

Toxic Masculinities in Virginia Phiri's *Desperate* (2002) and *Highway Queen* (2010)

Tendai M. L. Njanji

Email address: njanjitml@msu.ac.zw; makaita49@gmail.com

&

Elda Hungwe

Email address: hungwee@msu.ac.zw; hungwee@gmail.com

Abstract

The article critiques the roles of men in prostitution and their attitude towards it. The article posits that it is not only the women who are involved in prostitution but that it takes two to prostitute. Through interrogating Phiri's *Desperate* (2002) and *Highway Queen* (2010), when analysing the male roles and attitudes as well as the way they conduct themselves when they buy sex. Prostitution has become a thorny issue which in most circles is seen as a female domain where the term prostitute is usually loosely used to refer to females who sell sex. The question we pose, however, is that, how can women alone be labelled 'prostitutes' if there is no one they are prostituting themselves to? Thus the article seeks to examine and evaluate the roles of men in perpetuating prostitution as revealed by Phiri (2002;2010). That is, it examines how men create situations that force women into prostitution as well as their attitudes and actions in the process of prostitution. The Hegemonic Masculinity theory will inform our research.

Key Words: Prostitution, Masculinity, Commercial/Transactional Sex, Carelessness

Introduction

Until recently prostitution was viewed primarily as an offence committed by women with little attention being paid to the consumers of prostitution services. The article is located in the context of political, social and economic experiences in the post-colonial Zimbabwe in the period between 2000-2008. We argue that by exposing male supremacy

in transactional sex, prostitution will be seen as the devil that it really is, the exploitation of women forced by circumstances created by men themselves.

The paper seeks to expose the fact that the participation of men in prostitution is overshadowed by women's gendered disposition in society. Multiple forces such as economic downturn, cultural institutions, rampant state power, poverty, capitalism and patriarchy work together to form a formidable force causing pain, disease and trauma to women through male actions-of taking advantage of the situation and abusing women.

This article argues that there is an inadequate examination, from a literary perspective (especially in Africa and Zimbabwe in particular) of the part played by men in causing or perpetuating prostitution. Driver and Samuelson (2004:182) call these "neurotic disorders of the population and metaphysical fractures of the nation" and say that they merit deliberate examination. Thus the article seeks to put these 'neurotic disorders' of men in prostitution under critical scrutiny through examining male attitudes and actions in the rampant yet misunderstood aspect of prostitution.

The article will adopt Sontag's (1989) departure from the use of punitive metaphor and mystified language in reference to female prostitution and prefer men as fellow participants who are even more toxic than the female because of the vile behaviours they display. Each text analysed in this article has different accounts of men's behaviour in prostitution, which, when put together constitute a coherent unit.

Review of literature

Scholarship on male attitudes and actions towards prostitution in the USA is on the rise with notable works by Kennedy, Klein, Gorzaka and Yulle (2004), Monto (2000), Agnich(2007). Perkins (1991) estimates that only one percent of all research on prostitution has addressed men who buy sex. Some have speculated that men's purchase of sex is assumed by many researchers to be normal and therefore not worthy of investigation (Ben-Israel and Leven Kron, 2005). We however, see it worthy to research on male roles and behaviours in prostitution as these impact negatively on the prostituted woman. If many researchers adopt this stance, civil rights groups and governments would feel compelled to ban prostitution and proffer alternatives to economically and socially disadvantaged women. We intend to probe into men's behaviour that results into prostitution and how women become the labelled and unfortunate victims in society.

Monto (2000) contends that the last two decades have seen a considerable shift from viewing the prostituted woman as the sole transgressor in the transaction- the consumers of sexual services also play a significant role as will be revealed by this article which is an attempt to address the consumers' behaviour and aims at changing consumers' attitudes towards prostitution through revelation of the realities of the commercial sex industry as articulated by Phiri (2002) and (2010). A survey in Scotland by Farley, Mcleod and Anderson (2011) has a number of men emphasizing the pleasure in asserting their dominance over women in prostitution with some asserting that prostitution is exciting to the extent that one knows that one has got control. The use of money in prostitution becomes a key aspect that relinquishes power to men over the vulnerable women. The female body is commodified and commercialised by men thereby reducing the value of women's bodies in the process.

Works on prostitution in Zimbabwe

Ngoshi and Zhou (2010) look at Phiri's (2001) portrayal of women victims' transcendence of the victimhood, that is, how women find ways to survive the painful traumatic situation they are made to go through by males. Thus they focus on women's feelings as they are brutalised by men. This article, however, analyses the brutality by men, what it is that goes on in the men's minds and attitudes to make them behave as they do, what causes them to behave in that way.

Using Norridges' (2005) stance, Ngoshi and Zhou(2010) manage to reveal that the lives of women prostitutes in Phiri (2002) are a struggle and this becomes a central paradigm of the problematic discourses of Zimbabwean women as captured in its literature that is, the exploitation of the female body by the men. They (Ngoshi and Zhou), however, do not get into deep analysis of the male behaviours but look at their effects on the female victims. Our research will however go a step further when we reveal the trouble causers, in this instance, the men and their toxic behaviours towards women who sell sex for survival.

Theorising Male Attitudes and Behaviours in Prostitution

The theory which shall inform this study is the hegemonic masculinities. Masculinity is referred to as a consideration of power structures and mens' relationship to women in social and cultural discourse. Phiri (2002) and (2010) are good displays of such power

plays as the economically emancipated men take advantage of the impoverished women and brutalise them in varying degrees. These power differences between men and women make masculinity more complicated and hegemonic. This theory has been seen fit for this article because showing one's manhood through sexual encounters has been theorised as an important aspect of masculinity (Gilmore(1990) Gutmann(1997)Cavender(1999).

Leach (2011) argues that like femininity, masculinity operates politically at different levels. At one level it is a form of identity, a means of self understanding that structures personal attitudes and behaviours at another distinct but related level. As such masculinity becomes a cultural ideology which defines the appropriate role that a male must fulfil and in the process it becomes toxic as it spreads through socialisation in societies. This is evident in Phiri (2010) where the men take it as their right to impose themselves on women (for instance the men who rape Chido).

Although Leach (2011) views masculinity as a set of culturally and socially constructed behaviours and variables, he does argue that this state is not natural. Unlike the biological state of maleness, masculinity is a gender identity constructed socially, historically, economically and politically. It is the cultural interpretation of maleness, learnt through participation in society and its institutions as evidenced in *Desperate* (2010) through the institutions of polygamy, child marriages and the family institution at large. Current research suggests that masculinity is predicated on the individual's willingness to accept rules of behaviour- that is, to exhibit male qualities. Choi (2009:49) argues that" the decision to embrace masculinity has clear psychological ramifications for the individual"- as in the truck drivers' behaviour in *Highway Queen* (2010). Kersten (1993)Messerschmitt (1993) Anderson (1994) assert that toughness, dominance and the willingness to resort to violence to resolve interpersonal conflicts are central characteristics of masculine identity (Dhuri's behaviour in Phiri (2010).

Masculinity is a socially constructed set of meanings, values and practices that come together to form differing levels of behaviour that men work to project(Krienet ,2003) Pilcher and Weleham (2004) also define masculinity as a set of social practices and cultural representations associated with being a man. Men become privileged in societies that define and value these masculinities at the expense of the subordinated women. Masculinities in the African culture are understood as a form of power relations between men and women and sometimes amongst men themselves as analysed by Connel(1995) in his analysis of masculinities where he identified three types of masculinities which include hegemonic masculinities at the top, which is culturally dominant , ideal and centered on authority, physical toughness, strength, heterosexuality and paid work. From our analysis of the novels, we note these qualities reflected in the men involved in

prostitution fulfilling the hegemonic masculinity. According to Connel (1995) complicit masculinities follow the hegemonic masculinity and below it is the subordinated masculinity. Our major focus will be on the higher level of masculinity which is the hegemonic masculinity where many men try to be associated with this level. However what should be noted is the fact that masculinity is not a character trait neither is it an aspect of an individual, but should be understood as an ideology about what men should be like and this is developed by men and women in order to make sense of their lives, thus according to McInnes (1998). This then should be simply understood as a belief embedded in the minds of those whose lives are centered on masculinity hence this is made to seem as if it is natural, making men get away easily with the toxicity of such masculinities.

Critical analysis of the novels

Phiri's *Desperate*(2002) is made up of short stories on the lives of women of varying ages from teenagers to the middle aged who are driven into commercial sex work by various circumstances. What emerges, however, in the characters and attitudes of the men these women interact with is that there are four categories of men. Those who exercise their masculinity in a violent manner in the sexual encounters ,those who take what they pay for in a civilised manner, those who rape and take forcefully and those who are there to offer moral support to the abused women.

In *Desperate* (2002) the chapters are titled, each dealing with the story of one woman with several men in her life. The first is about Chido a teenage breadwinner whose professional name becomes Joyce. This ties in with Bromberg's (1997) categorisation of women prostitutes. Chido belongs to Bromberg's (1997) category of women who get into prostitution inadvertently because of situations they find themselves in such as, in Chido's case-orphanhood and poverty. The first man in Joyce's life is Joe who is enlisted by other commercial sex workers- Rose and Jessica to 'exercise' Joyce and prepare her for a life of prostitution. Joe exploits Joyce's body and pays her very little, it is like he is doing her a favour. An unnamed customer uses her and beats her up for asking for payment. She is traumatised when a white customer Alfonso dies in his sleep. She also becomes confused when another customer pays way too much-\$200. A married "dust man", James meets her once a month and pays her \$5 which suited his class. Joyce's beating by Mr Zuze for 'infecting' him with an *STD* is testimony to the fact that men who are involved in commercial sex work do not want to take responsibility for any consequences. It is always the women's fault, they do not pause to think of their own

role in the activities. This ties in with Spurrell's (2006) research in which one male comments that the distance one gets from exchanging cash for sex means that afterward one does not contemplate the impact on the prostitute.

The men also show their irresponsibility through refusal to use protection as evidenced by one of Joyce's (Chido) customers, Johannes who says "What do you think you are doing or trying to do? I am not a whiteman. These silly things are for white people" (2002:11) when she insisted that he should use a condom. Female prostitutes become vulnerable in these situations where they do not have control of their bodies.

Sihle the child bride also belongs to the category of women who are inadvertently forced into prostitution because of circumstances (Bromberg, 1997). Given away to a polygamist at the age of six, Sihle runs away and is pimped into prostitution by Mrs Joko "sometimes customers come for more than just a drink and roasted meat. They expect girls to take care of their special request. You will learn tricks from other girls as you go along" (Phiri 2002:60). Sihle's first experience is with the mine manager Mr S. "What followed was a nightmare. He started licking my body from head to toe like a python preparing its victim for swallowing I felt sharp pain and let out a cry but he did not stop" (p. 62) afterwards he says " just don't lie there go and wash yourself and go back to work ... take 50 dollars, that is for being a virgin. I normally pay \$25".

She is also brutalised by Joe (Mrs Joko's driver , p64) some just take it for free if they think one is a prostitute. This confirms the misconception that women get into prostitution because they want to do it and they are always ready and willing.

Another victim of circumstances is Rachel a seventeen year old 'O' level student raped by two men and ostracised by her family as she is already labelled a prostitute. "She is now like a prostitute two men, can you imagine" (p79). Rape is an act of violence perpetuated by men who violently force themselves on women victims. The family which is supposed to offer comfort is also infiltrated by patriarchal notions and bias towards women victims. Female victims find no comfort hence prostitution becomes the only scapegoat for their survival.

Nhamo the black and white girl is a product of rape- the brutal rape of her mother by a Rhodesian forces soldier in the 1970s. Brownmiller (1975) says that rape is a deliberate, hostile and violent act of degradation. Ironically Nhamo's first sexual encounter is also through force by an unknown man at a friend's flat (p.111).

She is raped by an off duty policeman (p116).He feels that since she is a prostitute she is free for all. Those who are supposed to protect become the aggressors.

Nhamo then has a nasty encounter with Robert ,” before I could ask what was going on Robert had become wild, pulling my dress up tearing my pants and performing the most violent sexual act I had ever experienced”(p124). She passes out for two weeks, she had been raped and stabbed.

The events that take place in the lives of the various women in Phiri (2002) are evident of the male brutality and lack of conscience when engaged in paid sex. Phiri has succeeded in revealing what may actually be just the tip of the iceberg on the realities of what the sellers of sex go through. The next section looks again at Phiri’s preoccupation-the plight of female prostitutes at the hands of the men who buy sex.

Male brutality and toxicity as revealed in Highway Queen (2010)

“When one has a job there is hope for a decent life such as having enough food, own a home, education for the children, health care and peace of mind. When that hope is taken away, one does not want to imagine” (*Highway Queen*2010:7).

The above statement provides the central theme of Phiri’s novels *Desperate* (2002) and *Highway Queen* (2010) – poverty that has pushed women (young and older) into prostitution. This study however, does not focus on the behaviour of the women, their attitudes and actions, but for a change on the behaviour, attitudes and actions of the men involved in commercial sex with these women.

In most cases whenever there is commercial sex work going on, it is the women who are labelled “commercial sex workers” yes because they are the ones getting paid but this research looks at the role played by the men in perpetuating commercial sex as well as their attitudes towards the women they encounter as depicted in these two novels by Phiri.

The events which unfold in Phiri’s *Highway Queen* (2010) in the life of one woman, Sophie, leave readers speechless as this woman’s escapades surpass understanding. Not many, however, pause to think of the real cause or pusher of this woman becoming a prostitute par excellence— the first man who takes advantage of her when she is trying to make an honest living for her husband, ailing mother- in-law, her children and herself – Dhuri the man who ‘rapes’ her (p19).

The men in this novel have an over-bearing attitude and believe they are the answer to women's problems as attested by Dhuri's words when, after inflating the prices of twelve dried fish and a bag of rice Sophie cannot pay. Dhuri says, "Just ten minutes with me will solve your problems" (p.18). Dhuri, having inflated the prices of the fish and rice, thus corners Sophie and on top of it all claims that he does not believe in condoms putting both their lives at risk.

This incident with Dhuri at the truck drivers' rank unleashes a kaleidoscope of sexual encounters for Sophie. Soon after being practically raped by Dhuri, a man who purports to be a helper, Samson entices her and takes her to the border where he rapes her (p25) and throws her out of his truck. This incident confirms the notion that violent behaviours against women have been associated with attitudes that promote men's belief that they are entitled to sexual access to women, that they are superior to women and that they are licensed as sexual aggressors (Flood and Pease, 2009 ; Koss and Cleveland, 1997). Once again a man takes advantage of her desperation and vulnerability. Samson actually boasts that "no one will come to your rescue" (p25). Again Samson neglects to use condoms even though he has them in his pockets. This goes on to show the carelessness of the men when it comes to sexual encounters. "So near the condoms and yet so far from using them" (p 25).

Months later on a trip to sell batiks at the border another man, Julius, garden boy to the white lady Sophie sells to, tries to take advantage of her. She (Sophie) manages to escape but not before he sets the dogs at her!" Ranger, Danger! Sa" (p55). Julius actually feels angry and aggrieved that Sophie refuses him and takes revenge by setting the dogs at her. This also shows the belief by men that women are there for their taking whenever and wherever they feel like it. A notion this paper refutes.

At the border she is again taken advantage of by another truck driver Danny, "at least he used condoms" (p61) after having taken advantage of her situation for she had lost her batiks a purse with money and identity card in a raid "to flush out thieves prostitutes and other undesirables". Danny tries to throw her out of his truck without paying but she causes commotion at the truck rank and gets R200 out of it, an incident that marks the beginning of her commercial sex work. "Give me those keys you cow!". "Pay up!" I shouted.(p63). So the men expect to use her body for nothing to gratify their evil sexual appetites.

On another trip to the border (p73) Sophie's drink is aced by three foreign men Stan, Jabu and Siyabonga and she finds out in the morning that she had slept with Stan without protection and she gets R200 but at a great risk to her life. The incident also

shows just to what lengths men can go in order to get sex. They view women as toys for their enjoyment. In all the incidents Sophie worries about *HIV/AIDS* but she has no control over her body. The men she encounters have the final say. Kinnell (2008) observes that many men who buy sex believe that buying sex entitles them to do anything they want. Or that paying gives them the right to inflict any kind of assault they choose. This is the case in both Phiri (2002) and (2010).

On one of the trips to the border a petrol attendant takes advantage of the fact that Sophie is stranded after she has found that Mrs Kennedy has gone back to England probably because of the economic woes of that time. The petrol attendant 'sells' Sophie to a whiteman (p85) in a Pajero who takes her to a lodge for R500 and no protection. The issue of male promiscuity and carelessness knows no race or class, "the man did not seem bothered" about protection. Some of Sophie's customers are very well financially. The places in which Sophie and her customers conduct business also show a great level of carelessness when it comes to sex." I was tired of using cars, dark alleys and woods for conducting business"(p89). Despite Sophie's efforts (after having tested HIV positive), to protect her customers by insisting on using condoms, she finds out that "the more I insisted on using protection the more I put off prospective customers" (p90). The adage that 'you cannot eat a sweet in its wrapper' is true in these incidents where men refuse to use protection to get their money's worth at the risk of *HIV/AIDS*-it also displays the many myths about *HIV/AIDS* especially the one that it does not exist.

The class of men who go into the bushes with Sophie leave one tongue-tied. At one point she goes into the bush with a man in a red BMW and he does not use protection. These men seem to be of high class "in public but the abhorrent things they do in private. Even professionals. I just couldn't understand men, most of them professionals who drove fancy cars", (p98). Men who talked to Farley (2006) revealed that the money paid cancelled out any harm and exonerated the man. Sophie then sleeps with a paraplegic for R500. "The car said it all, the man had money an, elderly man in a pin- striped suit, at least we didn't fight over protection the man obviously didn't want to worsen his situation by contracting *HIV/AIDS*"(p100). He is a selfish, self saving man. Men use money, "a lot of money "to entice the commercial sex workers to sleep with them without using protection.

On one of her days on the highway Sophie is taken to an abandoned farm house by a young man of about twenty five (Peter) where she is brutally raped "he had the strength of ten devils"(p103), she is then driven back to the junction where she had been picked and is dumped there. This is another breed of men who take pleasure in brutalising

women, in exploiting women's bodies for their own sick satisfaction. Brownmiller (1975) says that rape is a deliberate, hostile and violent act of degradation. This act of aggression towards Sophie leaves her broken. What also emerges in this incident is that men use wealth (supposed wealth) to entice women- they take advantage of the needy women through their wealth. Peter manages to get Sophie to go with him because he steals his brother's *BMW* and terrorises women. The fancy cars attract the prostitutes like moths to light.

After a week of recovery from the assault by Peter, Sophie 'starts work'. She begs two brothers to give her a lift. "I knew that men like it when women begged so I used the trick, men want to feel powerful and indispensable" (p108). The two are married as they both wear their wedding rings. The irresponsibility of men leaving their wives at home to pick up prostitutes! Both brothers to make matters worse, and show how men do not reason or think when it comes to sex, want Sophie but she only sleeps with Andrew for R200.

On another day on the way to the boarder in a haulage truck it conveniently breaks down and Sophie has to spend the night with the driver, Steven for R100. Even students (Law students) are into sex buying (p138). A widower David Salani says condoms are not his favourite and offers only R100. Two company executives pay R100 each at Sunrise Motel the third one "was a bastard who wanted to pay R20, in the end he paid R50"(p141).

At the end of the novel Sophie is also sleeping with Edward, the bus driver she sends groceries to the village with (p172). This becomes payment for sending him. To be noted is the fact that the author gives a sexualised depiction of women who are arousing men in this cycle of prostitution. Men treat their female partners as mere objects in prostitution where men's behaviour towards such women shows no respect or concern for them and their bodies. What only matters is the sexual fulfilment.

There is also a general view that most prostitutes are women but most importantly people do not even wonder about critiquing those men who prostitute with these women. Sadly, the woman who sells sex is charged with criminal law if caught but the man who purchases the services goes scot free without any charges laid against him.

Conclusion

Phiri (2002) and (2010) have demonstrated the brutality and carelessness of the men who buy sex or are engaged in transactional sex. The term prostitutes seems to be loosely used to refer to women alone yet it is mostly men who engage in such sexual activities by soliciting for paid sex where they use money to buy sex from women. This study has however, focused on the behaviour, attitudes and actions of the men involved in commercial sex with these women. The research has focused on the core of man's misplaced masculinity which results in negative labelling and treatment of females who offer paid sex as reflected through the analysis of selected fiction.

References

- Agnich , C .E .(2007) *Masculinities and violence among a sample of clients of street Prostitutes*: Thesis-Faculty of Virginia Poly Institute and State University in Fulfilment of Master of Science in Sociology, Blacksburg, V.A.
- Anderson , E. (1994) “ The code of the streets”, *The Atlantic Monthly*
- Ben-Israel , H.; Levenkron , N. ; Mendelsohn , N. And Zarim , M. S. L .(2005) *The Missing Factor: Clients of Trafficked Women in Israel's Sex Industry* , Tel Aviv, Israel: Hotline for Migrant Workers.
- Bromberg , S . (1997) “Feminist Issues in Prostitution” *Presentation-International Conference on Prostitution at California State University, Northridge*,
- Brownmiller, S. (1975) *Against our will: Men, Women and Rape* , New York: Bantom Books.
- Connel, R.W.(1995) *Masculinities* :Second Edition,Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Cavender, G. (1999) “Detecting Masculinity”, in J. Farrell and N. Websdale (Eds) *Making Trouble; Cultural constructions of crime , deviance and Control* , Aldine de Gruyter.
- Choi , H.; Klein, C.; Shin m. S. and Lee , H. J. (2009) “Post traumatic Stress disorders (PTSD) and Disorders of extreme stress (DESNOS) Following prostitution and childhood abuse” *Violence against women*, 15(8) p 934.

- Driver, D. and Samuelson, M. (2004) "History's intimate invasions: Yvonne Vera's *The Stone Virgins*" in B. Weiss (Ed) *The end of unheard narratives: Contemporary Perspectives of Southern African Literature*, Heidelberg; Bertina Weiss Verlag/ Kaillope Paperbacks, p175-176.
- Dworkin, A. (1979) *Pornography: Men possessing Women*, London: Women's Press.
- Farley, M. (2006) 'Prostitution, trafficking and cultural amnesia: what we must not know in Order to keep the business of sexual exploitation running smoothly' *Yale Journal of Law and Feminism*, 18, pp109-144.
- Farley, M. MacCleod, J. Anderson, L and Golding, J. M. (2011) *Psychological trauma: Theory, research, practice and policy*- 'Attitudes and social characteristics of men Who buy sex in Scotland', doi:10.103//a0022645, 28 March 2011 (Accessed 11 April 2014).
- Gilmore, D. (1990) *Manhood in the making: Cultural concepts of Masculinity*, New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Gutmann, M. C. (1997) "Trafficking in men : The anthropology of masculinity", *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 26, pp385-409.
- Kersten, J. (1993) "Crime and masculinities in Australia, German and Japan", *International Sociology*, 8, pp461-478.
- Kennedy, M. A. Klein, G. Gorzaka, B. B. And Yulle, J. C. (2004) "Attitude change Following a diversion programme for men who solicit sex" *Journal of offender Rehabilitation*, 40 (1-2), pp41-60.
- Kimmel, M. S. (1996) *Manhood in America: A cultural history*, New York : Free Press.
- Kinnell, H. (2008) *Violence and sex work in Britain*, Cullompton, UK: Willan.
- Koss M. P. And Cleveland, H.H. (1997) "Stepping on toes : Social roots of date rape lead To intractability and politicization" in M.D. Schwartz (Ed) *Researching sexual Violence against women : Methodological and personal perspectives*, London: Sage.
- Krienert, J. L. (2003) "Masculinity and Crime: A quantitative exploration of Messerschmidt's Hypothesis" *Electronic Journal of Sociology @*

- Leach, J. (2011) "Male hookers uncovered on current Uk", *Documentary*, at <http://www.Youtube.com/watch?v=Q25ek6uwe>, (Accessed 23/6/14)
- McInnes, J. 1998. *The End of Masculinity*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Messerschmidt, J.W. (1993) *Masculinities and Crime: Critique and reconceptualization of Theory*, Rowan and Littlefield Publishers Inc.
- Messner, M.A. and Sabo, D.F. (1994) *Sex, violence and power in sports: rethinking Masculinity, freedom*, CA: Crossing Press.
- Monto, M. (2000) "Why men seek out prostitutes", in R. Weitzer, (Ed) *Sex for sale: Prostitution, pornography and the sex industry*, New York: Routledge.
- Ngoshi, H.T. and Zhou, S. (2010) "Speaking positions: Zimbabwean women's writing In English and the disease, pain and trauma paradigm", *Imbizo*, 1 (2), pp44-58.
- Norridge, Z. (2005) Draft paper. In *:Perceptions of pain in contemporary Zimbabwean Literature: personal and public narratives in Yvonne Vera's The stone virgins*. Oxford: Mansfield College.
- Pilcher, J. And Whelehan, I. 2004. *50 Key Concepts in Gender Studies*. Sage: London."
- Sawyer, S. Metz, M. Hinds, J. and Brucker, B. J. (2001) "Attitudes towards prostitution Among males: A consumer's report", *Current Psychology*, 20 (4), pp363-376.
- Schmidt, M. (2003) Attitudes towards prostitution and self-reported sexual violence in College men, Doctoral dissertation in Fulfilment of Psy. D, Pacific University: Forest Grove.
- Sontag, S. (1989) *Illness as metaphor and Aids and its metaphors*, Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
- Spurrell, C. (2006) "Who pays for sex?", *Times online* at <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/life-and-style/men/article627388.ece>.