UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

PROSTITUTION IN GHANA, ITS RELIGIOUS AND ETHICAL IMPLICATIONS: THE CASE OF SOME SELECTED PLACES IN GHANA

BY

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THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF RELIGION AND HUMAN VALUES OF THE FACULTY OF ARTS, UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST, IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY DEGREE IN RELIGION AND HUMAN VALUES

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DECLARATION

CANDIDATE'S DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my own o	original work and that no
part of it has been presented for another degree in this uni	versity or elsewhere.
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SUPERVISORS' DECLARATION	
We hereby declare that the preparation and presentation	tion of the thesis were
supervised in accordance with the guidelines on supervi	sion of thesis laid dowr
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ABSTRACT

The study was conducted to investigate the religious and ethical implications of prostitution in Ghana. The purpose of the study was to examine why prostitution still persists in spite of condemnation by some religious groups.

Six selected communities, where mining and industrial activities are done, comprising 53 respondents and interviewees (50 prostitutes and 3 religious leaders) were used and this was done using the purposive and snowball sampling techniques, in the selection of respondents and interviewees. The researcher used a-five-point Likert scale format and semi-structured interview guide as the main instruments for the data collection.

The major findings of the study indicated that prostitution persists among religious people in Ghana. People go into prostitution for different reasons ranging from financial to psychological needs. People engage in religious activities for reasons other than spiritual upliftment. Therefore, there are religious and ethical implications of prostitution which need urgent attention by the religious communities in Ghana. The study, therefore, recommends that religious institutions should look beyond spiritual enhancement of their members and also attend to the individual physical and psychological needs as well.

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DEDICATION

To the everlasting memory of my mum, Agnes Opoku Agyemang, all women in Brong Ahafo, all commercial sex workers in Ghana, and 'Prof' my son.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Every society is governed by laws. Laws are what help human beings to live in peace. Laws are what regulate and aid the progress of society. Nonetheless, these laws are often violated. For most African societies, sex is hedged. It is considered sacred; a preserve of married people. Thus, sex outside the ambit of marriage is considered an aberration and hence, a misconduct. A lot of arguments have been made on the subject of sexual misconduct. Prostitution is, perhaps, the most talked about form of sexual misconduct. Beyond prostitution, there is a rise in other forms of sexual misconduct that come under various names: frotteurism, exhibitionism, sadomasochism, necrophilia, voyeurism, cybersex and many others. Society is confronted with these forms of sexual misconduct. They have become realities that society must deal with. In the case of prostitution, for example, there is a huge debate as to whether it should be legalised or not. This is because some sections of the society argue that since society cannot eradicate it, the better option is to recognise its reality and legalise it.

Background to the Study

An employer pays money to the employee in exchange for the employee's labour. People are paid for their skills, attention and efforts at satisfying the emotional needs of others. For example, the comedian, the

hairdresser and the funeral decorator receive their remuneration after their jobs, yet we do not exchange money in return for friendship. For human interactions to be 'real' and meaningful, they must be freely offered and voluntarily shared. What about sexual arousal and activity? Where do we place our sexual expression? Can it be meaningful or pleasurable, if it is bought or sold as a product?

Prostitution, among other sexual trades, is part of human specialisation which exists around the world. In Ghana, prostitution is defined by section 279 of the criminal code 1960 (Act 29) as amended by Act 554 to "include the offering by the person his body commonly for acts of lewdness (sex) payment although there is no act of ordinary sexual connection." It is also defined as the practice of selling the services of oneself or other persons' for purposes of intercourse or other sexual activities. According to Lauer (1998), prostitution refers to paid sexual relations between a woman and her client; the remuneration providing part of the woman's entire livelihood. However, in this thesis, prostitution would be defined as performing, offering, or agreeing to perform a sexual act for money, property, token, favour, article, or anything of value by the prostitute through bargaining.

In Africa, particularly in Ghana, female prostitution seems to be predominant as compared to male prostitution. In Ghana, prostitutes work in and outside the country. Countries where the Ghanaian prostitutes work are mostly Ivory Coast, Liberia, Monrovia and South Africa. Within the country, prostitutes mostly operate in big cities and mining communities such as Takoradi, Accra, Kumasi, Cape Coast, Koforidua, as well as Obuasi, Tarkwa, Akwatia and Kenyasi. Other major towns such as Tema, Sunyani and Sekondi

are operational points of prostitutes. The house prostitutes (seaters) are the old traditional prostitutes, who live in houses at a place in the communities (*The Weekly Spectator*, 4th October, 2008).

Very often, the doors of the prostitutes are half-opened so that the customers only enter for the prostitutes to follow them and negotiate, after which business commences. In recent times, other groups of prostitutes have started operating on the major streets of towns. This class of prostitutes is called roamers. They stand in places where there are likely to be traffic jams and they patrol around to entice the passers-by and then negotiate for business. These modern prostitutes operate around busy road areas and good residential areas in Accra, Cape Coast, Kumasi, Tema, Takoradi among other places.

In Ghana, another type of prostitution which is common is the "call-girl" prostitution. These prostitutes who are mainly elites including college, polytechnic and university students, men and women with daytime jobs seeking to supplement their income, deposit their pictures and contact addresses or telephone numbers with hotel workers. The customer calls and indicates his or her preferences as to race, age, appearance and willingness to engage in specific sexual acts. In this era of international trade, the call-girl must be prepared to entertain businessmen or women from all over the world. These prostitutes are typically more educated than the streetwalkers or house prostitutes. They are very attractive because they dress well and work independently to offer special services to meet the interest of their customers in the customers' hotel room or in an apartment of the customers' choice.

Prostitution has become a very sensitive issue and more complicated to talk about in the Ghanaian society. This is because, traditionally, a boy or girl

is supposed to be completely ignorant of sexual matters until he or she is physiologically and socially matured (Sarpong, 1974). Therefore, whenever the issue of prostitution comes up for discussion, it is virtually brushed aside or taken for granted that it is an alien subject that should be ignored. The somehow uncompromising attitude towards prostitution, especially in Ghana, therefore, seems to be both cultural and religious. In almost every Ghanaian society, prostitution is abhorred and treated with contempt to the extent that those who engage in it or are suspected to engage in it do not attract the sympathy and support of the community.

What makes prostitution (and sexual misconducts) even more abominable in Ghana is that religions like Christianity and Islam that are not culturally or traditionally Ghanaian also do not countenance the practice in any way. However, certain developments around the world, particularly, in Ghana, have made it increasingly imperative for people from different backgrounds to revisit the subject of prostitution in order to put it in its right context and address it as such.

Globalisation, modernisation, urbanisation, rural-urban migration, uneven distribution of national resources, increased religious activities etc. have influenced people's perception and attitudes towards many issues including prostitution. As a result, prostitution should not be seen as an untouchable subject, but should be considered as one that needs urgent attention by all people irrespective of their backgrounds.

It is important to note that prostitution is a multi-dimensional issue that should be addressed from different perspectives and not left to only the sociologists to deal with. Prostitution transcends the realms of religion, culture, politics, sociology, economics and even ethics. It is the combined efforts of all stake holders in the development process that can deal with the issue in its appropriate context. Therefore, prostitution is seen as a problem of the entire society and not limited to a particular segment or section of the society.

This work, thus, looks at the prevalence of prostitution in the Ghanaian society, its religious and ethical implications on the populace, with a view to offering practical solutions to the problem.

Ghana being a multi-religious country, it is envisaged that every human activity should be based on moral standards, which should be continuously advocated through the values of these religious practices. But a lot of factors seem to be responsible for the escalation of immoral activities. These include poverty, exposure to pornographic literature and films; media pouring out an increasing stream of sexually arousing advertisements and entertainments such as beauty contests with competitors parading themselves almost in the nude. Some people evaluate their own sexual behaviours by comparing them with the views of the social ethicists and their sex surveys, apparently assuming that unusual behaviour may be wrong, but if everyone else is doing it, it must be all right (Boullough, 1996).

In the pre-civilisation era, western society was reported to have lived a very restrictive and sexually moral life. At least, since the fall of the Roman Empire, sexual behaviour had been approved only between a husband and a wife, and only for the purpose of reproduction. The origins of this attitude are to be found in the Judeo-Christian religious tradition, particularly the New Testament teaching of Saint Paul and the lectures of the early Christian leaders

such as St. Augustine (354-430AD). These leaders held sexual abstinence to be ideal but allowed that 'it is better to marry than to burn' (Coleman & Cressey, 1984).

In Ghana today, the young and the old openly discuss their sexual activities wherever they find themselves. For instance, students who do not contribute to the open discussion on sexual issues or have no sexual relation are branded with names like "chrife" and/or "christo-crazy". Magazines, with pictures of scantily clad women, were condemned by our grandparents, but are now fixtures of supermarket magazine racks.

Programmes on FM stations such as "From me to you," "Love links", "Looking for love", "Mmarima ahyia", "Wo ba ada anaa" and special love corners in Newspapers and other modes of media may promote prostitution in Ghana as people who listen and participate in these programmes may sometimes be tempted to put what is said or seen into practice. Many writers and producers of African and Western movies now tend to feel that one or two sex scenes are necessary to the financial success of a new production. Even television programmes openly deal with subjects that would have been otherwise shocking and embarrassing a decade ago. The emergence of many social clubs, hotels and long prison terms (people in custody) has also contributed to the upsurge of sexual openness in almost all places. It is, therefore, the aim of this researcher to look into these prevailing issues of concern pragmatically with the sole aim of applying ethical principles to proffer practical solutions to them.

Statement of the Problem

Even though almost all the major religions in Ghana condemn the practice of commercial sex trade, the phenomenon still persists. The 2000 population and housing census in Ghana put the religious population at over 90% of the total population. By implication, the majority of people who engage in prostitution (prostitutes and their clients) may belong to one religious institution or the other. Therefore, prostitution in Ghana poses serious religious and ethical problems that need to be investigated. This thesis, therefore, investigates the religious and ethical implications of prostitution in Ghana.

Purpose of the Study

There are many social problems threatening the harmony of the world and its inhabitants. Prostitution, one of the oldest challenges humans have faced and continue to face, has caught the attention of many scholars in recent times. What is surprising about the existence of prostitution is its resilience despite the age long battle with religious ethics and culture. Prostitution has survived through countless ages and continues to survive, and it again shows no sign of fading out. The purpose of this research is, therefore, to conduct an investigation to find out the causes, which account for the existence and promotion of the institution of prostitution in Ghana.

Another reason for the researcher is the debate on the legalisation of prostitution. Though everybody seems to have a point on why this act should or should not be legalised, the arguments lack logical progression and coherence. This study seeks to address this problem.

Significance of the Study

The significance of the study includes the following:

- 1. To serve as a reference material to the academic community.
- 2. To contribute to the unending debate on prostitution in Ghana.
- To motivate religious bodies, NGOs, sociologists, ethicists and other stake-holders to fashion out the appropriate measures in handling prostitution issues in Ghana.
- 4. To influence the need for further research into other related areas which the study may not tackle.

Research Questions

The following research questions have been formulated to enable the researcher find answers to certain issues pertaining to the current study.

- 1. Why do people enter into sex trade or prostitution business?
- 2. What is the role of technology and condom use in the face of prostitution?
- 3. What is the economic importance of prostitution to the individual and the state?
- 4. What are the moral and ethical implications of prostitution on practitioners?
- 5. How are prostitutes challenged in their business?

Delimitation

The study is limited to some selected places in Ghana, mostly the regional capitals. These towns are, Sekondi, Accra, Cape Coast, Sunyani, Tamale and Kumasi. Cape Coast is one of the old cities and the former capital of Ghana (Gold Coast). Prostitution in Cape Coast and Sekondi has survived since the beginning of the European visit to the country through the coast. It has gained roots in some places in Ghana. In many suburbs of these cities, it is alleged that prostitutes operate during day and night and in small houses, hotels and guest houses.

Limitation

The researcher encountered certain difficulties during the research. The following are but a few. The size of the area of research was limited to certain parts of Ghana hence not all areas were covered. It was difficult for the few respondents to respond to the questionnaire and some prostitutes were not cooperative. Also, some of the respondents were suspicious of the intentions of the research despite the explanation given by the researcher that the work was purely academic. The few respondents who were prepared to respond to the interview demanded extra money.

Sex in Africa is hedged. As a result, people were unwilling to volunteer information. In addition, there are few books available on the subject matter in the African context; the researcher had to rely more on foreign materials and materials from the print media.

ABBREVIATIONS

ART: Anti-Retroviral Therapy

HIV: Human Immune Virus

AIDS: Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome

ILO: International Labour Organization

USA: United States of America

STD: Sexually Transmitted Disease

STI: Sexually Transmitted Infection

B.C: Before Christ

WAC: West African Company

UAC: United African Company

WCC: World Council of Churches

UNAIDS: United Nations forum on Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome

WHO: World Health Organization

NACP: National AIDS/STI Control Programme

GHS: Ghana Health Service

BOSOMFO: An Akan Traditional Priest

BCC: Behavioural Change Communication

PLWHDS: People Living With HIV/AIDS

AZT: Zidovudine

HIRE: Hooking is Real Employment

COYETE: Call off Your Tired Ethics

FLOP: Friends and Lovers of Prostitution

Puma: Prostitutes Union of Massachusetts Association

TV: Television

Definition of Terms as used in the study

Roamers: Prostitutes who prowl the streets in search of clients.

Seaters: Prostitutes who operate in a permanent hired room.

Hustlers: Male prostitutes (roamers) who normally render service to male clients

Call girls: Highly paid female sex workers who work by appointment with an exclusive clientele.

Street girls/walkers: Female prostitutes who work on the streets.

Autogynephilia: Sexual arousal/orgasm through fantasies of possessing the physical features of women.

Berdaches: Somebody who seems to have both male and female sexual characteristics

Brothel: A house where people pay to have sex with prostitutes.

Bisexuality: Willingness to have sexual relations with individuals of either sex.

Drag Prostitute: Men who dress to look like women in an attempt to fool clients by performing fellatio or passive anal sex. They are often beaten up when their gender is discovered.

Cunnilingus: Oral stimulation of the female genitalia.

Exhibitionism: Exposure of the male genitals to a stranger, usually a girl or a woman for sexual pleasure.

FAWE: Forum for African Women Educationalist(s)

Fellatio: Oral stimulation of the male genitalia.

FIDA: International Federation of Women Lawyers (Federacion International d'abogadas)

Frotteurism: Gaining sexual gratification from anonymously pressing or

rubbing one's genitals against others, in crowded settings.

Gigolos: Attractive men who cater for sexual and social needs of

wealthy older women (sugar boys).

John: Men who mostly patronise the services of prostitutes.

Madam: A woman who traditionally operates a brothel.

Paedophilia: The condition of being sexually attracted to children.

Pimp: A person, usually a man, who is hired to give the female

prostitute protection from dangerous clients, sometimes

arranges legal services and gives the prostitute emotional

support.

Prostitution: The performing, offering, or agreement to perform a sexual act

for money, property, token, favour, article or anything of value

by the prostitute through bargaining.

Promiscuity: Indiscriminate casual sex relations with many partners.

Punks: Young men prisoners who give sex to adult prisoners in favour

of gifts such as cigarettes.

Heterosexual: A preference for sexual relations with individuals of the

opposite sex.

Homosexuality: A preference for sexual relations with individuals of the same

sex.

Pornography: Books or videos that describe/show naked people and sexual

acts in a way that can be offensive to some people

Necrophilia: Having sexual activity with a dead body.

Red-Light District: A concentrated area in a big city where roamers mostly

seek clients.

Sadomasochistic: Enjoyment from hurting a sexual partner and being hurt, especially during sexual activity.

Lesbian: A female homosexual.

Voyeurism: Sexual excitement/gratification generated by observing naked people and or people engaging in sexual activities secretly.

Ashawo: A word in the Ga language meaning Prostitute.

Tuutuu/Gyantra: Coined words in Akan used to describe the prostitute.

Objectives: The objectives of this study are:

1. To examine the religious and ethical implications of prostitution on practitioners in Ghana.

- 2. To examine the role of modern technology in the promotion of condom use in spite of its religious and ethical implication.
- 3. To examine the economic importance of prostitution to the individual and the state.
- 4. To identify reasons why some religious people enter into prostitution.
- 5. To painstakingly examine the challenges prostitutes face in their business.

LITERATURE REVIEW

This part presents a review of the related materials of published works of other authors. It is an undeniable fact that in almost all academic disciplines, literature abounds. However, in this part of the world, particularly, Ghana, literature on prostitution seems to be very scarce. This could be due to the fact that, as mentioned earlier, in the Ghanaian cultural setting, just like some other African countries, prostitution is not discussed openly. That is, the act of prostitution is viewed and treated with contempt because it is shrouded in secrecy and its practice is frowned upon. This and some other related intrinsic ambivalent positions have been responsible for the scarcity of literature on the subject. On the other hand, efforts have been made to consider some foreign literature or works on the subject. This does not imply that one or two works by indigenous writers have not been considered.

As earlier on posited, a lot of literature has been produced by scholars on the topic and the following have been reviewed for the purpose of this research. A book titled *Social Problem* written by Coleman and Cressey (1984), comments that prostitution continues because it satisfies important needs for both prostitutes and customers. The primary reward for most prostitutes is the financial gain (money). Even a moderate prostitute earns much more money than a waitress, store clerk, or professor (Coleman & Cressey, 1984). To some extent, this stance by the authors is difficult to accept especially in the case of what a professor may earn. As for the customers, a prostitute offers sex without emotional ties and obligations. Customers do not have to 'woo and win' the prostitutes and they have no obligation to be nice afterwards. Prostitutes will also perform sexual activities that may be difficult

for the customers to obtain elsewhere. Prostitutes are easily available to those who lack the time or social skills necessary for normal dating and others who find it difficult to proposing to women or men.

In their book *Social Problems*, Coleman and Cressey (1984) say social problem exists when there is a big difference between the ideals of a society and its actual achievements. Social problems are created by failure to close the gap between the way people believe things should be and the way things really are. When one examines the ideals and values of society, one decides whether these goals are achievable. Sociologists, Ethicists, and related scholars thus, decide what a problem is and what is not as they examine the desires and achievements of members of society. Prostitution is one of the social problems human beings have been battling with since the beginning of societal existence.

A social problem exists when a significant number of people believe that a certain condition is in fact a problem (Cressey & Coleman, 1984). At times, the public (not a sociologist) decides what a social problem is and what is not. The writers published this book in 1984 when most of the ideals and values of the society were being trampled upon bringing about chaos and disorder in the society. They came out with this book to suggest to stakeholders as to how to curb such societal problems such as: violence, warfare, crime, delinquency, mental disorder, sexual behaviour and many others.

The writers hoped to use their book to draw the attention of the public as well as the stakeholders to why society was living in trouble, and to suggest measures to curb and reduce these social problems. The writers suggested

ways to reduce some of these social problems. They held the view that human beings at every stage of their life had their own social problems. For this reason, they did not look at only a specific group, but problems from all people at different stages of man's life; children, men and women were their focus. It also includes people who believe they have been victimized through racial and sexual discriminations. As people with a common interest on an issue begin to talk with one another and express their feelings about the problem, moral crusaders step forward to lead the developing movement. Martin Luther King Jnr., a leader for the civil rights movement, Ralph Nader, for the consumer movement, and Jerry Falwell, leader of the Moral Majority, have all expressed their views (Norrell and Robert, as cited in Cressey & Coleman, 1984).

To the above writers, sexual relations have been approved only between a husband and a wife, often only for the purpose of reproduction (Cressey & Coleman, 1984). The origins of this attitude are to be found in the Judeo-Christian religious traditions particularly the New Testament teaching of Paul and the lectures of the early Christian leaders such as Saint Augustine (Olen & Barry, 1996). These leaders held sexual abstinence to be ideal but held that "it is better to marry than to burn". Sex was seen as something evil and degrading and thus to be avoided as much as possible. It is clear from the reading of Cressey and Coleman that prostitution has both social and ethical implications. But these socio-ethical implications are discussed by the two authors without relating that matter to the religious implications of prostitution, a fundamental task set out to be achieved. Thus, it appears that Cressey and Coleman provide an insight into prostitution as a social problem

to which we can draw some lessons. Nevertheless, a detailed and comprehensive consideration of the religious and ethical implication of sex outside marriage is left out. This appears to constitute the ideas of the two authors.

The Puritans of the seventeenth century emphasized strict moral code of the early Christians and demanded almost complete repression of sexuality. Puritan immigrants in North America helped to establish this rigid code as a dominant force on the new continent. In the 19th century, Victorians avoided discussion of anything that could be considered even remotely sexual and masturbation was believed to cause defects ranging from mental disorders to blindness (Coleman & Cressey, 1984).

The double standard was so strong that female sexuality was almost entirely denied. Prostitution and pornography flourished and there appeared to have been a wide gap between what people said and what they did. In general, the history of sexual behaviour in Western culture is marked by alternating periods of stern repression and quiet permissiveness. Puritans were most effective with the passage of time. Likewise, among some ethnic groups such as the Akan and Ewe in Ghana, the major reason for marriage is for procreation.

Gyekye (1996) says one major reason why the young man will be encouraged to marry is simply procreation. To produce children in the way considered proper by the society. The concept of the "illegitimate child" or the child born out of wedlock" does not generally exist in the traditional African society (Gyekye, 1996). Gyekye's position that the reason for marriage is to procreate seems to be misplaced. This is so because, though the core value in

marriage is procreation, it is important to stress that in Africa, there were and still are marriages which have not resulted in procreation. Gyekye also seems to forget that as old as history, prostitution cannot be said to be a phenomenon which was totally unknown in indigenous African societies. Perhaps, it was there but for fear of public humiliation and scorn, prostitutes devised ingenious ways to explore their trade. Besides, Gyekye's work does not comprehensively address itself to the religious and ethical implications of prostitution in Ghana. This would have aided to narrowing our discussion on prostitution in some selected towns of Ghana.

Abotchie (1997) states that before a girl is initiated into womanhood (puberty rites), eventual initiation is preceded by a process of ascertaining the chastity of the girl. The proof of a girl's chastity is her virginity. Customarily, a girl is required to pass through the puberty ritual before she marries, and since traditional society strictly abhors pre-marital sex, the puberty ritual requires that the neophytes must be virgins. The mode of certification which takes place on the eve of the initiation ceremony consists in an ordeal administered by the senior kinswoman. When one considers the European and African history on sexuality, it is clear that sex, freedom and behaviours including prostitution, homosexuality and others were not tolerated at all.

Abotchie's position on the ways by which virginity was cherished in relation to certain rights in Ghana such as Dipoyo and Bragoro is quite refreshing. For among other things, it gives one the impression of the social and for that matter, festival measures, which were adopted in order to keep people chaste. Going by Abotchie's position therefore, prostitution was non-existent. We think, however, that Abotchie's position restricts the subject

matter to ceremonies which stress the need to be chaste. But assuming a lady chooses to have sexual intercourse with somebody consistently, until the two of them get married without passing through the virginity test, can that act be regarded as prostitution? Moreso, though Abotchie's position can be linked to Traditional African ethics of ensuring chastity before marriage, it does not adequately address the ethical and religious implications of prostitution, a fundamental objective we set out to achieve.

In the Victorian times through to today, sexual attitudes and practices have become much more liberal; the media often pictures them as a revolutionary break with the past. Some moral commentators have predicted that our sudden "moral decay will have dire consequences for Western society, but not everyone agrees that a sexual revolution has taken place". Some argue that today's young people are simply more open in discussing their sexual activities than their grandparents were and that actual behaviour has not changed very much. Through the media, magazines with pictures of scantily dressed women, which were condemned, are now fixtures of supermarket and newspaper racks, and that many writers and producers of movies and plays; now feel that one or two sex scenes are necessary to the financial success of a new production. Even television programmes, openly deal with subjects that would have been shocking just a few decades ago.

Cressey and Coleman (1984) use pros and cons to bring out sexual behaviours. According to them sexual behaviours such as homosexuality and prostitution are morally wrong and socially damaging and that if they are allowed to flourish the family would collapse and birth rates would fall

drastically. Therefore, for its own protection, society must condemn prostitution and homosexuality.

Responding to problems of sexual behaviour, Cressey and Coleman came out with acceptable and unacceptable sexual behaviours; strict laws were passed on their proposal and these legislations are still in books. For example, in USA, about 19 states have penalties ranging from a fine of \$10.000 to four years imprisonment for unmarried couple having sex (Cressey & Coleman, 1984). Anal sex attracts penalties. Oral sex could attract up to 20 years. Rape and child molestation also attract heavy sanctions. The controversy about the legislation of morality focuses on laws that prohibit private sexual activity between consenting adults, including homosexuality, prostitution and others. Some officials are convinced that these laws are necessary to preserve traditional standards and to prevent moral decay that may lead to social corruption.

Cressey and Coleman look at sexual behaviour sociologically. To them, the conflicts between moral standards and the rapid changes that have occurred in sexual attitudes have made sexual behaviour a controversial social issue. A prostitution analyst in the book, *Social Problem*, set the pattern for most of the functionalist work on prostitution. To David (as cited in Cressey & Coleman, 1984), an analyst from a functionalist point of view, prostitution is inevitable. As long as there are sexual restrictions in a society, sexual activities will be for sale (as cited in Cressey & Coleman, 1984). We can say that Coleman and Cressey looked at prostitution from positive and negative angles, and left it there for society to judge, considering forces that contribute to the increase in sexual activity. For example, we can say lack of family

control and traditional religious morality to control young people's sexual activities, improvement in birth control, increase in erotic materials in the mass media and a redefinition of sexuality as normal and healthy, contribute to the increase in prostitution.

Cressey and Coleman (1984) try to examine the laws that prohibit sexuality between unmarried male adults, child sexual abuse, homosexuality among others. Though these laws against sexuality may have their social appeal, the two authors seem to ignore the fact that humans are by nature dynamic and very difficult to predict. Thus, merely passing a law to outlaw a phenomenon, which has constantly adjusted its mode of operation, is inadequate. Besides, the religious and moral implication of prostitution is not discussed. Nevertheless, their study provides a useful insight into the topic generally.

Olen and Barry (1991) also consider the issue of sexual morality. They look at sexual morality from the traditional and libertarian view. According to these writers, the natural purpose of sex is reproduction. In their work, this belief is spelt out in the Vatican's 1976 Declaration on certain questions concerning sexual ethics. The authors stress what they consider essential characteristics of human beings, the ability to engage in fully human love, which includes genuine caring, sincerity, respect, commitment and fidelity. To them, true human love does not stop at romantic love, but transcends into parental love. This means that human love differentiates itself from that of animals in the way it fulfils sexual desires and it is what gives human sex and sexual relationships their special dignity.

Like Gyekye (2003), Olen and Barry (1991) consider the issue of prostitution and sex from the point of view of traditionalism and sexual libertarianism. That is, they argue that the purpose of sex should be to procreate, and so any type of sex that does not fulfil this basic requirement qualifies to be called prostitution. They further argue that genuine love exists only in a sexual intercourse between two married people. In brief, these authors consider the issue of sex as a means to attain an end namely procreation. We think, however, that this is a selfish moral consideration because it does not give the individual the moral freedom to choose whatever he or she does to his or her body. Though the position of Olen and Barry (1991) is illuminating and adds to our understanding of the ethical and religious implication of prostitution, to consider prostitution from the egoistic view point as the above authors did not do justice to the topic under examination.

According to Smith (1997), declaration on sexual ethics, having sex without love, or having sex without the desire to procreate, constitutes a violation of human nature and dignity. To violate our essential nature and dignity is to turn away from the proper human good, to engage in sex without love or desire to procreate is wrong according to Olen and Barry (1991). That does not mean, however, that fornicators who love each other but do not use contraceptives are moral in the church's view. Given the precarious nature of human desire and commitment, one needs sincerity and fidelity, and sometimes marriage can provide those guarantees.

The libertarian view on sex is that it is an activity like any other – and nothing determines whether any sexual act is moral or immoral. As long as the

act involves no dishonesty, exploitation or coercion and it does not violate any obligations to others, it is not immoral. This view runs contrary to the view of the authors mentioned above.

Arguments in favour of sexual libertarianism are basically of the "why not" sort. Why should sex not be treated like any other activity? Why should we consider it moral to play tennis with somebody we do not love but immoral to have sex with somebody we do not love? Why should we consider it moral to have lunch with somebody of the same sex but immoral to have sex with that very same person? Why should we be permitted to go to a movie purely for pleasure but not have sex purely for pleasure? What is so different about sex that it requires such special rules? Why can sexual morality not be determined by the same general moral principles – the principle of utility, respect for persons, the golden rule and so forth – that determine right and wrong in the rest of our lives? Jeffrey and Vincent's (1992) argument from both traditional and libertarian sexual perspectives is based on love and affection and it should be accepted by the consenting adults based on societal laws, reasoning and conscience; for they conclude that "all of society is affected by the sexual revolution you're so fond of". If to them;

"Sex isn't as private as you think answer these questions. Who do you think would have to pick up the tab for all the illegitimate children your libertarianism is giving us? The taxpayers of course. And who has to pick the tab for AIDS research? Again the taxpayers. And who has to live with all the abortion bills, the fear of AIDS, and the worry over how all of this free sex will affect our children? All of us".

Scruton (1986), a British philosopher, argues in favour of the African traditional view of sexual morality. He bases his moral view on Aristotle's *Nichomachean Ethics* and says that morality is a constraint on practical reasoning. This means that, to him, morality rejects certain kinds of behaviour even though individuals might have many prudent reasons for engaging in them. Again, he stresses that the goal of human conduct is eudemonia (happiness or fulfilment) which requires both physical health and the development of the individual's morality and reasonableness. Thirdly, he argues that the best way to bring about moral reasoning is moral education. In educating our children to develop virtuous dispositions, we are teaching them to be conscious of reproachable sexual desires and to what is reasonable so that they can live fulfilled lives.

In this context, Scruton is of the view that though one can on his/her own decide to engage in sex that would satisfy him or her, yet everything that the human does affects the society, for it is the society that judges human conduct. If a person's sexual life can affect the society either positively or negatively, then sexual conduct should be based on the desire of the society and not selfish gains. One will also disagree with Scruton's reasons for sexual relations as being love and procreation. The reason is that man and woman were created for each other as helpers in all aspects of human life including legitimate sexual life and not for only procreation as argued by Scruton (1986). Scruton's support of traditional view of morality as consisting of sexual intercourse that will lead to love and procreation is quite placed. However, given the unpredictable and dynamic nature of humans, how can love between two consenting parties or people be measured or quantified? It

appears that to restrict sexuality for the purpose of child production would not help exhaust the topic under consideration. After all, countless examples can be advanced to demonstrate how certain types of sexual intercourse that do not necessarily lead to reproduction are a daily phenomenon, and yet such type of sex does not qualify to be called prostitution. For instance, homosexual relations between two male adults do not lead to procreation, yet those involved are said to be properly married. Does that relation constitute prostitution? We conclude from Scruton's study that the ethical and religious implication of prostitution is a delicate topic to be restricted only to the traditional view of morality. Nevertheless, Scruton's study gives us a foundation in prostitution on which we build our arguments on the ethical and religious implication of the topic.

Alan H. Goldman (1977) in his article "Plain sex" rejects what he calls "means-ends" analyses of sex that treat sex as essentially a means to fulfil life: love, reproduction, or communication. To him, sexual desire is just the desire for contact with another person's body, and the goal of sex is the pleasure such contact gives. He argues that sex can also be a means of reproduction or of expressing love, but those are extraneous purposes to the act of sex itself. In Goldman's view, sexual life should have these characteristics: love, reproduction or communication. Any sexual life devoid of these characteristics such as homosexuality, prostitution and others are morally unacceptable. This is because before sexual life takes place, those involved should love themselves, they should have the ambition to procreate and also for expressing ones' mind to the other.

With this general literature review, we shall endeavour to make some correlations on the existing work and our practical field work to possibly arrive at a justifiable conclusion. It must, however, be reiterated that some of the literature would definitely assist in the research work in specific areas such as economic, social and ethical issues which seem to be at the core of prostitution in Ghana, because some prostitutes are said to be practising as a result of its economic gains.

Economic Issues

Prostitution appears to have grown to a point where we can talk about it as an economic activity providing significant employment and income to large numbers of people who are either directly or indirectly involved. It also appears to have changed in response to the changing tastes and sophistication of customers as well as the enforcement of legislation and the increasing national and international vested economic interests in the sex sector (World of work, 1998).

Harsh economic conditions have increased the survival of prostitution. People, though brought up to live by some moral standards, have been compelled to "sell their bodies" for a living. Ethically, it is not acceptable for a human being to sell part of his/her body (sex trade). Therefore, in the situation where humans would need the very basic needs to survive, it is for them to choose the lesser evil of selling his/her body than either to steal or starve to death.

The rising cost of living, the control of prices by corporations, the hardships of unemployment, and similar difficulties seem to be matters

for economists to consider, as most women who find themselves in prostitution are poor. To such women, they have no choice but to sell what they have to make ends meet.

Coleman and Cressey (1984) claim that female prostitutes come from all walks of life. Most are young unmarried women from low socio-economic backgrounds. Although many people believe that prostitutes are forced into the profession by pimps, most prostitutes simply drift into their occupation. They begin by giving sex in exchange for favours from boyfriends, girl friends, progress to occasional 'tricking' and then become full-time professionals. There is, however, a serious problem among teenage runaways who are in desperate need of money and are sometimes lured into prostitution by unscrupulous pimps (Cressey & Coleman, 1984).

Grove (as cited in ILO, 1998) reports that in Thailand, the brothels and sex bars of Bangkok make a substantial contribution to Thailand's economy. The young sex workers of Bangkok provide life's basic necessities for their impoverished families all over rural Thailand (World of Work, 1998).

Thai, Japanese, Australian, European and American men are the usual patrons of the sex bars and shows. Customers pay about \$12-\$15 to enter. Sitting with a "bar girl" requires purchasing drinks for her drinks and paying an additional fee to have sex with her. The women wear numbers around their necks so they can be "ordered" by patrons, and the price for sexual acts varies from \$20-\$40. The women are paid about \$80 per month. Many sex workers have children and Thai culture emphasizes

a mother's responsibility to provide for her family and earn considerably more than domestic or factory workers, (Anderson, 2005).

Cuff (as cited in World of Work, 1998) states that, in Kenya, some young girls sell sex for things of such little value as sanitary towels and food. Some girls are said to be having sex for as little as 50 Kenyan shillings (less than a dollar). Poverty can be seen as the root for the high proportion of Kenyan children beginning sexual activity at such young ages. She further argues that poverty denies children access to education and information about sexual health, their human rights, and life's choices as well as hindering access to medical services such as contraceptives and other reproductive help.

In Russia, unemployment among women runs as high as 75 percent. Some know they are being recruited for prostitution while others naively believe they will work as dancers, waitresses, and hostesses all over Western Europe as organized export of prostitutes from Commonwealth Independent Countries (CIS). Latvia, Georgia and Lithuania are examples of Middle East, plane loads of Russian such countries. In the disembark in Dubai, earn hard currency for the duration of their fourteen-day visas, and then return home, carrying TV sets and other Western luxuries. Meanwhile, in Tel Aviv in Israel, the number of brothels have gone up from 30 to 150 over the last five years, most of them staffed with Russians. In Asia, too many Chinese and Japanese bars tout the presence of new blonde, blue-eyed Russian "hostesses". A Ukrainian woman proudly boasts of the money she can make to support her parents and baby and two daughters who remain back home (Hornbloer as cited in World of Work, 1998).

One can assess the economic importance of prostitution. It clearly shows that the sex business has assumed the dimensions of commercial sector, one that contributes substantially to employment and national income in the region. If prostituting can help these prostitutes to care for themselves and their dependants, it can be considered as good. It has created employment for people directly and indirectly. For the prostitutes, the pimps and the madams who give technical and supporting services to them also have found jobs and contribute to the development of the nation. When people are economically sound, it helps to curb streetism and other related problems.

Lin Lean Lim, editor of *The sex sector* in South East Asia holds that the sex trade has given significant employment and income to large numbers of people who are directly and indirectly involved in the sector. If in Ghana, the sex trade is given a national recognition; the sector can be under the Ministry of Health or better still under the Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs or the two ministries collaborating to handle this sector. If in Thailand, close to US\$300 million is transferred annually to rural families by women working in the sex sector in urban areas, one can say that it even exceeds some budgets of government-funded development programmes (World of Work, 1998).

The ILO report (1998) says that there are about 0.25 per cent and 1.5 per cent of the total female population in prostitution. Estimates made in 1993-4 suggest that there were between 140,000 to 230,000 prostitutes in Indonesia. In Malaysia, the estimated figures for working prostitutes ranged from 100,000 to 600,000, but the likelihood is that there are nearly half a million prostitutes in the country. In Thailand, the Ministry of Public Health survey

recorded 65,000 prostitutes in 1997, but unofficial sources put the figure between 200,000 and 300,000 (World of Work, 1998).

In Ghana, many prostitutes are also found in towns and cities and such people remit their families which also reduces the inter-dependency ratio. If the government, Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and other stakeholders are able to manage the sex industry, we could have a fair idea of the number of people it employs. Sex trade gives employment to other people indirectly in prostitution; their role to boost prostitution cannot be under estimated. Such people include: managers, pimps, panderers, madams, and other employees of the sex establishments. Also, in the related entertainment industry and some segments of the tourism industry, the number of workers earning a living directly or indirectly from prostitution would run into several millions.

A 1997 study by the Ministry of Public Health of Thailand found out that, of a total of 104,262 workers in some 7,759 establishments where sexual services could be obtained, only 64,886 were sex workers; the rest were support staff including cleaners, waitresses and security guards (World of work, 1998).

The sale of condoms by pharmacists and drug stores, family planning services all contribute to the success of the sex trade. If all the above are put on the table for analyses, then one can say that this research work should help the stakeholders to take a firm stand as to whether prostitution should be legalised or not. The ILO report (1998) on the sex industry in these four countries – Thailand, Malaysia, Philippines and Indonesia should be a basis

for other stakeholders facing the same dilemma of the sex trade to give the subject a second thought, especially so in Ghana based on its economic value.

The *Daily Graphic* edition of Monday, December 31, 2007 had a caption, "Legalize Prostitution for revenue". The writer, Professor Agyeman, a sociologist, was comparing 'talk tax' and tax from minor/menial jobs such as kayayo (head porter) and the 'shoe shine boy' services. To the writer, if government gets revenue from these jobs then prostitutes should be made to pay tax from their income by legalising the sex trade in Ghana. The writer said if the sex trade was legalised, the government could monitor and control it by giving those involved health counselling. Again, other services can be availed at their doorsteps to boost the sex trade industry that can also increase youth employment as the youth could be recruited to serve as security guards to the prostitutes at their area of trade to avoid duping and harassment. Industries could also boost their products such as condom production, and other family planning contraceptives and services.

The researcher considers developing the country with 'all on board'. Prostitutes and all other people who are into this trade directly and indirectly should be made to contribute their quota to the development of the nation.

To add to the economic importance of prostitution, Byer, Shainberg and Galliano (1999) in their book *Dimensions of human sexuality*, make mention of sex shops where sexual arousal gadgets could be purchased. One can also find sex toys, dildos, furry gloves, vibrators, penile rings, scented body oil, artificial vaginas, inflatable dolls with openings to simulate oral, vaginal, and anal areas, (Semans & Winks, 1998 as cited in Byer, Shainberg & Galliano, 1999). Also available in these shops are various aids for those

with more exotic or specialised preferences, especially for those interested in sadomasochistic activities (Sexual arousal associated with suffering or humiliation).

If, in Ghana, prostitution is monitored and given a boost, such sex shops could be opened to create jobs for the unemployed. Again, prostitutes' needs would be met and reached without difficulty. Moreover, mechanics who construct these shop structures and electrical contractors will all get their income as well, since the state taxes them to boost development.

Tourist industry would also be boosted thereby fetching the state income to enhance development. On the other hand, it could have a negative impact on the industry. Materials in such shops could also include books, brochures, fliers and other relevant literature to enhance the sex industry which in effect would create the awareness, and the pros and cons of the industry which in itself would either encourage or discourage people on their own.

In spite of the laudable suggestions made by the various authors cited about the economic potentials of prostitution, their arguments are lopsided. They treated the issues of prostitution from purely economic perspectives and thus failed to consider the socio-ethical aspects/implications on the individuals involved and the society at large. This is where this study becomes unique because the researcher considers the socio-ethical effect/implications of the subject matter on the practitioners and the wider society. Having considered the economic issue on commercial sex, the researcher looks at the social aspect of the subject.

Social Issues

Having considered the economic issues on prostitution, the researcher looks at the social aspect of it. One way by which a human being is termed a social being is where people give helping hand to others when they are in need either of other peoples' services or their kind. Prostitutes in their quest to have money to survive are also to help others such as their dependents.

According to ILO report in 1998, in Thailand alone, about US\$300 million was transferred annually to rural families by women working in the sex sector in urban areas between 1993 and 1995 (World of Work, 1998). In Ghana, people who are into the sex trade also remit their family members. It is our social obligation to help others who depend on us to also enjoy basic needs. Is it not the same society these prostitutes help that feel 'bad' to see their relatives engage in prostitution and talk ill about them? There are many acceptable and unquestionable jobs women could engage in and make ends meet other than prostitution. Prostitution seems to be abhorred by most people in the society, so if even it helps people to survive through their income, it would have been better if such prostitutes would give it up and enter into other trades acceptable to all.

A 1997 study by the Ministry of Public Health of Thailand found that, out of a total of 104,262 workers in some 7,759 establishments where sexual services could be obtained, only 64,886 were sex workers; the rest were support staff including cleaners, waitresses, cashiers, parking valets and security guards (World of Work,1998).

In Ghana, in a brothel known as "soldier bar" that operates in Accra, prostitutes are given cubicles to use and are charged on the toilet rolls and the

condoms supplied to them daily. The cleaners also earn a living for servicing the prostitutes. Some landlords also earn income from prostitutes who rent their rooms and houses for the prostitution business. It is good for people to work and serve under others to earn a living. However, it could have been any other socially acceptable work than working for prostitutes. These security guards, cleaners and others could have also rendered similar services in other sectors apart from the sex trade industry.

Socially, prostitutes become a burden on the society after they have acquired illnesses through sexually transmitted diseases and infections such as Chlamydia, Syphilis, Herpes, Genital Warts, and HIV/AIDS. Some of these sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) and sexually transmitted infections (STIs) are sometimes incurable and can cause social nuisance to the society. If prostitutes could end up being bed ridden, what is the point in sacrificing one's life for a few moments of social gratification? If prostitution has these negative social effects, the stakeholders should rise up before society cast their wrath on the practitioners (World Education, 2006).

The role of prostitutes in the society cannot be underestimated. In the article "Sexual work in 20th century Korea", in the book *Gender and society*, in the 1930s, the imperial Japanese Army created "comfort division" as an adjunct to Japanese Military divisions. The author argues that the Japanese military organized its own sexual services. The military sought to prevent soldiers from contracting venereal diseases and antagonizing local population by assaulting women (Send and Walkouts as cited in *Gender and Society*, 1995). These women who were recruited to serve the soldiers at the war front were to give soldiers the sexual comfort to help boost their morale and to

motivate them psychologically to perform well at war. It helped the soldiers to stay on longer at the war front where their wives were far off at home. According to the author, soldiers stood in line to be "serviced" without interruption (Allison, 1994).

Another social importance of prostitution in Korea was that after the Second World War (1945), the Korean War ravaged the country and displaced many people. Three million Koreans died during the war, whereas the official figure of widows in South Korea was 101,845 (Halliday & Cumming, 1988). Poverty and unemployment led many Korean women to have sex with American soldiers for money. Sexual entrepreneurs operated a variety of institutions, including bars, dance halls, coffee shops and brothels in the "base village" located around U.S. military bases. By 1962, the Korean government established "special districts", which efficiently legalised prostitution by certifying and licensing sexual workers including regular health checkups and periodic lectures (Kang, 1985 as cited in Halliday & Cumming, 1988). Socially, prostitution under this context is said to be appropriate as the prostitutes were given attention concerning their welfare. The health medical attention is a social need and by licensing their trade, it made it legal for the sex workers to practice in safety. In the same way, stakeholders could discuss how to help Ghanaian prostitutes enjoy societal consideration and recognition.

People with serious physical challenge, people who cannot woo the opposite sex for relationship, those who are sex maniacs and cannot get satisfaction from their legal sexual partners and others who find no interest in emotional attachment, but need sexual gratification, would need the services of these prostitutes. Socially, the sex trade is facing two dilemmas; either it is

abolished so that sexual misconducts such as defilements and rape increase or legalised for the state to collect tax from these sex workers (Halliday & Cumming, 1988).

Prostitution was considered from a purely sociological point of view without adequate recognition of other equally important aspects. What will make this study different is that, prostitution will be examined from other perspectives such as ethics and religion. Prostitution cannot be treated only as a social good without being mindful of its ethical, medical and other implications.

Ethical Implication

Asante (1999) has defined sex as the language of intimacy and commitment. Through sex, one presents oneself as a total gift to the sexual partner. A meaningful sex then leads to the union of the parties involved in the act. If the sexual language is spoken without meaning, that is, if it becomes a mere genital gymnastic performed for physical gratification, then "it is lived inside out and becomes an alienation of the human from his humanity, a sin". According to Asante, a noncommittal sex is sinful. To him, sex is not only a bodily union between a man and woman, but a spiritual bonding. When couples make love, there is a bonding of their souls. The sexual act then points to a bonding relationship which is characterised by a lifelong mutual commitment (Asante, 1999).

In his (Asante, 1999) contribution to what sexual act should be, he argues that a relationship situation where there are no bonds, commitments and emotional attachments is unacceptable. This means that people should not

engage in sexual acts which are not based on commitment. If the view of the above writer is that sexual act between couples should be based on love, affection, tenderness and personal intimacy, and commitment, then a second look at it will be very imperative. This is because love can be a necessary condition for a good marriage bond, yet it is likely that some marriage relationships may not be built on mutual love as for example, marriage of convenience. Are all sexual partners actually observing sexual ethics? Are all sexual partners actually fulfilling the ethics of sex? Can we not say that sexual acts in some cases are situational rather than acts of God's command?

Asante's (1999) definition of sex as a language of intimacy and commitment is too restricted for a topic like this. Asante (1999) avers that sex is a spiritual bonding between two people and that physical sex which is done for qualification is wrong. Though this definition takes care of the African view of sex, nevertheless, such a definition is too particularistic because it fails to adequately address the dynamic and a problem as prostitution, and its religious and ethical connotations. In resorting to Traditional African belief systems as a basis for rejecting prostitution, one would have expected that Asante would at least mention why the African religion and or ethics abhor prostitution. Besides, if a prostitute is committed to a customer and consistently has sex with that customer other than any other person, can we be fair to describe such a person as a prostitute? In sum, though Asante gives us a general view of sex and prostitution in Traditional African context, his work does not address itself to the contemporary moral and religious implication of prostitution in Ghana.

The German philosopher, Karl Marx (1818-1883), advanced a principle that 'from each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs'. This is in view of the fact that what is good for one person may not be good for another. The prostitute has the right to operate if only it would satisfy him/her and would not negatively affect those he/she trades with.

Karl Marx looks at prostitution from the angle of economics and social circumstances. He argues that "from each according to his or her abilities to each according to his or her needs". What this Marxian dictum implies is that so far as a prostitute has the ability to carry out her trade, such ability is commensurate with her need, and so, prostitutes should be allowed to determine their needs. Marx also believes that it was due to economic estrangement or alienation that forces some section of society to commoditize their bodies in the sex trade. Karl Marx's observation adds much to the study precisely because the study reinforces Marx's view that one of the fundamental reasons why some people engage in such undignified trade is purely for economic hardships. Thus, Marx looks at prostitution from purely economic terms as he looks at history from the same angle.

Scruton (1986) argues that morality rejects certain reasons for engaging in prostitution. He again argues that the goal of human conduct is *eudemonia* (happiness/fulfilment which requires both physical health and the flourishing of the individual as a rational being). From this assertion, one can say that prostitutes are ethically right in their profession since apart from economic and sensual fulfilment on the part of both the poor and the sex maniac who enter into prostitution, they consider their deeds as rational beings and their eudemonia instinct is fulfilled.

Olen and Barry (1999) have presented a traditional view of sex, claiming that all sexual activities outside marriage is wrong, as defended by the Roman Catholic Church. They further state that the Catholic moral teachings which are influenced greatly by Aristotle and adopted by St. Thomas Aguinas believe that the natural purpose of sex is reproduction and that artificial means of birth control are immoral. These beliefs are spelt out in the Vatican's 1976 Declaration on certain Questions Concerning Sexual Ethics (Olen & Barry, 1991). In the opinion of the Vatican, sexual act which is not purposely for procreation is unethical! Some women in their menopausal age, who cannot naturally give birth, engage in sexual acts. Sterile husbands and also people living with HIV/AIDs can still satisfy their spouses sexually by performing non-risk sexual behaviour such as touching, caressing and fondling. It is not all married couples who have the intention of procreating. Widows and widowers in their old age do marry again just for the sake of marriage, sharing of love, attention and security. Some couples refuse to have children when they later find they have sickling platelets. They fulfil God's command of not divorcing (Matthew 19:9). According to Olen and Barry (1999), to engage in sex without love, or without the possibility of procreation is to violate our essential nature and dignity of humankind.

Gyekye (2003) argues that what is morally good is what promotes social welfare, solidarity and harmony in human relationships. An action, a habit, pattern of behaviour is considered good only if it promotes human and social well-being. Gyekye's assertion can be said to be relevant to legalisation of prostitution and its acceptability. This is because the prostitute sells his/her body to combat poverty and sometimes gets sexual satisfaction if he/she is a

sex maniac and cannot be satisfied with one sexual partner. Such prostitutes who enter into the sex trade as a result of poverty get hard cash to make ends meet and be able to sometimes remit the family. The sex maniac, who cannot be satisfied with just a sex partner also gets satisfaction from his/her sexual act with the many clients, hence, these people who are social beings get what they want to make life meaningful. One can then say that prostitution promotes human and social well-being (Gyekye, 2003).

Gyekye (2003) opines that the major reason for marriage is for procreation. The young man and woman are joined together as husband and wife to procreate, to produce children in the way considered proper by the society. Thus, a sexual act is encouraged only for procreation and not for any other purpose. Traditionally and customarily, therefore, any sexual act outside wedlock is abhorred; sexual act other than for procreation by a couple is not acceptable traditionally. Sexual misconduct is frowned upon by traditional communities (Assimeng, 1999). Among the Akans, Ewes and Krobos of Ghana, a young woman is 'tested' to ascertain her virginity before she is allowed to go through the puberty rituals which usher her into adulthood and prepare her for suitors. Young women who are found to have had their virginity broken are punished to the point of banishment (Sarpong, 1974; 1977).

Sexual activity outside marriage is abhorred by Islam (Quran 4:15). According to this scripture, women found guilty of indecency should be confined till death takes them away. From this scripture, any kind of sexual act out of wedlock is considered *haram* (prohibited) and so women who fornicate are punished. The researcher finds it difficult to accept these punishments for

most women. In the era of the Jews, a woman was brought to Jesus accused of adultery and was to be punished alone by men, had Jesus not intervened (John 8:4-11). In Ghana, it is the girl-child found to have had her virginity broken during puberty rites who is punished, leaving the man who caused it.

Why should the woman alone be punished, if the sexual act was between a man and the woman? If it is lesbianism, then it is both women who are to be punished. Can we say the world is biased in dealing with women, if this sexual punishment in the Islamic world is considered as the true position of Islam? It takes two or more to sin in terms of sexual act and, therefore, the two culprits should all face the consequences.

Looking at the strict nature of Islamic rulings on sexual morality, the word prostitution may not exist in word in the vocabulary of Islamic law. However, there is what the Quran describes as sexual promiscuity, otherwise known as open nudeness or *zina* in the Arabic terminology. This is the word used by the Quran to describe both fornication and adultery (Q. 4: 15). "If any of your women commit fornication, call in four male witnesses from among yourselves against them; if they testify to their guilt, then confine them to the house until death releases them or until God gives them another way out".

Al Qaradawi (1984) looks at the issue of sexual promiscuity and its place in the Islamic legal system. He holds that the Islamic ruling on deviant sexual practices and behaviours are clear and, therefore, under no circumstance, (no matter how disturbing) must one be forced as a Muslim to desacralise the holy environment of his or her house-hold by involving himself or herself in the company or the practices of the sexually promiscuous. He shows a certain measure of criticality with regards to what is not divinely

acceptable in respect to lifestyle, including even the use of cosmetics. He claims that unlike Muslim men who can shave some hair (that is the beard and trim the moustache), the women are strictly forbidden from practicing what has become part and parcel of the cosmetic industry in recent times known as the eyebrow shaving and shaping. This is the practice of shaving off part of the hair of the eyebrows with the intention of making it more attractive, with the ultimate aim of decorating the face. He says that a strong headed tradition of the prophet forbids this practice strictly without any exception. This he says is because such practice is well distinguished from commercial sex workers.

Al Qaradawi's presentation examined above is very enlightening for Muslim women and men alike, yet it is not without a problem. This is because in spite of the fact that the shaving or shaping of the eye brows and the excessive display of ornamentations are characteristics of prostitutes, he seems not to recognize the fact that Muslim women are caught in the excessive display of not only ornamentation and the shaping of the eye brows which he claims are characteristics of prostitutes, but that, some Muslim women both shape their eyebrows and display part of their bodies in much the same as we may say prostitutes do.

Al-Jibaly (2005) discusses in his book that the conduct expected of every Muslim man and woman joined together within the holy matrimony of a Muslim household should not be contaminated. He claims that any woman who does not allow the sacred environment of the marital intimacy to be corrupted with the evil practice of deviating into the wrong man's arms will enter into heaven. He also examines the Islamic rulings on deviant sexual behaviours, which most likely can lure one unnoticed into prostitution. He

reveals that if one accuses somebody of engaging in an illicit sexual act, the one who levelled the accusation must be the one to cast the first stone. He again claims that one has to keep quiet if one does not have adequate evidence to prove the guilt of sexual criminals. The above work gives a very good picture of the issue of sexual promiscuity referred to in the Qur'an as fornication or adultery as the case may be. Yet, the writer does not seem to draw attention to the fact that despite Islam's painful dealings with sexual criminals particularly, fornicators and adulterers, the practice may still be prevalent or at least present in some Muslim communities of which Ghanaian Zongos (Muslim settlements in communities) are no exception.

Once again, the writers from ethics and moral perspective on sex have written adequately on the subject, yet they failed to say anything on other areas of the subject such as: sociological, economic and medical implications. Sex is also a social phenomenon which needs to be tackled from that angle; it is this loophole that the researcher will examine to make the work rich for studies and for references.

METHODOLOGY

This section of the thesis discusses the techniques for data collection and analyses. It describes the research design, target population, sample and sampling techniques, instrument for data collection, data collection procedures, as well as organisation and analyses.

Description of the research design

A survey design was used for the study. This design was used to collect data on the ethical and socio-economic impact of prostitution at Hacienda Spot (Blue Cheese) in Cape Coast; Cantonments Post Office in Accra; Arewa Sunshine Hotel and Picorna Hotel all in Tamale; Silver House Spot and Area 3 Sunyani; and Zenith Hotel in Takoradi. The survey design has the ability of generalising from a sample population (Creswell, 1994). To achieve this, a-five-point Likert scale format instrument and a semi-structured interview guide were the main instruments used for data collection.

Target population

The target population for the study comprised prostitutes, the clergy, sociologists, and counsellors in Cape Coast, Accra, Kumasi, Sunyani, Tamale and Takoradi in Ghana. Due to the purpose of study, the purposive sampling method was used to select people for the interview. The method provided the researcher the opportunity to intentionally choose specific respondents from the sampling population. The clergy from the Christian Council were selected for the study because it is believed that they are trained in recognised institutions accredited by Government bodies. The sociologists and counsellors were selected based on their social orientation, educational backgrounds and experience.

Sample and sampling procedure

The study employed purposive and snowball sampling procedures. The prostitutes were selected by means of snowballing technique. This procedure

of sampling was used because these people do not work in the open and so it was difficult to get them. They were contacted through one who had agreed to introduce other prostitutes for the study. Fifty prostitutes were reached in the six cities. Reasons for this included finance, time constrain and also the researcher thinks that this fraction is representative enough in a research like this. The purposive sampling procedure was used to select 3 clergymen in Kumasi from churches under the Christian Council of Ghana, 3 imams (one in Accra and two in Kumasi), and 3 traditionalists, 2 from the Manhyia Palace in Kumasi and 1 from Sunyani. These people were selected based on their indepth knowledge on sociological and ethical implications on sex matters. Altogether, the opinions of 59 people were sampled.

Instrument for data collection

A five-point Likert scale questionnaire and interview guide were the main instruments for the study. The questionnaire designed for the prostitutes, was developed based on the research questions. Thus, there were six sections drawn from the five research questions. Each section consisted of a minimum of four items. The interview was conducted for the clergy, imams and traditionalists, and the themes were based on the ethical, socio-economic impact of prostitution and sex and technology.

Data collection procedure

Data collection started with the questionnaire survey for the prostitutes in the six cities namely Cape Coast, Accra, Kumasi, Sunyani, Tamale and Takoradi. The instrument was administered by the researcher

using the snowball technique. The researcher gave each respondent ample time to complete the questionnaire before moving on to the other respondents. It took over ten weeks to complete the data collection from the prostitutes.

Appointments were made prior to conducting the interviews with the clergy, Islamic cleric and a traditional priest. Some of them were contacted in their offices while others were reached at their residences. A voice recorder and notebook were used to gather the responses from the interviewees.

Data organisation and analyses

Data from the questionnaire were analysed using frequencies, percentages and cross tabulations of key variables. The information from the interviews was carefully transcribed and analysed thematically.

Outline of the thesis

Chapter one is the introductory chapter of the study. This chapter deals with the background to the study, the importance of the study, the purpose of the study among others. Chapter two gives an overview of the historical background of the study. Written and oral documents on the subject under study were treated. Attention is also given to a brief history of prostitution in Ghana and in particular Sekondi-Takoradi, whilst Sexually Transmitted Diseases (STDs) that mostly affect the sex worker are also discussed. Chapter three treats the issue of prostitution and factors that promote prostitution in the world and Ghana in particular. This section also looks at the major thematic sections of the work, the role society plays in the life of the prostitute, economic factors that promote prostitution and the ethical effect(s) of

prostitution on the society. The chapter also looks into the effect of technology on commercial sex as well. In chapter four, the data collected have been analyzed using the appropriate tools/techniques. Chapter five presents the summary, conclusions and recommendations. This section summarises the work by considering the recommendations and suggestions made by stake holders including the researcher.

CHAPTER TWO

THE PHASES OF PROSTITUTION IN GHANA

Introduction

After looking at the general background in the previous chapter, this chapter attempts to examine the phases of prostitution in Ghana, paying attention to the pre-colonial and colonial eras. One observes that a larger portion of this study looks at the prostitution situation in Ghana today. This implies that the study discusses largely developments in the sex business in the post-colonial era. However, this post-colonial development in the sex trade is also discussed under this chapter. The chapter again discusses some of the causes of prostitution in the Ghanaian society. Thus, it presents an investigation into some reasons why people enter into the sex business and why people patronise the services of the sex worker, though Ghanaian society by all standards abhors this business anyway. Prostitution has an ethical dimension and nearly all religions are against it. In this regard, before I discuss the phases of prostitution in Ghana, attention must be given to the subject of ethics.

Foundations of ethics

Every organized community has a way of life and this way of life is nothing but a naturally developed order of doing things. The way people act or refrain from certain acts is in reference to life experiences. Among the early Greeks, they called this pattern of doing things ethos. Ethos, in the strictest sense, connotes habit, etiquette, custom. In short, ethos is a socially worked out way of life in view of what is good or bad (Appiah, 2000). The implication is that ethos deals with pattern of life of a group of people resulting from years of experience through experimentation and selection of those behaviours that support inter-personal relations (Dzobo, 1975).

It is argued that the search for the principles providing the behavioural order in society led the early Greeks to develop a system of knowledge, which they called ethics. Ethics, therefore, is the science of conduct. It is important to note that ethos is more relational. Thus, whereas ethics consists of a process of reasoning, ethos consists of a process of relating. We can, therefore, define ethics as rationalizing about ethos. Thus, ethics is moving from traditionally internalized ethos to a more reflective consideration of moral questions (Frankena, 1973).

For many scholars, ethics equals morality and, therefore, use the two interchangeably. Etymologically, morality is the Latin rendition of the Greek ethics. Therefore, for the Romans, morality as a reflection on behaviour was understood to mean both ethos and ethics. This is because, ethos translated into 'mos/mores' means custom, habit and etiquette. 'Mos' connotes morals in English, which means principles of behaviour among a given group. Morality provides guidance to good life and it follows that morality is ethics in practice. It is, therefore, not strange that ethics is also called moral philosophy (Fagothey, 1959).

In another sense, ethics is that aspect of philosophy that deals with morality and its problems and judgement (Frankena, 1973). Ethics, primarily, studies the rightness or wrongness, or badness or goodness of a conduct. Bourke (1970) adds the elements of responsibility in his definition when he defines ethics as the study of that which is good or bad, which is attributable to an individual. It is important to note that nearly all religions espouse some ethical principles. These ethical codes may derive their source from the divine or based on revelation or even human experience. The subsequent paragraphs will discuss the foundations of ethics in African Traditional Religion, Christianity and Islam in view of the subject under discussion.

The foundation of African indigenous ethics

Gyekye (2010) argues that African ethics has a humanistic outlook. In other words, humanism – a secular ideology that places human needs over and above everything, is the very foundation of African ethics. He opines that the indigenous religion of the African is not a revealed religion like Islam and Christianity and, therefore, to say that the sense of morality of the African owes its source to a divine power is not correct. It follows that Africans are by nature moral and do not subscribe to rules of conduct from a specific deity. Gyekye (2010) maintains that even though practitioners of the religion receive revelations from the gods, these usually take place in a heightened religious atmosphere. And so for him, it would be safer to say that African religion has elements of ethics than to claim that African ethics has its root in religion. This position, however, implies it is possible to separate the African and their sense of morality, and to examine which of the two influences the other – a

view which is contrary to that of other scholars. In the view of Idowu, Opoku, Danquah, Sarpong, Busia and Parrinder (in Gyekye, 2010), African ethics has its base in religion because religion permeates every aspect of the life of the African.

Regardless of the fact that there exist several schools of thought on African morality, the basic idea found among these scholars is the agreement that the African society has a pattern of life that members follow. There are acts that endanger not just the welfare of the actor, but the entire society. Thus, in the African sense, morality is both social and individual (Wiredu, 1998). It is personal because the individuals are required to take responsibility for their own actions. The social aspect of African morality creates awareness in the individual that their social, economic, as well as political life is linked with others (Appiah-Kubi, 1998). For this reason, they are under obligation to work for the welfare of the society because these moral obligations are rooted in social bonds. Thus, what affects one party, affects the other. It further implies that actions do not only have individual effects, but social effects as well.

In the African society and the Ghanaian society for that matter, immoral acts such as stealing, adultery, prostitution have received and continue to receive negative responses from society. Kudadjie (1998) asserts that among the Krobo of Ghana, for example, the girl who becomes pregnant before her puberty rites are performed is banished never to return to her home again. In this regard, individuals who engaged in immoral acts were ostracized or excluded from all social engagements because such people posed threat to the very survival of the society.

The foundation of Islamic ethics

Islamic ethics is founded on the belief in Allah as the Creator of the Universe and the belief in life after death (Q: 2:177-178). This knowledge of Allah and His creation helps humans to discover their purpose on earth. In the belief of the Muslim, humankind's success or failure in life is dependent on his conduct and he shall be judged accordingly. Thus, it is stated clearly; "Each doth according to his rule of conduct, and thy Lord is best aware of him whose way is right". (Q: 17: 84)

Every Muslim knows he/she will reap the consequences of his/her conduct both here on earth and in the life to come. On the Day of Judgment, no one can atone for the sins of another person. It implies also that nobody will receive reward for good done by another person. This concept of Allah and the belief in life after death reflects the Islamic ethical system for Islamic ethics, unlike, Christian ethics, does not distinguish humankind. between secular and spiritual ethics. Rather, it covers every aspect of human life ranging from social, political, economic and religions (Nagvi, 1981). This implies that the entire human personality is covered by the ethical system, and it extends to their relations with the outside world. This idea is what constantly reminds humans and guides them towards the path of righteousness. Thus, Muslims beseech Allah in prayer to strengthen them to remain on the straight path; "Show us the straightway, The way of those on whom Thou has bestowed Thy Grace, Those whose (portion) is not wrath. And who go not astray". (Q:1:6-7)

There are two major sources of Islamic morality. The primary source is the Qur'an and this is supplemented with the sayings and the teachings of the Prophet Muhammed (S.A.W) known as the Sunnah (Hadith). In Islam, acts are by intentions and that the rightness or the wrongness of a person's conduct is by looking at the intention. Thus, the ethical value of an act is either enhanced or diminished by the presence or the absence of an intention to commit the act. For example, the Qur'an states:

He has made unlawful to you only that which dies of itself and the blood and the flesh of swine and that on which the name of any, other than Allah has been invoked. But he who is driven by necessity being neither disobedient nor exceeding the limit, it shall be no sin for him. Surely Allah is most forgiving and merciful (Q: 2:173).

However, the criterion for determining the right or wrong human conduct in Islam lies in determining how far the act attracts the displeasure or the pleasure of Allah which is the ultimate goal of every Muslim. Therefore, the sanction for moral values exists in the mind of the believer, who finds happiness in seeking God's pleasure and desires to obtain a standard of perfection through nearness to Allah. It is against this background that humans must act with caution in an attempt to please Allah.

Even though Islamic morality stresses individual responsibility, it appears that the welfare of the Muslim Ummah (society) is linked to individual conduct. Humankind from the Islamic point of view is a "trustee" and is responsible for the destiny and divine mission entrusted into his hands. The Holy Prophet (S.A.W) is reported to have said that "the world is like a ship and mankind is its passengers. The welfare of all depends upon the safe conduct of each. If anyone is found making a hole on the side of the ship, he must be stopped" (Ibrahim, 2008). The Holy Qur'an confirms this when it states:

The believing men and believing women are allies of one another. They enjoin what is right and forbid what is wrong and establish prayer and give zakat and obey Allah and His Messenger. Those-Allah will have mercy upon them. Indeed, Allah is exalted in Might and Wise (Q: 9:71).

It follows, therefore, that humankind's physical capabilities, their environment, as well as their bodies, belong to Allah and that they are only holding it in trust for Allah. Again, individuals must guard against putting the welfare of the society under threat. Thus in the words of Ali Muhammad Naqvi, "Individuals are like the bricks from which the edifice of society is built, unless the bricks are strong, mere alteration in the design and structure will not produce any lasting results" (Naqvi, 1991, p. 24). In the view of many scholars, this society is built from bricks of sound morals. For this reason, Islam provides a code of conduct for its members. Following the ethical principles does not only enhance individual welfare, but also the Ummah. It follows therefore, that one becomes an enemy of the society if he/she fails to obey moral codes.

Foundations of Christian ethics

Christian ethics owes its root to Christian theology (Kunhiyop, 2008). This implies that Christian morality is founded on belief in God and the teachings of the Christian faith. Sayers (1949) argues that it would be out of place to talk about Christian ethics without reference to the very basis of Christian theology. It presupposes that ethics of Christianity is deeply rooted in the belief of God who doubles as the source of morality. Thus, the source for a good conduct is divine and not human (Carl, 1957). The channel for this divine source of morality is revelation and this is what helps in making ethical

decisions. This revelation is contained in the Bible (Kunhiyop, 2008). The manual for judging the moral correctness or wrongness of a human conduct in the Christian religion is the Bible.

PROSTITUTION DURING PRE-COLONIAL GHANA

Prostitutes and "Public Women" in the pre-colonial Ghana

European residents and travellers among the south-west Akan groups of the Esuma, Nzima, Evalue and Ahanta (towns in Western region of Ghana) between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries documented the existence of prostitution. These prostitutes were conscripted public women coerced into what was definitely a social institution designed to alleviate sexual pressures among unmarried young men. Adam Jones wonders if this was not 'institutionalized rape'. The people although married many wives as they could maintain, it was customary in Axim and all the surrounding areas, as far as the *Quaqua* Coast was concerned, for every village to maintain two or three whores, whom they called *Abrakrees* (a common/public woman). They were initiated and confirmed for the conduct of this work by their *Kabaseros* (headmen) in the presence of a crowd (Akyeampong, 1997).

The slaves were displayed on a straw mat where one of them is made to take a young chicken, opened its beak with a knife and let a few drops of blood drip on her head, shoulders and arms by uttering terrible adjurations, saying that she should die unless she accepted as lover for three or four *kakraven* (worth two or three suitors), notwithstanding the applicant's financial position. Everything she gained in this way must be handed to the

Kabasero, and in return enjoyed the liberty of being allowed to take any food, anywhere in the market or in someone's house for her upkeep with other companions. *Abrakree*/ whore takes her home; she was cleansed and wrapped with a bed sheet, adorned with beads on the arms and breasts decorated with lime or chalk. She was finally placed on a stool and carried by two men to the village amidst dancing and merry making. On eight consecutive days she sat at her appointed place and passers-by offered her two or three *kakrave*. It is noteworthy that the nominal remuneration of the *abrakree* went to the chief. The institution did not promote the accumulation of wealth through the sale of sex; it represented a public service (Akyeampong, 1997).

Godot (1704), Dappers (1668) and Bosman (1702), as cited in Akyeampong (1997), also wrote to describe the activities of the public women in Assini, to the West of Axim (present day Ivory Coast). According to them, the king of Assini maintained six young women in every village and town who were *used* by the bachelors. The French Governor was also obliged to maintain one or two more of these public women. These women did not turn away men who came their way for fear of being punished. They were dressed with white linen on their heads to distinguish themselves from other women. They lived on the outskirts of the towns and villages, and welcomed the bachelors. Married men caught patronising them were heavily fined. The women could accept gifts, but were forbidden to demand from their clients.

In both Bosman(1702) and Dappers' (1668) descriptions are common themes, which emphasize that these women (*abrakree* or *abekre*) were purchased slaves from outside who had no choice in their assigned *occupation*. Their acquisition and prescribed roles were closely defined by the political

establishment whose services were reserved for bachelors, a vocal political constituency. The token honoraria were beyond their control. Godot (1704) adds that in the old age of these women when they were weak and could not work; the king of Assini increased their pension and allowed them to live the rest of their lives in peace; that was the plight of the conscripted public servant.

With the practice of polygamy in Africa, sometimes, it was acceptable for young bachelors to visit the institution of the public women for their sexual services. Moreso debarring the married men from patronising the public women, the institution served as a stabilizing force, though it had its own consequences. It could devalue marriage as a social institution set by the community, offspring from marriages helped in the recreation and reproduction of humankind. The adverse effect of this prostitution can be spiritual and social crises, which may be as a result of the sanction of promiscuity of public women due to the perceived spiritual and volatile power of sexual intercourse, menstruation and procreation (Sarpong, 1977).

The political and moral economy of sex in pre-colonial Gold Coast

Sarpong (1977) did not mince words in emphasizing that sexuality is too powerful a force, socially and cosmologically, to be left unregulated. Promiscuity is perceived as something out of place. The proper avenue for the fulfilment of sexual desires and satisfaction is marriage, and that monogamy and fidelity are stressed for women. It is due to the rationale behind sex that Sarpong's assertion must not be taken lightly. Rituals that surrounded the initiation of public women attest to the fact about sex as a force to reckon

with. Thus, the danger of promiscuity is neutralized through the communal rituals performed for these slaves before they started their public duty.

The etymology underlying *abaclee* or *abakree* which is *obea* (woman in Akan) and *akyere* (a person to be sacrificed) in Nzema, *akyere* is *akele*-making the public women for religious and social rituals that surrounded the institution of public women. The rituals can be morally and ethically acceptable as the initiation rituals the public women were made to go through. It did not have the purpose of humiliating them or treating them as outcast, rather they served to integrate them and give them a recognized position or new status within the community. Again, young men who had not reached manhood were made not to visit the public women. Mention can be made of the effect of procreation being thwarted. Since in most cases, public women wished but could not get pregnant, they did not contribute to population increase.

The rituals the public women went through could be compared with that of marriage rites and even of priesthood (significance of beads, white clay- hyire for body adornment). For example, graduation ceremonies of priestesses of Akonnedi shrine are performed in the market place. Among the Akans, in Ghana, priestesses do not marry but customs allow them to gratify their passions with men who chance to take their fancy. The priestess could have as many men as she wished to have. Socially and ethically, society can compare and contrast the shrine priestess and the public woman's role as they both 'heal' the society psychologically. This implies that society should not frown on the public woman.

Again, one aspect of the public women initiation rites was that the first man who would have an affair with her was made to pay a large sum of money which was used for the purchase of new slaves for the profession. Of this fee, part was given to the male or female owners of the prostitutes (Akyeampong, 1997). Comparison between debt paid off by a groom, the dowry (cash to the married women as trading capital), and the large sum paid by the man who first slept with a public woman is revealing. In essence, the public woman was the 'wife' of the bachelor who visited her. Akyeampong (1997) cited Godot (1704), that a married man who slept with one of the public women in Assini was subjected to a fine which could be the equivalent of ayefere sika (the fine for adultery) for sleeping with a somebody's 'wife'. More so, the initiation rites for nobility and marriage rituals grant a woman access to sexual intercourse right, and so are the rituals performed on the public women which opened her up for *public use*. Can we then say that prostitution is an initiation by the chief and elders of the community, with the moral intention of satisfying the bachelors whose sexual needs were being attended to? In traditional Akan society, it is the moral duty of every father to look and hunt for a 'wife' for his matured son. Therefore, it is a matter of some few amendments to polish the sexual industry and make it wholesome.

Another group of prostitutes aside the institutionalised women were observed by Europeans in pre-colonial Akan societies. Akyeampong (1997) describes *etiguafo* (prostitutes) as distinguished from the other women by their extra fine appearance and their clothing. He also mentions Elmina, Fetu, Asebu and Fante women who dispensed sexual favours for a negotiated price. Akyeampong mentions that the Asante never forces his/her child into marriage

against her will, but he instantly disclaims his support and protection on her refusal to a suggested man. Thus, when abandoned, such a woman thinks she has no resources to live on and she would be compelled into prostitution. These women are not slaves; they are kinsmen who have been compelled to take prostitution because they asserted their autonomy.

It sounds rather absurd for the woman who refuses one suitor on grounds of not loving the person for her to turn round to enter into prostitution to sleep with men she may not know. What basis does she have to accept all these men (clients) and not the same with respect to the parent's choice? Socially and ethically, the elders of the Akan community are said to represent the gods therefore their pronouncements carry a lot of power. (Opanin ano sene suman), the word, from the adult is more like the omen-gods. Was there no negotiation between parents and children who were young adults on life time issues such as marriage? Was prostitution the only option for people who could not find suitors? Were there no lucrative activities to bring a living for others than prostituting? Why should the society reject and disown young female adults who would not accept parents' proposals? Can we not, therefore, say it was the society that pushed the young adult women into prostitution? Why then does society abandon and reject the prostitute? When these young adult women are disowned by kinsmen exposing them to danger, then their security is compromised. At the work place, prostitutes see themselves as sisters and protect each other through their security and social networks. They belong to small groups which are concerned with one another in times of needs and stress.

Prostitution during the colonial era

The advent of colonialism, the proliferation of towns, coupled with monetary economy and the emergence of industries, changed power relations which found more space within the emerging social order. Most women migrated to the big towns to accumulate wealth on their own. Prostitution was one of the several options available to migrant women in towns. Comparatively, urban prostitution in the colonial Gold Coast definitely differed from the *abrakree* of the South-West Akan, but striking parallels in their modus operandi suggest that society examined the role of the state as a mediator. To buttress this is the popular maxim which goes that *no man is born* a *criminal but society makes him/her so.* One realises that some societal norms do not sometimes favour some individual members of the society; this compels them into actions which are sometimes frowned upon by the larger society.

Around 1900s, the Gold Coast census in Sekondi was 3,469 males and 626 females. The ratio was five men to one woman. The demand for sexual partners by the rail workers who had migrated into Sekondi perhaps caused the proliferation of commercial sex workers (Akyeampong, 1997).

One can state that the proliferation of prostitution is as a result of migration of young adults in search of their daily bread in the cities. The expansion of commerce and industry within the colonial economy attracted male migrant labour and increased the presence of Europeans in towns. Although the colonial urban economy was essentially a male economy (male dominating jobs), the willingness of the colonial state and capital to provide for the social reproduction of their labour force, and the sexual imbalance in

working class towns, created economic opportunities for women in the interest of the colonial system.

Informants in the railway town of Sekondi noted during the early twentieth century that some male migrants did not even have rooms. They, therefore, spent the night with prostitutes and left for work the next day. If workers are not accommodated by their employers, their basic welfare is not given attention. The scriptures say (King James) "Foxes have holes and birds of the air have nests; but the son of man has nowhere to lay his head" (Matthew, 8:20; Luke, 9:58). Some members of the society patronise the prostitutes because as humans, they have to satisfy their sexual instincts which are their moral rights, and again a smart means to have their night spent in a room. They are to be housed with their family; society is not helping; they live on meagre salary, from hand to mouth, and so cannot either marry customarily or do those who are married bring the family to join them at their work communities. It is ethically wrong that the women and children are made to suffer due to society's traditions. Since the Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs, and the Department of Social Welfare are in operation now, social life issues may be addressed to curb the pains of the needy in society. Some antisocial customs and traditions must also be addressed to improve the life of women especially considering their vulnerability.

With the advent of colonialism and white collar jobs, there seemed to be no positions women could have been offered at the work places. If the adage of the Akans – women's place is in the kitchen is anything to go by, then it means society did not consider women in the formal sector; the employers preferred male chefs to female matrons. This pushed all the migrant

women to the wall, hence, they had to sell what they had-sex. The sale of sexual services could secure migrant women their first, temporal place of residence. Unlike other businesses, which needed a start-up capital, prostitution does not necessarily need a start up capital.

Socially and ethically, these rejected 'souls', who are compelled to migrate into the big towns without any relatives and a destined place to live by their parents and society in general, are not given any wealth to start life with. Society can partially be blamed. Every human needs a little push in the beginning of life. He or she needs to be cushioned from the start to be able to start on a good note. That is why in the typical traditional Akan society, the young lad (young adult male) was given a piece of land, cutlass and a dog and a hut to accommodate the new young wife. A young adult woman during the marriage rite is given the dowry as a capital to start life with apart from the gifts of goods and wealth such as beads and gold (Opoku, 1973). The young adult migrating into an unknown destination is left unequipped. Ethically, he or she should survive economically. If it is prostitution, which society agrees it does not need a capital to start; can it be that she who enters into prostitution to survive the basic needs is morally right? Prostitutes far and near have almost the same headache, hence those in the neighbouring countries joined the Gold Coasters to enter into the sex trade.

Amidst native prostitutes from the Gold Coast were other foreign women from Nigeria and Liberia. In 1925, a Muslim headman by name Kadri petitioned the Accra District Commissioner about the increase in prostitution among Hausa women. He further stated that chastity is essential in Mohammadanism. He said good Hausa women who were living good lives in

northern Nigeria changed for the worse on arrival in the Gold Coast colony where evil influences were somewhat paramount. Mr. Kadri's petition to the District Commissioner of Accra further stated:

Venereal disease is too common among my people and unless a law is enacted by you or the authorities enforcing the repatriation of all Hausa women without husbands to their homes, immorality will be on the ascendancy and indubitably defy the praise —worthy endeavours of the Health Officers (Busia 1950, as cited in Akyeampong, 1997).

Mr. Kadri's concern is not anything to hold on to since prostituting is not alien among Muslims especially in Nairobi and Southern Nigeria. Though Islam does not condone prostitution, it is a human institution and it manifests in many places.

Prostitution is part of every human society. In Ghana, we are told Okomfo Anokye, a renowned chief priest, cursed the Krobo women (oral source) with prostitution. Is there any evidence that prostitution was not in the system before the Krobo's were allegedly cursed? Kadri and others who religiously think like him should know that prostitution is said to be among the oldest professions. Why did the Hausa women migrate to the Gold Coast? What was their mission in the Gold Coast? If for any other purpose, why did they enter into sex trade at the expense of their mission and religion? Much as there are punishments spelt out in the Quran and Hadith, it is believed that prostitution was not alien to Hausa migrant women from Nigeria and that due to its lucrative nature the prostitutes came to Gold Coast to practice.

Busia (1950) did a social survey in Sekondi-Takoradi in the 1940s, where it was revealed that 127 prostitutes were working. Out of this figure, 9 were indigenous Ahanta with the rest coming from different places. Though

migrant labour did not abound there, the people knew prostitution and came to sell sex. Sekondi-Takoradi since 1898 had been established as the railway headquarters. Due to the male labour in force; the place attracted prostitutes from Gold Coast, Nigeria and Liberia. Those Gold Coasters were mostly from Cape Coast and Axim. Man is made to hunt and to survive, so it is the women's right to also move and enjoy life through the sale of what they have. Acquah's (1958) survey of prostitutes in the centre of Accra in August 1954 revealed ethnic mix among the prostitutes. Out of the 213 counted prostitutes, 70 were interviewed with the following ethnic backgrounds: 3 were Dangmes, 5 Guans, 6 French Dahomey, the rest were Ewes. After the interview, Acquah realised that causes of prostitution from the data analysis were as a result of economic pressure, social isolation and the anonymity afforded by the large towns as major factors contributing to the lapses in traditional standards of morality. Similarly, Busia (1950) also saw prostitution as evidence of the collapse of sexual morality coupled with the economic pressures and social isolation (Busia, 1950; Acquah, 1958).

If the moral fibre of a society becomes loose, its people disintegrate. The elders and the custodians of the state's morals and values have partially deserted their role as *checkers* due to economic pressures, and are mostly entangled in their businesses. Therefore, the social duty of the rulers to check and straighten society is left in the individuals' hands. A popular axiom which has a biblical backing says, 'spare the rod and spoil the child'(Proverbs 13:24). If this test is anything to go by then the economic pressures, coupled with lapses in traditional standards of morality, would continue to create societal nuisance including the sale of sex.

The writer agrees with the public view that the increase in prostitution seems to be as a result of autonomy, acquisitiveness and the touch of glamour. The youth and the elderly are all clamouring for wealth beyond their economic strength, hence social problems such as drug trafficking, ritual murders and prostitution are increasing at an alarming rate.

Prostitution, Autonomy and Accumulation

Acquah (1958) and Busia (1950) in their research assumed that prostitution was a novel, urban phenomenon which has had negative effects on the traditional moral order with the advent of colonial capitalism. Though most people think prostitution is largely urban-based, it is not always the case. In the villages and towns, some natives hide to practice prostitution, though not on a widespread scale. These prostitutes, mostly women, render service to visitors, especially men on trek (road works and electrification project contractors).

Prostitutes are said to be residents of the outskirts of their communities, it is clear as in Takoradi, a suburb called Nkotompo became their operating site. It was closer to New Takoradi, where most of the rail workers resided and could access them when their services were needed (Akyeampong, 1997).

In the mid-1940s, there were mixtures of women from different ethnic groups with the Fante from Cape Coast dominating. With this development, hotels like the Columbia Hotel near Cassava Farm in Takoradi was built, where later the government arrested, fined or jailed these commercial workers. Due to the concentration of prostitutes at the Cassava Farm area, they usually

dispersed to avoid raid. In this Columbia Hotel were many women from Ho as well. A Nigerian called Geoffrey put up another hotel and this attracted more women in Takoradi for the sexual business (Akyeampong, 1997).

The absence of social barriers between 'prostitutes' and 'respectable women' in the working-class and leisure activities in Sekondi-Takoradi facilitated some mannerisms of social life in the 1930s and 1940s. These revolved around spots, bars and hotels with guitar players and brass band in action. Gum chewing and popping was introduced by Kru (Liberian) women, but it expanded to become the badges of female nonchalance. Kru and Nigerian women became the pacesetters where female autonomy was concerned.

The goal of these women was the accumulation of wealth; though not all these sex workers were rich, at least more earned not less than 10 pounds a month. They charged an average of 2's (two shillings) for sexual intercourse, and from 4's to 1 [one pound sterling] for a full night. From the standard charge of 2's, prostitutes in the Gold Coast earned the epithet of 'two-two' women (Brokensha, 1966).

They expanded their material horizon and some owned houses, some had as much as £40 (pounds sterling) to £900 (pounds sterling). Few had less and deposited at the post office savings. This shows that the women were comfortably placed compared with men in other fields. Their wealth value gained them names. The older prostitutes, who comprised mostly Krus and Ibos, were called 'WAC' (United African Company): an old expatriate company that dominated the commercial life of the Gold Coast. The new and younger group of prostitutes were named 'Leventis' after the expatriate

company A.G. Leventis (1946-1960). The researcher is concerned about prostitutes' residence, the outskirts, Tutuka in Obuasi is where they operate; Adum in Kumasi in the early nineteenth century used to be on the border of Kumasi, Nkotompo is the outskirt of Sekondi-Takoradi. Why did prostitutes operate mainly from the outskirts? Is it that prostitutes were not needed in the main stream society?

If their activity was a nuisance to society, why did society create avenues for them to operate? Is it not a section of the society that patronized their services? Is the isolation a means to cover up their activities? The section of the society that visits them are aware of and can identify them, so why are they (the prostitutes) 'hiding' or do the prostitutes themselves feel bad about their activities? If the prostitutes think they are worthy, they should 'come out' from their hidden tent to rather let the society know their activities so that the larger society would understand them. Tamar (Genesis, 38:14-16) used prostitution as a last resort to get her needed answer. But for her hiding at the outskirts and covering up, she would have been denied of her motherhood from her previous marriage. Can we, therefore, say prostitution is a means to an end though not always? There are migrants who have neither capital nor skills to start any job, and are compelled, as a last resort, to engage in temporal prostitution to get the initial capital and later quit the prostitution business, though this is not the case with all prostitutes. The choice of their residency may be as a result of plans to quit after getting initial capital; or it could be their own conscience. In any case, today, due to expansion, the original abode of the prostitutes, which was in the outskirt, is now in the centre of the communities. Roamers in the evenings also operate in vantage positions of the streets. That is to say, they choose where to operate until the law enforcement agency deal with them or when they retire.

Others return home either when they realise the sex trade would not help them (morally) or it is too much for them (stress psychologically), or better still ill health and old age set in. The returnees in some communities are "cleansed off" before they can wholly mix with their community and participate fully. Neutralizing the malevolent spiritual forces that might follow the prostitutes into the village as a result of their numerous sexual encounters is an indication that the gods are not in favour of commercialising sex. Acceptance by the traditional priest and the gods to re-unite the returnees also symbolises unity and salvation for all humankind (Acquah, 1958).

Why are women frowned upon by the society when they practice prostitution? On a comparative bases, female sex workers are humiliated more than male sex workers. Can we say that society is male dominated, and the sexual needs of the male is recognised in our traditional society more than the woman? In Africa, especially in Ghana, polygyny is accepted at the expense of women. We should know that some women biologically are maniacs and their sexual needs must be attended to; if society frowns on polyandry, can we say the woman is ethically cheated? Societal law should treat all citizens equal.

What was new about urban prostitution in the colonial Gold Coast was its explicit connection to independent, material accumulation among women. What men and other women found fascinating and horrifying about this development was that the women who were prostitutes had voluntarily stepped outside the traditional social and spatial constraints imposed on them to facilitate accumulation. It is clear from Anita Mensah's account of prostitution

in Sekondi-Takoradi in the 1930s and 1940s that new images of autonomy, acquisitiveness and even a touch of glamour had influenced old perceptions of prostitution (Akyeampong, 1997).

Religious rituals remained important in the lives of prostitutes, especially, when they sought social reintegration into their old communities. Acquah (1954) was informed of this by prostitutes operating in Accra. If they visited their relatives in the rural areas, they were expected to 'purify' themselves before they were accepted back fully into the village life. One prostitute stated that she had to provide a sheep and ram for the performance of some rites each time she visited her village before she was allowed by the chief and the traditional priest to participate in public functions and celebrations. This reveals that prostitution constitutes an infraction of customs and it is still severely frowned upon in the rural areas. Even though in the larger towns the prostitutes are seen, people ignore them except on few occasions when the law enforcement agents raid their hideouts.

The purification of prostitutes before they were reincorporated into their old communities was particularly designed to neutralise any malevolent spiritual forces that might follow them into the village as a result of their numerous sexual contacts with strangers. Some prostitutes sought spiritual protection from rural shrines before they departed for the city to practice their profession. Margaret Field (1990) as cited in Akyeampong (1997) encountered this during her field-work at the shrine of Mframaso in Brong Ahafo in 1956-7. One modest-mannered but quiet business-like woman said she was a prostitute in Kumasi and asked for success in her work. As she was not married, approval was readily given to her enterprise. When the researcher

sought to know the general climate of opinion concerning this, she was told matter-of-factly, 'It is her work. When a man has to stay in a town like Kumasi, one of the things he may need is a woman. Also, travellers need a place to spend the night' (personal communication with some natives, 2008). The irony is that male sexual needs, as opposed to female sexual needs, have always been recognized in Akan society. Public women and prostitutes met this acknowledged need.

There is the possibility that the categories of public women and prostitutes had become conflated in colonial Asante. The important role of the Akan state in mediating sexuality and gender relations cannot be ignored. The timing of the Baasifuo's (prostitutes) request is instructive. Prempeh, king of Asante, and his principal chiefs had been deported to the Seychelles when Asante was colonized by the British in 1896. He was allowed to return to Asante in 1924 as a private citizen. He was subsequently made king of Kumasi in 1926, and his successor, Prempeh II, was installed as Asantehene in 1935 when the Asante confederacy was restored. It is significant that in the power vacuum between 1896 and 1935 there is no record of prostitutes seeking such official recognition (Akyeampong, 1997). When the British government restored the Asante confederacy in 1935, an obvious shadow of its former self, the Asantehene sought to extend his jurisdiction through symbolic acts meaningful to residents of the Gold Coast. In that very year, wives of nhenkwaa (servants) of the Asantehene in different parts of what had been the old Asante Empire, claimed that they had been seduced by local men. District Commissioner A. F. L. Wilkinson of Wiawso commented on developments in Wiawso:

It seems obvious that the wives of the Asantehene's *Nhinkwa* (sic) are distributed round the country and that whenever one of them is 'seduced' 16 [pounds sterling] is claimed and goes to form part of the Asantehene's revenue. The colonial government's investigation revealed that the Asantehene's messengers had also been active in Ajumako (Central Province), Oda (Central Province), Mpraeso (Eastern Province), and Pepease (Ashanti) collecting adultery fines. Wilkinson believed this was about revenue, but sexual politics was also the key to status and power politics within Asante, and to the territorial definition of Asante. The limits of Asante's territory were reflected in the geographical extent to which the Asantehene could demand money for adultery. Recognizing the spirit of past times in the activities of the Asantehene, some commercial sex workers in Kumasi community, presented themselves for the Asantehene's official approval. It certainly fit into the social structure of the old Akan state. The Asantehene entrusted it to the care of a sub-chief.

The irony of the situation lies in the fact that the *Baasifuo* (literally people who are almost always at the drinking bar enjoying and who sell sex to the men around on request) community had turned cultural norms that recognized male sexual needs and denied the existence of similar needs among females to the service of female accumulation. It was a subtle play on female dependence in an era when they were probably anything but dependent. Women had long been aware of the intimate connection between political patronage and wealth in Akan society. The *Baasi* community presented what was definitely a radically altered version of the institution of public women for official approval. In the 1950s, Ataa Baasi joined the commoners' party, the

Convention People's Party, in the nationalist struggle for independence. May be, renewed political recognition for institutions such as hers, would come with an independent African government (McCaskie, 1981).

Contesting sexuality and marital obligations in colonial Gold Coast

Colonialism, by weakening the political authority of chiefs and male elders, especially their ability to impose coercive sanctions, acted inadvertently as an important catalyst in the restructuring of gender relations. In addition, the colonial cash economy generated new economic opportunities for rural and urban women. Female accumulation reinforced the desire of women to assert their autonomy and to define their expectations in marriage. Yet, colonial rule, especially, with the introduction of indirect rule, was supposed to facilitate the subordination of women in the domestic realm. But the structure of colonial rule presented women with avenues for negotiating autonomy. The dual legal structure of British and customary law courts were important as they enabled women to strategically manipulate the law in their favour. How these economic and legal opportunities in the colonial Gold Coast intersected with changing notions of sexuality, specifically through prostitution and leisure activities among migrants in towns, to reshape female expectations in marriage, is a promising line of inquiry. The interwar period was, in particular, an era of active social exchange between urban and rural areas hence the upsurge of prostitution.

The exploitation of female labour was crucial in the economic transformation that underpinned the rise of the Gold Coast as the world's leading producer of cocoa by 1918. In their various capacities as pawns, as

wives, daughters and nieces, women provided unpaid agricultural labour on cocoa farms and served as porters in carrying cocoa bags from interior farms to coastal merchants (Austin 1994 as cited in Akyeampong, 1997). From being exploited of unpaid labour, women even in the rural areas where indirect rule had re-empowered male elders, gradually found openings in the colonial economy and asserted their autonomy through establishing their own cocoa and food farms. Rural women increasingly withdrew their labour from exploitative husbands and uncles. Sexuality, marital obligations and the concept of family in matrilineal Akan societies, became fiercely contested (Busia, 1950).

Whether rural-urban contacts and the sexual autonomy of migrant women in towns, including prostitutes, contributed to the radicalization of rural women (for example, through their trips to coastal towns as porters) in their relations with men have not been explored. In the Obubra Division of the Cross River Basin in Nigeria, young women from the village of Efut fled `into prostitution when they were asked to engage in palm production' (Naanen, 64). For rural Atu women on the Kenyan coast, prostitution and marriage existed in a dialectical relationship (Akyeampong, 1997)

The relative proximity of the town of Mombasa, and a tradition of Atu prostitution in Mombasa, enabled some women to reject unsatisfactory marital situations. But this female empowerment had an adverse effect on marriage, for it made the institution fragile. Cohen (2003) pointed out in his study of Hausa migrants in Ibadan that 'through frequent divorce, many women oscillate between prostitution and wifehood a number of times in their marriage career'. Prostitution presented an escape route from the exploitation

of female labour through marriage. The rhetoric of rural male elders, in describing the assertiveness of women in the colonial Gold Coast, confirmed that they had made the connection between prostitution, female accumulation and marital instability.

In the early 1930s, in what was perceived to be a period of acute social chaos and decay, several Asante chiefs ordered the arrest of all unmarried women over the age of fifteen. They were to be released if they agreed to marry a man in the village obviously with the man's consent. This chaos, often articulated in the language of moral crisis, in terms that spoke of women's uncontrollability, of prostitution and venereal disease, was more than anything about shifting power relationships. It was chaos engendered by cash and cocoa, by trade and transformation (McCaskie, 1981).

'Prostitution' had become a label men deployed against female assertiveness. Akan culture defined marriage and motherhood as the ultimate goal for women. Male hegemony was threatened when women opted out of marriage. Jean Allman in the work of McCaskie (1981) interviewed some of the female victims and confirmed the economic basis of this gender conflict: men had become miser and lazy, yet keen to exploit female labour. Marriage had become unattractive; divorces frequent.

But this is not to trivialize the widespread concerns about prostitution and venereal disease in the colonial Gold Coast, especially, from the 1920s. Even the interior, predominantly rural state of Sefwi Wiawso in the wake of mechanized mining, road construction and cocoa production, was transformed into a bustling hive of economic and social activity in the 1920s and 1930s.

Incidence of venereal diseases increased phenomenally, and prostitutes were blamed for this development. Penelope Roberts has summed up the situation:

The introduction of cocoa had provoked new conflicts between spouses leading to 'wife-stealing' and desertion by wives. The crisis in the rural economy coincided with an upsurge of opportunities for trade for some women. The association between trade and prostitution and the spread of venereal disease were seen as results of these conflicts (Roberts, 1985).

Crucial in this gender crisis in Sefwi Wiawso was again, the struggle to control female labour through the institution of marriage, which had little material returns for wives. The colonial economy generated different types of economic opportunities for men and women, which fed into the existing division of labour by sex and the separate property interests of spouses. Female accumulation strengthened female sexual autonomy, enabling women to prune the male dominated institution of marriage. Not coincidentally, female accumulation, female sexual autonomy, prostitution, venereal diseases and witchcraft were seen to be connected. Successful female traders were often accused of witchcraft and the epithet 'WAC' (United African Company) came to embrace not only prostitutes involved in accumulation of wealth, but also traders suspected of witchcraft. The early twentieth century with its rapid socio-economic change and the concomitant gender 'crises' supported the proliferation of anti-witchcraft cults in the Gold Coast. The crisis was grave: the cultural norms that underpinned gender relations were under siege (McCaskie, 1981).

Akan, Ga-Adangme and Ewe cultures viewed wealth and power as male prerogatives. Two Twi proverbs underscore this belief: *obaa yen guan a*, *obarima na oton* (when a woman rears a sheep, it is the man that sells it); and

obaa twa bommaa a, etweri barima dan mu (even if a woman possesses a talking-drum [the privilege of chiefs], she keeps it in a man's room. Women themselves were viewed by men as a form of wealth, and their sexuality and economic potentials were subordinated to men. Women were compelled to pursue motherhood and accumulation of wealth within marriage. But the Twi saying, baabi ye sum na wode sika pe ho a, eho tew (if money is scattered in a dark place, the place brightens up), appealed to both men and women. It was only the lack of economic opportunities that made women acquiescent in their subordination to men. Children, in and out of wedlock, were coveted in Akan and Ga cultures. Men usually 'outdoored' their children, even if they did not marry the mothers; or the woman's relatives claimed and named the child (McCaskie, 1981). It was the ritual of naming that made a child a social person. Women in the colonial Gold Coast claimed sexual autonomy, acquired wealth, and had children outside marriage. For some Gold Coast women, property offered firmer security than marriage. They would have been identified with the remark of a Kenyan ex-prostitute: "My house is my husband" (The house here refers to sex business-seater, which provides her with basic needs a husband would have given her if she were to have married) (Busia, 1950).

The colonial Gold Coast witnessed an important social and cultural revolution in gender relations. Central to this revolution was the construction and contestation of female sexuality. 'Prostitution', as a trope that described female assertiveness, female accumulation, and the sale of sexual and domestic services were crucial in this transformation. It came in many forms

as space and time determined (Allman 1996 as cited in Akyeampong, 1997).

All these forms of sex activities are practised for a fee or favour.

Prostitution in Ghana today

In Ghana, there are about 125 brothels in Accra alone where prostitutes operate. These young girls from poverty stricken backgrounds find themselves in the cities as a result of lack of employment and mostly engage in sex trade due to economic hardships (World Education, 2006).

Prostitution, which is said to be one of the oldest professions in the world, seems to be part of the social system humankind has created. It is generally presumed to be an urban phenomenon, yet in our small villages people are occasionally branded as commercial sex workers when they step on the toes of their offenders. People who are branded prostitutes in our traditional communities are those who are found to have had sexual affairs with many men or mostly strangers who have come on trek. Such persons are mostly not considered by native men for marriage as in these communities each person knows the other and their character. The Akans of Ghana call such a woman *Odwamanfoo*, (literally translated as prostitute). They are mostly accused as immoral people. Such women would normally leave their communities to a new 'hideout' and enjoy the freedom of practising their trade.

It is striking that early accounts of prostitution in the Gold Coast emphasized its presence among the south-western Akan of the Gold and Ivory Coast. A distinguishing feature of prostitution in the Gold Coast was the relative absence of male pimps, which now characterizes professional prostitution. Mention can be, however, made of male intermediaries like the 'pilot boys' of Sekondi-Takoradi in the 1940s, but who were like 'brokers' who brought potential clients to prostitutes for a commission. Their activities peaked during World War II with the presence of foreign sailors and soldiers. These prostitutes formed associations for mutual support, and controlled their sexuality and earnings (Akyeampong, 1997).

In the olden days, there were the *public women* and the prostitutes. These public women were often female slaves of the political elites in the Akan villages and towns who were compelled as custom demanded to provide sexual partners for the bachelors in their communities. The examination of public women alongside prostitutes facilitated a deeper understanding of the permutations of gender relations within the changing political context of the pre-colonial and colonial periods. The absence of those public women from the late twentieth century who were matured in age and sexual experience brings the question of whether colonialism exterminated this institution or not (Akyeampong, 1997).

Comparing the public women and prostitutes in the early years of twentieth century, just before independence, and just after independence, seems to differ a bit; because about a decade or two now, the youth have joined the business to the detriment of the entire society. A case in point is when at the 'soldier bar', (a brothel in Accra) teens who had lined up to offer services to clients were raided by the police in May, 2008. It was detected that, out of the 160 sex workers, 60 confessed to being less than 16 years. To add to child prostitution and to confirm its increase in Ghana is that despite the insufficient statistics, there is clear evidence that child prostitution is

widespread. This is partially confirmed by the number of paedophiles that have been caught in Ghana. A case in point is the *Ghanaian Times* reports of a Caucasian man who abducted several young boys and camped them in a hotel in Accra for sexual purposes. Nana Oye Lithur in her duty with the Young Right Advocates in Accra said she was taken aback when some of the children aged between 10 and 15 confirmed that through the internet, they got pals and lewd pictures, and witnessed live porn. In the *Daily Graphic* of February 10, 2009, child prostitution was again reported. In the paper, Nana Oye Lithur laments on the 125 brothels in Accra alone including the 'soldier bar' where teenage prostitutes work.

Causes of prostitution in Ghanaian cultural setting

With the advent of urbanisation, modernisation, technological advancement, breakdown in the extended family system etc., prostitution seems to be increasing in Ghana. Since there is anonymity surrounding the personalities involved, with the rapid social changes like urbanisation, proletarianisation, concentration of industries in few cities in the country and the breakdown in moral standards, the setting for prostitution is evident (Assimeng, 1999).

The origins of prostitution can be traced probably from very early in human development and that it has economic, sociological, biological, psychological and religious implications. Indeed prostitution is an aspect of the field of man and woman relationships.

Some reasons why people enter into prostitution

The high rate of youth unemployment, limited job opportunities, greater rural migration, the rising cost of living, which are aspects of the poverty cycle, promote early sexual relations and commercial sex.

- Poorer households are being forced to reduce food consumption levels
 due to rising prices. The consumption of well-balanced meals by
 people especially girls and women is reduced, thereby negatively
 affecting their health. Therefore, some women are left with no option
 than to enter into the sex trade.
- Increased demand in women's labour within households, women's
 effort to compensate for the cutbacks in social services and other
 austerity measures which do not give them a skill to help them make
 ends meet is a factor.
- 3. Monetary hardships have deprived some people of education; families that are unable to afford school fees and other educational materials are forced to drop some of their wards from school. It is the girl child who is first taken out of school because of economic hardships.

Prostitution, to some people, is such an odious existence that no woman in her right frame of mind would freely choose such as an occupation. According to Busia (1950), some powerful force over which sometimes women have no control gets them involved in prostitution. Such a force may include drug addiction, pimps' influence, societal rejection, low self esteem and poverty. People who suffer sexual abuse, emotional or physical

domination by parents, social isolation, anonymity afforded by large towns through migration and lapses in traditional standards of morality, sometimes enter into prostitution. Busia said 'collapse of sexual morality' highlighted economic pressures and social isolation as some factors causing prostitution (Busia, 1950).

Prostitution generally is as a result of poverty, greed and lust. Prostitution is also believed to be as a result of its economic gains and not necessarily the gratification of sexual desires for the prostitutes themselves (Busia, 1950). Many people patronise the services of prostitutes on many accounts. Some people who call for the services of prostitutes may be on long treks and travelling overseas for long stay without spouses. Again, sex maniacs whose sexual partners cannot meet their sexual demands as well as others who see it as adventure and experimentation of sexual life, engage the services of prostitutes. Some group of people also patronise commercial sex for practical experience (Muzvidziwa, 1997).

Prostitution thrives in an environment of misery and poverty. To some other people, it is as a result of the disintegration of the family and the fruits of misery and hunger. Some parents claim that poverty led them to sell their children into prostitution. Street children resort to prostitution because they see it as one of the means of survival (Lauer, 1998). In the environment of misery and poverty, prostitution is the next option especially for women.

The newspaper 'O Estado De S Paulo' as quoted in Akyeampong (1997), explains that a girl or woman may end up as a prostitute by running with a street gang. In order to get something to eat, she may steal and

occasionally sell her body. Next, she becomes a professional prostitute (Akyeampong, 1997).

Those who patronise prostitution

People of the middle-age and upwards, the upper class, married males who have attractive incomes; people with disabilities who are not attracted by women for marriage; some men who are too shy to propose to women though sexually active, unattractive physical defects, poverty, (unable to pay a dowry/care for partner); men who do not trust women's faithfulness and sometimes sex maniacs (one who cannot control his/her sex drive) mostly patronise the services of the prostitute.

Conclusion

Public women certainly differed from prostitutes in their pre-colonial and colonial manifestations. But, they fit into a political and moral economy that was indigenous. What was unique about prostitution in the colonial Gold Coast was that prostitutes asserted their autonomy and their control over their own sexuality, and independently accumulated wealth. They were an aberration from the indigenous political and moral economy. The prostitutes broadened the horizon of women and men in the conceptualization of promiscuity. By moving sexuality out of marriage, they became social revolutionaries. It is not coincidental that the Twi words for prostitute and adulteress are synonymous: *obeaguaman* and *owareseefo* respectively.

Slaves and prostitutes were outsiders in the communities in which they lived; they were socially marginalised. The expanding opportunities for

women in the colonial cash economy overlapped with changing perceptions of sexuality and sexual autonomy to reconfigure female expectations in marriage. Prostitution was not directly responsible for this change, but it formed part of the broader social context. Prostitutes not only acquired wealth through their profession, it did not exclude childbirth and parenting. Even marriage was not precluded; it represented only one option for the prostitute. In many ways, prostitutes served as a model of independent female accumulators who had children and chose their mates. As economic opportunities for women expanded with the end of colonial rule, so did female autonomy in gender relations. R. S. Rattray (1959) has enumerated six forms of marriage in precolonial Asante, including mpena awadie, in which lovers lived together and could have children without performing the necessary customary rites, awarepa, asiwa, kunawadee, abusuawadee and nfenawadee (types of marriages practiced in Ghana) (Opoku, 1973). In contemporary Ghana, some young women prefer to enter into sexual relations with older men, 'sugar daddies', with the explicit goal of accumulating wealth. These women are often students and professionals such as teachers, secretaries and receptionists. Many find marriage, as culturally defined, unattractive (Rattray, 1959).

In the history of gender relations in the Gold Coast and contemporary Ghana, women have been in a way compelled to express their sexuality and pursue wealth and autonomy within the confines of marriage. Ruptures have occurred along fault lines, when changing political, economic and social conditions have provided women with opportunities to step outside marriage in their definition of self. Public women and prostitutes represent junctures along the fault lines of gender relations. Public women were disempowered by

being deprived of their sexual autonomy; prostitutes empowered themselves by asserting their control over their sexuality. That, they acquired wealth in the process was also not novel in traditional Akan society. It is a more fruitful line of inquiry to examine prostitution as a contested sphere in gender relations than to view it as merely an example of female social deviance.

Prostitutes in their operation encountered many risks including ill-health (venereal diseases). This could affect them as in the early years of the 19th and 20th centuries, Gold Coasters had not much access to foreign influence and technology as it is today.

CHAPTER THREE

PROSTITUTION, TECHNOLOGY AND CONDOM USE

This chapter looks at commercial sex in the face of modern technology in relation to pre technological era. The modernity of commercializing sex and its health consequences are the upsurge of sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) including the deadly HIV/AIDS.

Condom, is a material used in sex to give protection against STIs/STDs and unwanted pregnancies. There are two types designed for both men and women.

Technology, which has come to enhance life has its own negative effects manifesting in everyday life including prostitution. Prostitution, a technology sex trade, which was mainly dominated by women, now has its canker in the quarters of the males; that is gigolos or male prostitutes. None of the media is spared of sex related issues; all manner of sex-related literature is available, from soft to hard print, and electronic media. Cybersex including phone sex seems to be demeaning the purpose of sex.

The chain of transmission of HIV/AIDS is not at all limited to persons having sexual contact with multiple partners. A spouse living in a faithful monogamous sexual relationship may become infected if his/her partner was affected earlier, either through sexual contact or needle sharing in drug use (Dixon, 2004). At health centres, it continues to spread due to unscreened blood transfusions and the re-use of needles and syringes without adequate

screening and sterilization. Health workers are at high risk of contracting the human virus as well.

Infants born to HIV infected women are also at risk of becoming infected with the virus. This is called "vertical transmission". Between 15% and 40% of infants born to HIV-infected mothers develop HIV infection through vertical transmission. The major ways by which mothers transmit the virus to the child may include during delivery and breastfeeding processes.

Pathogenic microbes that cause diseases such as chlamydia, trichomoniasis, syphilis, gonorrhoea, genital herpes, herp zosters and chancroid can be acquired only from another infected person through sexual contact without protection (World Education, 2006).

HIV/AIDS is one of the STIs/STDs. HIV/AIDS does not cause disease of the local genital mucosa and skin. The presence of an STD, particularly one with an ulceration lesion, facilitates the transmission of HIV between sexual partners if one of them has the infection. Since HIV is transmitted less readily and less often in the absence of any local lesion, the early detection, diagnosis and correct treatment of all other STDs will reduce the risk of all HIV transmission, even when one of the partners is infected with HIV (World Education, 2006).

Again, the chance of sexual transmission of any pathogen, including HIV is minimal or none if an effective barrier is used to prevent physical contact between the mucosal surfaces of the sex partners. The barrier also prevents the exchange of body fluid to prevent HIV transmission. The condom is to be worn by both male and female partners as it has been designed and

field tested to ensure safety if it is correctly and consistently used (WCC, 2006).

HIV/AIDS pandemic is perhaps one of the major socio-medico-ethical problems facing Sub-Saharan African countries for the past two decades. The problem poses a great challenge to stakeholders: policy makers and researchers into the human virus in the country and the African continent since the pandemic is a threat to the human race. For example, in Botswana, HIV prevalence among adults is said to be above 35%. Each year, approximately 1.7 million cases of HIV infection occur among young people in Africa. AIDS has orphaned at least 10.4 million children under 15 years and one third (33.3) of the people living with HIV/AIDS in the world are between the ages of 15-24 (UNAIDS/WHO, 2005).

In Ghana, the first case of HIV/AIDS was officially reported in 1986 and soon afterwards, few AIDS cases were seen among commercial sex workers. Since then, the numbers of infected persons with HIV and those who have developed the full blown AIDS have been increasing in geometrical progression in the country.

Data on the number of deaths due to HIV/AIDS in Ghana show that between 130,008 and 147,357 people have died of AIDs between 2006 and 2007, and in Nigeria 1.3 million have also passed away (GHS, 2007; NACP, 2008). This number of deaths can increase to the detriment of human population. Ghanaian youth, like other youth in other countries of the world, are more vulnerable and susceptible to HIV infection than any age group in the country. The youth between ages 15 and 45, are sexually active, hence their vulnerability (WCC, 2006).

In countries where the general population's prevalence is high and women's social status is low, the risk of HIV infection through sexual violence is high. A survey of 1336 women attending antenatal clinics in Soweto, South Africa, indicated significantly higher rates of HIV infection in women who were physically abused, sexually assaulted or dominated by their male partners. The study also produced evidence that abusive men are likely than non-abusers to be HIV-positive (UNAIDS Interagency Task Team, 2005).

In the last two decades, the history of HIV pandemic in Ghana and other African countries, has witnessed different HIV/AIDS prevention and control programmes. Thus, it is common to hear about HIV/AIDS scourge on radio, television, community to community education by public health personnel, religious institutions and other mass media channels. In addition, there are preponderance of behavioural change communication (BCC) and anti-AIDS clubs in different higher institutions and other corporate bodies in Ghana.

The HIV/AIDS infection/disease has systematically permeated the entire societies of the world. The estimate from Joint United Nation Program on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS) and World Health Organisation (WHO) is that by year 2000, globally, more than 36.1 million people had been infected with HIV/AIDS. 21.8 million people around the world have died of AIDS, 4.3 million of them children. Of the 36.1 million people with HIV/AIDS, 25.3 million (70 percent) live in sub-Saharan African (WCC, 2005).

HIV/AIDS pandemic affects all in diverse ways either directly or indirectly. Statistics show that about 80% of people living with AIDs

(PLWHAs) got the virus through sexual contact with infected persons who had unprotected sexual intercourse (Stott, 2006).

Prostitutes in the course of their activities are faced with the dilemma of either protecting themselves or not when client demands/orders. This is why sometimes their pricing changes or goes higher when a client declines the use of condom. Such commercial sex workers are, therefore, prone to HIV/AIDS and other STDs/STIs which affect their health directly. As a result, some employers also suffer as some workers are part time commercial sex workers during the night. Such 'double workers' get fatigued, so their output at the office is affected (UNAIDS/WHO, 2001).

The disease deteriorates the health of the victim; he/she spends so much to get on with life. At the AIDS stages, he/she is bed ridden and must be attended to, thereby, the relatives are affected on their income as the prostitutes' economic activities also come to a halt. The government also spends more on retraining to replace these AIDS victims, who as a result of ill health and discrimination, cannot work. More nurses/doctors/paramedics are trained to give medical care to PLWHAs; government subsidizes the AIDS drugs (AZT). The diversion of resources to health facilities at the expense of the other sectors of the economy can halt socio-economic progress (World Education, 2006).

School drop outs increase, orphans increase, so interdependency ratio becomes high, which can lead to streetism and other social vices since dependents of the victims cannot make ends meet. Such dependants, if they are women, may have no choice but to sell their body sexually to make a

living. If they are men they enter into gambling and other social vices that halt development (World Education, 2006).

According to Prof. Sakyi Awuku Amoah, former Director General of Ghana AIDS Commission, the ILO report on HIV/AIDS shows that hard labour and dismissed life is the portion of the child whose benefactors die of AIDS. In Zimbabwe, the International Labour Organisation (ILO) report illustrates the frightening prospects of orphan-hood, where more than 25% of the adult population is HIV positive. With the estimated deaths of about 2,400 Zimbabweans a week, increase in the number of orphans becomes considerable. Young women of child bearing ages 15-24 are twice as likely to be infected as males in the same age group because they are compelled to enter into the sex trade to make ends meet in the face of economic hardships. AIDS has orphaned at least 10.4 million children under age 15. They have either lost a mother, father or both parents to the epidemic (UNAIDS/WHO, 2001). In South Africa, the fastest growing HIV epidemic country in the world, prevalence rate was as high as 36.2% (World Education, 2006).

In this era, child prostitution is on the increase; children now do what was thought to be confined to adults or was the sole activity of adults. 'The little girls took the market from us' (*The Spectator*, 10th April, 2008, p. 3). This is a lamentation from a woman prostitute during the African Cup of Nations (CAN) 2008 football tournament. Answer to this question is yet to be provided and may include broken homes, which result in lack of child control. Such children either find themselves on the streets fending for themselves or looking for protection and love, which parents should have offered. Others are as a result of over pampering by parents. For instance, some of such children

are given the freedom to the extent of watching everything of the media whether such things may help them in their moral upbringing and training or not. When these apparent comfortable situations change, such children go the extra mile to live as before and this may push them to other immoral acts, including practicing commercial sex and its consequence of HIV infection (*The Spectator*, 2008).

The other side of the coin is that some parents "over discipline" their children by beating, insulting, threatening etc., which make the children think parents do not love them. Under such circumstances, children are compelled to seek attention and care from outside the streets; they then fall into the hands of 'sugar mummies' and 'sugar daddies' (elderly women or men who take advantage of the vulnerability of young males or females to engage them in sexual activities for their own selfish interests/sexual gratification). When these young victims' services are over, they go to the street and enter into sex trade, hence the increase in HIV as most of such children have less education and protection measures are not known including the *correct* and *constant* use of *condom* (*The Spectator*, 2008).

Children, according to educationists, learn by watching and imitating. They tend to experiment by curiosity. They are compelled to join the "train", and hence many children are into commercial sex life. Exposure to sex issues in the mass media, with nude pictures, raw sex life discussion on radio stations, cyber pages with sexy attractions, modern music with sexual connotation or lyrics - profane songs, local and international programs on TV, movies with scenes depicting deep kisses, half naked outfits attract the youth especially, into early sex life and this can lead to some sexual misconduct.

Quite apart from the fact that these children endanger their future marriage, and reputation, their health is also at stake. They can easily contract STIs/STDs and HIV/AIDS through exposure to the many and multiple sexual partners on the streets. Socially, they can be discriminated against by society. These children continue to be abused, exploited and trafficked under different cases. From abuse in the family, sex tourism and child pornography, can lead to commercial sex and the contraction of STDs including HIV/AIDS. Child prostitution constitutes criminal practices; it demeans, degrades and threatens the child's physical and psychological integrity, and subjects him/her to emotional trauma (World Education, 2006).

Sex and drug relationship

The influence of drugs and alcohol also promotes and enhances sex skills. The use of licit and illicit drugs has often been linked to sexual behaviours in many societies. Drinking, particularly, is associated with dating, courtship, or making sexual contacts. Many local drinking spots are designates of singles bar, gay bars and are sometimes frequented by male or female prostitutes. Drugs such as cannabis or marijuana, cocaine (Scruton, 1986) and some local alcoholic beverages such as: "pusher, cargo, cocoa liquor, ogidigidi, alomo gin bitters and others are associated with sexuality adverts on TV and radio stations in Ghana.

According to some stake holders during the interview period, there is a connection between drugs and sex. The association between sexual behaviour and drugs is akin to the association between alcohol and crime. Central to the drugs and sex connection is the concept of disinhibition, which is the

activation of behaviours normally suppressed by various controlling influences. Studies and experience have shown that the use of alcohol or illicit drug is associated with unsafe sex. Alcohol and drug use is associated with sex for social, psychological, and physiological reasons. Unwanted pregnancies and STDs have been linked to the disinhibiting effects of psychoactive drugs (Kerby, 2005).

Heavy drinking and the use of illicit drugs are commonplace amongst prostitutes. In spite of this, several studies have indicated that most prostitutes do not use intravenous drugs much. For example, Lauer (1998) reported that only 29 out of a group of 187 female prostitutes in London were intravenous drug users. The same study concluded that none of a pilot study of twelve Glasgow male prostitutes was an intravenous drug user. Some commercial sex workers become drug addicts on alcohol, marijuana and cocaine. As one prostitute stated, "After having my body ravaged by several customers in a row, I just get too tired to move my limbs. At times like that, I need a shot of heroin. This enables me to handle five or six men in a single night. I can't help but take the drug in order to keep myself in working condition" (Lauer, 1998, p. 42). In the *Spectator*, October 4, 2008, a prostitute accepted the use of alcohol as an enhancement for better sex.

Male prostitution

In modern commercial sex, there are male prostitutes who are known as gigolos. Male prostitutes or gigolos operate like their female counterparts. Most of the gigolos are into drugs and they are mostly into the sex business because they need to satisfy their addictive pressure. It is believed that cocaine and its group are stimulants and an ego builder. Along with increased energy, it enhances a feeling of personal supremacy, the illusion of being smarter, sexiest, and more competent than anyone else.

Male prostitution has existed since ancient times. During the Gold Rush, brothels recruited young male runaways in search of adventure. The promise of easy money and drugs such as opium made these men prisoners to accept sex from fellow men. In Ghana, such young adult males service both adult rich women in business and or males, their services extended to tourists as well. According to Bullough and Bullough (1987), male sex trade was practised by Berdaches men with both masculine and feminine traits. Poor youth, unemployed, young sailors and the destitute, prostituted themselves to fellow men.

There are four groups of male prostitutes: Outcasts- whose drug addiction and prostitution go hand in hand; Part timers whose prostituting is an occasional means to make money; Insiders for whom the world of prostitution has become a family; Liberationists whose prostituting helps them actualise themselves (Dorais & Fieldstein, 2005).

Research indicates that most of HIV infected prostitutes of either sex have been intravenous drug users (Morgan Thomas et al, 1990). In Africa, it is a little different Neequaye (1990) and other authors say HIV infection

amongst female prostitutes in Africa appears to be largely unrelated to intravenous drug use, but attribute HIV infection mostly as a result of heterosexual contact (Anderson, 2005).

Criminalisation of prostitution is the function of the law, Lord Devlin in his book *Enforcement of Morals*, writes "I think it is clear that criminal law is based on moral principles. In a number of cases, its function is to enforce morality and nothing else" (Devlin, 2003). The prostitutes face a number of abuses that sometimes threaten their life. Such abuse may come from a customer or from the pimp.

According to Dorais and Fieldstein (2005), a crime is wrong when it affects the security and well-being of the public generally, so that the public has an interest in its suppression. HIV is not an excuse to legalise prostitution in Ghana. He stresses that morality is that which keeps society alive. Society without morality is not worth living in. And this morality cannot be sacrificed for anything such as AIDS, which can be curbed in a more permanent way such as abstinence and or sincere faithfulness. The act of offering by a person his/her body for act of sex for payment or prostitution is to the ethicist and moralist a social canker, an affront and threat to morality, which is the breath of society. The book of Leviticus 19:29 states that prostitution degrades a person and fills society with wickedness.

Prostitution, Condom Use, HIV and Ethics

Prostitution is the act of selling sex to clients for payment in cash and sometimes in kind or both. Condom is a rubber sheath specially designed with lubrication to prevent semen from entering the woman's uterus during sexual

acts. The purposes of condom use are two; prevention of unwanted pregnancies and STDs. The use of condom has been recommended to reduce pregnancies and HIV transmission during sexual contacts if any of the sex partners is already infected. It would seem that every individual is at risk of contracting HIV, but high risk people may include; prostitutes, gays, multiple sexual partners, drug users and health workers, who deal mostly with needles and blood.

It would therefore reasonable to say that prostitutes are at high risk than any group of persons and more so, the male prostitute. Interventions by some institutions to help them use condom correctly and consistently are seen to be a problem because as a prostitute puts it, "condom use is a regulation and negotiation affair" (personal communication with a commercial sex worker, 2008). Though the prostitutes considering their health would have wished to correctly and consistently use the condom to prevent especially STDs, the clients either negotiate through persuasion or by violent means to have the sexual intercourse without condom. One other problem is the education on the use of condom. Condom use promotion tends to indicate 100 percent safety but research on condom provides no such guarantee.

Ethical considerations on condom and other contraceptives are that they redirect the very fundamentals of sex as instituted by God; using a preventive mechanism underrates the rationale behind sex as a means of procreation. This can also lead to the wrath of God (Genesis 38:9-10), Humane Vitae by Paul. According to Pope Paul VI, the use of contraceptive is wrong, because it prevents procreation, encourages prostitution and promiscuity, and can sometimes mar the beauty of marriage. The Pope's

position is contrary to the position of Islam which supports the use of some form of contraceptives. Besides, one wonders how population explosion can be curtailed if all of society were to adopt the position of the Pope in particular and the Catholic Church in general.

A social scientist, Susan Weller, in her research on condom use, reported that condoms are only 87 per cent effective in preventing pregnancy and 69 per cent effective in reducing the risk of HIV infection. The 69 per cent effective rate is the same as 31 per cent failure rate in preventing HIV/AIDs transmission. This is because 15 per cent of married couples who use condoms for birth control end up with an unplanned pregnancy within the first year. For many years, condom use and safe sex messages outweigh the abstinence message (Fitzsimons & Keith, 1995).

Female condom is not readily on the market and where it is available it costs more than the male condom. If accessing it is a bit scarce and also expensive, then women who are said to be more vulnerable due to their biological make-up would pay dearly to HIV/AIDS. Society should be made aware that having sex with any partner having the AIDS virus is life threatening, with or without condom. Education on female condom use is not common like that of the male condom. Sex issues are mostly tailored to suit men at the expense of women. Prostitutes are, therefore, in the high-risk zone as their activities (heterosexual) with violent clients endanger people who patronise their services. Since HIV thrives in blood vessels and the prostitutes as part of their activities are being exposed to all other STIs/STDs including chlamydia, herpes and syphilis, all sore based around the genitals, they are at

high risk, and so condom use in the face of HIV/AIDS is an issue the society should consider.

Prostitution and the issue of cybersex

With the advancement of technology, prostitution and other sex related issues have assumed a complex dimension .Prostitution has departed from the traditional confinement of prostitutes and their clients from small shift structure to internet related sex, popularly called cybersex.

Cybersex or internet sex is a kind of virtual sex encounter in which two or more persons, connected through a computer network send one another sexually explicit messages, describing their sexual experience. One may add that the main idea behind sending each other sexually explicit messages is to foster the recollection of sexual experience between the two subjects towards reaching an orgasm or sexual feeling without physically engaging in sexual intercourse (www.wikipedia.org/org/wiki/condom, 4th June, 2008).

The cybersex is a form of role playing in which the participants behave as if they are having actual sexual relations. It is, thus, a fantasy sex that is accomplished by the participating parties describing their pleasures and responding to their partners in a mostly written form designed to stimulate their feelings and fantasies. There is webcam facility which allows internet users to see the people they communicate with. This fosters the cybersex phenomenon (Godson, 2002).

Masturbation is pre-supposed in cybersex. This is so because participants receive instruction on how to stimulate their sex organs in order to achieve sexual gratification/pleasure. Having thrown some light on cybersex,

one may ask, in spite of all the benefits associated with physical or natural sex 'why would one want to indulge in cybersex? Some prostitutes and their clients resort to the use of cybersex which is convenient for them because they both avoid the high risk of contracting venereal diseases and also avoid arrest by the law enforcement agents.

It is common knowledge that since there is not always physical contact between participants in cybersex, the danger of contracting the deadly HIV/AIDS and other Sexually Transmitted Diseases (STDs) is greatly avoided. In other words, cybersex cannot directly lead to the contraction of sexually transmitted diseases. Secondly, since geographical barrier or separation plays an influential role in cybersex, cybersex has the advantage of allowing partners who are physically separated to continue their sexually intimate relation. In spite of these advantages mentioned and other related benefits of cybersex, there is no doubt that cybersex is replete with some discrepancies. It has generated fierce debates among moral philosophers and religionists alike. Let us assess this problem in relation to some ethical theories (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cybersex, 4th June, 2008).

In the African traditional set up, sex is something that should lead to procreation or the production of children, and that any type of sex that will not lead to the production of children is morally unjustified (Nukunya, 1997). The researcher agrees with this scholar to some extent, but also believes sex is for other reasons such as companionship, security and others. Though cybersex does not involve any physical contact, the traditionalists believe that the powerful emotions involved in cybersex can cause marital stress, especially when it culminates in an internet romance. According to the Bible as a guide

to some societies, sex to a large extent involves the total being and not the cyber fantasies.

Immanuel Kant, a popular German philosopher, argued that human beings should not be used as a means to an end, but rather an end in themselves. He succinctly stated this in a categorical imperative that, humans should act in such a way that their actions can be universalised for people to follow as a moral rule (as cited in Ozumba, 2008). We see that cybersex contravenes this theory because it cannot be universalised by everybody to follow as a rule.

Even a theory such as utilitarianism, which has the view that an act is morally right if it succeeds in bringing the greater amount of happiness for the greater number of people, cannot agree much with the moral practical issue of cybersex. Cybersex simply does not bring maximum pleasure to the greater number of people in society. What it does on the contrary is that it maximizes pleasure for the individual(s) involved. Hence, it is safe to say that cybersex is egoistic in nature since it promotes the happiness of only the individual(s) in the act.

Technology seems to be establishing a new form of prostitution without the usual associated risk. Models of video can be bought through internet websites. Buying sexual stimulation is not the same as having sex with a prostitute. Life indeed is becoming more involved with technology. Prostitutes may lose clients if the internet sex is accessible and available all over. Ethically, humankind must know who they are in order to maintain their sense of solid self as we identify our goals. In this chapter, one can identify the effect of technology on sex life as a whole. The researcher found out from the

interviewees if the above information is the reality on the ground in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE RELIGIOUS AND ETHICAL IMPLICATIONS OF

PROSTITUTION

As has already been put forth in chapter two, prostitutes give various reasons for which they indulge in prostitution. Among some of the reasons that are given are the problem of poverty and the need for economic sustenance, which are linked to the problem of unemployment. In other words, nearly 90% of those who engage in prostitution give economic reasons for their trade. Of the fifty prostitutes interviewed for this project, only three identified Islam as their religion and two also in other religions. The rest said they were Christians. All of them said that they practice their respective religions.

This chapter, therefore, seeks to discuss how prostitutes could claim to be either Christians or Muslims and still engage in prostitution. In other words, what are the ethical and religious implications of prostitution, especially for those who indulge in it and who also claim to be religious?

In a feature story in the *High Street Journal* of June 10, 1997, titled "The Conscience of a Harlot", Mustapha Hamid sought to find out from prostitutes, operating mainly around the Kwame Nkrumah Circle, Danquah Circle and the Akufo-Addo Circle, areas in Accra whether they felt an innate guilt for engaging in prostitution or not. All 20 prostitutes interviewed said that they felt no guilty pangs engaging in prostitution. A few of them argued

that it was the duty of society to make it possible for all of its members to live comfortably. In their view, if society reneged on this responsibility, then they felt obliged to take their destiny into their own hands to fend for themselves. In other words, if there is an ethical burden at all, that burden should be equally shared by the society at large (Hamid, 1997).

There is also a general sociological view that humans are products of their societies. To that extent, we can agree with the prostitutes interviewed by Hamid that the way in which we organise society could either throw up deviants or conformists. The prostitutes are arguing that if they seem to be in violation of normal societal norms, then it is because of the failure of society to cater for all of its members. Indeed, most of the prostitutes interviewed for this project said that women are discriminated against in matters of opportunities. They said that most of them did not go to school or dropped out because their families had a choice in the face of limited resources to either educate them, or educate the male members of the family. They said that their families chose to educate the men.

In that sense, they do not feel guilty or find it religiously or ethically contradictory to be Christian and be a prostitute or to be Muslim and be a prostitute. Both the Bible and the Qur'an condemn sexual misconduct or sex outside marriage. The Bible states in 1st Corinthians 6:9

Surely you know that the wicked will not possess God's kingdom; do not fool yourselves, people who are immoral or people who worship idols or are adulterers or homosexuals.

The Qur'an similarly presents a very grim picture of the consequences of sexual transgression when it states that,

Those who invoke not, with Allah, any other god, nor slay such life as Allah has made sacred except for just cause, nor commit fornication - and any that does this (not only) meets punishment, but the chastisement on the Day of Judgment will be doubled to him and he will dwell therein in ignominy (Q:25:68-69).

That is why the Qur'an prescribes the punishment of caning by a hundred stripes as the remedy for sexual transgression (Q: 24:2). If these religions take the sin of sexual transgression this seriously, why would their adherents continue to ply this trade and not feel a sense of ethical incorrectness?

Therefore, on the face of it, prostitution, at least, in the Judeo-Christian and Islamic points of view, is ungodly. It violates the very foundation on which the edifices of these two religions are built: God's omnipotence and sanctity. That is why both the Qur'an and the Bible equate sexual transgression to idol worship. But is it the case that those who engage in sexual transgression are irredeemably lost or do not have an equal opportunity with all other adherents of the faiths to come to the saving grace of Jesus Christ or Allah? The story of Hosea is instructive to any discussion on the ethical implications of prostitution, at least from the biblical perspective.

When the Lord first spoke to Israel through Hosea, he said to Hosea, 'Go and get married; your wife will be unfaithful, and your children will be just like her. In the same way, my people have left me and become unfaithful (Hosea: 1:2).

Thus, even though Hosea knew that his wife was going to be unfaithful, he married her nonetheless. He was also instructed to give his children from that marriage symbolic names that would reflect the nature of the relationship between God and Israel at that time. Later, Hosea was to take his wife back in order to signify the restoration of the relationship between God and Israel (Hosea: 2:14-23). This is how the *Macmillan Bible Commentary* relates the story of Hosea and his marriage to Gomer.

As Hosea looked abroad on the idolatory and wickedness of his time, he realised that the state was the individual writ large, and that here was being repeated on a larger scale his own domestic tragedy. In Gomer's unfaithfulness to him, he saw a parable of Israel's unfaithfulness to God; in his own love and tenderness, he saw a parable of Israel's unfaithfulness to God; in his own love and tenderness, he saw the reflection of God's love to Israel; and his own forgiveness and continued efforts for his wife's salvation, he saw a parallel to Jehovah's loving-kindness and tender mercy towards the faithless nation (Dummelow 1974, p.545)

The story of Hosea shows how Jehovah had wedded Israel but Israel had proved faithless, going back again to idols and coquetting with foreign powers. Jehovah, was therefore, seeking to win the nation back, "even though, as with Gomer's, a painful discipline might be necessary" (Dummelow, 1974). This story has two symbolic meanings for this work: that the unfaithfulness of Gomer is reflective of the unfaithfulness of the Israelites generally, and secondly, that people are not necessarily irredeemably lost once they engage in transgression.

Thus it is important that we do not see prostitutes as people who are irredeemably lost. The condition of prostitutes is akin to the general condition of the society in which we live. The society is corrupt and prostituted. Therefore, the prostitutes are not entirely wrong when they blame the society for their indulgence in prostitution. Rather than condemning, therefore, we need to mount a campaign of moral rejuvenation of the society generally. Secondly, rather than condemning prostitutes as moral perverts, who are lost and cannot be redeemed, we should see their condition as perhaps one of the important lessons that they ought to learn in order to find their way back to the Lord, and to moral and spiritual renewal.

Regarding Islam, Smith (1957) asserts that one attains salvation, not necessarily by doing acts, but by recognising that we ought to do them. Thus, a Muslim remains a Muslim so far as he or she continues to affirm the truth of the *Khalimat shahada* (the Muslim confession of faith), and recognises and affirms all the other pillars of Islam, including the six articles of faith. Therefore, a Muslim prostitute is still a Muslim in so far as she does not renounce *the Khalimat shahada* or any of the pillars and articles of faith in Islam. That being the case, like the rescue of Gomer, she still stands a chance of repenting and coming back to the saving grace of Allah. The Muslim leadership in Ghana, just like the church, ought to recognise the reality of this problem, and to do their utmost in ensuring that a proper restoration and rehabilitation of the prostitute is undertaken, with a view to eliminating the practice completely in the long run.

Furthermore, the church like the mosque, is supposed to cater for the needs of its members. This includes spiritual, economic and emotional needs.

If the church is not doing this, the people will feel obliged to look for their economic emancipation elsewhere, not only as a survival mechanism, but also as a protest against the church's failure to cater for their well being. Thus, when I argue that the prevalence of prostitution is a reflection of the failure of society to adequately cater for the needs of its people, this includes the church. Especially so when the members have to toil throughout the week in order to make a living, only for them to come to church on Sunday to give part of those earnings to the pastor, who in turn lives lavishly and large. This kind of behaviour breeds discontent and will ultimately lead some to either stay in the church and violate one of its sacrosanct rules, (the rule on sexual misconduct) or leave the church altogether.

Furthermore, people do not belong to the church necessarily to attain salvation in the hereafter. People also see the church as a place to socialise and share in the ordinary human brotherhood. Thus, the teachings of the church in respect of prostitution do not have the desired effect on them; therefore, violating the teachings of their church or religion does not prick their conscience. Indeed that may explain why the prostitutes in Hamid (1997) said that they did not feel guilty about being prostitutes. In that sense, whatever teaching services the church offers in respect of prostitution will not achieve the desired result, since in that sense the church will be answering questions that the adherents (in this case the prostitutes) are not asking.

Added to this point is the fact that the life style of the leadership of some of the religious groups is not exemplary. Therefore, it does not motivate the followers to also behave in ways that are decent and in accord with the word of God. For example, the media landscape in Ghana has recently been

awash with reports of pastors sexually misconducting themselves, including Bishops of churches cohabiting with the wives of their junior colleagues. Young women have also fallen prey to the sexual misdeeds of pastors that they thought were paragons of virtue and under whose wings they could find protection. When this happens, the women get the impression that after all they are not obliged to obey the law if the ones preaching about the laws are the most vigorous in their violation.

The prevalence of prostitution certainly poses an ethical dilemma. Ethics teaches that there are three categories of acts: the good, the bad and the indifferent. Prostitution is classified as a bad act. But how do we deal with it? Often times the police organise swoops to arrest prostitutes, especially in Accra. They are sent to jail for a few months and are released. No sooner are they released than they get back onto the streets. Rather, the answer lies in not arresting them and setting them free after a while, but perhaps taking the opportunity to counsel them and help them set up businesses that will allow for them to earn a living. This way, they may not go back to the streets. That is, if we are to take the excuse that they are engaged in prostitution for purely economic reasons.

In 2005, the former Vice President of Ghana, Alhaji Aliu Mahama launched a campaign against indiscipline. This was in recognition of the fact that our society is ethically degenerated. Unfortunately, Alhaji Mahama himself could not carry through his campaign and to make it a national and enduring project which could have in a sustainable manner help resolve some of the moral problems that we face, including prostitution. Thus, when a society looks on helplessly at little transgressions, these seemingly little

transgressions lead, in the end, to major ones like prostitution. Thus, we should in addition to reaching out to the citizens in the areas of indiscipline, add the area of prostitution, so that the prostitutes will also feel wanted by the society.

The feeling of belongingness that we show to prostitutes will go a long way to help them adjust to the normal conditions of life. But, if we treat them as if they do not matter, there is the tendency for them to feel that the society has neglected them and that they are on their own. Therefore, the implication of society labelling certain acts as perversions and shunning those who engage in them is that the moral perversion continues to endure. The way to tackle this is to gloss over the ethical divisions of good and bad and condemn the bad, to adopting Jesus' attitude that he came for the sinners rather than the righteous. Thus, positive engagement with prostitutes would help to wean them out of their trade.

CHAPTER FIVE

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter discusses the data collected from the field. The study focused on prostitution and its ethical impact on some selected places in Ghana. The data analysis covered the respondents' demographic data and the research questions formulated to guide the study.

Personal data of respondents

Table 1 presents information on the age and level of education of respondents. It is observed from the table that out of the 50 respondents, the majority, 32 (64%), have Senior High School education (Certificates). Again, out of the 40 respondents who are in the 18-27 year category, 25 (62.5%) of them hold Senior High School Certificates, 8 (20%) have Basic Education Certificates, while only 7 (17.5%) of them have degrees. It is thus, observed that the youth especially those in Senior High School have a higher tendency to going into commercial sex work.

Table 1: Age versus respondents' level of education

Age	No formal	BECE	SSSCE	Degree/Dip	Total
Under 18 yrs	0	0	1	0	1
18 - 27 yrs	0	8	25	7	40
28 - 37	1	1	3	0	5
38 and above	1	0	3	0	4
Total	2	9	31	8	50

Source: Field work, 2009.

Table 2 presents information on age and marital status of respondents. It is observed from the table that the majority of the respondents is not in any marital obligation. Out of the 50 respondents, the majority, 37 (74.0%) have never married. Again, out of the 37 never married respondents, 28 (75.7%) are in the 18-27 years category. Furthermore, out of the 13 respondents who said they are divorced, an overwhelming majority (92.3%) are in the 18-27 years category. The impression one gets from this observation is that while the majority of the youth who go into prostitution are not interested in marriage, those who ever got married have opted out, probably because commercial sex work is not congruent with their marital obligation.

Table 2: Age versus marital status of respondents

Age	Married	Single	Total
Under 18 yrs	1	0	1
18 - 27 yrs	28	12	40
28 - 37	4	1	5
38 and above	4	0	4
Total	37	13	50

Source: Field work, 2009.

Table 3 presents information on the religious orientation and regularity/frequency of attendance. It is observed from the table that respondents frequently attended religious services/activities. This is because of the 45 respondents who said they often attended religious activities, more than half (28.8%) very often attended religious activities, and 11 (24.4%) said they fairly often attended religious activities, only a handful of 3 (6.7%) said they

did not often attend religious activities. Similarly, all 3 respondents who said they were Muslims also said they often attend religious activities.

Table 3: Religious orientation versus frequency of attendance

Religions	Very Often	Often	Fairly often	Not often	Total
Christianity	13	18	11	3	45
Islam	0	3	0	0	3
Others	0	1	1	0	2
Total	13	22	12	3	50

Source: Field work, 2009.

Table 4 summarizes information on religious orientation of respondents and their attitude towards extra-marital sex. Surprisingly, out of the 45 Christians, 22 (48.8%) said they had a positive attitude towards extra-marital sex, while 17 (37.8%) said they had a negative attitude towards extra-marital sex. However, 2 (66.7%) of the 3 Muslims were indifferent to extra-marital sex, while 1 (33.3%) said she had a positive attitude towards extra-marital sex. It is observed here that notwithstanding their religious values, majority of them engage in sex with people who are married. This is because they saw nothing wrong with it.

Table 4: Religious orientation versus attitude towards extra-marital Sex

Religions	Positive	Negative	Indifferent	Total
Christianity	22	17	6	45
Islam	1	0	2	3
Others	1	1	0	2
Total	24	18	8	50

Source: Field work, 2009.

Reasons for being in prostitution

Table 5 presents the views of respondents on the quick gains/income made from commercial sex work versus their tendency to quit if they had other job opportunities.

Table 5: Commercial sex work brings quick income versus tendency to quit if given other job opportunities.

Tendency to quit	Agree	Fairly agree	Disagree	Total
Lucrative	13	5	12	30
Not lucrative	4	0	1	5
Undecided	9	2	4	15
Total	26	7	17	50

Source: Field work, 2009.

It is observed from Table 5 that on the whole, 30 (60%) of the respondents agreed that the job is lucrative, 15 (30%) said it is not lucrative and only 5 (10%) said it is fairly lucrative. Again, 26 (52.0%) of the 50 respondents had tendency to quit, 17 (34.0%) did not want to quit while only a few, 7 (14%) were undecided.

Out of the 30 respondents who said the job is lucrative, 13 (43.3%) were willing to quit if they had other job opportunities which is equally fetching, while 12 (40.0%) said they did not want to quit. Only 5 (16.7%) were undecided.

It is thus observed that although the majority (43.3%) of those who said the job is lucrative were likely to quit if they had alternative jobs, a substantial proportion (40.0%) still wanted to remain in commercial sex work.

Table 6 gives a summary of views of respondents regarding the economic returns from commercial sex versus their tendency to quit if they had other alternatives.

Table 6: Economic returns from prostitution versus tendency to quit if given other job alternatives

Returns	Agree	Fairly agree	Disagree	Total
Agree	22	2	10	34
Fairly Agree	3	3	3	9
Disagree	1	2	4	7
Total	26	7	17	50

Source: Fieldwork, 2009.

From table 6, it is observed that on the whole, 34 (68.0%) respondents said that they engaged in commercial sex work for the economic returns it brings. Again, 9 (18.0%) said they fairly thought so, while 7 (14.0%) said they were not in commercial sex work for the economic returns.

Again, 26 (52.0%) said they had tendency to quit if they had other job opportunities compared to 17 (34.0%) who said they were not willing to quit even if they had alternative jobs.

Out of the 34 respondents who said they were in commercial sex work for the economic rewards it brings, 22 (64.7%) said they were willing to quit, 10 (29.4%) said they were not willing to quit and only a 5.8% said they were not sure. It is thus observed that while economic conditions usually drag people into commercial sex work, the majority are willing to quit commercial sex work once they have other job opportunities.

Technology and prostitution

Table 7 gives a summary of respondents' age, their level of awareness of commercial sex work on the internet and its influence on commercial sex work in Ghana.

Table 7: Age and knowledge of commercial sex on the internet and its influence on commercial sex work in Ghana

Age	Commercial sex	Influer	nce of	internet
	workers with internet	on c	ommerci	al sex
	knowledge	work in Ghana		
		Yes	N/A	Total
Under 18 yrs	Yes	1	0	1
18 – 27 yrs	Yes	35	0	35
	No	0	6	6
28 – 37 yrs	Yes	4	0	4
38 yrs and above	Yes	4	0	4
Total		44	6	50

Source: Fieldwork, 2009.

As depicted in Table 7, out of the 50 respondents, the majority (88.0%) said they knew about commercial sex work on the internet, while just a few (12.0%) said they did not know the internet and its influence on sex issues.

Out of the 44 respondents who knew about commercial sex work on the internet, a large majority of 35 (79.5%) are in the 18-27 years age group, 9.0% are in the 28-37 years and 38 and above age groups respectively, with only 2.3% falling in the under 18 years age group.

Again, all respondents who knew of commercial sex work on the internet believed that the internet has influenced commercial sex work in Ghana. What is observed here is the fact that the youth (18 – 27 yrs) who have unrestricted access to the internet have a fair knowledge about commercial sex work. This might have influenced their indulgence in the commercial sex activities to a very large extent.

Those who said they would not quit added that they were now autonomous as they did not depend on any family members for their basic needs. They were able to provide the basic needs of their children and even remit some family members sometimes. Few said they owned their own houses, and were into other businesses of which the seed money came through their sex trade.

Challenges faced by prostitutes

Table 8 presents information on respondents' degree of religiosity and their perception of discrimination because of their occupations.

From Table 8, it is observed that out of the 50 respondents, 38 (76.0%) felt discriminated although about 50% often attended religious services and other related activities.

Table 8: Religious orientation by frequency of attendance and Discrimination

Religious Orientation	Frequency of		Perceive	eived	
	Attendance	Di	Discrimination		
		Yes	No	Total	
Christianity	Very Often	10	3	13	
	Often	11	7	18	
	Fairly often	6	5	11	
	Not Often	3	0	3	
Islam	Often	3	0	3	
Others	Often	1	0	1	
	Fairly often	1	0	1	
Total		35	15	50	

Source: Fieldwork, 2009.

Only 15 (30%) did not perceive discrimination. This observation is surprising considering the fact that religious groups are supposed to draw these people closer and also counsel them about the dangers of their job and the need to seek alternatives.

Table 9 gives information on respondents' quest for clients to use condom and their perception of exposure to sexually transmitted diseases (STDs).

Table 9: Perceived exposure to STDs and advice to clients to use condoms

Advice to clients to use			
condoms			
Yes	No	Total	
21	3	24	
9	7	16	
10	0	10	
40	10	50	
	Yes 21 9 10	Yes No 21 3 9 7 10 0	

Fieldwork, 2009.

From Table 9, it is observed that the majority of respondents, 80% advised their clients to use condoms to protect them from STDs. In particular, out of the respondents, 24 (48.0%) felt exposed to STDs, 16 (32%) did not feel exposed to STDs. Out of the 24 respondents who felt exposed to STDs, 21 (87.5%) usually advised their clients to use condoms, while only 3 (12.5%) did not advise their clients to use condoms. For the 16 respondents who feel fairly exposed, 9 (56.3%) advised their clients to use condoms while 7 (43.7%) did not advise their clients to use condoms. Furthermore, all 10 respondents who did not feel exposed to STDs still advised their clients to use condoms.

It is thus observed that majority of the respondents practised their sex trade business by observing safer sex practices by advising their clients to use condom to protect themselves and their clients/costumers.

Table 10 presents information on the attacks suffered by respondents and tendency of physical assaults suffered from clients.

Table 10: Attacks suffered from clients versus frequency of physical assaults suffered.

Frequency of physical assault	Attacks from clients.		
	Yes	No	Total
Often	13	0	13
Fairly often	6	3	9
Not often	9	19	28
Total	28	22	50

Fieldwork 2009

From Table 10, it is observed that majority of the respondents, 28 (56.0%) have ever suffered some form of attack from a client, while 22 (44.0%) said they had not suffered any attack from clients. Out of the 28 respondents who have suffered attacks from clients, 13 (46.4%) said they often received physical assault from clients, 6 (21.4%) said they fairly often received attacks from clients, while 9 (32.1%) said they did not often receive physical assault from their clients. It is observed, therefore, that while the majority of the respondents had come under some form of attack, majority of these attacks had been associated with physical assaults. This observation gives the impression that notwithstanding any economic gains made from commercial sex work, the lives of the workers are usually threatened since they most frequently come under attacks, with some being very physical.

Views of religious leaders on prostitution

The research in an attempt to ascertain some stakeholders' views on the subject of prostitution, interviewed some selected religious leaders from the three major religions practiced in Ghana. These were the Traditional Religion, (Bosomfo] Nana Kofi Sekyere, priest in charge of Kukru shrine at Nkyeraa in Brong Ahafo region), Islam (Sheikh Husein Rashid, an Islamic cleric, marriage counsellor and ethicist) and Bishop Akwasi Sarpong (A Catholic priest, educationist, Anthropologist, counsellor), who had in depth knowledge on the topic under discussion; they were as well counsellors in the field of sex and marriage life.

Their responses to the questions posed to them were almost the same. For instance, when asked why people involved themselves in prostitution; they all said because of money and the craving for it. However, Nana Kofi Sekyere, the traditionalist said that 'it is sheer lust' and added that it is also as a result of care free parents! He further argued that 'some of these prostitutes have what it takes to make a good living by their parents' wealth, yet they engaged in this sex business', it is nothing but lust. That is why many youth of today engaged in multiple sexual relationships' (Personal communication, 2008).

When they were asked the role technology and condom use plays in prostituting; the religious leaders had mixed views. The clergy and the traditional priest were quick to say, 'it is the exposure of the youth to everything on television that has pushed many people into the sex business'. The Islamic leader decried emotionally that it is 'curiosity! 'I bet you, curiosity, and the youth especially, the students sit and browse the net including pornographic sites. They watch and practise as well'. The Islamic

ethicist, however, said in Islam they accept contraceptives, and argued on Ouran 4:29 and added that contraceptive requires the consent of the wife. The Catholic clergy also reiterated that 'upon their advance knowledge in technology, some of these prostitutes get pregnant and abort, others also are infected with HIV. The films and music the youth watch and listen to on the mass media are also contributing to the upsurge of prostitution'. The Catholic priest added that it is because of these issues on sex that is why they do not accept the idea of education on condom use as the prostitutes used condom as a measure for protection. Meanwhile they do not use it 'consistently and correctly, hence the case of HIV/AIDS over the world'. The traditionalist said that the people of today don't understand the chemistry of sex, other than that they will not use condom as it is a barrier to real sex and seriously counter reincarnation. He quickly added that, though traditionalists don't project the use of contraceptive in any form, they do not spare those who practise abortion, he concluded "my brother Bokyerewa Kwaku (Bosomfoo of a shrine at Techiman) would instantly kill you" (Personal communication, 2008). The Islamic cleric said technology helped subdue the cases of HIV/AIDS as condom use has prevented the spread of STDs such as HIV/AIDS. Many people would have entered into commercial sex as it is one of the easiest ways to get money, especially by women, and quickly added that "that is why some lazy men are in it" (Personal communication, 2008). They watch and also practice sex with children, animals, dead bodies, and in recent times; some people also practise oral sex. Others who cannot afford the services of the prostitutes watch others having sex or expose their bodies to others for sexual satisfaction. One last comment almost all of made was that they thought technology or education has both positive and negative influences on Africans, especially Ghanaians, since they tend to accept anything foreign, hook, line and sinker. This to the stakeholders, are contributing to more people going into the sex business.

In conclusion, it can be seen from the views expressed by the interviewees that most of them have in-depth knowledge on cybersex, and condom use. To these stakeholders, economic factors that sustain the commercial sex workers are that they are able to especially the women depend, on themselves to survive even if they are single parents. Again, they are able to educate and provide the health needs of their dependants. Sheikh Husein mentioned that some of these commercial sex workers owned houses and some are into big time businesses with proceeds from their sex business. Others also get husbands though such relationships are not able to withstand the test of time sometimes.

When asked of the religious life of commercial sex workers, Bishop Akwasi Sarpong indicated that, "it is killing their output spiritually". The bishop added, "these days, it is not easy to suspend members who sidestep from the dogma and doctrine of their religion because most of the people even the clergy are also misconducting themselves sexually" (Personal communication, 2008). For instance, there are cases in Ghana and outside involving the clergy and other dignified personalities involved in different forms of sexual misconduct. One traditionalist added that if the gods would want to punish people on sex matters, it is mostly those who abort babies. Nana Kofi Sekyere said 'we sometimes listen to their request on their sex business and bless them with good *business*, and they also *thank* us always'

(Personal communication, 2008). Bishop Akwasi Sarpong added that the church, societal laws, institutions and government should collaborate to initiate a policy to combat prostitution as it is depopulating human society through HIV/AIDS. (Personal communication,)

Prostitution poses some challenges to religion. For example sanctioning people such as commercial sex workers who are members of their religious sects could be difficult as they cannot be easily identified. Again, disciplining such people also deter others from joining the church. The Catholic interviewee said religion is about salvation and so "the sinner should not be driven away but rather be drawn towards God". The clergy said "it is because of this that he does not believe in excommunication and suspension in religious set-ups; Christ specifically came to rescue all sinners" (Personal communication, 2008). One of the Islamic leaders added that "this is one reason why we Muslims sometimes recommend betrothal and early age marriage". To him if a girl is given to marriage at an early stage, she may be avoiding prostitution.

In conclusion, it is deduced from the interview responses that though the clergy are not happy with prostitution as a business, they would not cast them out entirely. When the researcher asked Bosomfoo Sekyere on banishment, the answer was "it is debatable". It was also realised from the responses that the traditional leaders are a bit liberal on sexual matters than their colleagues in other religions. Due to differences in doctrines and dogma, the Catholic views, especially on condom matters, differed from other denominations. The clergy concluded that commercial sex is a nuisance in the Ghanaian society; their fear was the future, they lamented young children's

involvement in the sex trade and the fear of HIV/AIDs. 'Society should be aware that sex business is attracting young females'. Sheikh Husein reiterated and his example was the *Soldier bar case in Kwame Nkrumah Circle* in Accra. (Personal communication, 2008).

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

It has been established in this research that prostitution as a phenomenon, which appears to be gaining grounds in every stage of human history and development, is basically a societal problem rather than religious. And that various reasons such as economic, poverty, financial and psychological reasons could compel an individual within the Ghanaian society to engage in prostitution. Ethically, whilst some sociologists, ethicists and philosophers condemn this old institution, others seem to hold a relativistic point of view, arguing that what may be good for one, may be bad for the other.

Chapter Two demonstrates that prostitution gains ground with the advancement in technology and urbanisation, which naturally lead to the breakdown of the extended family system. With the establishment of industries, more hands are kept out of work and so, an increase in unemployment, limited white collar jobs, and the high cost of living, naturally forces some people into commercial sex industry. Generally, an environment of poverty serves as a fertile ground for prostitution. Confronted with poverty and human rights, some governments are compelled to legalise prostitution in order to give it a human face. Some governments in some countries have

legalised it, but Ghana has always dragged its feet when the issue comes up for debate. It is, however, clear that a scholar like Busia (1950) saw prostitution as a hangover of colonialism. It is, therefore, clear that prior to colonialism, very few people who practised prostitution in the Gold Coast feared to identify themselves as such publicly. Hence, as society advances in terms of technology and science, prostitution is bound to undergo certain technological transformation.

Chapter three situates prostitution within the framework of modern technology, while looking back to the pre-technological epoch. Though scientific technology has done well to advance man's material development or welfare in so many respects, that development cannot be said to be positive holistically in the commercial sex industry. Issues like phone sex, cybersex and other forms of sex are learnt. Condom as protective mechanism, its correct use, and right way of fixing it by both men and women can be accessed on websites. Though condom can be used to prevent the transmission of STDs and pregnancy, it cannot be said to be 100% efficient. In sum, technology has both sides of the coin, it behoves on the society to discern when applying it in life.

Chapter four embodies interviews and questionnaires which the researcher administered on some religious leaders, and some prostitutes. Their views on sex trade business were solicited. 50 prostitutes and 3 religious leaders were interviewed. The interviewees were selected from various cities of Ghana because mostly, sex trade is common in such urban places whose clients are many with ready market and more importantly, the sex worker is not easily identified unlike in small communities. The cities include: Accra,

(Cantonments-post office area), Sunyani, (silver spot-area 3), Tamale, (Picorna hotel), Takoradi, (Zenith hotel area) and Cape Coast, (Haciender blue Cheese). Interview questions were based on the objectives set for this project. The religious leaders were from the 3 major religions practiced in Ghana-Traditional Religion, Islam, and Christianity. Their selection was based on their fore knowledge and interest on the subject matter.

Chapter five considered the findings, analyses and interpretation of the findings from the field work. The chapter of the work looked at the overview of the thesis based on the objectives set for the work.

The researcher interviewed 50 prostitutes, most of whom were within the age bracket of 18-27. Majority were religious. Most of them were either single or were separated from their spouses. Most of the interviewees have secondary education (64%) 32 and beyond.

The sixth chapter, which is the last chapter, looked at the summary, conclusions and the recommendations based on the researcher's experience from the literature reviewed, the responses from the questionnaire by the sex workers, the interview section with the stakeholders and also the researcher's observation of some prostitutes who live close to her house.

Conclusions

Based on the findings of the study, the following conclusions have been drawn. The larger society, including the stake holders should be educated on the basics, namely what pushes people into the prostitution businessnamely social, biological and economic factors, challenges prostitutes face in life and thereafter. If society is educated on some of these factors, people would have a different and positive picture of the commercial sex worker. Prostitutes would also be able to socialise well with the public for them to fit well into the main society.

Awareness creation is also important in the business of sex. Some people do not know people sell sex. People do not know the different groups of people prostitutes serve. If society is not aware of the economic importance of the sex worker, the larger society would continue to look down upon them, religious bodies would continue to condemn them, and law enforcement agencies would as well raid and arrest them without their clients. Awareness on STIs/STDs and their impact on health, especially on the reproductive organs should be made. The society should be made aware of types of condom, and correct and consistent use of condom should be their priority. The awareness creation would also combat discrimination among others. Society would also know that some young children (ages 12-15) are also in the sex business at the expense of their health, education and future life.

The data point to the fact that majority of the prostitutes would quit the sex trade once they have other equally lucrative jobs. This calls for more job opportunities and Ministry of Works and Housing and the Ministry of Youth and Employment should also increase their work force.

However, given the fact that a substantial number of the respondents said they would continue with their trade in sex even if they were given other job opportunities, there is the need to reconsider decriminalising the sex trade. Organisations such as FIDA (International Federation of Women Lawyers), FAWE (Forum for African Women Educationists), and other such human rights advocates in Ghana could engage in lobbying and advocacy for

parliament to pass bills to legitimise prostitution. In this direction, the health concerns could be addressed.

From the study, the researcher realised painstakingly that prostitution, like any social phenomenon can be addressed through certain rational measures such as the legalisation of the practice. This is so because HIV/AIDS, despite all the preventive measures still lingers in our society and even spreads faster in some communities. Thus, legal codes should be enacted in order to rationalise prostitution instead of outlawing it. Our societal and religious norms such as Dipo, Bragoro and female genital mutilation (FGM) in certain communities in Ghana are instituted to curb early and sexual misconducts and also curb prostitution, yet the problem still persists. This is an indication that this old age phenomenon or prostitution has come to stay with us. It constitutes one of our societal problems, which should be accepted as such. But accepting its ontology in our world does not amount to justifying it. The researcher, therefore, sides with the legalists that the acceptance of prostitution in the Ghanaian society should fundamentally rest on the formulation of some rules in order to institutionalise it. Done this way, the researcher is of the conviction that its legalisation would not only give employment to the prostitute and brothel managers, but will also help sanitise prostitution as an institution. Unemployment and interdependency ratio reduces, women gain autonomy and acquire properties/wealth.

More so, the legalisation of prostitution presupposes that many, if not all prostitutes in the country would be educated especially on the ethics of their profession considering the impact of condom use and STDs so as to disabuse people's conception about the profession. This way, the rights of

prostitutes could then be guaranteed by our law enforcement agents so that no prostitute suffers unjust treatment. More so, they can have official access to a website on their trade where sex education can be given. Their knowledge on cybersex, STIs/STDs, condom and its importance, can also positively cause a behavioural change, and skills in their delivery. Others can also learn through films and magazines.

Since more effective and efficient awareness would be created about condom use, it is envisaged that most sexually transmitted diseases especially, the deadly HIV/AIDS would be curtailed. This is a truism because in the course of the research, the researcher realised that prostitutes all over discharge their services based highly on the price but little consideration on the health risk issues. In other words, clients with huge sums of money can make a choice between condom use and no condom use by bargaining. In most cases, clients fail to use condom, and this exposes prostitutes to higher risk of contracting sexually transmitted diseases and unwanted pregnancies.

Besides, prostitution in Ghana has no age limit. We see children as young as twelve or thirteen years indulging in it. Again, the legalisation of prostitution would go a long way towards specifying the recommended age in which one can decide to join the profession. This will go a long way to prevent children under age from being 'recruited' into prostitution in Ghana.

Ethically, the problem of discrimination and stigma associated with sex trade would all be a thing of the past. Legalising sex trade would also foster good relationship between prostitutes and the society as their sex business would also be on same scale as any other private business. Members of the community who are physically challenged, unattractive and the poor can also

get sexual gratification from the sex worker, who does not attach emotion and love in giving out sex.

Again, legalising prostitution or commercial sex instead of outlawing it will go a long way to protect the fundamental rights and liberties of prostitutes. The issue is that, in our part of the world, prostitutes are seen to be social misfits or miscreants by some institutions and so do not qualify to be treated with the same privileges, rights and liberties as others who are not into prostitution. Awareness of it would not only establish the fundamental rights, privileges and liberties of prostitutes to operate freely, but it would prevent prostitutes all over the country from operating under the cover of darkness. However, if we agree that commercial sex work is a business like any other business in Ghana, then we must logically agree that they are made to pay tax. But currently, they do not pay any form of tax to the state. Thus, the legalisation of prostitution at least in the conviction of this researcher will go a long way towards honouring their financial obligation to the state. The question on exploitation and abuse by some pimps and madams (physical and psychological) traumatise them and are the major challenges the sex worker faces in her service delivery.

After weighing the advantages vis-à-vis the elements associated with the ways of combating sex trade from the Ghanaian society, the researcher is of the strong belief that culture is always 'moving forward', or progressing from primitive to a more civilized form, with all its negative incidents. Prostitution therefore seems to be a negative element of progression of culture. Since all attempts made in the past and present to discourage it, in order to eliminate its practice in Ghana seem not to be positive, it appears that it has

come to stay. Hence, instead of criminalising the business, where people hide behind doors, it is reasonable to legalise it so that it acquires a technological and modernised form, with all its attendant merits already delineated above.

Recommendations

These are the recommendations by the researcher.

- The prostitutes should be educated on correct and consistent use of condoms to prevent STIs/STDs.
- 2. The researcher recommends that prostitution should be legalised. Its legalisation would lead to the streamlining of the sex trade. The commercial sex workers could also be made to pay taxes to the state.
- 3. The Ghana AIDS Commission, Planned Parenthood Association of Ghana (PPAG), Department of Social Welfare, and the Ministry of Women and Children Affairs should work closely with the sex workers to educate them on issues of safe sex.
- 4. Human rights groups/activists should lobby in parliament to pass legislations to regulate the sex trade in Ghana.

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APPENDIX A

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

DEPARTMENT OF RELIGION AND HUMAN VALUES

PROSTITUTION, IT'S RELIGIOUS AND ETHICAL IMPLICATION. A

CASE STUDY OF SELECTED PLACES IN GHANA

INTRODUCTION

Confidentiality statement: The information you provide on this form will be kept strictly confidential. Respondents should neither write their names nor any identity. Also, respondents should be aware that by honestly and candidly completing this form, they would be providing this university with valuable feedback information of self-assessment and academic progression.

Instructions: Note the meaning of the following responses.

Strongly Agree: You strongly agree with the statement as it applies to the question posed.

Agree: You agree more than you disagree with the statement as it applies to the question posed.

Fairly Agree: You somehow agree with the statement as it applies to the question posed.

Disagree: You disagree more than you agree with the statement as posed.

Strongly Disagree: You strongly disagree with the statement as it applies to the question posed. (Please fill in the following as applicable).

A. Background Information

1.	Age:	Under 18yrs	[]	18-27 []	28-37 []
	38-47	[] 48 or o	lder [1	

2. Religious orientation

	Other (Please specify):
3.	Highest level of education
	No formal education [] Basic Education Certificate []
	Senior High School Certificate [] Bachelor's Degree []
	Graduate Degree [] Other (specify):
4.	How often do you attend religious activities/meetings?
	Very Often [] Fairly Often []
	Not Often [] Practically Never []
5.	Marital Status: Single (Never Married) []
	Married [] Divorced [] Separated []
6.	If married, what does your spouse do?
7.	Does your spouse know about your business?
	Yes [] No []
B. REAS	SONS WHY PEOPLE ENTER INTO PROSTITUTION
I	. Social Factors
8.	I was drawn into prostitution by a relative/friend
	Strongly Agree [] Agree [] Fairly Agree []
	Disagree [] Strongly Disagree []
9.	I joined this business because I was rejected by my family.
	Strongly Agree [] Agree [] Fairly Agree []
	Disagree [] Strongly Disagree []

Christianity [] Islam [] Traditionalist []

II. Economic Factors

10. I am in this job because I am unemployed.
Strongly Agree [] Agree [] Fairly Agree []
Disagree [] Strongly Disagree []
11. I am in this business because of the economic returns it brings.
Strongly Agree [] Agree [] Fairly Agree []
Disagree [] Strongly Disagree []
12. This business is the only quick way for making good income.
Strongly Agree [] Agree [] Fairly Agree []
Disagree [] Strongly Disagree []
C. TECHNOLOGY AND CONDOM USE IN OF PROSTITUTION
13. Do you know about commercial sex work on the internet?
Yes [] No []
14. Do you agree that the three major religions commonly practised in
Ghana seem to frown on the use of contraceptives such as condom
and others somehow? Yes [] No []
15. To what extent do you agree with the view that the internet has any
influence on commercial sex work in Ghana?
Strongly Agree [] Agree [] Fairly Agree []
Disagree [] Strongly Disagree []
16. Technology has contributed to increase prostitution in Ghana.
Strongly Agree [] Agree [] Fairly Agree []
Disagree [] Strongly Disagree []

17. Do you take drugs (including alcohor) to enhance your
performance?
Yes [] No []
18. If yes, do you spend so much on drugs?
Yes [] No []
19. Prostitution has reduced unemployment in Ghana?
Strongly Agree [] Agree [] Fairly Agree []
Disagree [] Strongly Disagree []
20. Are you able to afford good medical care? Yes [] No []
21. Are you able to afford nutritious food for your family?
Yes [] No []
22. Are you able to cater for the educational needs of your children?
Yes [] No []
23. Have you acquired property/assets? Yes [] No []
24. Have you gained autonomy? Yes [] No []
25. ETHICAL AND MORAL CONSIDERATIONS ON
PRACTITIONERS
26. What is your perception of extra-marital sex?
Positive [] Negative [] Don't Know []
27. What is your opinion on pre-marital sex?
Positive [] Negative [] Don't Know []
28. Do you feel discriminated because of your work?
Yes [] No []
29. If yes, to what extent does it affect you psychologically?
Very large extent [] Large extent [] Fairly large extent []

Not large enough [] Not at all []
30. If yes, which people discriminate against you?
Friends [] Family [] Community []
All of the above [] None of the above []
31. Will the stigma attached to your work cause you to stop in the
immediate future? Yes [] No []
32. CHALLENGES PROSTITUTES FACE IN THEIR
BUSINESS
33. Do you advise your clients to use condoms?
Yes [] No []
34. How often do your clients insist on unprotected sex?
Very Often [] Often [] Fairly Often []
Not Often [] Practically Never []
35. How regular do you see a doctor on your health status?
Very regularly [] Regularly [] Sometimes []
Not regularly [] Practically Never []
36. How exposed are you to sexually transmitted diseases? Example
HIV/AIDS, Gonorrhoea and others?
Very exposed [] Exposed [] Fairly Exposed []
Not so Exposed [] Practically Never Exposed []
37. Do you agree with the view that commercial sex work greatly
influences the spread of HIV/AIDS?
Strongly Agree [] Agree [] Fairly Agree []
Disagree [] Strongly Disagree []
38. Do you come under attack from your clients?

Yes [] No []
39. How often do you receive physical assault from your clients?
Very Often [] Often [] Fairly Often []
Not Often [] Practically Never []
40. Do some of your clients default payment?
Yes [] No []
41. Do you have a medium of addressing such default issues?
Yes [] No []

APPENDIX B

DEPARTMENT OF RELIGION AND HUMAN VALUES UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR THE THESIS TOPIC PROSTITUTION, ITS RELIGIOUS AND ETHICAL IMPLICATIONS.

A CASE STUDY IN SOME SELECTED PARTS OF GHANA

1.	In your view, what are the reasons why people are engaged in
	prostitution?
2.	In your view, what is the role of technology and condom use in
	prostitution?
3.	What are the economic factors that have sustained commercial sex
	work in Ghana?
4.	What is the stake of your religion on commercial sex work?
5.	What are the challenges of prostitution to your religion?