

“NO GAY IN MY HOUSE”: EXPLORING GAY & BISEXUALLY IDENTIFYING MALE SEX WORKERS IN BOTSWANA

Lesedi Mashumba

Queensland University of Technology

l.mashumba@qut.edu.au

Abstract

Male sex work has been a growing phenomenon in Botswana. Despite a wide range of literature associating entry into sex work with childhood sexual abuse and a lack of familial acceptance of Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual adolescents and young adults, the issue remains un-investigated in Botswana. This paper presents part of the findings from an exploratory investigation of male sex work in Gaborone and Kasane. In-depth face-to-face interviews were conducted and key findings from five interviews on sections focused on, a) sexual orientation, b) entry into sex work, and, c) family dynamics and influences are discussed. The study reveals that most respondents were sexually abused as children and not accepted/rejected by family when they came out or discovered by family members to be gay or bisexual. Five case studies are presented where respondents openly narrated their victimization experiences. These experiences were also presented as having a role in the decision to enter into sex work, and accounting for several other destructive behaviours such as alcohol and substance abuse. This paper argues that a history of childhood sexual abuse and familial rejections of certain sexual orientations should be considered when planning interventions for male sex workers. Little is known about childhood experiences of the gay or bisexual youth in Botswana and how such shape their lives, perceptions and attitudes. A study of this kind sheds light into issues affecting the LGBT community and most importantly could educate and influence policy on the protection of vulnerable.

Key words: *childhood sexual abuse, male sex work, gay, bisexual, repeat victimization*

Introduction

A wide range of literature has indicated that family relationships play a crucial role in promoting adolescents' wellbeing, especially as the primary context for adolescent development (Needham & Austin, 2010; Meyer, 2003; Resnick et al., 1997). Children in our societies are described as quintessential innocent victims in sexual violation cases, therefore, special opprobrium is reserved for perpetrators of child sexual violations. Unfortunately, many sexual violations against children remain unknown and unreported, and such has been the case in Botswana. The focus of many studies is largely on underage female child sexual abuse (Alao, 2008), hence leaving out the underage boy child sexual abuse and implications thereof. Most importantly, the gay and the bisexual male child has not visible in many studies focusing on children and subsequent involvement in sex work in Botswana. Even globally, only a few studies have focused on lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) adolescents and young adults and examined precursors to involvement in sex work of some LGBT youth (Briere & Runtz, 1988; Browne, Miller & Maguin, 1999; Epstein et al. 1998; Kramer & Berg, 2003; Messman & Long, 1996; Russell, 1986; Ryan et al., 2010; Widom, 1995; Widom & Kuhns, 1996).

Ryan et al. (2010) state that over the past decade studies have begun to explore the origins of health disparities associated with sexual identity, however, these studies were explored in terms of negative peer relationships and victimization during adolescence and its associations to health risks in young adulthood. This applies to the context of Botswana where studies on the LGBT population are often from the health perspective especially as key populations in interventions of HIV/AIDS. This means that Botswana still lags in the literature addressing family relationships with adolescents identifying as gay and bisexual, as well as childhood sexual abuse and predisposing factors to sex work, which are the focus of this current paper. This study explored male sex work in Botswana, and while twenty interviews were conducted, only narratives of five respondents who identified as gay or bisexual are presented as case studies. As McCall (2005) suggests 'case studies represent the most effective way of empirically researching the complexity' of the subjects' lived experiences. Since case studies are complex, a minimum number is usually recommended so as to engage with each individual account observing how their narrative unravel what was lived and experienced sex work.

Literature Review

In this paper, childhood sexual abuse includes any form of child sexual abuse such as rape, incest, and defilement. As asserted by Phillip and Amone-P'Olak (2018, pg 1), "childhood sexual abuse is a public health problem that affects millions of people, but few studies have considered its ramifications". Childhood sexual abuse has been associated with greater vulnerability in adulthood including revictimization and initial involvement in sex work (Kramer & Berg, 2003; Messman & Long, 1996; Russell, 1986; Widom, 1995; Widom & Kuhns, 1996). Browne and Finkelhor (1986) also lament that sexual abuse in childhood can alter the victim's orientation to the world, affect their emotional capacity and distort their self-concept. Other outcomes of sexual abuse include depression, runaway behaviour for adolescents, poor self-esteem, anxiety, substance abuse, poor interpersonal relationships and several physical and emotional problems in adulthood (Briere & Runtz, 1988; Browne, Miller & Maguin, 1999; Epstein et al. 1998; Kramer & Berg, 2003; Tyler, Hoyt & Whitbeck, 2000; West & Williams, 2000; Widom, 1995; Widom & Kuhns, 1996).

While there is still shortage of literature on male sex work, studies in female sex work have documented well the high rates of childhood sexual abuse leading to entry into sex work in adulthood (Kramer & Berg, 2003; Messman-More and Long, 2000), and some of these studies are used to guide this discussion. Male sex work is often defined broadly to include various categories of legal and

illegal activities such as stripping, sexual intercourse, pandering, phone sex operations, pornography and escorting (Cooke & Sontag, 2005). For purposes of this study, male sex work was narrowly defined as any real or simulated sexual activity with a female or another man for any form of compensation, with a male sex worker being any man who accepts such compensation. Male sex work is preferred over 'prostitution' as a politer, indiscriminating, emotionally neutral term (Minichiello, Scott & Callander, 2015) and to depict remunerated sexual activities (Kibicho, 2016; Sanchez-Taylor, 2006). Another frequently used term in this study is repeat victimization, which refers to having experienced child sexual abuse with a separate incident of adult victimization and is quite often linked to more high-risk sexual behaviour (Kramer & Berg, 2003).

Child sexual abuse in Botswana occurs against a background of gender and age-based hierarchies that subordinate the status of children to adult authority (Mookodi, Ntshebe & Taylor, 2004). Statistics of known child sexual abuse cases indicate such offenses occurring mostly within the home and being perpetrated by male family members (Mookodi, Ntshebe & Taylor, 2004). As highlighted earlier, the most discussed type of sexual abuse in Botswana is that involving a female child as potential victim of sexual exploitation from older men, particularly female children whom as reported by Alao (2008), are in rural areas, neglected by parents, in family poverty, and exposed to several socio-economic factors such as drinking depots in their vicinity (Alao, 2008). Lalor (2004) laments how even studies by UN agencies such as United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and the International Labour Organisation (ILO) have only focused on the commercial sexual exploitation of the children neglecting the more pervasive abuse of children in their own communities by family members, relatives, and neighbours.

While it is difficult to determine the extent to which male child sexual abuse prevails, our society ought not to turn a blind eye to issues of grave concern. Existing laws are often poorly enforced as victims of sexual abuse tend to be judged or blamed for the abuse as the society sees most culprits' actions as justified (Tavrow et al. 2013; Wangamati et al. 2016). In addition, because of conservatism, educational institutions in many African countries have failed to include comprehensive sexuality education in the national school curriculum (UNESCO & UNFPA 2012). Consequently, most children lack knowledge or adequate information on what sexual violence entails, where to report if violated, and, how and where to access health care services and justice (UNESCO & UNFPA 2012).

Quite often, the causes and consequences of childhood sexual are overlooked, especially when it comes to the boy child. Studies have shown that adolescents and young adults engaging in delinquent behaviour are more likely to have suffered some traumatic events, come from less stable and family disadvantaged family backgrounds, and lower social support compared to those who do not (Herz et al., 2010; Huang et al., 2012; Ryan et al., 2013; Vidal et al., 2017). Ryan et al. (2013) further contends that many of these youth also have parents with drug and alcohol problems, while Dale et al. (2007) adds that most were likely to have a history of running away from home, and Vidal et al. (2017) states that family environment factors exposing young people to risky behaviour are often compounded with other challenges in the family such as domestic violence and poverty. Nationwide surveys of the general population are required for an empirical understanding of the actual causes of engaging in deviant behaviour like sex work, and with recent developments in same-sex laws in Botswana, the boy child identifying as gay or bisexual ought to be understood better, and families and communities need to be educated on possible protective measures. Such is also needed to develop appropriate interventions for male sex work in Botswana.

Theoretical Framework

This study follows a post-modernism framework as it allows for combination of multiple methods to allow for the presentation of ‘*multiple voices, multiple perspectives and multiple interpretations*’ (Lather, 2006). This provides an opportunity to see the world from the perspective of those marginalized and seldom listened to in the society such as sexual minorities and present their perspectives as they are (Bogdan and Biklen 2007: 9-10). With this framework, an exploratory qualitative research method was adopted as it enables the researcher to explore these multiple voices, perspectives and experiences. Qualitative research is seen as holistic because of its intersection of biography with social context. In fact, Merriam (2009,1) states that ‘research focused of discover, insight and understanding from the perspectives of those being studied offers the greatest promise of making a difference in people’s lives’. The postmodernism framework strength also lies on its refusal to totalize, that is, “it is antireductionist and pluralist hence allows us to see the world from the irreducible perspectives of participants’ own experiences” (Agger, 1991, pg. 116). As such this approach is appropriate for a study of this nature where experiences of individual male sex workers identifying as gay or bisexual are explored.

Research Design and Sites

This research explored male sex work in Botswana and its intersection with the discourses of gender, sexuality, ethnicities and experiences of victimization. An in-depth face-to-face interview research technique with semi-structured interviews was utilized to allow for rich data to be collected and for respondents to be able to express themselves as freely as possible. Scholars have argued that face-to-face interviews offer a natural encounter, and this ‘natural encounter’ is necessary for the interviewer to build and maintain rapport with interviewees, as well as observe the use of body language that ensures messages are correctly understood (Gillham, 2005). Semi-structured interviews were also significant in that they help minimize the extent to which respondents have to express themselves in terms defined by the interview and encourage them to talk about issues important to them (Shiner and Newburn, 1997), as such were well suited to discover respondents’ own meanings and interpretations of their experiences.

Interviews were conducted in Gaborone and Kasane. For this paper, the selected five case studies give insight into the early childhood and adolescence experiences of gay and bisexual male sex workers. These respondents lamented exposure to severe rejection from family, prior sexual victimization, and other social factors which significantly increased the risk of engaging in risky behaviours such as sex work. The methods adopted were therefore well suited as this study required gaining complex knowledge directly from the people who had lived certain life experiences, knowledgeable about their experiences and had formed perceptions and attitudes about the events or contexts influencing their behavioural choices, attitudes and relations to others.

Sampling

The interviewed male sex workers was obtained through convenience and snowball sampling. Three non-governmental organizations advocating for sex workers were approached to assist in the identification of initial participants and the identified participants also referred potential participants they knew. For purposes of this paper, interview data from five respondents identifying as gay and bisexual is utilized. It was particularly selected for the several elements their responses to the interview dialogue on their sexual orientation, how they became sex workers and whether family had influence on their decisions to engage in sex work. For practical reasons such as for the sake of

comprehension, and limitations of time it was important to narrow the scope of this study and present empirical findings only relevant to its aim here.

Data Collection and Analysis

While thematic analysis was used for the interview data derived from the twenty interviews, a holistic-content analysis was adopted to analyse the responses to the three questions from the five interviews presented in this paper. Lieblich et al. (1998) note that holistic content analysis generates the major themes in texts. However, unlike grounded theory which is theme-driven, holistic-content analysis method focuses on paying significant attention to the respondent's overall life, and how the themes of interest played a role and played out within each person's individual experience (Bayer et al., 2014: 375; Liblich, Tuvval-Mashiach & Zilber, 1998). While this could be criticised in terms of uncertainties around the researcher's own position or beliefs, Bailey (2001) on his article, *Overcoming Veriphobia*, argues that, "Education research depends upon a conception of objectivity that is defined in terms of honest inquiry, openness to criticism, and an apologetic pursuit of the truth... Without a strong and ever-present sense of truth-seeking, along with a recognition that the truth is very hard to find, inquiry becomes impossible, and academia becomes little more than a forum for political whim and fancy" (Bailey, 2001, p.169). This quote is important for this study because while the researcher acknowledges respondents used explicit language from time to time, censoring it could hide the true meaning of their words. The researcher spent time with the respondent's words and tended to the text in order to construct the critical themes derived from the perspectives of the respondents.

Ethics

Ethical considerations were reviewed and approved by the Queensland University of Technology Human Research Ethics Committee (UHREC). This included use of pseudonyms for anonymity purposes, altering of locations and removal of potential identifying information to promote anonymity and confidentiality. A counsellor was also engaged and availed to respondents who felt distressed during or after interviews. A research permit was also sought with the Ministry of Environment, Wildlife and Tourism, Botswana.

Results

Results indicated male sex workers were of median age of 26 years, with the youngest interviewed being 19 years of age. They came from different areas across Botswana and lived in Gaborone or Kasane for work or opportunity-seeking reasons. All the interviewed MSWs possessed some type of tertiary education qualification or were still enrolled at a tertiary institution. In each case study, critical themes in texts are highlighted and interpreted below each case study.

Case Study 1:

"My family always knew I was different and so did our neighbours and everybody else at school. I liked girls' stuff. I walked around with the girls and couldn't fit in with the boys. Eventually I was called names and being accused of all the gossip in school. It was hard, but I could never talk about it, not to anyone in my family. My parents are very strict, I think they could see and knew I was different but were in denial or just didn't want to face it. When I went to the University of Botswana, for the very first time I saw a life of possibilities and met people who were just like me. They understood me, gave me a sense of belonging, and for once in my life I started to feel like I was living life the way I was meant to. Unfortunately, one day we got too excited after a few drinks and posted some pictures on social media, and I don't know how but my parents heard about it or maybe someone showed

them. I received a call from my dad whom in a nutshell disowned me, he told me never to step my foot in his house, he said “No Gay In My House” unless I stopped the ‘nonsense’ I was doing. So, at this point I would rather be doing this than having nobody. I can feel like s..t the next day but most of the time it helps me forget” (Titanic, 2018 Male Sex Workers Interviews, Botswana).

This case study presents a number of issues; (i) Family denial, rejection or non-acceptance despite the respondent indicating parents knew he was different, (ii) being called names, which indicate labelling with intentions to shame and stigmatize, (iii) school and family are reported as social settings where victimization occurred in childhood, (iv) Families not understanding what being gay or bisexual is, and referring to it as nonsense, (v) a life of possibilities being associated with those who identify the same, in modern life settings like the University of Botswana, and to sex work which helps one forget their life troubles.

Case Study 2:

I grew up in a setting where I was raised by female sex workers, I was still in Zimbabwe. We had sex workers within our house, and I will see men come and go. I was born without a silver spoon although my father was rich, but he was with another woman. Sex work became something which was normal, men would come on daily basis and when they left, they would give them money. So that ringed a bell. As I was growing my cousin who is a male sex worker would also come by our house with his friends and request for accommodation from my mother. I had a girlfriend when I entered my teen hood, but one day my mum’s cousin convinced me to have sex with him and I did. He hooked me up with some men and they paid me well. Although I was sixteen at the time, I grew up with an open mind and have kept an open mind since. I realised I was either gay or bisexual. But I feel attracted to men only since then and I service men only, I guess I’m super gay. So, I could say being brought up by sex workers influenced me to some extent and it is something that I have seen as a profession because it sustained our lives until I moved here, and it still does. My mother is okay with everything, but she drops hints from time to time that she wants grandchildren (Sissyboy, 2018 Male Sex Workers Interviews, Botswana)

Packed with several factors this case study reveals, (a) the impact of the family environment or background on children, (b) child neglect by one parent, (c) the none recognition of a sexual violation from a family member, (d) positive attitudes towards sex work as a means of living and a profession, (e) parental expectations of fulfilling traditional gender roles like having children even as a gay man.

Case Study 3:

I was raised Catholic. I had everything any child could ask for growing up, but things went bad when I was caught making out with my boyfriend in my room whom they had known as just a friend. My father beat me up and commanded me to never see the guy again. He took me to churches and traditional healers, they said I was possessed by demons, it was shaming, and it really hurt me you know. I just wanted them to help me through the process of understanding it all, but my family no longer treated me the same. I got tired of being treated like that, so one day I just left. I went to live with my aunt who was understanding because they also rejected her when she started advocating for LGBTQI rights as a lesbian herself. Mum secretly tries to check up on me once in a while, but I understand they have a reputation to protect than be associated with me, their own blood. So, I’m living my own life now, even though I am a sex worker it’s not something I intend to do forever, it’s just that for

now as I have no one to offer me financial or emotional support. I need to make ends meet, it's not easy. I can't say my family influenced me to do sex work but the circumstances I found myself in due to their rejection pushed me to it. (Diva-666, 2018 MSWs Interviews, Botswana.)

This is another scenario where, (a) parents' rejection and denial of a child being gay is visible, going to the extent of involving churches and traditional healers perhaps with hope of 'curing' the child's sexual orientation, (b) the respondent expresses the hurt emanating from the family ill-treatment, (c) the respondent's feeling alone but still justifying of the parents' actions as they try to make sense of their world, (d) sex work as a means of dealing with emotional pain and finances, (e) also indicate those supportive of LGBT like the aunt as being people who identify the same.

Case study 4:

"...He would bring me sweets when he comes back from the neighbour's shebeen. Like, there was no way I could run away from him, I had nowhere else to go... So, we had three mud houses: the kitchen hut, the ladies hut which my mum, my sisters and my aunts slept in, and the boys hut which I shared with grandfather, little brother and my uncle (mother's brother). So, my grandfather shared his mattress and blankets with my little brother while I shared with uncle. It all just started one night when everyone had gone to the cattle post, and my uncle and I were following them the next day. We slept as usual. Then, in the middle of the night I felt something heavy on top of me. I wanted to scream, but he put his hand on me and said 'Shhhhh!' and pressed my head down. It was so painful I wanted to die. I was 14 then so I knew what was happening. My anal area was so swollen and bruised so I couldn't walk properly in the morning. He decided we will go the next day, and when we got there, I couldn't tell anyone. And he continued, several times a week he would have sex with me when everyone else is sleeping. I have never reported it, but I learnt to forgive him over the years. And given how my family has ignored my existence since coming out as gay, it wouldn't have helped reporting it. I started to enjoy the sex anyways, and I would want it when he wasn't there. To be honest, I don't really know if I was born gay or was converted into being gay but know through sex work which my friends introduced me to, I get to explore my sexually more and more and I get paid for it (Lovebite, 2018 MSWs Interviews, Botswana.).

This case demonstrates an intersection of (a) being raised and exposed to family poverty, (b) family rejection after coming out, (c) fear of not being believed if one reported sexual abuse, (d) unsafe sexual practices like dry sex on children and non-condom use by the perpetrators, (e) sex work as a means of exploring one's sexuality, dealing with rejection and making money.

Case Study 5:

Well, there is a story that I kind of feel reflecting on it now could have influenced me accept being gay and slowly getting into sex work. I had a huge crush on this male teacher when we were in secondary school, but I never suspected he was gay 'coz he was married with children. He was responsible for the library at the time and he just randomly asked me if I could come help him enter new books into the library database and I agreed. I went in and he asked me to lock the door, so students don't disturb us while working. But when I got to the other side of the library counter where he was, his manhood was out, and he was masturbating to porn. I didn't know what to do or say, so awkward. And he was so calm and asked me to sit down on the chair next to him. He instructed me to unzip and take the baby

oil in front of him and apply. I did, I was so anxious I didn't know what to do but he started to help me, whispering that I should be calm and enjoy the moment. He massaged me until I came. I remember wanting the same feeling the next day, so I went in and found him there, we worked a little and he said he was tired and wanted us to do something different. He unzipped, applied his baby oil, undressed me and told me to hold the chair. Ijojojojo mma, it was my first time, it was so so painful. Although as a child I had not imagined my first time being with a man, but it became nice, very nice and satisfying. Until I finished my form 3, we would do it from time to time and when I went to a boarding school for my senior secondary school i pursued boys ...And I think because I was experienced in being bottom and doing my thing, they would come begging for more. Little by little I started to put a price on it or ask them to buy me stuff before I can do anything with them. And when I moved to Gabz it was even easier. And now I am doing it for the big bucks. (Montes, 2018 MSW Interviews, Botswana.)

This story demonstrates complex layers of victimization. However, in reading this, one can note, (a) the respondent's nonidentification of the victimization, and perhaps it's safe to note that the beginning of the sexual exploitation gave him an experience of pleasure which overshadowed the bad actions of the teacher. Such actions by the teacher were real sexual offenses, however, were disassociated from potential criminal offences, (b) entry into sex work to continue having access to male partners and making a living out of it (c) the revelation that some sexual violations occur within the school, and could be revealing a dent on our education system in terms of teaching children about the law, emphasizing certain types of offenses, ways of reporting them and setting up protections for children who come forward to report sexual abuse from a teacher, a parent or guardian and any other actors. This case study is also a good example of developmental pathways to sex work.

Discussion

Family Rejection and Non-Acceptance of Gay & Bisexual and Entry into Sex Work

Results of this study show that most male sex workers indicated having been rejected by their families upon accidental discovery of their sexual identity by parents or when they voluntarily disclosed/'came out' to their family. This is corroborated by many other studies which reported rejection or maltreatment by parents when they learn their children are LGBT (Rosarion, Schrimshaw & Hunter, 2009; Ryan et al., 2009). Other studies have also presented how the relationship between LGB adolescents and their parents become strained around the time of coming out/ disclosure of their sexual identity (D'Augelli, Grossman & Starks, 2005; Patterson, 2000; Savin-Williams & Dube, 1998; Tharinger & Wells, 2000). Further analysis indicate that compared to those who come out at later ages, gay youth who "came out" early were more likely to be subjected to physical and emotional abuse by family members (D'Augelli and Hershberger 1993; Remafedi 1991; Schneider et al. 1989).

It is argued that familial rejection or non-acceptance of children identifying as LGB is influenced by a family's ethnicity, culture, religious affiliation and socioeconomic status (Ryan et al., 2009). Other studies like that of Ryan et al. (2010) report the easiness and more acceptance of females as lesbians than males as gays or bisexual. Hostility and stigmatizing gays and bisexual identifying adolescent by families is also influenced attitudes in by these social, religious, ethnic and cultural environments (D'Augelli, Hershberger & Pilkington, 1998; Pilkington & D'Augelli, 1995; Murphy, Sidhu, & Tonkin, 1999; Waldo, Hesson-McInnis, & D'Augelli, 1998). This is applicable in Botswana given its patriarchal gender/sex systems that relegate males to positions of power (Mookodi, Ntshebe & Taylor, 2004), as such the family's important roles are attached to the male child as an heir, a

brother, uncle, father, grandfather, for example, negotiation of 'lobola' for nieces and nephews, leading to non-acceptance of the 'other'. As documented by anthropologist Isaac Schapera, in Botswana families have been influenced by the above named factors, socialisation, religion, ethnicity plus gender-specific rites of passage and customs, to raise the boy and the girl child differently, imparting them with appropriate skills for domestic and agricultural chores, all of which are guided by the need to instill appropriate behaviours before marriage, (Schapera, 1970). In the past, there used to be initiation schools, 'bojale' for girls and 'bogwera' for boys where young adolescents were equipped with appropriate sexual behaviours, including circumcision (Mookodi, Ntshebe & Taylor, 2004). This demonstrates a society where constructs of sexuality, gender, expectations of marriage and family are heavily influenced by customs and traditional practices of the Batswana communities.

Studies argue that since a family plays a very significant role as a protective factor for adolescents, the non-acceptance of gays and bisexual adolescents or young adults could be detrimental. In fact a study by Ryan and colleagues in 2010 determined that family acceptance of LGBT adolescents, in general, was associated with greater social support, self-esteem, and general positive young adult mental and physical health, hence protecting against depression, severe substance abuse, suicidal ideation, and destructive behaviors or risky sexual tendencies (Ryan et al., 2010). The absence of support on the other has also been studied, with studies presenting a clear correlation between parental rejection and the engagement in sexually risky behaviours like sex work, having multiple partners and using illegal drugs (Cochran et al. 2004; Mackellar et al. 2006; Ryan et al., 2010; Ryan et al., 2009; Tang et al. 2004; Woody et al. 2001; Xia et al. 2006). D'Augelli et al. (2005) report severe mental and sexual health problems amongst young people who have been rejected by family and suggest that to improve family relationships, parents need to be educated on the needs and well-being of their LGBT children.

In this study, substance abuse and intoxication were also reported as a way of entertaining oneself and not having to deal with any stress. Many other studies not only report alcohol and substance abuse as way of responding to the elevated rates of emotional distress emanating from parental rejection but also a way of helping oneself to cope with a cluster of other psychosocial health problems emanating from subsequent involvement in sex work or other risky behaviors (Cochran et al. 2004; Mackellar et al. 2006; Tang et al. 2004; Woody et al. 2001; Xia et al. 2006). These studies help reach a conclusion that indeed childhood or adolescence experiences of familial rejection by gay and bisexual males severely impact their lives negatively and continue to shape their health circumstances in adulthood (Cochran et al. 2004; Mackellar et al. 2006; Tang et al. 2004; Woody et al. 2001; Xia et al. 2006). Ryan, Huebner, Diaz and Sanchez (2009) also conducted a study assessing the relationship between family rejection of LGBT adolescents and their health as LGBT young adults and confirmed that there was high use of illegal drugs and negative health outcomes by LGBT youth rejected by their families.

Other Social Settings like Schools and Entry into Sex Work

The results of this study also indicate some sexual violations occurring in a school setting. Also, experiences of bullying of gay or bisexual adolescents also occurred in school or enduring harassment because one is different and identifies more with the girls. This happened mostly in their adolescence stage for those who appeared more 'feminine', hanged out with the girls and enjoyed 'feminine' activities with the girls. In Botswana, it is reported that boys experiencing these kinds of bullying often do not report to school authorities for fear of being called a 'sissy' or a 'girl', which indicates the 'the pervasiveness and regulatory control heterosexuality and its associated social pressures in schools' (Humphreys, 2013, p. 775). A study in the US by Bontempo and D'Augelli

(2002) utilizing data from the Youth Risk Behavior Survey also reported that compared to their heterosexual counterparts, gay and bisexual male adolescents were nine times or more likely to be victimized at school. This victimization includes high rates of gay-related harassment (D'Augelli et al. 2002a; Harris Interactive, 2005; Pilkington and D'Augelli 1995). Failures of specific social institutions such as family and schools responsible for modelling behavior and protecting the vulnerable, implicate them in the decision to engage in sex work as they become dislocated from schools and families to lives of desperate economic struggles and limited opportunities for survival (Daly, 1992; Miller, 1986, Kramer & Berg, 2003). Studies on female sex work indicate suffering from abuse within home and/or other social institutions has led to the commission of survival crimes such as sex work (Daly 1994; Owen 1998), and as such, the same reasoning could be applied to the commission of sex trade offences by males.

In addition, where students are sexually violated like in Case Study 5, it often common not to report such or not even know they have been violated. This could be attributed to the earlier point on how the education system does not emphasize teaching the law to children and equipping them with the necessary knowledge to identify and report victimization. On another point, Humphreys (2013) notes that teacher-student relations in Botswana are heavily authoritarian, run on a punitive disciplinary regime where corporal punishment is at the core and governed by other broader social and historical factors founded on a colonial legacy, hence could prevent children from reporting even when they are aware that they have been violated.

Childhood Sexual Victimization and Sex Work in Adulthood

As narrated in most case studies above, respondents had experienced sexual abuse at a young age. This paper argues that in Botswana, the sexual victimization and general negative in childhood of the gay and bisexual identifying adolescents have influenced many to enter sex work. This is argued on the basis that such victimization occurs at an age when the boys have no or fewer resources to help cope emotionally and financially, placing them at even greater risks and involvement in sex work. This is evidenced in other studies where such experiences of the gay and bisexual youth were associated with poor health profiles, mental health issues, abuse of substances and engagement in HIV sexual risk behavior, which in this case is sex work (Bontempo and D'Augelli, 2002; California Safe Schools Coalition and 4-H Center for Youth Development, 2004; Elze, 2002; Hershberger and D'Augelli, 1995). A study by Friedmann et al. (2007) also reports that early forced-sex and general gay-related harassment were in their study linked with adverse health outcomes in adulthood, and such included depression and HIV infection. Also reporting the absence of resources to cope is a study by Chassin et al. (2002), which also adds that the effects of these negative experiences in childhood place them at greater vulnerability in adulthood where the same problems still exist and continue to manifest psychosocial health problems and risky sexual behaviors.

Another earlier study on female sex workers but very significant to this study was in 1998 by John Potterat and colleagues on pathways to sex work was comparing 237 female sex workers to 407 non-sex working women. They reported a relatively high percentage of early 'nonconsensual, prepubertal sex' compared to women who were not involved in sex work. Catania et al. (2001) and Friedman (2007) also corroborate this using data from the Urban Men's Health Study (UMHS) in Los Angeles, Chicago, San Francisco and New York of adult men who have sex with men (MSM), reporting that negative health outcomes in adulthood were associated with increased victimization of the gay males during childhood. While determination of causality is often complex, entry into sex work has been associated with risk factors such as childhood abuse, runaway behavior, drug

addiction, homelessness, all of which are often difficult to measure their respective influences in the individual's life (Kramer & Berg, 2003; Tyler, Hoyt & Whitbeck, 2000; Seng, 1989).

All the above studies are significant in demonstrating the role of childhood sexual abuse as a direct causal variable in entering sex work. In addition to these, however, are cultural values that expose children to childhood sexual abuse. Hyde (2007) laments how cultural clues of Tai-Lue community in China predisposed the Tai to risky sexual practices. Such cultural practices are also found in Africa. In Kenya for example, a study based on the perspectives of 36 professionals working with children, pointed out poverty, sexual norms, patriarchy, social changes, a culture of silence on sexual matters and outside influences like the availability of pornography as damaging practices leading to the sexual victimization of children (Plummer & Njuguna 2009). It has also been reported that due to low levels of income, most parents are unable to afford housing that could accommodate the entire family, hence sleeping arrangements often increase children's vulnerability to sexual abuse (Plummer & Njuguna 2009), like in Case Study 4 of this study. Corresponding findings have also been reported elsewhere (Canadian International Development Agency 2005; Juma et al. 2013).

Furthermore, in patriarchal societies, hierarchy is often emphasized where children's voices are silenced, and children's grievances are deemed unreliable when an adult refutes the claim (Jewkes, Penn-Kekana, & Rose-Junius, 2005). As also discussed in Botswana, the subjectification of children to too much parental control or knowledge that they would not be accepted if they came out often leads them to explore their sexualities when they are no longer under their parents' control and monitoring like in Case study 1. This could also be due to the fact that in Botswana, there is often rural-urban migration of adolescents for tertiary education or a 'better' life (Mukamaambo, 1995), and this has often been used to explain young adults change in behavior as they experience independence from parents (Mookodi, Ntshebe & Taylor, 2004, p. 91). These indicate that indeed parent's non-acceptance or familial rejection and childhood sexual abuse lead to engagement in risky behaviors or activities like sex work.

Limitations

This study was not specifically focused on having an extensive understanding of this phenomenon, and what is presented here is a portion of the themes extracted from the broader research on male sex work in Botswana. It, however, paves a way for future studies that can specifically research childhood sexual abuse as a precursor to sex work while controlling other variables as well as destructive parenting in general, which is very much needed in Botswana especially when it comes to vulnerable minority populations such as the LGBT community. Understanding the transmission and conceptualizations of HIV/AIDS in gay communities and the sex work industry is also paramount and perhaps requires different kinds of anthropological thinking and methods.

Conclusion

The case studies presented and discussed herein indicate that childhood negative experiences of the gay and bisexual male sex workers such as forced sexual penetration, parental rejection and gay related harassment are associated with negative outcomes during adulthood including sex work and the high prevalence of HIV infection. While this paper uses five case studies, complex issues emerging from the interface of childhood sexual abuse, familial rejection of certain sexual orientations, and other social factors undoubtedly deserve a more systematic in-depth study. Further studies on the long-term effects of childhood sexual abuse and the rejection of adolescents identifying as gay should also be explored through the timing of gay developmental milestones, especially since

studies indicated that those who disclosed being gay early in life were at greater risk of violence and stigma. Stigma against gay and bisexual populations has adverse effects such as depression and other mental health problems. Findings of this study could inform policy and interventions on eradicating child sexual exploitation so the children could no longer suffer such great health and social injustices. Mechanisms to monitor and ascertain the prevalence like a national survey to examine the prevalence and extent of male childhood sexual abuse should also be done so that appropriate measures and interventions could be adopted. Educating parents and providing toolkits is also paramount.

References

- Agger, B. (1991). Critical theory, poststructuralism, postmodernism: Their Sociological Relevance. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 17, 105-131.
- Alao, A.A. & Molojwane, M. B. (2008). Childhood sexual abuse: The Botswana perspectives. 9-18.
- Bailey, R. (2001) Overcoming Veriphobia - learning to love truth again, *British Journal of Educational Studies* 49 (2) 159-172.
- Bernstein, J. Y., & Watson, M. W. (1997). Children who are targets of bullying: A victim pattern. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 12(4), 483–498.
- Bogdan, R., & Biklen, S. (2007). *Qualitative research for education: An introduction to theory and practice* (5th ed.). New York: Pearson Education, Inc.
- Bontempo D. D'Augelli AR. (2002) Effects of at-school victimization and sexual orientation on lesbian, gay, or bisexual youth health risk behavior. *J Adolesc Health*.30(5):364–374
- Boyce, P., and Isaacs., 2014. Male Sex Work in Southern and Eastern Africa. In Minichiello, V. and Scott, J. eds., 2014. *Male sex work and society*. Columbia University Press.
- Briere, J., & Runtz, M. (1990). Differential adult symptomatology associated with three types of child abuse histories. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 14, 357–364.
- Browne, A. and Finkelhor, D. (1986). “Impact of Child Sexual Abuse: A Review of the Research.” *Psychological Bulletin* 99:66–77.
- Browne, A., Miller., and Maguin E. (1999). “Prevalence and Severity of Lifetime Physical and Sexual Victimization Among Incarcerated Women.” *International Journal of Law and Psychiatry* 22:301–22.
- Canadian International Development Agency. (2005). *Socio-Economic Factors Contributing to Girl Child Abuse in Botswana*. CIDA. Accessed July 28, 2019. https://www.crin.org/en/docs/Botswana_CIDA_Full_Report.pdf
- Catania, J., Osmond, D., Stall, R., Pollack, L., Paul, J. P., Blower, S., Binson, D., Canchola, J. A., Mills, T. C., Fisher, L., Choi, K. H., Porco, T., Turner, C., Blair, J., Henne, J., Bye, L. L., & Coates, T. J. (2001). The continuing HIV epidemic among men who have sex with men. *American Journal of Public Health*, 91(6),907–914.
- Cooke, J. and Sontag, M.L., (2005). Prostitution. *Geo. J. Gender & L.*, 6, p.459.
- Daly, K. (1992). “Women’s Pathways to Felony Court: Feminist Theories of Lawbreaking and Problems of Representation.” *Review of Law and Women’s Studies* 2:11–52.
- Daly, K. (1994). *Gender, Crime, and Punishment*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- D’Augelli, A. R. (2002). Mental health problems among lesbian, gay, and bisexual youths ages 14 to 21. *Clinical Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 7, 433–456.
- D’Augelli, A. R., Grossman, A. H., & Starks, M. T. (2005). Parent’s awareness of lesbian, gay, and bisexual youth’s sexual orientation. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 67, 474–482.
- Eisenberg, M. E., & Resnick, M. D. (2006). Suicidality among gay, lesbian and bisexual youth: The role of protective factors. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 39, 662–668.

- Epstein, J., Benjamin, Dean., and Heidi R. (1998) “PTSD as a Mediator Between Childhood Rape and Alcohol Use in Adult Women.” *Child Abuse and Neglect* 22:223–34.
- Friedman, M., Marshal, M., Stall, R., Cheong, J., & Wright, E. (2007). Gay-related Development, Early Abuse and Adult Health Outcomes Among Gay Males. *AIDS and Behavior*, 12(6), 891-902. doi: 10.1007/s10461-007-9319-3.
- Gillham, B. (2005) *Research Interviewing. The Range of Techniques*. Open University Press, Poland.
- Harris Interactive. (2005). *From teasing to torment: School climate in America*. New York: Gay, lesbian, and straight education network.
- Herdt, G., & Boxer, A. (1993). *Children of Horizons: How gay and lesbian teens are leading a new way out of the closet*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Humphreys, S. (2013). ‘Doing identity’ in the Botswana classroom: negotiating gendered institutional identities. Retrieved 1 August 2019, from doi: 10.1080/01596306.2013.728369
- Hyde, S. (2011). Eating spring rice: the cultural politics of AIDS in Southwest China. *Journal of The Royal Anthropological Institute*, 17(3), 656-657. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-9655.2011.01712_24.x
- IRIN., 2011. AFRICA: New Light Shed on Male Sex Work. *Thomson Reuters Foundation News*, South Africa
- Jewkes, R., Penn-Kekana, L. and Rose-Junius, H. (2005). “‘If They Rape Me, I Can’t Blame Them’: Reflections on Gender in The Social Context of Child Rape in South Africa and Namibia.” *Social Science & Medicine* 61 (8): 1809–1820.
- Juma, M., J. Alaii, Bartholomew, L. K. and Van den Born, B. (2013). “Understanding Orphan and Nonorphan Adolescents’ Sexual Risks in the Context of Poverty: A Qualitative Study in Nyanza Province, Kenya.” *BMC International Health & Human Rights* 13 (32): 1–8.
- Kibicho, W. (2016). *Sex tourism in Africa: Kenya's booming industry*, Routledge, New York, NY
- Kramer, L., & Berg, E. (2003). A Survival Analysis of Timing of Entry into Prostitution: The Differential Impact of Race, Educational Level, and Childhood/Adolescent Risk Factors. *Sociological Inquiry*, 73(4), 511-528. doi: 10.1111/1475-682x.00069.
- Lather, P. (2006). *Foucauldian scientificity: rethinking the nexus of qualitative research and educational policy analysis*. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies In Education*, 19(6), 783-791. doi: 10.1080/09518390600976006.
- McCall, L. (2005). The complexity of intersectionality. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 30:1771–1802.
- Merriam, S. B. (2009). *Qualitative research: A guide to design and implementation*. San Francisco, CA: John Wiley & Sons.
- Messman, Terri L., and Patricia Long. (1996). “Child Sexual Abuse and Its Relationship to Revictimization in Adult Women: A Review.” *Clinical Psychology Review* 16:397–420.
- Miller, Eleanor. 1986. *Street Woman*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Minichiello, V., Scott, J., & Callander, D. (2015). A new public health context to understand male sex work. *BMC Public Health*, 15(1). doi: 10.1186/s12889-015-1498-7

- Mmeso, P. (2015). Male prostitution growing in Botswana. *The Patriot on Sunday*, Gaborone, Botswana.
- Mukamaambo, E. (1995). Demographic and socio-economic situation in Botswana. In: Government of Botswana, *1991 population and housing census dissemination seminar, 1-4, May, 1995* (pp. 51-61). Gaborone: Government Printer.
- Needham, B. L., & Austin, E. L. (2010). Sexual orientation, parental support, and health during the transition to young adulthood. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 39, 1189 -1198.
- Owen, Barbara. (1998). *In the Mix: Struggle and Survival in a Women's Prison*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Patterson, C. J. (2000). Family relationships of lesbians and gay men. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 62, 1052–1069.
- Phillip, O., & Amone-P'Olak, K. (2018). The influence of self-reported childhood sexual abuse on psychological and behavioural risks in young adults at a university in Botswana. *South African Journal of Psychology*, 008124631880172. doi: 10.1177/0081246318801723
- Pilkington, N. W., & D'Augelli, A. R. (1995). Victimization of lesbian, gay, and bisexual youth in community settings. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 23, 34–56.
- Plummer, C. A., and Njuguna, C. (2009). “Cultural Protective and Risk factors: Professional Perspectives about Child Sexual Abuse in Kenya.” *Child Abuse & Neglect* 33 (2009): 524–532.
- Potterat, J., Richard R., Stephen M., William D., and Lynanne P. (1998) “Pathways to Prostitution: The Chronology or Sexual and Drug-Abuse Milestones.” *The Journal of Sex Research* 35:333–40.
- Reza, A., Breiding, M. J. Gulaid, J. Mercy, J. A. Blanton, C. Mthethwa, Z. Bamrah, S. Dahlberg, L. L., and Anderson, M. (2009). “Sexual Violence and its Health Consequences for Female Children in Swaziland: A Cluster Survey Study.” *Lancet* 373 (9679): 1966–1972.
- Rosario, M., Meyer-Bahlburg, H. F. L., Hunter, J., Exner, T. M., Gwadz, M., & Keller, A. M. (1996). The psychosexual development of urban lesbian, gay, and bisexual youths. *Journal of Sex Research*, 33(2), 113–126.
- Russell, D. (1986). *The Secret Trauma: Incest in the Lives of Girls and Women*. New York: Basic Books
- Ryan, C. and Futterman, D. (1997). Lesbian and gay youth: Care and Counselling. *J Adolesc Med.*; 8 (2):207–374
- Ryan, C. (2009a). *Helping families support their lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) children*. Washington, DC: National Center for Cultural Competence, Georgetown University Center for Child and Human Development.
- Ryan, C. (2009b). *Supportive families, healthy children: Helping families with lesbian, gay, bisexual & transgender children*. San Francisco:Family Acceptance Project, San Francisco State University.

- Ryan, C., & Diaz, R. (2009). *FAPrisk Assessment Tool*. San Francisco: Family Acceptance Project, San Francisco State University.
- Savin-Williams, R. C., & Dube', E. M. (1998). Parental reactions to their child's disclosure of a gay/lesbian identity. *Family Relations*, 47, 7–13.
- Schapera, I. (1970) *A handbook of Tswana laws and customs*. London: Frank Cass and Company.
- Spronk, R. (2014). "The Idea of African Men: Dealing with the Cultural Contradictions of Sex in Academia and in Kenya." *Culture, Sexuality & Health* 16 (5): 504–517.
- Stoebenau, K., Heise, L., Wamoyi J., and Bobrova, N. (2016). "Revisiting the Understanding of "Transactional Sex" in sub-Saharan Africa: A Review and Synthesis of The Literature." *Social Science & Medicine* 168:186–197.
- Tavrow, P., M. Withers, A. Obbuyi, V. Omollo, and E. Wu. 2013. "Rape Myth Attitudes in Rural Kenya: Toward the Development of a Culturally Relevant Attitude Scale and 'Blame Index'." *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 28 (10): 2156–2178.
- Tharinger, D., & Wells, G. (2000). An attachment perspective on the developmental challenges of gay and lesbian adolescents: The need for continuity of caregiving from family and schools. *School Psychology Review*, 29, 158–172.
- Tyler, Kimberly A., Hoyt, D., R. and Whitbeck, L., B. (2000). "The Effects of Early Sexual Abuse on Later Sexual Victimization among Female Homeless and Runaway Adolescents." *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 15:235–40.
- UNESCO & UNFPA. (2012). *Sexuality Education: A Ten-country Review of School Curricula in Eastern and Southern Africa*. New York: UNESCO & UNFPA. Accessed March 25, 2015. <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0022/002211/221121E.pdf>
- Vidal, S., Prince, D., Connell, C. M., Caron, C. M., Kaufman, J. S., & Tebes, J. K. (2017). Maltreatment, family environment, and social risk factors: Determinants of the child welfare to juvenile justice transition among maltreated children and adolescents. *Child abuse & neglect*, 63, 7–18. doi:10.1016/j.chiabu.2016.11.013.
- Wangamati, C. K., Thorsen, V. C., Gele, A. A. and Sundby, J. (2016). "Postrape Care Services to Minors in Kenya: Are the Services Healing or Hurting survivors?" *International Journal of Women's Health* 8:249–259.
- West, C, and Williams, L. (2000). "Adult Sexual Revictimization among Black Women Sexually Abused in Childhood: A Prospective Examination of Serious Consequences of Abuse." *Child Maltreatment* 5:49–58.
- Widom, C. S. (1995). *Victims of Childhood Sexual Abuse—Later Criminal Consequences*. Research in Brief. Washington, DC: National Institute of Justice, US Department of Justice.
- Widom, C., and Kuhns, J. (1996). "Childhood Victimization and Subsequent Risk for Promiscuity, Prostitution, and Teenage Pregnancy: A Prospective Study." *American Journal of Public Health* 86:1607–12.