actions have a serious impact on the lives of others.

As Miller et al. (2016: 2) emphasise that relationalism is “contrasted to both individualism and holism involves entities into a relationship”. Bearing this in mind, it will be taken into consideration that moral status is embedded in a person as part of his/her upbringing, and this will mark that person wherever he/she finds himself/herself. With regard to sex workers, it is as if they are building their moral world that runs parallel to the Basotho traditional moral values, which have been the seedbed of their moral conscience. This was demonstrated by others (sex workers) in the conducted interviews when they regret the situation in which they find themselves.

This study is based in Lesotho, an African country and sex workers are used as a focus group, while Basotho are considered as a society in which this coexistence is experienced. In this context,

moral actions by either sex workers or other members of society have a bearing on other Basotho as a society. The underlying principle is that communality is the grounding of African Morality. In all things, the good of all should be promoted, and this is what is called Moral Good (Miller et al., 2016: 2). Life is important, not only for oneself but even for others; therefore, it has to be respected. This underlines the importance and vital role played by the harmonious communal relationship that interrogates and challenges the sex work situation in the light of Basotho traditional moral values.

Shaw (2011: 2) states that Relational Ethics encompass the territory in which people come to reflect and decide on their obligations and responsibilities to themselves and others. She continues to indicate that the above reflections take into account personal and community values, morals, and preferences. Concerning moral values, the researcher considers the following: respect for persons, faithfulness, self-control, perseverance, and hardworking.

Shaw (2011: 3) explores the possibilities offered by traditions of moral philosophy in attending to problems from a relational ethics perspective. The focus is on:

- Relationships as a crucial element in the development and maintenance of a moral self and how couples and families construct an ethical platform together, both consciously and unconsciously. In this study, the relationship that is considered a crucial element is that of the sex workers and their families and the community in which they live and do their business. It is this relationship that is viewed as important in the development and maintenance of the sex workers' moral values as well as the construction of their ethical platform both consciously and unconsciously.
- How Relational Ethics may inform ideas about the value-driven problems, people present in therapy. For example: How can she think of leaving her children? In the current study, this principle assists in the information that was taken during the interviews which were given by the sex workers.
- How Relational Ethics can be constructed as relational responsiveness-This principle helps the study to look into the ways and strategies that can be used to address the sex work situation.

- Despite their associations with morality as judgmental and rule-driven, moral conduct and decision-making can involve imaginative, creative and aesthetic possibilities. This principle assists the researcher to challenge sex workers to be imaginative and creative by finding new ways to address problems like unemployment, lack of education, and others. This can involve agriculture projects for self-reliance.

1.8 Methodology

This section discussed methodology under the following sub-headings: research design, methods of data collection, sampling and ethical consideration followed by the organisation of the study.

1.8.1 Research design

This study is qualitative in nature; therefore, it employed a qualitative approach. Leedy et al. (2005: 133) assert that qualitative research encompasses several approaches to phenomena that occur in a natural setting, and it involves studying those phenomena in all their complexities. Therefore, this approach is selected to assist the researcher to interview sex workers in their places of work and to find out how they consider their business in the light of Basotho traditional moral values.

1.8.2 Method of data collection

For the collection of data, the study employed focus group discussions. According to Dawson et al. (1993: 23), a focus group can offer insights into how a group thinks about an issue, the range of opinions and ideas, and the inconsistencies and variations that exist in a particular community in terms of beliefs, experiences and practices as well. A focus group is more appropriate in this study since it helps the researcher to understand how sex workers think and feel. The researcher was drawn to qualitative approach in order to understand the attitudes, beliefs and get some other important information from the participants.

In addition, a semi-structured questionnaire was used as an interview guide for data collection. Since this issue is sensitive to participants, a conducive atmosphere was created for the participants to feel free and open. The researcher made arrangements with a non-governmental organisation named Care for Basotho Association (CBA) to meet sex workers on an agreed date and time to get

information. The Care for Basotho Association promised to gather different groups of sex workers within the selected town which is Maseru for data collection.

Through the help of Care for Basotho Association, the group of veterans was constituted of seven sex workers, while the group of the new sex workers had fifteen members. Purposive sampling was applied in Maseru whereby there are NGOs such as the Care for Basotho Association that cares for sex workers.

There were four groups of participants: two groups were from Maseru, while the other two groups were from Mohale's Hoek. In Mohale's Hoek, there were two focus groups of both the veterans and the newly recruited, six sex workers from each group, which totalled twelve sex workers. In Maseru the focus groups were two. The group of veterans was nine, while the newly recruited were ten. All in all, the participants were thirty-one.

Both Mohale's Hoek and Maseru were chosen purposively since Mohale's Hoek is the place where the researcher comes from while Maseru is near the researcher at present as she is studying at Roma a 45 kilometres drive from Maseru. Secondly, sex workers are more accessible in Maseru city as some NGOs work with them.

1.8.3 Sampling

According to Mustafa (2010: 135), sampling is the process used to select a portion of the population for a study when it is not possible to know a larger collection of the object. This means that a small portion is engaged to represent the bigger picture. The portion of the study is based on the population of some sex workers in two towns in Lesotho, namely: Mohale's Hoek and Maseru. Babbie (2007: 116) refers to population "as a group in which the researcher wants to draw conclusions or generalise results of the research". The study used two sampling methods namely: purposive sampling and snowball sampling.

Purposive sampling is a technique used to select participants in order to give the needed information (Maree, 2007: 79). In addition, Leedy et al. (2005: 206) postulate that purposive sampling means that, what is being chosen for the study is chosen for a particular purpose. Purposive sampling is appropriate for this study as it enabled the researcher to choose participants who are most likely to give the best information. Therefore, the researcher purposely chose some

new sex workers and some veterans (old sex workers) in order to get different experiences and information.

The researcher also opted for snowball sampling. According to Berg (2006: 18), snowball sampling is a recruitment technique in which participants are asked to assist the researcher in identifying other potential subjects. The snowball sampling technique is suitable for the researcher as the population under investigation is sensitive and hidden (Browne, 2005: 1). Therefore, the first sex worker that the researcher was told about, recommended others who could furnish the researcher with the necessary information. Upholding research ethics without any discriminatory behaviour enabled participants to be comfortable to bring along their colleagues to the focus group discussion for interviewing. This method of sampling was utilised in Mohale's Hoek since there are no NGOs like Care for Basotho Association to work with sex workers.

1.8.4 Ethical considerations

Bryman et al. (2007: 1) present ten important principles that need to be followed regarding ethical considerations in regard to thesis or dissertation. Therefore, the researcher adheres to the requirements. The researcher asked for a letter of consent from her supervisor. She developed a consent form which the participants read and signed to show their consent to participate freely and withdraw at any time if they no longer feel like continuing. She observed the participants' confidentiality and that their names remained anonymous. To ensure this, the researcher used alphabetical letters instead of real names. The researcher also assured the participants that the information gathered from them is going to be shared with her supervisor. The raw data was kept safe until it was analysed.

1.9 Organisation of the Study

The study is organised as follows:

Chapter 1 is the background which views the lives of sex workers in Lesotho in the light of Basotho traditional moral values. This chapter consists of a background and contextualisation of the study, statement of the problem, research questions, hypotheses, purpose of study, rationale, scope of the study, review of related literature, theoretical framework, methodology, and organisation of the study.

Chapter 2 discusses how sex workers view sex work in the light of Basotho traditional moral values and the reasons behind those views, for instance: sex workers' views against sex work, sex work as slavery and finally, sex workers' views that support sex work. Chapter 3 considers factors contributing towards sex work. Chapter 4 looks into ways and strategies that can be used to address the sex work situation in Lesotho. Finally, Chapter 5 deals with the conclusion and recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

SEX WORKERS' VIEWS ON SEX WORK IN THE LIGHT OF BASOTHO TRADITIONAL MORAL VALUES

2.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses sex workers' views on sex work in consideration of Basotho traditional moral values. The chapter is essentially organised into two parts. The first part discusses how sex workers view sex work and the reasons behind those views, the second part deals with Sex workers' views against sex work, the third part talks about sex work as slavery, the fourth part discusses sex work as a dirty work, the fifth part concentrates on sex work as an evil work, the sixth part discusses sex workers' views that support sex work while the last part provides a conclusion to the chapter. Participants were asked how they view sex work regarding Basotho traditional moral values. The Relational Moral Theory was used as a theoretical framework.

For purposes of ethical considerations noted in the previous chapter concerning the protection of participants' confidentiality, letters A, B, C, D, and E have been used to substitute the real names of the sex workers concerned. This is done to protect the identity and dignity of those whose views are discussed in this chapter.

2.1 Sex Workers' views on Sex Work

This section discusses how sex work is viewed by sex workers as well as their reasons for engaging in sex work. Sex workers have different views on sex work. Some of them said that it conflicts with some of the Basotho traditional moral values, while others saw nothing wrong with it, but rather saw it as work like any other work and even promoted it. Therefore, this section is divided into two sub-sections. Sub-section one explores sex workers' views against sex work, and sub-section two looks into sex workers' views that agree with sex work.

2.1.1 Sex Workers' view against Sex Work

The following sub-section focuses on views that sex workers have against sex work in the light of Basotho traditional moral values. The views of those who were interviewed are discussed in line with the principle which stipulates that relationship plays an important part in acquiring and

sustaining self-principles and in how couples and families develop morals together, both consciously and unconsciously (Shaw, 2011: 3).

2.1.1.1 Sex Work as slavery

Some of the sex workers, though participating in sex industry, view sex work as slavery work. Allain et al. (2012: 917) define the term slavery as “the status or condition of a person over whom any or all of the powers attached to the right of ownership are exercised”. In the context of this study, slavery is when a sex worker is not respected by a client; as a result, a client treats her as he wishes and takes away her freedom, just because he pays her for the service. Data collected indicates that sex workers' freedom is trampled upon by their clients as they treat them as they wish.

The following views are shared by a 33-year-old ‘A’ from Mokhotlong, who said, “sex work is slavery work and it affects sex workers' reputation negatively”. According to ‘A’, sex work is slavery work in that sex workers are often treated badly by their clients. For instance, sometimes the clients insult, beat, humiliate and call them names such as *matekatse* ‘prostitutes’. What ‘A’ said is affirmed by Tšehlana (2002: 18) who empathises that, “many teenage sex workers sustain physical injuries from severe beating and stabbing that can be evidenced by old scars and marks on their backs and thighs”. This is in line with ‘A’s opinion that sex work is some sort of slavery. ‘A’ affirmed that sex work is wrong even though she is engaging in it as sex workers become slaves to their clients who treat them as their objects and not people with dignity.

According to ‘A, sex work affects sex workers’ reputation negatively for they are treated as people who are indecent and immoral. This is so because their practice is viewed as against the Basotho traditional moral values which are respect for oneself and other people. Respect is defined as “an act of showing polite behaviour on oneself or the habit of respecting the social taboos that envisage one with a feeling of pride” (Martins, 2007: 44). In this context, respect means having good morals and avoiding bad behaviour which affects other people and which is against Basotho traditional moral values, such as sex outside marriage. According to Metz et al. (2016: 5), there is a relationship of sharing a way of life, a matter of considering oneself as part of the whole, experiencing life as bound up with others, and feeling integrated. Again, this would make people like ‘A’ who are perceived by society as “immoral people”, difficult to be integrated into society.

Considering what 'A' revealed about their relationship with their clients, as far as slavery is concerned 'A' replied as follows.

Our clients treat us as they wish and there is no respect at all. They do not consider our human rights at all, since we are in need of their money, and as a result we endure any circumstance that we encounter. Some even say "we pay you, so you as I tell you and you should not be tired at all". I do not find sex work as a work but rather as a slave to us who are poor and marginalised. And again, the fact that there is no relationship between myself and my client.

According to 'A's view, sex work is not work and should not be regarded as one as it is the social and economic exploitation of the marginalised people. This view by 'A' implies that sex work contradicts the principle of the Relational Moral Theory as cited by Shaw (2011: 3). The theory views the relationship as a crucial element in the development and maintenance of a moral self and the way couples and families construct an ethical platform together, consciously and unconsciously. 'A' viewed sex work as wrong for it is not aimed at promoting the relationship as stated in the Relational Moral Theory that couples and families should construct an ethical platform together (Shaw, *ibid*). The participant insisted that sex work is an exploitation of the marginalised. Since 'A' is forced by circumstances beyond her control to opt for sex work, she failed to develop and maintain the moral self, which is good conduct that is in line with Basotho traditional moral values. In particular, sex work does not value self-respect since sex is confined to marriage.

With regard to the moral principle by Shaw (2011: 3) that relationships are a crucial element in the development and maintenance of a moral self, what 'A' said is indicative of a bad relationship between sex workers as service providers and their clients. As a result, this bad relationship develops and maintains a feeling of unworthiness and indecency or lack of self-moral within the sex workers themselves as they are conscious of the Basotho traditional moral values that do not support their practice.

If she was given an option of a decent job, 'A' insisted that she could have opted for the job and upheld self-respect. This means that she could be living according to Basotho traditional moral value of respect. 'A' affirmed that she still wishes to regain her self-respect, good moral reputation

and a clear conscience. The implication here is that, by engaging in sex work, 'A' considered herself to have defied her moral principles with the indecent practice. On the other hand, she felt that although she was to blame for failing to earn herself the moral respect she so yearned for, she had no choice but to survive by all means at her disposal.

2.1.1.2 Sex Work as a dirty work

Responding to the same question, 'B' who was 48-years-old from Mohale's Hoek, shared her views as follows: "Sex work is wrong for it is dirty work. It separated me from my husband and the community and exposes me to have sex with different men." Even though 'B' engaged in sex work to get a decent life and obtain a better education for her children, she found sex work as dirty work for it sometimes separates sex workers from their husbands and children. The effects of criminalization, stigma and other forms of discrimination could extend into sex workers' family lives and impair their capacities as mothers. 'B' further pointed out that most women, including her, have left their husbands and other members of their extended families. Indeed, such families suffer the stigma brought by the wayward members of such families.

Nonetheless, 'B' informed the researcher that she was a sex worker because she needed to rid herself of poverty and be able to take her children to school so that they obtain a better education. She said that her decision to join this practice emanated from her communication with one of her friends who was already a sex worker. Even though 'B' 's friend had encouraged 'B' to join sex work because she had found it to be a source of income, 'B' felt betrayed by her friend who did not tell her that she would be sleeping with multiple males. As a result, 'B' regarded sex work to be dirty work which is utterly inhuman and immoral, hence affecting her moral values as a Mosotho woman.

Sex work does not conform to the principle of the Relational Moral Theory which says that "there is a relationship of sharing a way of life, a matter of considering oneself a part of the whole, experience life as bound up with others, and feeling integrated", (Metz, 2012: 5). The kind of life that sex workers are engaged in separates them from the entire members of the society; hence, they feel that they are afraid to face their community. 'B' shared that she was afraid to go home and she did not attend any activities of the community. The researcher discovered that some sex workers do not even go home to participate in their community activities such as funerals and others. This

affects their relationship not only with their family members but also with other people in their communities. Moreover, Shaw (2011: 3) argues that relationship plays an important part in acquiring and sustaining self-principles. This implies that 'B' decided to go against her morals and joined her friend in sex work and ended up not living according to self-respect and self-control as Basotho traditional moral values propose. These moral values advocate for one's good behaviour, adjustment of one's emotions and feelings, going against one's desire and having discipline regardless of challenges one encounter in life. Molise et al. (2018: 294) describe moral values as a set of principles that guide people in knowing what is right or wrong, then making their own decision. Self-control as one of the moral values means the ability to control oneself, in particular one's emotions and desires, especially in difficult situations (Baumeister, 2003: 43). In this study, self-control is the ability for one to adjust one's emotions and feelings, and to go against one's desire and have discipline.

In regard to her sex work industry, 'B' voiced her views as follows: "I am not happy with the work that I am engaged in and I am worried about our future with my children". This response by 'B' shows a person who is not satisfied with the situation that she was in. She was worried about her future and that of her children, as she had dreams which she needed to achieve, but being a sex worker had already dulled such dreams.

2.1.1.3 Sex work as an evil work

Another view is by 'C', who was a 43-years-old sex worker from Thaba-Tseka. She expressed her views in this manner:

Sex work is evil work, which does not have God in it. My reason for saying this is that, we live in a world of fear and rudeness, both ourselves (sex workers) and our clients. Again, I found it evil because I know that sex before marriage is a sin. Even Basotho do not allow sex before marriage, and even in marriage, one should not be involved in sex with other men as sex is respected. I am sleeping with other women's men which might break their relationships at home.

The excerpt above indicates 'C's realisation that sex work is wrong as it does not give her freedom to be herself and live as she was expected and created for. According to Clark (2016: 4), in relation to Relational Ethics in the African tradition, the basic goal of one's life should be to realise human excellence or what is called "Ubuntu". Here the understanding is that there is a higher distinctive human part of our nature that needs to be developed. The relationship between 'C' and the community is viewed as important in the development and maintenance of the sex worker's value of dignity and responsibility. This is evident in 'C', who apparently learned a lesson in her industry that the relationship she has with the community holds her accountable for her actions.

Answering the same question of how 'C' viewed sex work considering Basotho traditional moral values, 'C' explained that sex work lowered her dignity. She felt that she was nobody even in society as her dignity as a human being was tarnished by this practice. In observing 'C', the researcher noticed that 'C' was aware of the immorality of sex work practice for it lowered her dignity. She further mentioned that if people happened to know or recognise her as a sex worker, they would look down upon her and discredit her to the extent of calling her a 'prostitute' which she found humiliating. Though it is painful to be called by such a name, she too acknowledged that this practice is not good work according to Basotho moral values, such as self-respect and dignity which earn people a place of respect in society. According to Bell (2002: 55), self-respect is very important since it generates self-control. Wong et al. (2011: 7) argue that "sex workers have been long marginalised and stigmatised in the social and cultural realms and have been seen as deviant, immoral, and deserving of punishment.

Even though society discriminates sex workers, and sex workers themselves acknowledge that this practice is wrong, Wong et al.'s (2011) words are strongly against sex workers, especially the part on punishment. The researcher suggests that sex workers could be helped to come out of their situation and live according to Basotho traditional moral values. 'C' was aware that she had been brought up according to Basotho traditional moral values whereby she learned self-respect, self-control, perseverance, and hard work, but the circumstances that she was in, forced her to join sex work industry. In this case, one should choose what is best and right for herself, despite the circumstances. According to the researcher, these are not enough reasons that can drive one to lose her dignity and the respect of society.

The situation of sex workers isolates them from other people. During the discussion, ‘C’ shared that she was afraid to face her family. She reported that she found it difficult to go back home and face her community as she was aware that what she was doing was against her moral values in accordance with self-respect. ‘C’s behaviour is against the Relational Moral Theory principle that promotes the development and maintenance of the moral self as stated by Shaw (2011: 3). This implies that sex workers have to behave in a way that is acceptable to their communities. They have to endure the situations that they encounter in their family lives or find other means to uphold the virtue of perseverance, which is one of Basotho traditional moral values that can help them through even when they encounter problems. With this in mind, one can see the wisdom of one of the Basotho proverbs that says *mosali o ngalla motšeo*, (Mokitime, 1997: 18), literally translated as ‘a woman sulks towards the innermost part of a house’ which means, a woman is not expected to abandon her home no matter how tough it is. According to Mokitimi (1997:18), if a woman has problems, she has to solve them. In this case, ‘C’ admitted that she was afraid to meet the community since she abandoned Basotho traditional moral values to join sex work, instead of persevering in the hard situation that she encountered.

2.1.2 Sex Workers’ views that support Sex Work

This section discusses sex workers’ views in support of sex work, in the light of Basotho traditional moral values. The views are discussed in line with Relational Moral Theory which argues that relationship is a crucial element in the development and maintenance of a moral self. In this context, the development and maintenance of the sex workers’ morals are considered in line with Basotho traditional moral values.

Basotho traditional moral values recommend hard work for earning a living, despite how difficult that work may be. ‘D’ and ‘E’ perceived this value as too strict and not accommodating for the problematic social and financial situations experienced nowadays. Among others, ‘D’ and ‘E’ argued that for Basotho traditional moral values to recognise the practice of sex only within the marriage institution, did not help their situation for the value of hard work prohibits sex as part of a transaction for work or for earning money. This was in response to the researcher’s question about their views on sex work as far as Basotho traditional moral values are concerned. Among others, ‘D’ who was 23 years old from Mohale’s Hoek, replied as follows: “Basotho traditional

moral values are selfish and self-centred as they do not consider our personal needs. For instance, they do not put bread on my table. It is I and my kids who go to bed on empty stomachs. Therefore, I abhor anything that seems to correct me, since it does not provide for me or fulfil my needs.”

This implies that ‘D’ knew about moral values as a Mosotho adult. However, these moral values are ignored in the circumstances in which she found herself. Cordero (2013: 24) is of the opinion that “in today’s modern world, the decline of morality among our teenagers is very evident”. This calls for the active part that society should play in order to help each other to come up with sustainable solutions that can help everyone to engage in hard work as one of the Basotho traditional moral values. Hard work means depending on one self’s acceptable abilities in earning a living. It is a time-consuming effort and dedication that leads to achievement. Therefore, abiding by hard work involves creating means of providing for the family, such as being involved in a small project of gardening at home in order to survive. These efforts can help a sex worker to avoid the degrading practice of sex work no matter how difficult the situation may be. Following the Relational Moral Theory, the maintenance of a moral self is a crucial element. Thus, the researcher argues that the involvement of the community with sex workers might not only help them leave sex work and uphold the Basotho traditional moral value of hard work but also build a relationship between sex workers and the community.

Furthermore, in supporting sex work, ‘E’ who was 19 years old from Maseru expressed her views in this way:

I do not see anything wrong with myself when I am a sex worker. Sex work is work like any other work. We need to be recognised in the country. I cannot comment much on Basotho traditional moral values, since I do not know them. I never even heard of them. I cannot even remember a day I was told about them even at school.

The researcher observes that ‘E’ was brought up ignorant of Basotho traditional moral values, hence she regarded sex work as any other work and saw no contradiction with the said moral values. Murphy (2022: 226) affirms that values should be instilled at a tender age. ‘E’ accepted herself as a sex worker; as a result, she did not perceive sex work as an immoral practice. Her reasons were as follows:

I heard about sex workers and that they are being paid for sex. I found it very interesting for me. And that seemed to be very easy for me since I did not see anything wrong. I then thought of going and joining sex work. I came here by choice and I like it. I did not know that there are some Basotho traditional moral values. It could be because I brought myself up. Even now I do not see anything wrong since I live the life that I chose and think it is the best for me.

From the response above, seemingly, 'E' had brought herself up with no guidance on Basotho traditional moral values. Even though Basotho used to believe that a child is raised by the village and not by biological parents to a child, this did not happen with 'E'. Reupert (2010: 8) is in line with this Basotho culture that "it takes a village to raise a child". The principle of the Relational Moral Theory advocates for the development and maintenance of the moral self to build strong relationships with one's family and community. It seems that 'E' had no such relationship with her family and the community. In line with this principle, the non-existence of a relationship between 'E' and the family did not help her to develop and maintain herself in living according to Basotho traditional moral values. As a result, there was no Basotho traditional moral values or ethical platform that guided 'E' through her life.

The situation about 'E' points to the family's need to teach Basotho traditional moral values which are respect for oneself and others, moral conscience, and dignity of self and others. It is important that Basotho traditional moral values are instilled in children at a tender age so that they may know what is right and wrong from the beginning. While the current section shared the sex workers' views on sex work, the subsequent section summarises the findings of the chapter.

2.2 Conclusion

This chapter aimed to discuss sex workers' views on sex work in relation to Basotho traditional moral values. The chapter revealed that some sex workers were of the view that sex work is immoral while others supported it. Those who considered sex work morally wrong pointed out that the circumstances forced them to get involved in it as a means of survival. Under the circumstances, they perceived sex work as a slavery practice. Again, those who viewed sex work as wrong described it as an indecent practice that lowers their dignity. They even judged

themselves by saying that they were living a sinful way of life and that they are shameful of themselves. They claimed that even society does not welcome them.

On the contrary, those who regard sex work as the right thing argued that Basotho traditional moral values are too strict and not accommodating to the social and financial situations that they are experiencing. Additionally, these sex workers stated that Basotho traditional moral values do not only recognise the practice of sex within the marriage institution but also prohibit sex as a kind of work that earns them money. Some sex workers did not know about the Basotho traditional moral values; hence they saw nothing wrong with sex work. The chapter also discussed some of the reasons for sex workers to participate in sex work; among them are child-headed families, abduction, lack of education, unemployment, poverty, and migrant labour.

CHAPTER THREE

FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO SEX WORK IN LESOTHO

3.0 Introduction

Chapter two discussed the sex workers' views on sex work in the light of the Basotho traditional moral values. This chapter aims to establish and discuss factors that contribute to sex work in Lesotho. Among the factors that may lead to sex work, the researcher has identified six factors that are categorised and discussed under the following sections: child-headed families which includes the death of parents and divorced parents, abduction, lack of education, unemployment, poverty, and migrant labour. The last section provides the conclusion of the chapter.

3.1 Child-headed families

This section discusses child-headed families identified as one of the factors leading to sex work. Child-headed family otherwise known as child-headed household is a family in which a minor has become the head of the household (Pillay, 2006: 2). These are children who are left without parents to support them such that one of them, normally the elder, takes over the role played by parents. Children who are heads of families are normally independent, intelligent and resilient. The study categorises this factor into two sub-factors that form the basis of child-headed families namely: parents' death and divorce. Mbanefo (2013: 56) concurs that factors such as HIV/AIDS and divorce are the causes of children heading families and taking responsibility for their younger siblings.

3.1.1 *The death of parents*

The death of parents is the first sub-factor that is discussed in this sub-section. One of the pandemics that have taken a toll in most if not all African countries and the world at large is HIV/AIDS. Roux-Kemp (2013: 2) asserts that due to HIV/AIDS pandemic, some parents have died, leaving their elder children in charge of households, and caring for their younger siblings.

Townsend et al. (2007) argue that relatives refuse to take care of children whose parents died as a result of HIV/AIDS because those children might as well die and increase the burden on relatives. This means that such children are then left alone to take care of themselves. It is in situations such as this that the older children assume headship of family responsibilities and look after their younger siblings. However, some deaths are not caused by pandemics but are gang-related as there are Sesotho accordion music rival gangs in Lesotho. Tšehlana (2002: 63) observes that “broken

and dysfunctional families as well as the death of both parents, mostly due to HIV/AIDS these days, could be responsible for children having to support families”. It is in this situation that children who are barely teenagers engage in sexual activities and as such, become prone to sex work.

To have a better and broader understanding of this phenomenon, especially concerning sex work, the researcher interviewed sex workers. The following are some of their responses about what they view as contributing factors to their involvement in the sex industry. One of the sex workers referred to as ‘F’, aged 34, from Maseru, had this to say:

When I was 16 years old, my parents died due to HIV/AIDS. I have my siblings and I am the firstborn. The extended family took us to our uncle’s family. They treated us badly, especially his wife. Sometimes we went to bed without food. One day in the evening, she (the wife of my uncle) chased us back to our long-deserted house while my uncle was not at home. The house was quiet and we slept without food or water that night and I felt for my two younger brothers. The next day I went to one of the rich businessmen in the village. I asked for food for myself and my siblings and he offered it to me. Thereafter, I used to go to his place and begged to work for food on Saturdays, and this went on for some time. Eventually, I decided to go to join sex work as a means of survival, as I was ashamed of having to ask for food always. I had heard about sex workers and that they do not struggle in life. And today I am a sex worker because of the situation of losing my parents. I just could not choose otherwise.

From ‘F’s’ narration above, it is evident that some children are forced by circumstances to take up the responsibility of being parents and interrupt their schooling to find means to provide for and look after their families. This is supported by Tamasane (2011: 32) who points out that “some children are heads of households and are forced by circumstances to seek employment or depend on the goodwill of neighbours and relatives to provide them with necessities such as food and clothing.” It is during this predicament of having to assume the responsibility of heading families that some girls find themselves having no choice but to join the sex work industry in order to earn a living.

According to Smith (2001: 56), HIV/AIDS leaves more child-headed households where the eldest girl cares for the family, and more often than not, the only way to get money and other necessities to survive is through sex work. This implies that the majority of those children who bring themselves up and take care of their siblings following the death of their parents, often lack Basotho traditional moral values to guide them. According to Metz et al. (2016: 4), the Relational Moral Theory in the African tradition advocates that people should develop humanness or become real people by living communally with others and this is precisely what child-headed families lack. Thus, 'F' who was uninformed by Basotho traditional moral values at a tender age felt urged to provide for her younger brothers. These children are not mature enough to work and earn a living. They are liable to many forms of abuse by those who promise them job opportunities.

3.1.2 Divorced parents

Divorce is another factor that contributes to child-headed families, which in turn contributes to the sex work industry. According to Walters (2008: 30),

divorce is a way of terminating a marriage situation in which one or both partners cannot satisfyingly relate to each other or cannot interact together without psychological injury to one or both...as a stressful occurrence which results in the annulment of the covenantal agreement of marriage which inevitably leads to psychological pain and trauma.

It is in a situation of divorce that parents and children are affected, but mostly children who are in the course of it may be deprived of proper upbringing and failed to be taught Basotho traditional moral values. Matooane (2008: 84) asserts that divorce has become a huge problem in today's generation and it has more bitter results for children.

G's narrative below shows how she became the head of her family at the very tender age of eleven, and a sex worker at the age of 15 as a result of the divorce of her parents. She is from Thaba-Tseka, Mochlanapeng, and was interviewed at Maseru. She narrated her story thus:

At the age of nine, my parents divorced and thus our parental upbringing was harmed, especially from our mother's side. My mother was a morally strict person who taught us moral values, especially respect for ourselves and our bodies. When

our mother left the house, she left us with our father. After some time, our father left us too and we moved to our grandmother with whom we stayed for two years. My younger sister who was five years old and I were left with my grandmother who did not accept us, since she did not have a good relationship with my mother. One day she chased us away from her house to our deserted and dilapidated house. People from the village and some members of our extended family could barely afford to help us with food, clothing, and other necessities. At the age of 15, I decided to go to Maseru to look for a domestic job, but in vain. I then became a sex worker to survive.

The story above shows how much contribution divorce has towards child-headed families, which then leads some children into sex work. 'G' shared how their parents' divorce affected them. That is, their parental upbringing was pre-maturely interrupted: 'G' suffered the consequences of the sour relations between her mother and grandmother; she was forced by the circumstances to assume the responsibility of the head of the family and ultimately, she became a sex worker, despite the morals that she was taught by her mother before separation.

The researcher discovered how divorce could harm and destroy children's characters and personalities as it has done to 'G' who had to make a living for herself and her sister by being a sex worker at an early age. Moreover, she had to be the head of her family at that age. Matooane (2008: 24) further stipulates that children who grow up in a divorce environment tend to undergo a lot of trauma. The researcher observed that this is what happened to 'G' as she ended up being a sex worker not by her choice but due to circumstances. Her parents failed to endure the situation and persevere despite the situation that they encounter in their marriage, and this made 'G' lose the moral compass as she finally fell into the sex industry. The Relational Moral Theory argues that family relationships are real (Shaw, 2011: 2). The familial bond is presumed to be of indispensable value in nurturing the moral worldview of children. Thus, the family is the primary moral educator. However, the absence of parents in the upbringing of children creates a dilemma in the lives of the children who had to knit things together to make life work, which in the case of 'G' happened to be contrary to Basotho traditional moral values such as sex before marriage.

From ‘G’s story above, the researcher also discovered that the grandmother failed to observe Basotho traditional moral values such as love and care for her grandchildren. She did not show love to them as she chased them away. The fact that ‘G’ had to look after her younger sister at an age at which she was supposed to be cared for herself, was too much for her. This means that ‘G’ had to make serious life decisions that ended up ripping off her smooth physical and moral growth; and ultimately engaging in sex work to earn a living for herself and her younger sister. The subsequent section deals with abduction as another factor leading to sex work.

3.2 Abduction

Abduction is one of the factors leading to sex work as mentioned by some of the sex workers during the interviews. According to Wehmeier (2000: 1), the term abduction refers to “the carrying off of a person by force or fraud; especially, the kidnapping of a woman for marriage, prostitution, and others.” Regarding abduction, *Molao oa Lerotholi* (Section 2, No 3: 11) indicates that an abduction is an illegal act and an improper mode of getting married that is also punishable by customary law. Mokhethi (1988: 7) notes that in abduction, force and corporal punishment are inflicted upon the person of the abducted girl whose love and consent are not asked for. A girl is forced to marry a person that she does not love and know. The establishment of the Lesotho Marriage Act No. 10 (1974) suggests that a person cannot be forced into any contract of marriage with any person, especially in rural places where people do not know about their rights and the laws. This would mean that the victims of abduction are in marriages that were imposed upon them, with a likelihood that they would prefer to leave. Sebananyi et al. (2022: 49) point out that the practice of *chobeliso* ‘abduction’ has exposed many girls to danger.

In the past, *chobeliso* among the Basotho was common and was resorted to as a mode of marriage that was part of male domination of the female sex; illegal as it is. It is very rare for the present generation to have lasting marriages from *chobeliso*. One of the interviewees at Mohale’s Hoek who is 29 years old from Quthing, a victim of abduction and is referred to here as ‘H’, narrated her story as follows:

One day when I was collecting wood in the bush, I was abducted by three men that I did not know. I struggled to free myself and cried but in vain. I was muzzled up with a cloth so that I could not make noise. Eventually, I asked them whether they

were going to murder me. One of them, who was very dark in complexion, responded that I should know that I am married to him. I was so terrified and shivering, and tears came out.

When it was dark, I was taken to the village and I became *makoti* (*a newly married*) to the very man who claimed to be marrying me. I lived with that man for full 3 years without seeing my home. Since I was under tight women's security, it was not easy to run away. One day I got a chance to escape as my security was relaxed. For fear that my parents might take me back to my husband, I did not want to go to my home, but to a place far away, as far as Maseru, actually in town. On my arrival, I slept on the street where I met two girls who talked to me and asked me whether I was going to join them in selling my body. I then decided to join them since I had no other option. I found that it was better to do so rather than to go back to that miserable so-called "marriage".

The fact that 'H' was abducted into marriage from which she left, complaining about the misery of the situation, points to the fact that abduction is contrary to the Relational Moral Theory. According to the theory, relationships are a crucial element in the development and maintenance of moral self and how couples and families construct an ethical platform together both consciously and unconsciously (Metz, 2002: 3). In the case of 'H', abduction had deprived her of relationships as an ethical platform; hence she was looking for an opportunity to escape from the situation, which she eventually did. It was in the abduction situation that one may see no difference between marriage relationships and sex work industry. The only difference is that in sex work, one joins the industry, while in abduction, one is forced into marriage.

This story by 'H' shows how abduction could contribute to sex work. To be forced to marry through abduction creates lots of hatred and misunderstanding between couples in the generation of today and eventually leads to separation. In a situation whereby one does not have a means of living, after separation, one can opt for sex work. It is evident that 'H' is emotionally hurt and does not accept that abduction could ultimately lead to marriage; it instead leads to slavery and sexual oppression. For 'H', abduction, as well as sex work, has degraded her moral self. In this instance, the principle that "relationship is a crucial element in the maintenance of a moral self and how

couples and families construct an ethical platform together, both consciously and unconsciously” (Shaw 2011:3), is disregarded by both ‘H’ and her husband. ‘H’ decided to join sex workers because she could not bond with her abductor.

In this case of ‘H’, relational responsiveness mechanisms would have also helped whereby relationships are built through responsiveness. Canevello et al. (2011: 3) assert that in a “responsive relationship, partners convey understanding, valuation, and caring”. As noted in ‘H’s’ narration, these were lacking in her marriage, as she felt like a prisoner by being guarded for three years hence, she ended up quitting and joining sex work because she found herself trapped in a forced and unfulfilling relationship.

3.3 Lack of Education

This section is set to discuss lack of education as another factor leading to sex work. According to Environmental Conscience (2022: 1), lack of education can refer to a state whereby people are below the average level of common knowledge regarding basic things that are urgently needed in daily life. Allison Academy (2022: 38) stipulates that lack of education is the main reason why the poor happen to join the struggle for survival from an early age and are prone to various forms of exploitation of which sex work is one of them. Education is considered essential for human growth and development; and without it, participation in social affairs and the job market happen to expose those from disadvantaged families to all sorts of abuse and exploitation. Without basic education, poorly educated people are forced to always be at the bottom of their social and economic ladder from which they have to rise by all means to find their way up.

While free primary education in Lesotho may have been aimed at addressing the needs of primary education, children from disadvantaged families still lack basic education as they cannot afford tuition fees at high school and tertiary institutions. The majority of children struggle to acquire quality education since the level of education in the country has dropped drastically. With their negatively affected human development, these people are merely forced by circumstances beyond their control to take any offered jobs even those of indecent nature. This is the situation in which the majority of the uneducated people find themselves, with no choice but to opt for sex work among others, to avoid the dire situations and make ends meet for their personal and family needs.

Education plays such an essential role in human development that its lack is manifested negatively in people's lives psychologically, economically, and morally. Following Allison Academy (2022: 38), people whose life has been affected by a lack of basic education, become socially marginalised and exploited with few employment options. People who were once innocent and morally upright, find themselves so hard-pressed by the need to survive that they tend to raise very few moral issues when it comes to earning a living. The poorly educated happen to be oppressed as social misfits amenable to easy victimisation, exploitation, and abuse by the ruthless in society. It is in line with a situation like the one described above that the researcher interviewed one sex worker in Maseru referred to here as 'I', who was 42 years old from Mokhotlong. She shared her story as follows:

I was 22 years old and doing form A when I made up my mind to quit schooling. I liked school so much but unfortunately from primary to high school, the rural area schools I attended, performed poorly mainly due to few and underqualified teachers. I desired to go to better schools but I could not afford them. The level of education was so poor that when I was in form A, I could hardly afford to make sensible communication in Sesotho (read and write); speaking or writing English was a disaster. Due to a lack of English language command, my performance has been a disaster in subjects such as mathematics, agriculture English language and literature. Discouraged by the poor performance at school and heartbroken, I decided to go and find any kind of work in Maseru where I joined a group of sex workers.

The above story illustrates how poor education may affect a person's future. Though 'I' had high hopes and desires for a decent life, these were dashed and she ended up as a sex worker. Allison Academy (2022: 41) mentions that people who lack education or stopped at primary school, often occupy poorly paid jobs, or struggle to find any job whatsoever. They, therefore, end up engaging themselves in any job, anyhow, to survive. This is exactly what happened to 'I'. The researcher understands that when children fail to get quality education, they will be forced to opt for odd jobs in the future. The outcome is that some end up leaving school and finding ways such as sex work to survive. Nkala (2014: 68) concurs with the above statement by saying that sex workers dropped out of school or failed to continue with education; consequently, sex work has become the only profession at their disposal.

Furthermore, the underdevelopment of outlying rural schools in Lesotho contributes to poor performance by both teachers and students. There are places such as Qacha's Nek, Mokhotlong, and Thaba Tseka where schooling is coupled with the difficulty of mountainous terrain and long distances that both students and teachers have to travel every day to and from school. These factors make it very difficult for learners and teachers to come to school every day. The circumstances are bad, such that when it rains some learners and teachers fail to go to school due to flooded dongas and rivers that have to be crossed on foot because there are no bridges. This affects learners as they tend to hate school since it appears like a punishment to them.

3.4 Unemployment

Unemployment is another factor leading to sex work as illustrated in this section. Unemployed are the people who do not have a job after having actively looked for a job for some time and are unable to find one (Amadeo, 2018: 2). This adopts the perception that unemployment refers to people who are jobless, but are seeking for a job. Lesotho is among the underdeveloped countries affected by the high unemployment rate (Damane et al. 2018: 5). This results in some people finding themselves economically challenged, thereby engaging in illegal activities such as sex work.

One of the sex workers named 'J' aged 36 years from Phamong Mohale's Hoek was interviewed at Mohale's Hoek and this is what she had to say:

I grew up in a family where my parents were not working. Since I was born, none of them was working. We lived with the help of my uncle who used to help us here and there, especially with "papa" (porridge) and the paying of school fees and things we were struggling to get. The situation was threatening as I grew up. I remember my younger brother who was hired as a shepherd and who was paid one hundred and fifty maloti per month. His wage could not help to improve the livelihood of the family.

My mother is a professional primary school teacher, but she was never hired ever since she graduated. She said she once volunteered herself in one of the schools and she was not being paid. She was hoping that at the end, the school would offer her

some work since there was a teacher who was supposed to retire, but in vain. From my home to town is two hours walk. I remember my father was going to town every day except on the weekends, looking for a job, especially at The Employment Bureau of Africa (TEBA). He did not get the job. I too struggled to find a job for many years, until I came to Mophale's Hoek town where I met women who introduced me to sex work. They welcomed me, but I did not feel at home in their company.

From the narrative above, it is assumed that unemployment was a very serious problem for 'J's family that affected the livelihoods of all the members of the family. It was in this sad situation of unemployment that 'J' found out that the only way out was to join sex work industry. Dergacheva (2020: 35) believes that sex workers are forced by economic pressure to earn a living in the way they do. The Relational Moral Theory holds that decision-making can involve imaginative, creative, and aesthetic possibilities (Metz, 2002: 3). From 'J's case, it is argued that her parents failed to draw from this theory as they did not consider any of these possibilities. They did not look for means to create jobs for themselves. Instead, they wanted to be employed, which is a major problem in this country where almost everyone is educated. 'J' was influenced by the environment where she grew up where she also thought of being employed as a solution to her problems. She did not think of having any small project to start a business. However, 'J's situation gives us a picture of how unemployment in Lesotho could be a contributing factor to sex work.

3.5 Poverty

The current section deals with poverty as another contributing factor to sex work. Holms (2007: 43) defines poverty as not being able to have basic needs such as enough food to eat and clothes to dress. The evidence of poverty is a contributing factor to sex work is presented by a 37 years old sex worker from Maseru named 'K' in the following story:

My family was faced with poverty and we did not know how to overcome it. My children were looking up to me to give them food and I was unable because I could not afford even to take them to school. I know about Basotho traditional moral values as I was taught at home as a Mosotho woman. It was difficult to decide to take part in this kind of work of being a sex worker, but I had no choice, because

of the situation of poverty that I was in. I had to provide for my family and make sure that my children went to school since my husband had left me.

According to 'K's story, the situation of poverty she was faced with was so imposing upon herself and her children that for her to go against Basotho traditional moral values and join sex work was a lesser evil. This is in line with Nkala's (2014: 68) discovery that prostitution is rife in Bulawayo and involves students as young as 13-17 years old, who are driven by poverty and even end up dropping out of school. The poverty that 'K' faced, forced her to opt for sex work as a means to earn an income for her family. She had to make a crucial decision to engage in sex work in order to provide food and clothing for her family. She was faced with poverty and she could not do anyhow except forget her morals and fend for herself and her family. This implies that the life of poverty among the Basotho can also contribute to the sex work industry that is widespread in the country. Families go to bed on empty stomachs and relatives do not take care of extended family members anymore, which used to be the norm among the Basotho. Basotho used to share even food but these days, that norm of sharing has vanished. As Metz et al. (2016: 5) cite, among Africans, the "communitarian values" of "living a life of mutual concern for the welfare of others, such as in a cooperative creation and distribution of wealth" is highlighted. Basotho were renowned for helping each other, especially in circumstances where there were poor in the community. It was in circumstances like this that the children of the poor especially boys would look after the animals of the rich in the village in return for basic needs such as milk, meat, corn and animals. Extended family played a pivotal role in this regard (Matšela, 1990: 48).

'L' who aged 40 from Thaba-Tseka, Motse-Mocha was interviewed in Maseru, shared her reason for being a sex worker under the circumstances of poverty, and she replied as follows:

I opted to be a sex worker when I realized that I am dying of hunger in the house with my children, with no decent work to make ends meet. I tried a small business but in vain. I joined sex work hoping that I would manage to cater for the needs of my children. I saw sex work as the only option left for me.

This extract reflects 'L's sad and painful situation which resulted in her joining sex work as the last option left for her. According to her observation, some sex workers were managing to cater for their needs and those of their children. On the contrary, her experience in sex work has made

her realise that this engagement has led her to be badly treated and taken as an object; her reputation and dignity are also lost. On the side of other members of society, her practice and that of her colleagues are seen as indecent and immoral as they are regarded as counter Basotho traditional moral values. She ultimately felt that they (sex workers) lack self-respect and even that of others. She also realised that her needs are not even met as she is still struggling and it is not easy for her with what she is doing, due to the treatment that she encounters as well as her dignity as a human being who was raised with Basotho traditional moral values.

3.6 Migrant Labour

Migrant labour is the last factor to be discussed in this section that leads to sex work. According to IOM (2022: 1), a migrant is

an umbrella term, not defined under international law, reflecting the common lay understanding of a person who moves away from his or her place of usual residence, whether within a country or across an international border, temporarily or permanently, and for a variety of reasons.

Also, migrant labour can be people who move from their respective places for the purpose of employment. Wells (1994: 264) asserts that during the 19th century, migrant labour became an economic necessity for many Basotho. This implies that young and middle-aged men moved from their places to work in the mines in South Africa and other places of employment in urban places of Lesotho. Most people from rural areas leave their places because of different reasons and stay in the urban towns, hoping that life in the urban would be much better. 'M' and 'N' left their places and stayed in the city of Maseru. 'M' was a 19-year-old girl from Khohlo-ntšo Thaba-Tseka who was interviewed in Maseru. She shared her story as follows:

I left my place because of the lack of some necessities such as electricity, reliable transport and other town facilities. I came here to explore life, and to find some opportunities in town. I had a dream of enjoying the benefits of living in town, only to find out that life in town is demanding money and therefore expensive. Even though in town there are a lot of resources, accessing them is very difficult. Having been faced with difficulties, I chose to join sex workers.

The afore-cited excerpt shows how migrant labour contributed towards turning ‘M’ into a sex worker. She left her home with the intention to explore life in town where she could have access to resources such as electricity but all that was in vain. In Maseru, she experienced more problems since the standard of living in town is too demanding, and opportunities are hard to find. In order to achieve her dreams, she ended up making a choice to join sex work. Makhatha et al. (2021: 1) argue that migrants’ struggle begins from the household circumstances that often force them to leave and seek job opportunities elsewhere. According to Micollier (2017: 13), “sex work influences mobility and vice-versa: temporary migratory movements of the population and sex work are two closely interrelated social phenomena”. Though “M” decided to come to Maseru, her migration does not absolve her from moral obligations. As Shaw (2011: 4) states in *Relational Ethics and Moral Imagination in Contemporary Systemic Practice*, “we cannot avoid confronting moral problems because acting in ways that affect the wellbeing of ourselves and others is unavoidable.” Decisions about morality are inevitable in life, even if they might hurt us or others. The researcher argues that this is the path that ‘M’ was supposed to have taken instead of sex work.

‘N’ who was 18 years old from Mafeteng Ha Mothokho, now reciting in Maseru, related her story in this manner:

My family left my birthplace, and now we are staying here in Maseru whereby I was exposed to many things. I ended up leaving school just because I wanted to have my own money for buying expensive phone and clothes, as well as other items, especially those that my friends were having. I started to have a “sugar daddy”, who was organized for me by my friends. I heard of sex workers getting a lot of money and I decided to join them. My parents apparently discovered that I am a sex worker, they confronted me and I promised to stop being a sex worker. In secret, I continued doing it because of money although my state of being a sex worker is not giving me peace of mind; the love of money prevents me from stopping.

The implication here is that ‘N’s life completely changed once she experienced township lifestyle. She was influenced by her friends to the extent that she left school and ultimately joined sex work. From ‘N’s story, it is observed that uncontrollable love for money can make some people

unreasonable like her. According to Karkov (2012: 7), the main reason for prostitution is money, as the quotation says, “Money is cited by 85% of the prostitutes... Some have to pay for housing, food, and day-care for their children...”. For the love of money, young girls enter the sex industry like ‘N’ and end up destroying their future.

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter aimed at investigating and discussing the factors that lead to sex work. The following factors were identified: child-headed families, abduction, lack of education, unemployment, poverty, and migrant labour. As for child-headed families, it was observed that they are brought about by the death and divorce of their parents. It was revealed that the death of both parents has left older children the challenge to rise to the occasion and assume family responsibilities. Again, the divorce of parents has also led to child-headed families which also forced children to fend for themselves, hence joining sex work.

Abduction is another factor that leads to sex work. According to sex workers, abduction violates relational ethics, it is no different from sex work. It also promotes male's sexual oppression of females. Furthermore, lack of education was found to be one of the other factors leading to sex work. Lack of education has also been revealed as negatively affecting young girls by leaving them with limited employment options. According to the sex workers, as the situation in their homes worsened, sex work appeared to be the only option they could exhaust.

The high unemployment rate in Lesotho was found to be contributing towards sex work practice. Again, family poverty was identified as one of the factors leading to sex work, as the majority of the sex workers come from poor families. Lastly, migrant labour from rural to urban areas was found to be contributing to sex work practice. In other words, the girls migrated from their rural places to seek jobs in urban areas. Unfortunately, they could not find decent jobs thus they resorted to sex work.

CHAPTER FOUR

STRATEGIES TO COMBAT THE SEX WORK SITUATION IN LESOTHO

4.0 Introduction

In the previous chapter, factors contributing to the sex work situation in Lesotho were identified and discussed. This chapter discusses strategies that can be used to address the sex work situation in Lesotho. The strategies have been sourced from the sex workers themselves through interviews. These include counselling sessions for sex workers, job creation workshops and subsistence farming projects for sex workers.

4.1 Counselling sessions for sex workers

One of the strategies suggested by the sex workers as a way to address the sex work situation in Lesotho is holding counselling sessions. Holding counselling sessions is viewed as important because it helps one to see the world differently and accept some facts in life. In this context, counselling can assist sex workers to relieve stress and other problems that they encounter (Tšehlana, 2002: 77). Most of the sex workers who were interviewed from the two districts namely Maseru and Mochale's-Hoek said that they would appreciate it if the government could hold some counselling sessions to help them come out of the situation that they are in for it affects their self-esteem. Similarly, majority of sex workers shared that they are afraid to meet people because they have been negatively labelled as people who lead immoral lifestyles. The Relational Moral Theory states that "despite our associations with ethics as judgmental and rule-driven, moral conduct and decision-making can involve imaginative, innovative, and appealing possibilities" (Shaw 2011:3). In line with this theory, through counselling, sex workers can identify areas in which they need to be helped on. Additionally, counselling sessions can help sex workers improve their communication skills and how to cope with their past experiences, deal with the present situation in which they find themselves, and prepare for the future which they need to cultivate as they express their emotions.

As indicated in Chapter three, through the data collected, sex work is a result of unemployment among others, a situation that makes it difficult for some families to cope. Thuy (2001: 75) stipulates that it is necessary to provide one-on-one counselling sessions for a large number of

unemployed people. It is in such counselling sessions that sex workers may share the challenges that they encounter in their sex work industry and life in general.

Meanwhile, some sex worker veterans who were interviewed in Maseru shared that their sex work business is too demanding for them as they are ageing and they wish they could retire. However, what still keeps them in the sex work industry is the need to raise some funds for their retirement. The researcher also found out that some of the sex workers' families have already acknowledged that their children are part and parcel of the sex workers' community. The same sex workers expressed their willingness to attend the counselling sessions to prepare them to go back home.

In addition, they requested that society should also be helped to welcome and accept them back. This can come about through holding meetings in the communities to conscientise members of communities about the circumstances that led victims to sex work. By so doing, the communities might not discriminate against them and label them negatively. Even though sex work is illegal in Lesotho as it was mentioned earlier, but it is there and visible, that is why Lesotho has NGOs which assist sex work in the country.

Contrary to the above view, some sex workers believe that sessions like counselling and healing cannot be of great help to them since they are enjoying the activity. For this reason, they (sex workers) suggested that they could only be happy if the sessions could be tailored towards helping them to face their clients without fear. Because of fear, they are often obliged to take drugs so that they can face high-profile clients and even those who come from their villages. This shows that sex workers are not only facing the problem of sex work as an immoral practice in society, but they are also indulging in drugs to make their habits bearable and enjoyable. Counselling sessions would help them come back to their senses and accept that they still belong to a normal community with Basotho traditional moral values.

From the data collected, the researcher discovered that with some sex workers, the people who betrayed their trust and wounded them are the same people whom they are supposed to go back to and live with. It is not easy for sex workers to face those members of the community who influenced them to join sex work unless they are healed from inside. On the basis of this, they stressed that all parties need counselling sessions inclusive of members of their families and communities who victimised them (sex workers).

The above situation is made clear through what 'O', a 17-year-old from Mafeteng interviewed in Maseru went through. She has this to say:

I was raped by my father at the age of 16 when I was in form C. My father told me not to tell anyone. I kept quiet for some time but the problem was that, once he got a chance, he was on me. I realized that it was too much for me. I reported the matter to my mother who could not believe me but rather instructed me to keep quiet also. I then reported the matter to my uncle shivering. He raped me too. He also told me not to tell anyone. I then decided to tell the chief who also raped me. I finally lost hope in life.

The situation that 'O' faced caused anger in her. She disclosed that she hates her parents and she does not want to meet them again. It is anticipated that the counselling sessions might help 'O' to change her view towards life and her attitude towards those who violated her. However, the researcher argues that this shall have only addressed the problem from 'N's side while those who played a part in causing her such pain would still be left out.

The above story shows a person who has lost hope in life due to the experience that she went through at a young age. 'O' felt betrayed by her parents and her family members too. These are the people who are very close to her and who were supposed to support her. The situation made her lose one of the important Basotho traditional moral values which is trust, both to her parents and other people as well. According to Mayer et al. (1995: 712), trust is the willingness of a person to be vulnerable to the actions of another person. Besides her trust being dashed to pieces, the situation made her hate and abandon her home. Moen (2012: 23) notes that "children mostly abandon their homes because of various reasons which may include among others, violence in the home, physical or psychological abuse, and neglect, and become street kids". In this case, 'O' left her home because of the abuse that she suffered in the hands of the people she trusted. The situation could be redeemed through counselling sessions as suggested by the sex workers. Like others, 'O' could be helped to deal with her anger and be encouraged to forgive those who wronged her. Her concern was that she lost her virginity unintentionally at a tender age. She cried bitterly and lamented that:

I hate my parents so much. I wonder why they brought me into this world. I do not want to meet them again. Life is unfair. I neither wish to be a mother nor be married. Even though I sleep with them (clients) I hate them. I only sleep with them for business. Some clients want to be in a relationship with me, but I am not interested at all. I do not trust people at all, especially men.

From the above extract, 'O' gives the impression of a person who has been deeply hurt and bitter towards not only her parents but other people as well, especially men. Since she could not get help to address her hurt and anger problem, she ended up leaving home to provide for her living by being a sex worker. One deduces that there is a need to listen to sex workers so as to capture their problems. This will allow some kind of intervention to solve such problems so that they may live accordingly as Basotho who embrace traditional moral values. This could also be done through the counselling sessions to prepare the sex workers to re-join their communities and the latter to accept them.

She continued to say that the society from which she comes condemns her since the truth is hidden from it. It (society) regards her as a loose child who does not want to be reproached but to choose her way of life. She further confessed that she was developing aggressive and rebellious behaviour. This indicates that she needs counselling to recover from her emotional and psychological pain. Murphy (2022: 4) argues that his philosophical position is that sex workers are human beings with all attendant human rights and responsibilities. When other sex workers talked about having counselling sessions, 'N' indicated that she was not yet ready as she was still angry and hurting from what happened to her.

One of the sex workers from Mohale's Hoek labelled 'P' raised a complaint concerning payment for sex workers. She shared that one day she was paid by an item other than money. A 52-years old 'P' from Mohale's Hoek, stated that:

I started this kind of work after the loss of my husband. Life was so difficult in the family. Since I am not far from town, I started to sell some fruits, but I did not succeed because the competition was too high. My fruits got rotten sometimes and thus I failed to have a profit, instead, I ran a loss. I then opted to be a sex worker, hoping that I would manage to bring my kids to school and live a better life. The

only thing I could afford was one meal each day. Our clients pay us for anything they could afford. For instance, they give us beans, vegetables, pumpkin, maize, sorghum, and mealie meal from their homes. One time, one of my clients paid me with just an empty basin after I served him. In Mofale's Hoek we serve our clients in the shacks (*mek'huk'hu*).

It is clear from the above extract that sex workers are experiencing different challenges, depending on where they practice. Moreover, the impression that we get from “P” is that sex work did not relieve her of her problems. Instead, she encountered more problems. This situation frustrated her so much that she contemplated leaving Mofale's Hoek town to go to Maseru city hoping for better pay. Against this backdrop, the means that sex workers use to earn money go against Basotho traditional moral values, especially that of hard work. Every Mosotho is expected to work hard to survive and earn a living. Significantly, this idea is supported by the citation from the Bible which says: “by the sweat of your face you shall eat your bread until you return to the ground...” (Genesis, 3:19). Thus, this does not bind only the Basotho, but every human being.

Murphy (2022: 35) argues that prostitution is wrong because it ultimately undermines the moral structure of society through its effect on women as well as families. This is where the theory of Shaw (2011: 3) says that “though association with morality can be seen as judgmental and rule-driven, moral conduct and decision-making can involve imaginative, creative, and aesthetic possibilities”. This principle challenges sex workers to be creative by finding new ways to address their unemployment problems. In this case, ‘P’ should have come up with other solutions for earning income for her livelihood than sex work. Nonetheless, counselling sessions could as well challenge sex workers to be innovative.

4.2 Advocacy (workshops)

According to what the researcher noticed, another way of combating sex work in Lesotho is through workshops that will help sex workers to acquire some skills in handicrafts. This will enable them to produce things with their own hands. A workshop is a “meeting at which a group of people engages in a discussion and activity on a particular project” (Misha et al., 2006: 72). The researcher understands this to imply that among others, a workshop is a meeting intended to empower people

with specific skills, which is definitely what the sex workers need to redirect their lives after sex work.

In an interview with some sex workers, they suggested that workshops that empower them with skills to build a living could come in handy. These workshops can be conducted by the government through the Ministry of Social Development, Youth, Sports and Gender, and NGOs. The Relational Moral Theory argues that “despite their associations with morality as judgmental and rule-driven, moral conduct and decision-making can involve imaginative, creative, and aesthetic possibilities” (Shaw, 2011: 3). This means that to comply with Basotho traditional moral values, sex workers may be imaginative and creative by suggesting training workshops that could furnish them with skills to produce things by themselves to sell. Training workshops may instil skills like sewing and other handicrafts, to help them overcome the situation which has forced them into sex work. During the interview, sex workers proposed ways and means of survival such as sowing clothes and selling them to the community.

4.3 Job creation Workshops

As another way of assisting sex workers to be out of the sex work industry, the sex workers suggested the following means: government job creation and empowerment as other strategies that can be employed. Job creation means generating some job opportunities for other people so that they do not depend on others for livelihood. Ways of job creation could include using the natural resources of the country such as diamonds, water, herbs and stones for constructing infrastructures which enable job creation. However, job creation does not only depend on the government but on the private sector as well. In showing that job creation is and should be a joint venture, Swanepoel et al. (2006: 6) assert that individuals and organisations have a stake in job creation. Thus, individuals should take part in job creation as well.

Most of the sex workers interviewed showed interest in pursuing decent jobs to leave the sex industry. This, as shown above, can involve mining projects, using water resources for irrigation, and generating electricity. Creating firms throughout the country could also help to create more job opportunities. The principle of the Relational Moral Theory argues that regardless of our associations with ethics as judgmental and rule-driven, moral conduct and decision-making can involve imaginative, innovative, and appealing possibilities (Shaw, 2011:3). By being imaginative and innovative, sex workers came up with the means of leaving behind what is against Basotho

traditional moral values. They said that they need to be assisted with income-generating projects such as food drying, processing of organic medicine, water bottling and cosmetics using natural herbs. Indeed, as a means of job creation, these projects can assist sex workers to earn a living while also employing other people.

4.4 Improvement of Subsistence Farming

The majority of sex workers interviewed in both Maseru and Mohale's Hoek districts indicated that they originally come from rural areas where the means of living is subsistence farming. Subsistence farming is defined as "a system of producing food required by the farm family, usually without any significant surplus for sale" (Wikle, 2015: 79). According to these sex workers, the main reason why they left their rural areas for the urban areas is that there are no job opportunities in their areas. They further argued that subsistence farming no longer provides what it used to provide for the farmer and the extended family due to climate change; as a result, this leads to starvation and sex work.

During the interview, the majority of the sex workers did not perceive sex work as a stable source of income. Instead, they suggested that the government should assist them with agricultural equipment and seeds to start small farming projects. Wikle (2015: 85-86) supports the idea of farming as a better means of weaning sex workers from their industry for the reason that, farming is the top priority for sustenance in Lesotho. The government could be reminded to go back to what used to happen here in Lesotho during the middle 1970s and 1980s when the government entered into a partnership with farmers (Rantšo et al. 2019: 17). Murphy (2022: 10) stipulates that in order to move towards a better future, one must first imagine it. Sex workers also need to accept that charity begins at home, meaning that they should work for the livelihoods of their family members, not forgetting that society as a homogeneous entity, as well, needs their contribution.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter aimed at discussing ways and strategies that can be used to combat the sex work situation in Lesotho. The strategies identified and discussed are: providing counselling sessions, holding workshops, creating jobs, and improving subsistence farming for sex workers by the government and other stakeholders such as Non-Government Organizations (NGOs).

Regarding providing counselling sessions, sex workers mentioned that it could assist them to reunite with their family members and community. Training workshops as suggested by them could enrich them with special skills they so desperately need. Improved methods of farming are said to be a way of earning money as they will be able to produce and sell their products.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

The previous chapter discussed the ways and strategies that can be used to combat the sex work situation in Lesotho. This chapter presents a summary of the main findings of the study, as investigated in chapters Two, Three, and Four. Also presented in this chapter are the conclusions and recommendations made by this study.

5.1 Summary of the Study

Chapter Two investigated and discussed sex workers' views on sex work concerning Basotho traditional moral values. The chapter revealed that some sex workers were of the view that sex work is wrong, it is a slavery work, a dirty work, an evil work while others supported it. Those who did not advocate for sex work; perceived it as wrong and immoral though prevalent situations forced them to practice it. They pointed out that it is against the Basotho traditional moral values because the values call for self-respect and self-control. However, they did it as a means of survival. They even judged themselves by saying that they were living a sinful life whereby society does not welcome them.

Nevertheless, sex workers who felt that there was nothing wrong with sex work regarded Basotho traditional moral values as outdated and inconsiderate of their social and financial predicament. Some sex workers complained that Basotho traditional moral values do not only disapprove of the practice of sex within the marriage institution but forbid sex as a way of earning money and that is unfortunate according to them. On the other hand, some sex workers supported sex work merely because they did not know about Basotho traditional moral values. Mainly, the reasons sex workers gave for engaging in sex work were: child-led families, death of parents, divorced parents, abduction, lack of education, unemployment, poverty, and local migrant labour. These factors that contribute to sex work have been discussed in Chapter Three.

Chapter Four discussed strategies that could be used to combat sex work situation in Lesotho. The strategies identified are: providing counselling sessions, training workshops, creating jobs, and improving subsistence farming.

Concerning counselling, sex workers said that it may help them to refrain from sex work, and to reunite with their family members and community. Some sex workers suggested that workshops may be held. These workshops would entail skills development training in which proper guidance could enhance the sex workers' special skills. Sex workers could therefore employ the skills learned from the workshops to produce goods with their own hands, thus making a living out of selling those products.

Chapter Four also identified job creation and empowerment as ways of combating sex work. This means that the creation of income-generating projects can help sex workers to make a living as well as creating job opportunities for more sex workers. For this approach, the responsibility lies not only with the government but also with the private sector and individuals. Finally, subsistence farming was also noted in this chapter as a way of combating the sex workers' situation in Lesotho. Farming which the sex workers put forward as a means of living would help them to provide for their families with both food and money and eventually help them to come out of the sex work situation. Finally, chapter five summarises all the chapters and provides recommendations.

5.3 Recommendations

As part of the solution to the discussed situation of sex workers in the two districts of Lesotho, namely Maseru and Mochale's Hoek, the researcher wishes to make the following recommendations: inclusive education system, healthy relationship and government social support

5.3.1 Educational system that includes Basotho traditional moral values

The researcher recommends the following measures as ways of teaching Basotho traditional moral values at all levels of Basotho people. Basotho traditional moral values can be included in the National Educational Curriculum (NEC) from Early Child Care Development (ECCD), primary schools, high schools and higher learning. She also suggests that Basotho traditional moral values can be taught in the family and in the Initiation School as a matter of fact. Again, they can be passed to people during National rallies, for example, during Moshoeshoes's Day and King's Birthday. Within the districts of Lesotho, Basotho traditional moral values can also be taught during sports activities and within the communities during village gatherings. With this proposal, the researcher hopes that sex work practice would be eradicated among Basotho people. This may ensure that children would be well informed about Basotho traditional moral values, hence

possibly lowering the rate of sex work practice and helping in instilling values and enhancing the moral fibre within the society.

5.3.2 Healthy relationship between sex workers and community

Whereas it is the responsibility of each government to promote and support the economic and social welfare of its citizens, it is recommended that communities and government of Lesotho should engage in continual self-review to find out and address economic and social welfare shortcomings that could be contributing towards illegalities such as sex work. Government budgets should be made such that they cater for the economic and social problems of the majority of the citizens in both rural and urban areas. The researcher suggests that in addressing the situation of sex work in the country, society should be conscientised to acknowledge that it may have shortcomings that are the root cause of sex work, thus, it should seek to find ways to assist sex workers out of the situation.

The researcher also suggests that sex workers need to build strong and lasting (healthy) relationships with their communities, starting with their families as an essential part of society. Such a relationship would help sex workers to develop and maintain themselves in living in accordance with Basotho traditional moral values. In addition, they should persevere in life despite the problems that one encounters. This would be the construction of the ethical platform that will guide them through life and their relationships with others in society.

5.3.3 Governmental social support

According to the researcher, it is the responsibility of the government to ensure that Basotho's traditional moral values are vigilantly maintained and employed to check against unhealthy foreign social practices such as sex work, drug abuse in schools and 'stay together' in towns.

5.2 Conclusion

This study focused on sex work in the light of Basotho traditional moral values. Based on the Relational Moral Theory, the sex workers' views, factors leading to sex work, and the strategies that can be used to combat sex work practice in the light of Basotho traditional moral values were investigated and discussed. Therefore, this study concludes that sex work practice in Lesotho is still a phenomenon that needs attention from all stakeholders such as government, families,

community, and practitioners in the form of clients and sex workers themselves. Again, based on the findings, the researcher concludes that sex workers are emotionally wrecked characters that need professional attention to be helped to come out of the situation but not judgment and condemnation.

APPENDIX

INTERVIEW FOR SEX WORKERS

1. Can you tell me the place and the district where you come from?

2. What is your level of education?

(a) No schooling

(b) Primary school

(c) Secondary school

(d) High School

(d) Vocational school

(e) Tertiary

3. What is your marital status?

(a) Single

(b) Married

(c) Divorced

(d) Separated

(e) Widowed

4. How did you come to sex work industry?

(a) Were you influenced by friends?

(b) Were you influenced by parents?

(c) Were you influenced by society?

(d) Were you influenced by the situation?

5. When did you start sex work?

6. What is your experience in sex work?

7. Do your parents know that you joined sex work industry?

8. How do you view sex work in the light of Basotho traditional moral values?

9. What factors contributed towards making you to join sex work?

10. How do you find sex work situation?

11. Do you encounter any serious problems?

12. What do you think should be done to help you?

13. Where do you think the help you need may come from?

14. How long do you want to be in the sex work industry?

15. Why do you want to stay here in this industry or why do you want to leave?

16. Are you ready to face your family and the community after leaving sex work industry?

17. What empowerment programs do you think can help you to face your family and your community after leaving sex work industry?

18. What will you be doing at home?

19. What strategies can be used to combat the sex work situation in Lesotho?

LIST OF REFERENCES

- Allain, J. and Hickey, R. 2012. Property and the Definition of Slavery. *The International and Comparative Law Quarterly*. Cambridge University Press. Vol.61. No.4.
- Baumeister, R.F. and Vohs, K.D. 2003. Self-regulation and the executive function of the self. In M. R. Leary & J. P. Tangney (2nd eds.), *Handbook of Self and Identity*. New York: Guilford press.
- Babbie, E. 2007. *Paradigms, Theory and Social Research, in the Practice of Social Research*, (11 ed). Belmont, CA: Thomson Wadsworth.
- Bell, R.H. 2002. *Understanding African Philosophy: A cross-cultural approach*. New York: Routledge.
- Berg, S. 2006. Snowball sampling 1- Sequential estimation of the mean in finite population to Steiner's most frequent value. *Encyclopedia of Statistical Science*, 12.
- Browne, K. 2005. Snowball sampling: using social networks to research non-heterosexual women. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology* 8(1): 47-60.
- Bryman, A. and Burgess, P. 2007. "Business Research Method", (2nd eds.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Canevello, A. and Crocker, J. 2011. Interpersonal goals, others' regard for the self, and self-esteem: The paradoxical consequences of self-image and compassionate goals. *European Journal of Social Psychology* 41(4): 422- 434.
- Claire, R. and Cottingham, J. 1982. *Migration and Tourism: An Overview*. In ISIS Women's International and Communication Service, Geneva.
- Cordero, D. 2013. Moral decline in teens: The application of contextual theology. *Asia-Pacific Social Science Review* 13(2): 24-40.

- Damane, M. and Sekantsi, L.P. 2018. The Source of Unemployment in Lesotho. *Modern Economy* 9(5):937-965.
- Dergacheva, Y. 2020. Economic and Social Human Rights of Sex Workers in International Human Rights Law and Restrictive Legislation on sex work. Unpublished MA thesis. International Human Rights Law, Abo.
- Deki, W. 2012. A study on youth unemployment and its consequences in Bhutan. Unpublished M A Thesis. KDI School of Public Policy and Management, Republic of Korea.
- Ellenberger, D.F. 1912. *History of the Basuto Ancient and Modern*. New York: Negro Universities Press.
- Eugenio, D. 2007. *Folk Literature*. Philippines: University of the Philippines Press.
- Finnegan, R. 1970. *Oral Literature in Africa*. Nairobi: Oxford University Press.
- Holmes, M. 2007. *What is gender? Sociological Approaches*. London: Sage.
- Kimario, S.S., Okpaku, J.O., Shongwe, A.G. and Feeney, F. (2004) (eds). *Turning a crisis into an opportunity. Strategies for scaling for scaling up the national responses to the HIV/AIDS pandemic in Lesotho*. New York: Third Press Publishers.
- Leedy, P.L. and Ormrod, J. E. 2005. *Practice Research: Planning and Design*. Ohio: Menu Prentice Hall.
- Makhata, B.M. and Masango M.J. 2021. *Illegal Migrant Basotho Women in South Africa: Exposure to Vulnerability in Domestic Services*. Cape Town: Oxford Street.
- Maimane, K.C. 2002. Commitment and /protest in Taaso's selected poems. Unpublished M A Dissertation. Roma: National University of Lesotho.
- Maree, K. 2007. *First Steps in Research*. Pretoria: Van Schaik.
- Martens, T. 2012. The touchy issue of sex work cannot be overlooked. *African National Congress Daily News*. 14 July 2012: 5.

- Martin, J. 2015. *On the Morality of Commercialized Sex*. Kurskod: Linkopings Universitet.
- Martins, T.P. 2007. Analysis of character portrayal of female characters in selected Sesotho literary texts by female authors. Unpublished M A Dissertation. Roma: National University of Lesotho.
- Matooane, M.C. 2008. Divorce escalation among the Basotho people in Lesotho. Unpublished M. A. Dissertation. Pretoria: University of Pretoria.
- Matšela, F.Z.A. 1990. *Bochaba*. Mazenod: Mazenod Book Centre.
- Mayer, R.C., Davis, J. H. and Schoorman, F. D. 1995. An integrative Model of Organizational Trust. *Academy of Management Review* 20(3): 709-734.
- Mbanefo, C.M. 2013. *Levels and correlates of single motherhood in Southern Africa*. Johannesburg: University of Witwatersrand.
- Metz, T. 2022. *A Relation Moral Theory: African Ethics in and Beyond the Continent*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Metz, T. and Miller, S.C. 2016. Relational Ethics. In Hugh LaFollette (ed), *The International Encyclopedia of Ethics*. Wiley-Blackwell. pp. 1-10.
- Moen, O. and M. 2012. *Is Prostitution Harmful?* Oslo: University of Oslo.
- Mokheithi, P. 1988. *Lesotho's Challenge: The Irregular Marital Union*. Maseru: Mazenod Printing.
- Mokitimi, M. 1997. *The Voice of the Proverbs: African Proverbs Series Volume 4*. Pretoria: Unisa Press.
- Molise, N.R., Mositi, M., Makhate M. and Khoti, M. 2018. *Social Sciences*. Cape Town: Pearson Education Africa.
- Ministry of Law 1974. Lesotho Marriage Act No. 10 of 1974. Government of Lesotho: Government Printers.

- Mphuthing, M.S. 1981. Do females become prostitutes because of their background factors? *Research project*. Roma: National University of Lesotho.
- Misha, M.B. and Koehler, M.J. 2006. Technological pedagogical content knowledge: A framework for teacher knowledge. *Teacher College Record* 108 (6): 1017-1054.
- Murphy, D. 2022. Walking, talking, imagining: Ethical engagement with sex workers. *Ethical and social welfare* 16(12):219-234.
- Mustafa, K. 2010. *Research Methodology*. New York: Continuum.
- Mustafa, A., Rachmawati, D.L. and Kurnia, F.D. 2020. *The moral philosophical analysis as reflected on Dan Brown's Inferno*. Indonesia: State University of Surabaya.
- Nelson, T. 2003. *The Holy Bible: The New Revised Standard Version*. Bangalore: Theological Publications in India.
- Nkala, P.P. 2014. Factors that influence the increase of prostitution in Bulawayo's business Centre. IOSR. *Journal of Humanities and Social Science* 65-74.
- Pollin, R., Epstein, G., A., Heintz, J. and Ndikumana, L. 2007. *An employment-targeted economic program for South Africa*. Northampton: University of Massachusetts.
- Rachmawati, D.L., Kurnia, F.D. and Mustofa, A. 2020. The Moral Philosophical Analysis as Reflected on Dan Brown's Inferno. Indonesia: State University of Surabaya. Indonesia.
- Rantso, T.A., Soboka, M. and Yildiz, F. 2019. Agricultural and food security in Lesotho: *Government sponsored block farming programme in the Berea, Leribe and Maseru districts* 5(1).
- Reupert, A., Straussner, S.L., Weimand, B. and Maybery, D. 2022. It takes a village to raise a child: Understanding and expanding the concept of the village. *Frontiers in Public Health*, 10.
- Ritchie, J., Lewis, J., Nicholls, C.M. and Ormston. 2014. *Qualitative research practice: A guide for social science students and researchers*. Washington DC: Sage.

- Roux-Kemp, A. 2013. *Child-headed households in South Africa: The legal and ethical implications when children are the primary caregivers in a therapeutic relationship*. Oxford: Inter-Disciplinary press.
- Sekese, A. 1985: *Mekhoa le Maele a Basotho*. Morija: Morija Sesuto Book Depot.
- Shaw, E. 2011. Relational Ethics and Moral Imagination in Contemporary Systemic Practice. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Family Therapy*. 32(01).
- Sibanyoni, E.K., Likoti, M.P. and Van Rensburg, S.K.J. 2022. Legislative responses to child victims of abduction into forced marriage in Lesotho. *International Journal of Research in Business and Social Science* 11(5): 495-502.
- Smith, C. 2001. "Sex tourism begins in South Africa", Mail and Guardian. *Auckland Park Newspaper*. 12 October 2001: 6.
- Swanepoel, H. and DeBeer, F. 2006. *Community Development breaking the cycle of poverty* (4th eds). Cape South Africa: Formeset Printers.
- Tšehlana, M.N. 2002. The survival strategies of teenage sex workers in Lesotho. Unpublished MA dissertation. National University of Lesotho, Roma.
- Townsend, E. and Polatajko, H. 2007. *Enabling Occupation II: Advancing an Occupation Therapy Vision for Health, Well-being, & Justice through Occupation*. Ottawa: CAOT Publishers.
- Townley, R. 1948. *The United Nations*. Charles Scribner's Sons Publishers: New York.
- Walter, E. 2008. (ed). *Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (3rd eds) Cambridge University press.
- Wells. R.E. 1994. *An Introduction to the Music of the Basotho*. Morija: Morija Museum and Archives.
- Wong, W.C.W., Holroyd, E. and Bingham, A. 2011. Stigma and Sex work from the perspective of female sex workers in Hong Kong. *Sociology of health & illness* 33 (1): 50-65.

Wehmeier, S. (ed) 2000. *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Internet sources

Amadeo, K. 2018. Unemployment, its causes, and Its Consequences: Not Everyone who is Jobless is Unemployed. Available at: <https://www.thebalance.com/what-is-unemployment-3306222>. [Accessed 8 August 2018].

Allison Academy. (2022). Lack of education: Causes and effects. ND Available at www.allisonacademy.com [Accessed 17 February 2022].

Dawson, S., Manderson, L. and Tallo, V. L. 1993. A manual for the use of focus groups. Available at: <http://apps.who.int/iris/handle/10665/41795>. Cambridge University Press. [Accessed 13 September 2021].

Environmental Conscience. 2022. Lack of education: Causes, Effects and solutions. Environmental-conscience.com [Assessed 17 February 2022].

Holmwood, J. 2005. Functionalism and its Critics. *Morden Social Theory*. 89-109 [Accessed 23 June 2002].

Kachele, E. 2019. Forms of written literature. Available at: www.kacheleonline.co.tz (revised in February 2001) [Accessed October 2021].

International Organization for Migration. 2019. Who is migrant? www.iom.int [Accessed 14 October 2022].

Mturi, A.K. 2003. Parents' attitudes to adolescent sexual behaviour in Lesotho. *African Journal of Reproductive Health* 7(2): 25. Available at: <http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/3583210> (revised in August 2003) [Accessed 5 March 2022].

Rantšo, T. and Seboka, M. 2019. Agriculture and food security in Lesotho. Government sponsored block farming programme in the Berea, Leribe and Maseru Districts. Available at:

<https://doi.org/10.1080/23311932.2019.16> (revised in 13 August 2019) [Accessed 14 December 2022].

Tamasane, T. 2011. Analysis of services for orphans and vulnerable children in Lesotho. Available at: <http://hdl.handle.net/20.500.11910/3870> (revised in August 2015) [Accessed 25 October 2022].

Thuy, P., Hansen, E. and Price, D. 2001. The public employment service in a changing labour market. Available at: <https://www.ilo.org/public>. (revised in January 2001) [Assessed 14 February 2022].

Wikle, T. 2015. Subsistence Farming and Economic Hardship in Lesotho, Africa's Mountain Kingdom. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1111/foge.12051> (revised in April 2015) [Accessed 23 November 2022].